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## KOMUNISTIČKA REPRESIJA U SPLITU (1945. – 1948.): SLUČAJ FRA PETRA TURKALJA



## THE COMMUNIST REPRESSION IN SPLIT (1945 – 1948): THE CASE OF FRIAR PETAR TURKALJ

Na osnovi izvornih arhivskih dokumenata iz Državnog arhiva u Splitu u ovom se radu daje kratki prikaz poslijeratne komunističke represije, zarobljeničkih logora i progona svećenstva na području grada Splita i šire okolice. Poseban je naglasak na slučaju fra Petra Turkalja, gvardijana Samostana sv. Josipa, koji je početkom 1946. osuđen na 12 godina zatvora s prisilnim radom. Turkalj je umro za vrijeme izdržavanja kazne u KPD-u Stara Gradiška, a njegovu je presudu u listopadu 2022. poništio Županijski sud u Splitu.

Ključne riječi: Drugi svjetski rat; represija; protokomunistički otpor; križari; Split; logor Firule; Samostan sv. Josipa; franjevci; fra Petar Turkalj

Based on the original archive documents from the State Archives in Split, this paper gives a brief account of post-war communist repression, prison camps and persecution of the clergy in Split and its wider area. Special emphasis is placed on the case of Friar Petar Turkalj, an abbot of the Monastery of St. Joseph, who in early 1946 was sentenced to 12 years of forced labour in prison. Turkalj died while serving his sentence in the Stara Gradiška Penitentiary Rehabilitation Centre, and his verdict was annulled in October 2022 by the County Court in Split.

Keywords: World War II; repression; anti-communist resistance; crusaders; Split; Firule camp; the Monastery of St. Joseph; the Franciscans; Friar Petar Turkalj

## UVOD

Početkom listopada 2022. hrvatski su mediji objavili vijest da je na splitskom Županijskom sudu poništena presuda fra Petru Turkalju i to povodom revizije koju je zatražila njegova nećakinja Marija Žalac, a na inicijativu Provincije franjevaca trećoredaca glagoljaša, čiji je redovnik bio fra Petar Turkalj. Tim povodom oglasila se priopćenjem spomenuta franjevačka provincija istaknuvši u njemu sljedeće:

“U reviziji presuda komunističkih sudova protiv fra Petra odvjetnici su istaknuli da je do osude pokojnog fra Petra došlo isključivo zlouporabom političke moći budući da se temelji na arbitarnosti prvostupanjskog i drugostupanjskog suda, što predstavlja kršenje načela pravne države i vladavine prava, ali i međunarodnih načela.

Poništene presude su ostavljale dojam da su unaprijed donesene i da je bilo gotovo nemoguće dovesti ih u pitanje. Tadašnji prvostupanjski Okružni sud u Splitu je, uz manje dodatke, prepisao optužnicu koja je bila podignuta protiv pok. fra Petra, što nije neuobičajeni pristup sudova iz tog vremena. Naime, Okružni sud je u formi pripovijetke iznosi tvrdnje tužitelja bez navođenja bilo kojeg konkretnog dokaza kojim bi potkrijepio svoje navode, odnosno cijeli postupak je bio vođen po javnom tužitelju kao produženoj ruci jednopartijske strahovlade. Tim je bio prekršen postulat sudačke neovisnosti, jer sudci ne smiju biti vezani ničinim osim vlastitom savješću i zakonom. Isto tako, obrazloženje drugostupanjske presude tadašnjega Vrhovnog suda Hrvatske de facto nije postojalo. U istoj se samo konstatiralo da je u prvostupanjskoj presudi sud opisao kaznena djela, a da je u obrazloženju iznio svoje razloge. Drugostupanjski sud je ignorirao žalbene razloge branitelja osuđenika, a bespogovorno uvažio prigovore javnog tužitelja i povećao kaznu osuđeniku bez konkretnog obrazloženja.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nakon 76 godina sud u Splitu poništo montirani proces protiv fra Petra Turkalja, Bitno.net, 21. 11. 2022., <https://www.bitno.net/vijesti/hrvatska/fra-petar-turkalj->

## INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of October 2022, the Croatian media published the news that Friar Petar Turkalj's conviction was overturned by the County Court in Split on the account of a review requested by his niece Marija Žalac, and at the initiative of the Province of Glagolitic Franciscans of the Third Order, to whose order Friar Petar Turkalj belonged. The aforementioned Franciscan province issued a statement for the occasion, highlighting the following:

“During the revision of verdicts made by the communist courts against Friar Petar, the lawyers pointed out that the late Friar Petar's conviction was made possible solely due to the abuse of political power, since it is based on the arbitrariness of the first and second instance courts, which represents a violation of the principles of the legal state and the rule of law, as well as international principles.

The overturned verdicts gave the impression that they were made in advance and that it was almost impossible to question them. The former District Court of First Instance in Split, with minor additions, copied the indictment that was brought against the late Friar Petar, which was not an unusual approach of the courts of that time. Namely, the District Court presented the prosecutor's claims in the form of a story, without citing any concrete evidence to support the claims, that is, the entire proceeding was conducted by the public prosecutor who served as an extension of the single-party's reign of terror. This violated the postulate of judicial independence, because the judges must not be bound by anything except their own conscience and the law. Likewise, the reasoning of the second-instance verdict brought by the former Supreme Court of Croatia was de facto non-existent. This verdict only noted that in the first-instance verdict the court described the criminal offences, and that the court had stated its explanations in the reasoning. The second-instance court ignored the ground for appeals presented by the convict's defence attorney, and unquestioningly accepted the public prosecutor's objections, and increased the convict's sentence without a specific explanation.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nakon 76 godina sud u Splitu poništo montirani proces protiv fra Petra Turkalja (After 76 years the court in Split annulled the

U postupku revizije zamjenik Županijskog državnog odvjetništva Frane Bočić istaknuo je da „ono za što se tada teretio franjevac ne predstavlja obilježja niti jednog kaznenog djela pa čak niti pokušaj bilo kojeg kaznenog djela“ navodeći:

“Kada bi se i prihvatile činjenica da su kod njega pronađeni nepotpuni papiri za štampanje pastirskih propusnica koji su se mogli kupiti na bilo kojem kiosku u to vrijeme, držanje istih nije bilo kažnjivo, a tek kada bi se dokazalo da je on imao namjeru izraditi nekakav pečat ili to ovjeriti, moglo bi se eventualno govoriti o neka-kvom pokušaju kaznenog djela za koje u spisu nema nikakvih dokaza. Nedvojbeno je kako se okrivljenog fra Turkalja osudilo u očito politički motiviranom postupku što je posebno vidljivo iz visine izrečene sankcije. U postupku je došlo do zlouporebe političke moći i presude su proturječne sadašnjem javnom poretku RH.”<sup>2</sup>

Tročlano sudsko vijeće pod predsjedanjem sutkinje Višnje Strinić i uz sudjelovanje sudaca Zorana Kežića i Damira Romca pri donošenju odluke o ponistiavanju presuda iz 1946. godine uzelo je u obzir i iskaz svjedoka Rafaela Poljokana koji je “opisao čovjekoljubnu požrtvovnost fra Pere Turkalja koja ga je tjerala na gotovo samoubilački altruizam kojim je spašavao Židove od nacističkog i fašističkog progona”.<sup>3</sup> Taj

ponistena-presuda-montirani-proces-jugoslavija-sud/ (pristupljeno 05/01/2023).

<sup>2</sup> Vladimir Urkalo, Poništена presuda franjevcu osuđenom na 12-godišnju robiju zbog „rušenja države i suradnje s teroristima“: Nažalost, svećenik nije dočekao pravdu, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 7. 10. 2022., <https://slobodnadalmacija.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/ponistena-presuda-franjevcu-osudenom-na-12-godisnju-robiju-zbog-rusenja-drzave-i-suradnje-s-teroristima-nazalost-svecenik-nije-docekao-pravdu-1230408> (pristupljeno 02/01/2023).

<sup>3</sup> Vladimir Urkalo, Poništena presuda franjevcu osuđenom na 12-godišnju robiju zbog „rušenja države i suradnje s teroristima“: Nažalost, svećenik nije dočekao pravdu, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 7. 10. 2022., <https://slobodnadalmacija.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/ponistena-presuda-franjevcu-osudenom-na-12-godisnju-robiju-zbog-rusenja-drzave-i-suradnje-s-teroristima-nazalost-svecenik-nije-docekao-pravdu-1230408> (pristupljeno 02/01/2023).

During the review process, the deputy of the County Public Prosecutor Office, Frane Bočić, pointed out that “the matter for which the Franciscan was accused of during that time does not have the characteristics of any criminal offense or even an attempt at any criminal offense”, stating:

“Even if it were accepted that he possessed blank papers intended for printing shepherd’s passes which could be bought at any stand at the time, their possession was not punishable, and only if it could have been proven that he had the intention to make some kind of stamp or certify it, one could possibly talk about an attempted criminal offense for which there is no evidence in the file. There is no doubt that the defendant Friar Turkalj was convicted in an obviously politically motivated proceeding, which is especially evident from the weight of the imposed sanction. There was an abuse of political power in the proceedings, and the verdicts contradict the current public order of the Republic of Croatia.”<sup>22</sup>

The three-member court council, chaired by the Judge Višnja Strinić with the participation of Judges Zoran Kežić and Damir Romac, when making the decision to annul the verdicts from 1946, also took into account the testimony of the witness Rafael Poljokan, who “described the philanthropic dedication of Friar Pero Turkalj that drove him to almost suicidal altruism with which he saved the Jewish people from the Nazi and fascist persecution”.<sup>3</sup> That witness thanked the

mock trial against Friar Petar Turkalj) *Bitno.net*, 21. 11. 2022., <https://www.bitno.net/vijesti/hrvatska/fra-petar-turkalj-ponistena-presuda-montirani-proces-jugoslavija-sud/> (accessed 05/01/2023).

<sup>2</sup> Vladimir Urkalo, Poništena presuda franjevcu osuđenom na 12-godišnju robiju zbog „rušenja države i suradnje s teroristima“: Nažalost, svećenik nije dočekao pravdu (Vladimir Urkalo, the verdict that sentenced the Franciscan to 12 years in prison for “subverting the government and cooperating with terrorists” has been annulled:” Unfortunately, the priest did not live to see justice being served), *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 7. 10. 2022., <https://slobodnadalmacija.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/ponistena-presuda-franjevcu-osudenom-na-12-godisnju-robiju-zbog-rusenja-drzave-i-suradnje-s-teroristima-nazalost-svecenik-nije-docekao-pravdu-1230408> (accessed 02/01/2023).

<sup>3</sup> Vladimir Urkalo, Poništena presuda franjevcu osuđenom na 12-godišnju robiju zbog „rušenja države i suradnje s teroristima“: Nažalost, svećenik nije dočekao pravdu (Vladimir Urkalo, the verdict that sentenced the Franciscan to 12 years in prison for

je svjedok zahvalio fratušu što je njega i mnoge članove njegove obitelji spasio iako je znao da može biti ubijen zbog pomaganja Židovima. O životu i djelovanju fra Petra Turkalja svjedočio je provincialni Provincijal franjevaca trećoredaca glagoljaša fra Ivo Martinović kazavši:

“Osuđen je da je radio protiv države, da je surađivao s teroristima i fašistima, da je planirao neki ustanak, da je pljačkao narod i oduzimao im hranu, a ništa od toga nije istina. Fra Turkalj je uvijek govorio istinu i zagovarao pravednost, pomagao sirotinji ne gledajući na vjeru i naciju bez obzira jesu li to bili komunisti, partizani, ustaše, domobrani, Nijemci, Talijani, Židovi... Na sudu je Rafael Salamonov, Žid iz Banja Luke svjedočio kako je spasio nekoliko članova njegove obitelji odi sigurne smrti. Za vrijeme rata pomagao je židovskom narodu, a to je posvjedočila i sestra Cecilija Jurin koja je primila nagradu pravednika od države Izrael i koja je rekla kako je ona samo radila ono što je fra Petar govorio, a to je da se brinula o spašavanju židovske djece od sigurne smrti. Fra Turkalj je sve to činio jer je u svakoj osobi gledao božje stvorenje koje ima svoje dostojanstvo i život, pa stoga i Provincija želi da se skine ljaga s njegova života jer je nanesena lažnom optužbom, neistinama i krivom presudom.”<sup>4</sup>

Nakon 76 godina postale su odlukom splitskog Županijskog suda nevažeće presude fra Petru Turkalju čiji je dosje danas pohranjen u Državnom

robiju-zbog-rusenja-drzave-i-suradnje-s-teroristima-nazalost-svecenik-nije-docekao-pravdu-1230408  
(pristupljeno 02/01/2023).

<sup>4</sup> Vladimir Urukalo, Poništena presuda franjevcu osuđenom na 12-godišnju robiju zbog „rušenja države i suradnje s teroristima“: Nažalost, svećenik nije dočekao pravdu, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 7. 10. 2022., <https://slobodnadalmacija.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/ponistena-presuda-franjevcu-osudenom-na-12-godisnju-robiju-zbog-rusenja-drzave-i-suradnje-s-teroristima-nazalost-svecenik-nije-docekao-pravdu-1230408> (pristupljeno 02/01/2023).

friar for saving him and many members of his family even though he knew he could be killed for helping the Jewish people. The Minister Provincial of the Province of Glagolitic Franciscans of the Third Order, Friar Ivo Martinović, testified about the life and activities of Friar Petar Turkalj, saying:

“He was convicted of working against the state, of collaborating with terrorists and fascists, of planning an uprising, of robbing the people and taking away their food, and none of that is true. Friar Turkalj always spoke the truth and advocated justice, helped the poor regardless of religion and nation, regardless of whether they were communists, partisans, Ustaša, Croatian Home Guard, Germans, Italians, Jews... In court, Rafael Salamonov, a Jew from Banja Luka, testified that he [the friar] saved several members of his family from certain death. During the war, he helped the Jewish people, and this was also testified by Sister Cecilia Jurin, who received the Righteous Among the Nations award from the State of Israel and who stated that she was only doing what Friar Petar told her to do, which was saving Jewish children from certain death. Friar Turkalj did all this because he believed that every person was a creature of God that has its own dignity and life, and therefore the Province wants to remove the stain from his life because it was caused by a false accusation, untruths and wrong judgment.”<sup>4</sup>

After 76 years, according to the decision of the Split County Court, Friar Petar Turkalj's verdicts

“subverting the government and cooperating with terrorists” has been annulled:“ Unfortunately, the priest did not live to see justice being served), *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 7. 10. 2022., <https://slobodnadalmacija.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/ponistena-presuda-franjevcu-osudenom-na-12-godisnju-robiju-zbog-rusenja-drzave-i-suradnje-s-teroristima-nazalost-svecenik-nije-docekao-pravdu-1230408> (accessed 02/01/2023).

<sup>4</sup> Vladimir Urukalo, Poništena presuda franjevcu osuđenom na 12-godišnju robiju zbog „rušenja države i suradnje s teroristima“: Nažalost, svećenik nije dočekao pravdu (Vladimir Urukalo, the Franciscan's verdict that sentenced him to 12 years in prison for “subverting the government and cooperating with terrorists” has been annulled:“ Unfortunately, the priest did not live to see justice being served), *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 7. 10. 2022., <https://slobodnadalmacija.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/ponistena-presuda-franjevcu-osudenom-na-12-godisnju-robiju-zbog-rusenja-drzave-i-suradnje-s-teroristima-nazalost-svecenik-nije-docekao-pravdu-1230408> (accessed 02/01/2023).

arhivu u Splitu. U ovom radu osvrnut će se na sačuvane dokumente u dosjeu fra Petra Turkalja, na situaciju u gradu Splitu i splitskim zarobljeničkim logorima 1945. godine te na djelovanje križarskih skupina na širem splitskom prostoru zbog kojeg je fra Petar Turkalj bio osuđen.

## POSLIJERATNA KOMUNISTIČKA REPRESIJA I LOGORI NA SPLITSKOM PODRUČJU

Nakon završetka vojnih operacija u pojedinim dijelovima Dalmacije krajem listopada 1944. do zauzimanja Knina u prosincu 1944. na dalmatinском su prostoru likvidirani brojni zarobljenici o čemu je izvijestio III. odsjek Odjeljenja za zaštitu naroda (OZNA) za Hrvatsku. Tako se u izvješću posланом 13. travnja 1945. komesaru Glavnog štaba Hrvatske (GŠH) ističe da je „prilikom borbi kod Knina vojno-obavještajni oficir divizije koji je kasnije došao u vojno-obavještajni odsjek GŠH-a izjavio je da tokom borbi za Knin dva dana nije mogao dobiti na saslušanje nijednog zarobljenika iako su jedinice zarobljavale u velikom broju“ jer su „zarobljenici odvadžani još za toka borbe par stotina metara na stranu i bez saslušanja strijeljani“.<sup>5</sup>

Mnogi zarobljenici zadržani su u logorima u Drnišu, Kninu, Sinju, Splitu i drugdje. Pojedini pripadnici Hrvatskih oružanih snaga (HOS) uskoro su mobilizirani, a tek rijetki pušteni svojim kućama. Bilo je i onih koji će prilikom transporta bježati i priključivati se onima koji su izbjegli zarobljavanje i zaklon potražili u planinama i drugim teško dostupnim lokacijama. Među njima je, na primjer, bio i Ivan Milas iz Čapljine koji će u Splitu pobjeći prilikom prebacivanja na brod te se povući na Vran planinu u Bosni i Hercegovini gdje će se priključiti skupini križara pod zapovjedništvom Stjepana Sičaje Gegana, a nakon odvajanja od Sičaja Milasova će križarska skupina djelovati na neretvanskom

were rendered invalid, and his file is stored today in the State Archives in Split. In this paper, I will refer to the archived documents in the file of Friar Petar Turkalj, the situation in Split, the Split prison camps in 1945, and the activities of the crusader groups in the wider Split area which led to Friar Petar Turkalj's conviction.

## THE POST-WAR COMMUNIST REPRESSION AND THE CAMPS IN THE SPLIT AREA

After the end of military operations in certain parts of Dalmatia at the end of October 1944, until the capture of Knin in December 1944, numerous prisoners were executed in the Dalmatian area, which was reported by the 3rd division of The Department for People's Protection (hereinafter: OZNA) for Croatia. In the report sent on April 13, 1945 to the commissioner of the Croatian General Staff (hereinafter: GŠH), it is pointed out that "during the battles near Knin, a military intelligence officer of the division who later came to the military intelligence department of the GŠH stated that during the battles for Knin, he could not bring in a single prisoner for questioning for two days, even though the units captured a large number of people" because "during the battle the prisoners were taken a few hundred meters to the side and shot without a hearing".<sup>5</sup>

Many prisoners were held in camps in Drniš, Knin, Sinj, Split and elsewhere. Certain members of the Croatian Armed Forces (HOS) were soon mobilized, and only a few were released to their homes. There were also those who ran away during transport, and joined those who escaped capture and sought shelter in the mountains and other unreachable locations. For example, Ivan Milas from Čapljina was among them, who escaped in Split while being transferred to a ship, and retreated to the Vran mountain in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where he joined a group of crusaders under the command of Stjepan Sičaja Gegan, and after separating from Sičaja, Milasov's crusader group operated in the area

<sup>5</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 2.26, 30/11, Izvješće III. odsjeka OZN-e za Hrvatsku upućeno komesaru Glavnog štaba Hrvatske, 13. 4. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 694-695; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 428-429.

<sup>5</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku (OZNA for Croatia), 2.26, 30/11, Izvješće III. odsjeka OZN-e za Hrvatsku upućeno komesaru Glavnog štaba Hrvatske (Report of the 3rd Department of the OZNA for Croatia addressed to the Commissar of the Croatian General Staff), 13. 4. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 694-695; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 428-429.

području.<sup>6</sup> Bjeguncima su se priključivali i oni koji su jednostavno željeli izbjegći mobilizaciju u partizanske postrojbe. Osim bivših pripadnika HOS-a, odbjeglih logoraša i desertera, pred novim vlastima su se skrivali i oni koji su se odmetnuli iz straha pred uhićenjem,<sup>7</sup> a u sjevernim hrvatskim predjelima i pristaše Hrvatske seljačke stranke (HSS).<sup>8</sup>

Njihova bojazan nije bila neopravdana jer su se jugoslavenski komunisti još u ljetu 1944. ubrzano počeli pripremati za uspostavu vlasti i obračun s političkim neistomišljenicima. Naime, 25. srpnja 1944. OZNA VIII. korpusa poslala je dopis opunomoćeniku OZNA-e Komande splitskog područja u kojemu je zatraženo da težište rada bude usmjeren „najviše i uglavnom na sređivanje kartoteke narodnih neprijatelja, špijuna, agenata itd. u oslobođenim i neoslobođenim gradovima i selima, a naročito ovim posljednjim“.<sup>9</sup> Slični dopisi sačuvani su na primjer i za Makarsku gdje je 12. srpnja 1944. Kotarski narodnooslobodilački odbor (NOO) zatražio od Općinskog NOO-a da najkasnije do 30. srpnja dostavi „knjigu narodnih neprijatelja“, odnosno tzv. „crnu knjigu“.<sup>10</sup>

Već u tom razdoblju djelovanje Komunističke partije (KP) i represivnih organa nije bilo ograničeno samo na popisivanje, nego je obuhvaćalo likvidacije i zahtjeve za njihovu provedbu. Tako se u jednom dokumentu ističe da je „IV. splitska brigada u akciji na Kijevo, uhvatila oko 20 narodnih neprijatelja, koji se prema podacima Vrličkog Odreda mogli streljati, što je i učinjeno ali bez prethodnog ikakvog preslušanja i bar formalne

of Neretva.<sup>6</sup> The fugitives were also joined by those who simply wanted to avoid being mobilized into partisan units. In addition to former HOS members, the escaped camp prisoners and deserters, those who defected from fear of being arrested<sup>7</sup> were also hiding from the new authorities, as well as the supporters of the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) in the northern regions of Croatia.<sup>8</sup>

Their fear was not unjustified, because in the summer of 1944, the Yugoslav communists began rapidly preparing for the establishment of government and confrontation with political dissidents. Namely, on July 25, 1944, OZNA of the 8th corps sent a letter to the OZNA representative of the Split Area Command centre, in which it was requested that the focus of the work should be “mostly and mainly on arranging the files of enemies of the people, spies, agents, etc. in the liberated and non-liberated towns and villages, and especially in the latter”.<sup>9</sup> Similar letters have been preserved, for example, for Makarska, where on July 12, 1944, the National Liberation District Committee (hereinafter: NOO) asked the Municipal NOO to deliver “the book of enemies of the people” by July 30 at the latest, the so called “black book”.<sup>10</sup>

Even during that period, the activities of the Communist Party (hereinafter: KP) and of repressive bodies were not limited to listing, but also included executions and requests for their enforcement. Thus, one document states that “the 4th Split brigade in an action in Kijevo, captured about 20 enemies of the people, who according to the data of the Vrlika Detachment could

<sup>6</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje Ivice Milasa, Izjava Ivana Milasa, 5. 9. 1946.

<sup>7</sup> Radelić 2011: 212.

<sup>8</sup> Jonjić 2007: 109–145.

<sup>9</sup> HR-DAS-431, Opunomoćstvo OZN-e pri Komandi splitskog područja, kut. 47, Dopis OZN-e VIII. korpusa opunomoćeniku OZN-e Komande splitskog područja, 25. 7. 1944.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 316; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 125.

<sup>10</sup> HR-DAS-25, Kotarski NOO Makarska, kut. 51, NOO-51/1017, Dopis Kotarskog NOO Makarska, 12. 7. 1944.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 308; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 117; *Vrgorska krajina, Makarsko primorje i neretvanski kraj...* 2018: 881.

<sup>6</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje Ivice Milasa, Izjava Ivana Milasa (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Ivica Milas, Statement by Ivan Milas), 5. 9. 1946.

<sup>7</sup> Radelić 2011: 212.

<sup>8</sup> Jonjić 2007: 109–145.

<sup>9</sup> HR-DAS-431, Opunomoćstvo OZN-e pri Komandi splitskog područja, kut. 47, Dopis OZN-e VIII. korpusa opunomoćeniku OZN-e Komande splitskog područja (Authorisation of OZNA at the Command of the Split area, box 47, Letter of the 8th OZNA corps to the authorised representative of the OZNA at the Command of the Split area), 25. 7. 1944.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 316; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 125.

<sup>10</sup> HR-DAS-25, Kotarski NOO Makarska, kut. 51, NOO-51/1017, Dopis Kotarskog NOO Makarska, (District NOO of Makarska, box 51, NOO-51/1017, Letter from the District NOO of Makarska) 12. 7. 1944.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 308; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 117; *Vrgorska krajina, Makarsko primorje i neretvanski kraj...* 2018: 881.

presude<sup>11</sup>. Osim toga je „u akciji ubijeno i oko 20 žena iz istog sela“, a to je učinjeno kao „odmazda, što su tamo prije samog napada zaklati neki drugovi i drugarice, a u čemu su učestvovale čak i žene“.<sup>12</sup> Također, „na sektoru Mosora, gdje operišu jedinice Mosorskog odreda streljano je u posljednje vrijeme više ljudi, za koje se je imalo podatke da saraduju sa okupatorom i narodnim neprijateljima, ali streljanja su izvršena bez ikakova suđenja od strane naših vojnih sudova.“<sup>13</sup> Dana 9. kolovoza 1944. Kotarski komitet KP Sinj obavijestio je Vojni sud Oblasti VIII. korpusa pri Komandi cetinskog područja da je pojedine osobe potrebno likvidirati.<sup>14</sup> Općinski komitet KP Makarska dostavio je 22. listopada 1944. OZNA-i popis 15 osoba koje su „po svojim djelima zaslužile da ih se likvidira“.<sup>15</sup>

O radu represivnih organa nove vlasti u samom Splitu zabilježeni su relativno oskudni podaci. „Organi gonjenja OZN-e hapsili su i zatvarali narodne neprijatelje, udarne grupe čuvale red, a organizirano su preuzimana neprijateljska sjedišta“, navodi Gazin u svom prilogu o zauzimanju grada.<sup>16</sup> Zahvaljujući temeljitim pripremama, dana 26. i 27. listopada 1944., dakle u prva 24 sata zauzimanja Splita, u najvećem dalmatinskom gradu zatvoreno je navodno više od 300 osoba<sup>17</sup> što je

be shot, which was done, but without any preliminary hearing, and at least, a formal verdict“.<sup>11</sup>

In addition, “about 20 women from the same village were also killed in the action”, and this was done as “a retribution, because before the attack some comrades were slaughtered there, and even women participated in that act”.<sup>12</sup> Also, “in the Mosor sector, a place of operation for the units of the Mosor detachment, several people were shot recently, for whom there was information that they were collaborating with the occupier and enemies of the people, but the executions were carried out without any trial by our military courts.”<sup>13</sup> On August 9, 1944, the District Committee of the Sinj KP informed the Military Court of the District of the 8th corps at the Cetina Area Command centre that certain persons had to be executed.<sup>14</sup> On October 22, 1944, the Municipal Committee of the Makarska KP submitted to the OZNA a list of 15 persons who “due to their actions deserved to be executed”.<sup>15</sup>

There is relatively little information on the work of the repressive organs of the new government in Split. “The prosecution authorities of the OZNA arrested and imprisoned enemies of the people, the strike groups kept the order, and the enemy’s headquarters were taken over in an organized manner,” says Gazin in his report on the

<sup>11</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.3.3, Izvješće OZN-e za oblast VIII. korpusa OZN-i za Hrvatsku, 1. 8. 1944.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 23.

<sup>12</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.3.3, Izvješće OZN-e za oblast VIII. korpusa OZN-i za Hrvatsku, 1. 8. 1944.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 23.

<sup>13</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.3.3, Izvješće OZN-e za oblast VIII. korpusa OZN-i za Hrvatsku, 1. 8. 1944.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 23.

<sup>14</sup> HR-DAS-55, Vojni sud 8. korpusa NOVJ, kut. 1, Obavijest Kotarskog komiteta KPH Sinj, 9. 8. 1944.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 23; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 327–328; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 135.

<sup>15</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.40.3, Obavijest Općinskog komiteta KPH Makarska, 22. 10. 1944.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 23.

<sup>16</sup> Gazin 1981: 459.

<sup>17</sup> Ratna kronika Splita. *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 19.

<sup>11</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.3.3, Izvješće OZN-e za oblast VIII. korpusa OZN-i za Hrvatsku (OZNA for Croatia, 11.3.3, Report of OZNA for the 8th District of the OZNA corps for Croatia), 1. 8. 1944.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 23.

<sup>12</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.3.3, Izvješće OZN-e za oblast VIII. korpusa OZN-i za Hrvatsku, (OZNA for Croatia, 11.3.3, Report of OZNA for the 8th District of the OZNA corps for Croatia) 1. 8. 1944.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 23.

<sup>13</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.3.3, Izvješće OZN-e za oblast VIII. korpusa OZN-i za Hrvatsku, (OZNA for Croatia, 11.3.3, Report of OZNA for the 8th District of the OZNA corps for Croatia) 1. 8. 1944.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 23.

<sup>14</sup> HR-DAS-55, Vojni sud 8. korpusa NOVJ, kut. 1, Obavijest Kotarskog komiteta KPH Sinj (Military Court of the 8th Corps NOVJ, box 1, Notice by the District Committee of the KPH Sinj), 9. 8. 1944.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 23; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 327–328; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 135.

<sup>15</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.40.3, Obavijest Općinskog komiteta KPH Makarska(OZNA for Croatia, 11.40.3, Notice by the Municipal Committee of the KPH Makarska), 22. 10. 1944.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 23.

u odnosu na tadašnji broj stanovnika bila visoka brojka. Nejasno je i o kome se točno radilo. Nai-me, odmah po zauzimanju grada razoružani domobrani, ratni mornari, oružnici, redari i finan-cijski stražari, zajedno s časnicima, internirani su, i to dio u vojarni Gripe, a dio u kući Dešković na Obali.<sup>18</sup>

Prema navodima Hugo Gazina, člana Okruž-nog komiteta KPH-a, istog dana su mornari i do-mobrani prvo povučeni u vojarne gdje su položili oružje, a zatim su otpremljeni na Gripe, „koje smo odredili kao bazu za njihovo okupljanje“.<sup>19</sup> Gazin procjenjuje da se u tom trenutku na Gri-pama zateklo oko 2000 ljudi o kojima je tijekom dana „brigu“ preuzeo Štab 26. divizije Narodno-oslobodilačke vojske (NOV). „Koliko se sjećam, kasnije su gotovo svi uključeni u naše jedinice, a čini mi se da je od mornara formirana naša mor-narička pješadija“, zaključuje Gazin.<sup>20</sup> Oni koji nisu primljeni u postrojbe NOV-a, redovito su svakog dana odvođeni na rad: čistila se željeznič-ka pruga Split – Sinj, popravljao se most na Solinu koji su srušili Nijemci i čistile su se gradske i periferne ulice.<sup>21</sup> Tako je dana 12. studenoga 1944. Tehnički odjel Gradskog NOO-a zamolio zapovjednika zarobljeničkog logora Gripe da, zbog nedostatka radne snage, pomogne u rašči-ščavanju ruševina s određenim (što većim!) bro-jem zarobljenika.<sup>22</sup>

Osim hrvatskih vojnih zarobljenika, na Gripa-ma su zatvarani i civili. U dokumentima Grad-skog NOO-a, odnosno njegova Upravnog odje-la, ostalo je zapisano da se „sređuje prostor za malodobne kriminalce u Maslinici, a stariji će u zarobljenički logor Gripe na rad“.<sup>23</sup> Zasad nisu

capture of the city.<sup>16</sup> Thanks to thorough preparations, on October 26 and 27, 1944, i.e. in the first 24 hours of the capture of Split, more than 300 people<sup>17</sup> were alleg-edly imprisoned in the largest Dalmatian city, which was a high number compared to the population at that time. It is also unclear who were those people. Namely, imme-diately after the capture of the city, the disarmed home guards, marines, military police, orderlies and financial guards, together with officers, were imprisoned, some in the Gripe barracks, and some in the Dešković house on the coast.<sup>18</sup> According to Hugo Gazin, a member of the District Committee of the Croatian Communist Party, on that day, the sailors and home guards were first tak-en to the barracks where they laid down their weapons, and afterwards they were sent to Gripe, “which we have designated as the base for their gathering”<sup>19</sup> Gazin es-timates that at that moment at Gripe there were about 2,000 people, who during the day were “taken care of” by the Staff of the 26th Division of the National Liber-ation Army (hereinafter: NOV). Gazin concludes “As far as I remember, afterwards almost all of them were included in our units, and it seems to me that our naval infantry was formed from the sailors”<sup>20</sup> Those who were not accepted into the NOV units were regularly taken to labour every day: the railway line Split – Sinj was being cleaned, the bridge on Solin, which had been demoli-ished by the Germans, was being repaired, and city and peripheral streets were being cleaned.<sup>21</sup> Thus, on No-vember 12, 1944, the Technical Department of the Split National Liberation Committee asked the commander of the Gripe prison camp to help clear the ruins with a certain (as large as possible!) number of prisoners due to a lack of work force.<sup>22</sup> In addition to Croatian military prisoners, civilians were also imprisoned at Gripe. The documents of the City National Liberation Committee, i.e. its Administrative Department, state that “a place

<sup>18</sup> Ratna kronika Splita. *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 18.

<sup>19</sup> Gazin 1981: 458.

<sup>20</sup> Gazin 1981: 458.

<sup>21</sup> Ratna kronika Splita. *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 26.

<sup>22</sup> HR-DAS-27, Gradski NOO Splita, kut. 4, broj 46/435, Zamolba Tehničkog odjela Gradskog NOO Split, zarobljeničkom logoru Gripe, 12. 21. 1944.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 278.

<sup>23</sup> HR-DAS-35, Gradski Narodni odbor Splita, Knjiga 1, 1945./1962; Ratna kronika Splita; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 26.

<sup>16</sup> Gazin 1981: 459.

<sup>17</sup> Ratna kronika Splita. *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 19.

<sup>18</sup> Ratna kronika Splita. *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 18.

<sup>19</sup> Gazin 1981: 458.

<sup>20</sup> Gazin 1981: 458.

<sup>21</sup> Ratna kronika Splita. *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 26.

<sup>22</sup> HR-DAS-27, Gradski NOO Splita, kut. 4, broj 46/435, Zamolba Tehničkog odjela Gradskog NOO Split, zarobljeničkom logoru Gripe (City NOO of Split, box 4, number 46/435, Appeal of the Technical Department of the City NOO of Split, to the Gripe prison camp), 12. 21. 1944.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 278.

pronađeni dokumenti koji bi otkrivali nešto više o radovima na kojima su sudjelovali ti logoraši, no sačuvan je dopis od 21. kolovoza 1945. kojim je Komanda splitskog vojnog područja izvijestila Štab II. streljačkog bataljuna da štabovi koji osiguravaju koncentracijske logore moraju voditi dnevnik rada „u kojem će svakoga dana unijeti gdje, koliko i na kojem mjestu su bili uposleni zarobljenici, kakvi su rezultat rada postigli” s ciljem da se svakih 15 dana Armiji pošalje izvješće s prijedlogom za „bolje i korisnije korištenje radnih snaga”.<sup>24</sup>

U prvim tjednima po zauzimanju grada također se prionulo na razminiranje u Splitskom polju i moru prilikom kojeg je poginuo jedan njemački vojnik – pirotehničar. Dopis oficira OZNA-e pri Komandi mesta Sinj svjedoči da su njemački zarobljenici također bili smješteni na Gripama. U tom dokumentu navodi se da je poručnik Kevo, zapovjednik aerodroma Sinj, izdao upute zapovjedništvu Zarobljeničkog logora Gripe zatraživši da njemački zarobljenici ne smiju biti gladni i da moraju biti u mogućnosti udobno spavati. Zapovjedništvo logora odgovorilo mu je da ima „hiljade i hiljade naših boraca u borbi još i danas, koji nemaju ni jednog jela na dan i koji neznaju šta je to spavanje“ zbog čega je Kevo zaprijetio prijavom Štabu VIII. dalmatinskog korpusa.<sup>25</sup> Pojedini njemački zarobljenici, koji su se nalazili u splitskim logorima, već su tijekom 1945. oslobođeni, kao na primjer Otwin Hörning koji se nalazio na Firulama,<sup>26</sup> a bilo

is being arranged for juvenile criminals in Maslinica, and the older ones will go to work at the Gripe prison camp”.<sup>23</sup> So far, no documents have been found that would reveal anything more about the works in which these camp inmates participated, but a letter from August 21, 1945 was preserved, in which the Command of the Split military area informed the Staff of the 2nd Firing Squad that staffs securing the concentration camps have to keep a log file “in which they will enter every day where, for how much, and in which place were the prisoners employed, and what was their result” with the aim of sending a report to the Army every 15 days with a proposal for “a better and more useful use of labour force”.<sup>24</sup> In the first weeks after the capture of the city, demining operations were also started in Splitsko polje and the sea, during which one German soldier – a pyrotechnician – was killed. A letter from the OZNA officer at the Command of the Split area sent on January 3, 1945 to the Command of Sinj testifies that German prisoners were also housed at Gripe. That document states that Lieutenant Kevo, commander of the Sinj airport, issued instructions to the command of the Gripe prison camp, requesting that the German prisoners must not be hungry, and that they must be able to sleep comfortably. The camp command answered him that there are “thousands and thousands of our fighters in battle even today, who do not get a single meal a day and who do not know what sleep is”, which is why Kevo threatened to report to the Staff of the 8th Dalmatian Corps.<sup>25</sup> Certain German prisoners who were in Split camps were already released in

<sup>24</sup> HR-DAS-195, Zbirka dopunskih preslika arhivskog gradiva iz inozemnih arhiva – Arhiv oružanih snaga – Beograd, kut. 42, P-VPV Komanda Sp. Pod. 43-45, Dopis Komande splitskog vojnog područja, 21. 8. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 499–500; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 540–541; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 397.

<sup>25</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.28.1, Dopis oficira OZN-e Komande splitskog vojnog područja Komandi mesta Sinj, 3. 1. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 382–383; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 270; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 296.

<sup>26</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, kut. 165, Dopis OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju komesaru Zarobljeničkog logora Firule, 15. 6. 1945., Br. 571/45; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 386.

<sup>23</sup> HR-DAS-35, Gradske Narodne odbore Splita, Knjiga 1, 1945. /1962 (City People's Committee of Split, Book 1, 1945/1962); Ratna kronika Splita; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 26.

<sup>24</sup> HR-DAS-195, Zbirka dopunskih preslika arhivskog gradiva iz inozemnih arhiva – Arhiv oružanih snaga – Beograd, kut. 42, P-VPV Komanda Sp. Pod. 43-45, Dopis Komande splitskog vojnog područja (Collection of supplementary copies of archival material from foreign archives - Archive of the armed forces - Belgrade, box 42, P-VPV Command Sp. Pod. 43-45, Letter from the Command of the Split military area), 21. 8. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 499–500; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 540–541; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 397.

<sup>25</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.28.1, Dopis oficira OZN-e Komande splitskog vojnog područja Komandi mesta Sinj (OZNA for Croatia, 11.28.1, Letter from an officer of the OZNA of the Command of the Split Military Area to the Command of Sinj), 3. 1. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 382–383; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 270; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 296.

je i onih koji su nastavili živjeti i raditi na splitskom području. Ipak, u usporedbi s logorom Gripe, o onome na Firulama ostao je sačuvan iznimno skroman broj dokumenata. Tako se, na primjer, iz sačuvanih izvješća Crvenog križa doznaće da su u jesen 1945. u logoru Firule vladali „savršeni red i čistoća“, no „da je dosta ljudi bez pokrivača i slamarica, te se pokrivaju papirom i tako isto papir postavljaju ispod sebe namjesto slamarice“.<sup>27</sup>

Dostupni arhivski dokumenti svjedoče da su se već u prvima tjednima nakon zauzimanja Splita odvijale likvidacije logoraša. Zahvaljujući dvama sačuvanim dokumentima – Popisu likvidiranih zarobljenih ustaša u logoru Gripe od 15. studenoga 1944. i Dopisu Opunomoćstva Uprave za državnu bezbjednost (UDB) za kotar Sinj Odjeljenju UDB-e za Dalmaciju od 14. travnja 1948. – koji se čuvaju u fondu Sekretarijata unutrašnjih poslova (SUP) za Dalmaciju u Državnom arhivu u Splitu, moguće je barem djelomično rekonstruirati popis ubijenih logoraša. Od 115 likvidiranih osoba o kojima su dosad pronađeni podatci, samo su četvorica zabilježena u popisima zatočenih na Gripama, pronađenima u Državnom arhivu u Splitu.<sup>28</sup> Stoga se može zaključiti da su pronađeni popisi logoraša nepotpuni. Iz dostupnih podataka ne može se sa sigurnošću reći jesu li likvidirani zarobljenici ubijeni unutar tvrđave Gripe ili su odvedeni drugdje, a postavlja se i pitanje je li likvidaciju naredila Komanda logora ili netko drugi. U dokumentu od 4. prosinca 1944. zapovjednik logora izjavio je

1945, such as Otwin Hörning who was at Firule<sup>26</sup>, and there were also those who continued to live and work in the Split area. However, compared to the Gripe camp, an extremely modest number of documents have been preserved about the one at Firule. So, for example, it is known from the preserved reports of the Red Cross that in the fall of 1945, the Firule camp was “in a state of perfect order and cleanliness”, but “many people are without blankets and straw mats, and they cover themselves with paper, and they place paper under themselves instead of a straw mat”<sup>27</sup>. The available archived documents testify that already in the first weeks after the capture of Split, camp inmates were being executed. Thanks to two preserved documents – the List of executed Ustaša held in the Gripe camp from November 15, 1944, and the Letter of Authorisation from the State Security Administration (hereinafter: UDBA) for the Sinj district to the UDBA Department for Dalmatia from April 14, 1948 – which are kept in the fond of the Secretariat of Internal Affairs (SUP) for Dalmatia in the State Archives in Split, it is possible to, at least partially, reconstruct the list of murdered prisoners. Of the 115 executed persons on whom information has been found hitherto, only four were recorded in the lists of prisoners at Gripe, which were found in the State Archives in Split.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, it can be concluded that the discovered lists of camp prisoners are incomplete. From the available data, it cannot be

<sup>27</sup> HR-DAS-265, Oblasni odbor Crvenog križa za Dalmaciju, kut. 1, Dopis Marije Baldasar Oblasnom odboru Crvenog križa Split o posjetu kažnjeničkom logoru Firule, 13. 10. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 528–504; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 412–413.

<sup>28</sup> Popis logoraša na Gripama pronađen je u Državnom arhivu u Splitu i objavljen je u zbirci dokumenata koju je pod naslovom *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima Ozne i Udbe (1944. – 1962.)*, *Zarobljenički logori i likvidacije* priredila Blanka Matković (Hrvatska družba povjesničara “Dr. Rudolf Horvat” i Kulturno društvo Trilj, Zagreb – Trilj, 2017., 83–244). Potrebno je naglasiti da se vjerojatno radi o nepotpunom dokumentu koji je nastao krajem 1944. godine, pa se na temelju njega ne može sa sigurnošću ustanoviti koliko je doista zarobljenika s biokovsko-neretvanskog područja bilo zatvoreno u Splitu.

<sup>26</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, kut. 165, Dopis OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju komesaru Zarobljeničkog logora Firule SUP for Dalmatia, box 165, Letter from the OZNA for Central Dalmatia to the commissar of the Firule Prisoner camp, 15. 6. 1945., No. 571/45; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 386.

<sup>27</sup> HR-DAS-265, Oblasni odbor Crvenog križa za Dalmaciju, kut. 1, Dopis Marije Baldasar Oblasnom odboru Crvenog križa Split o posjetu kažnjeničkom logoru Firule (District Committee of the Red Cross for Dalmatia, box 1, Marija Baldasar's letter to the District Committee of the Red Cross for Split about the visit to the Firule prison camp), 13. 10. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 528–504; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 412–413.

<sup>28</sup> The list of prisoners at Gripe was found in the State Archives in Split and was published in a collection of documents under the title *Split and Central Dalmatia in the Documents of Ozna and Udb (1944 – 1962)*, *Prison Camps and Executions* prepared by Blanka Matković (Croatian Society of Historians “Dr. Rudolf Horvat” and the Trilj Cultural Society, Zagreb - Trilj, 2017, 83-244). It should be emphasized that this is probably an incomplete document that was created at the end of 1944, so it cannot be determined with certainty how many prisoners from the Biokovo-Neretva area were actually imprisoned in Split.

vojno-sudskom istražitelju kod Komande splitskog područja da je „iz ovog logora odvedeno oko 350 zarobljenika, bez dozvole istražitelja, a na traženje druga majora Sekulića<sup>29</sup> i druga Ljubuškoga<sup>30</sup>, koji mi je podnašao popis onih koje imam uputiti u Vojsku“ te da su ih „odvodili u više grupe u jačini od 30-50 ljudi, a jednom prilikom 121, a drugi put 101“.<sup>31</sup> Bez preciznih popisa i njihove međusobne usporedbe nemoguće je reći jesu li spomenuti zarobljenici doista mobilizirani u postrojbe 8. dalmatinskog korpusa ili im je sudbina bila drugačija.

O likvidacijama splitskih logoraša i drugih zarobljenika na dalmatinskom području već u prvim tjednima po uspostavi nove vlasti svjedoči i sačuvano izvješće Drage Desputa, člana Sudskog odsjeka Glavnog štaba NOV-a i PO-a Hrvatske, upućeno Centralnom komitetu KPH 17. siječnja 1945. U njemu Desput navodi da je tijekom boravka u Dalmaciji zapazio „stanovite nepravilnosti“ te ističe da mu je „povjerenik OZN-e za kninski sektor drug Ilija<sup>32</sup> izjavio (...), da su oni dobili direktivu, da prilikom oslobođanja uhapse što više ljudi, jedan dio od tih, koji ispunjavaju potrebne uslove, likvidiraju, a ostali dio puste na

ascertained whether the executed prisoners were killed inside the Gripe fortress, or if they were taken elsewhere, and the question arises whether the execution was ordered by the Camp Command, or by someone else. In a document dated December 4, 1944, the camp commander gave a statement to the military court investigator at the Split Area Command that “about 350 prisoners were taken from this camp, without the permission of the investigator, and at the request of Comrade Major Sekulic<sup>29</sup> and Comrade Ljubuški<sup>30</sup>, who submitted to me a list of those that must be sent to the Army” and that they were “taken away in several groups of 30-50 people, 121 on one occasion, and 101 on another occasion”<sup>31</sup>. Without the precise lists and their mutual comparison, it is impossible to say whether the mentioned prisoners were really mobilized in the units of the 8th Dalmatian Corps or whether their fate was different.

The early executions of the Split camp prisoners, and other prisoners in the Dalmatian area in the first weeks after the establishment of the new government are evidenced in the preserved report of Drago Desput, a member of the Judicial Department of the Main Staff of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Division of Croatia, sent to the Central Committee of the Croatian Communist Party on January 17, 1945. In it, Desput states that during his stay in Dalmatia he noticed “certain irregularities” and he points out that “Comrade Ilija<sup>32</sup>,

<sup>29</sup> Nikola Sekulić bio je načelnik OZNA-e VIII. dalmatinskog korpusa.

<sup>30</sup> Autorica nema drugih podataka o „drugu Ljubuškom“, kao što su, primjerice, ime i dužnost.

<sup>31</sup> HR-DAS-195, Zbirka dopunskih preslika arhivskog gradiva iz inozemnih arhiva – Arhiv oružanih snaga – Beograd, kut. 42, P-VPV Komanda Sp. Pod. 43-45, Izjava zapovjednika logora Gripe, 4. 12. 1944.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 499–500; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 540–541; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 397.

<sup>32</sup> Ilija Grubić, rođen 13. veljače 1909. u Dubrovniku. Srbin. Strojomehaničar u Kninu. Član KK KPH Knin 1941. U NOV-u od 26. prosinca 1942. Uhvaćen i zatvoren te razmijenjen. Opunomoćenik Opunomoćstva Ozne Kninskoga područja od sredine 1944., zadužen i za poslove I. sekcije. Prema navodima u literaturi, bio je šef Opunomoćstva Ozne za Šibensko područje. Vršitelj dužnosti načelnika Okružnoga odjeljenja Ozne za Šibenik 1945. U činu kapetana zamjenik načelnika Odjeljenja Udbe za Oblast Dalmacija 1946. Član Odjeljenja Udbe za grad Zagreb potkraj 1940-ih. Član Udbe za Hrvatsku početkom 1950-ih. Načelnik Opunomoćstva Udbe za kotar i grad i Odjela unutrašnjih poslova Zadar sredinom 1950-ih. Radelić 2019: 331.

<sup>29</sup> Nikola Sekulić was the head of the OZNA for the 8th Dalmatian Corps.

<sup>30</sup> The author has no other information about “Comrade Ljubuški”, such as, for example, name and position.

<sup>31</sup> HR-DAS-195, Zbirka dopunskih preslika arhivskog gradiva iz inozemnih arhiva – Arhiv oružanih snaga – Beograd, kut. 42, P-VPV Komanda Sp. Pod. 43-45, Izjava zapovjednika logora Gripe (Collection of supplementary copies of archival material from foreign archives - Archive of the armed forces - Belgrade, box 42, P-VPV Command Sp. Pod. 43-45, Statement by the commander of the Gripe camp, 4. 12. 1944.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 499–500; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 540–541; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 397).

<sup>32</sup> Ilija Grubić, born on February 13, 1909 in Dubrovnik. Serbian nationality. Mechanic in Knin. Member of the KK KPH Knin in 1941. In NOV from December 26, 1942. Caught and imprisoned, and exchanged. A plenipotentiary of the Plenipotentiary of the Ozna for Knin area since the middle of 1944, also in charge of the Affairs of the 1st section. According to sources, he was the head of the Ozna Authority for the Šibenik area. The executive chief of the Ozna District Department for Šibenik in 1945. In the rank of captain, deputy chief of the Udbe Department for the Dalmatia Region in 1946. Member of the Udbe Department for the city

slobodu“.<sup>33</sup> Štoviše, „u duhu te direktive od Dubrovnika – Knina pa do Zadra likvidiran je stanovit broj ljudi“.<sup>34</sup> Također,

„sve je radjeno vrlo nekonspirativno. Tako su na primjer iz zatvora i zarobljeničkog logora u Splitu odvodjeni zatvorenici i zarobljenici u kamionima u grupama različitog broja sa izjavom, da idu u vojsku. Razumije se, da je to bilo vrlo providno i neuvjerljivo, jer nitko ne može vjerovati da će se zatvorenici i zarobljenici ravno iz zatvora ili zarobljeničkog logora voziti u kamionima u jednicy, dok naši borci idu pješice, a s druge strane, kad su porodice likvidiranih počele obilaziti naše jedinice tražeći svoje članove i razumje se nisu ih mogli pronaći, brzo im je postalo jasno što se je s njima desilo. Vrativši se svojim kućama, razumije se da o tome nisu šutile, nego na veliko prijavljale. Drugo, kod sprovodjenja te mjere upotrebljavani su ljudi nedovoljno ozbiljni, što dovoljno dokazuje priloženi prilog komandanta zarobljeničkog logora u Splitu druga Milate<sup>35</sup>, u kojem je iznio uz službeni pečat logora i svoj potpis tačan broj lica, koji su iz logora odvedeni i jačinu pojedinih grupa, uz usmeni komentar, da su ta lica odvedena u podrum neke zgrade gdje su postreljana.“<sup>36</sup>

Među likvidiranim je bilo i domaćih ljudi, a „za jedan dio od likvidiranih zatraženo je od naših vojnih

the OZNA commissioner for the Knin sector, told him (...) that they had received a directive to arrest as many people as possible during the liberation, and to execute a part of those who meet the necessary conditions, and to release the rest“<sup>33</sup>. Moreover, “in the spirit of that directive, a certain number of people were executed from Dubrovnik – Knin to Zadar”<sup>34</sup>. Also,

„everything was done very non-conspiratorially. Thus, for example, the inmates and prisoners from the prison and the prison camp in Split were taken in trucks in groups of different numbers with the information that they were going to join the army. It is understood that this was very transparent and unconvincing, because no one could believe that inmates and prisoners would be transported by trucks from the prison or the prison camp straight to the units, while our fighters go on foot, and on the other hand, when the families of the executed started going around our units looking for their family members, and when they, understandably, couldn't find them, it quickly became clear what had happened to them. When they returned to their homes, it is understood that they were not silent about it, and they talked about it a lot. Secondly, during the implementation of this measure, insufficiently responsible people were employed, which is sufficiently proven by the attached report of the commander of the prison camp in Split, Comrade Milata<sup>35</sup>, in which he stated, along with the official seal of the camp and his signature, the exact number of people who were taken from the camp and the sizes of individual groups, with a verbal comment,

<sup>33</sup> HR-HDA-1220, CK SKH, Ratno gradivo, kut. 13, KP-42/2842, Izvješće Drage Desputa, 17. 1. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 314–327; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 83–88; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 288–301.

<sup>34</sup> HR-HDA-1220, CK SKH, Ratno gradivo, kut. 13, KP-42/2842, Izvješće Drage Desputa, 17. 1. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 314–327; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 83–88; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 288–301.

<sup>35</sup> Ante Kilaf.

<sup>36</sup> HR-HDA-1220, CK SKH, Ratno gradivo, kut. 13, KP-42/2842, Izvješće Drage Desputa, 17. 1. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 314–327; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 83–88; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 288–301.

of Zagreb at the end of the 1940s. Member of the Udba for Croatia in the early 1950s. Chief of Authority of the Udba for the district and the city and the Department of Internal Affairs Zadar in the mid-1950s. Radelić 2019: 331.

<sup>33</sup> HR-HDA-1220, CK SKH, Ratno gradivo, kut. 13, KP-42/2842, Izvješće Drage Desputa (CK SKH, War materials, box 13, KP-42/2842, Report by Drago Desput), 17. 1. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 314–327; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 83–88; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 288–301.

<sup>34</sup> HR-HDA-1220, CK SKH, Ratno gradivo, kut. 13, KP-42/2842, Izvješće Drage Desputa (CK SKH, War materials, box 13, KP-42/2842, Report by Drago Desput), 17. 1. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 314–327; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 83–88; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 288–301.

<sup>35</sup> Ante Kilaf.

sudova da se izrade presude u svrhu objavljanja, što je i učinjeno<sup>37</sup>. Likvidacije su zabilježene i u kasnijem razdoblju o čemu svjedoči izvješće OZNA-e o stanju u postrojbama Hrvatske divizije Korpusa narodne obrane Jugoslavije (KNOJ) od 5. srpnja 1945. u kojem se spominju „konspirativna“ strijeljanja „špijuna“<sup>38</sup>.

Citirani dokumenti jasno oslikavaju razmjere komunističke represije u Dalmaciji u prvim tjednima i mjesecima po zauzimanju dalmatinskih gradova i sela, ali i ozračje koje je vladalo u trenutcima kada su u Dalmaciji osnivane prve križarske skupine. Desputovo izvješće također potvrđuje da su u splitskim zatvorima zlostavljeni potpuno nedužni građani, da su iz splitskih logora zatvorenici odvođeni na likvidacije pod izlikom mobilizacije u partizanske postrojbe te da su u pojedinim slučajevima zarobljenici doista upućivani u partizanske postrojbe, ali s ciljem lakše likvidacije, kada je procijenjeno da ih sud ne bi osudio na smrt.<sup>39</sup> Stoga ne začuđuje da su već početkom 1945. zabilježeni pokušaji bijega iz logora Gripe. Tako se u izvješću III. odsjeka OZNA-e oblasti VIII. korpusa upućenom III. odsjeku OZNA-e za Hrvatsku 12. siječnja 1945. navodi sljedeće:

“Iz zarobljeničkog logora GRIPE u Splitu dezertirao je ustaški logornik Vrcan, zajedno sa upravnikom logora GRIPE Brkić Ivanom. Brkić Ivan bio je poslan od strane Vojnog Suda VIII. korpusa, kao upravnik zatvora. Komandant logora i član Vojnog

that those persons were taken to the basement of some building where they were shot.”<sup>36</sup>

Locals were also among the executed people, and “our military courts were asked to draw up verdicts for a part of the executed persons, for the purpose of publication, which was promptly done”.<sup>37</sup> The executions were also recorded in the later period, as evidenced by the OZNA report on the state of units of the Croatian Division of the National Defence Corps of Yugoslavia (hereinafter: KNOJ) from July 5, 1945, which mentions “conspiratorial” shootings of “spies”.<sup>38</sup>

The cited documents clearly depict the extent of communist repression in Dalmatia in the first weeks and months after the capture of Dalmatian cities and villages, but also the atmosphere that prevailed during the period when the first crusader groups were founded in Dalmatia. Desput's report also confirms that completely innocent citizens were abused in Split prisons, that prisoners were taken from Split camps to be executed under the pretext of being mobilized into partisan units, and that in some cases, prisoners were indeed sent to partisan units, but with the aim of an easier execution, when estimated that the court would not sentence them to death.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that the escape attempts from the Gripe camp were recorded already in the beginning of 1945. Thus, the report sent by

<sup>36</sup> HR-HDA-1220, CK SKH, Ratno gradivo, kut. 13, KP-42/2842, Izvješće Drage Desputa (CK SKH, War materials, box 13, KP-42/2842, Report by Drago Desput), 17. 1. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 314–327; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 83–88; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 288–301.

<sup>37</sup> HR-HDA-1220, CK SKH, Ratno gradivo, kut. 13, KP-42/2842, Izvješće Drage Desputa (CK SKH, War materials, box 13, KP-42/2842, Report by Drago Desput), 17. 1. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 314–327; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 83–88; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 288–301.

<sup>38</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 13.1.1, Izvješće OZN-e o stanju u postrojbama Hrvatske divizije KNOJ-a (OZNA for Croatia, 13.1.1, Report by the OZNA on the situation in the units of the Croatian division of the KNOJ), 5. 7. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 390–391; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 120–122; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 481–483.

<sup>39</sup> HR-HDA-1220, CK SKH, Ratno gradivo, kut. 13, KP-42/2842, Izvješće Drage Desputa (CK SKH, War materials, box 13, KP-42/2842, Report by Drago Desput), 17. 1. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 314–327; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 83–88; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 288–301.

<sup>37</sup> HR-HDA-1220, CK SKH, Ratno gradivo, kut. 13, KP-42/2842, Izvješće Drage Desputa, 17. 1. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 314–327; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 83–88; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 288–301.

<sup>38</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 13.1.1, Izvješće OZN-e o stanju u postrojbama Hrvatske divizije KNOJ-a (OZNA for Croatia, 13.1.1, Report by the OZNA on the situation in the units of the Croatian division of the KNOJ), 5. 7. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 390–391; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 120–122; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 481–483.

<sup>39</sup> HR-HDA-1220, CK SKH, Ratno gradivo, kut. 13, KP-42/2842, Izvješće Drage Desputa, 17. 1. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 314–327; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 83–88; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 288–301.

Suda poručnik Jenić bio je upozoren na njegovu lošu prošlost od strane oficira OZN-e Sred. Dalm. područja. Medjutim o tome se nije povelo dovoljno računa. Prema do sada prikupljenim podacima Brkić je pokušao organizovati veće deserterstvo i bježanje iz logora, medju kojima je trebao povesti i jednoga na smrt osudjenog, ali mu to nije uspjelo, jer su obzirom na dnevni rad bili odvojeni”.<sup>40</sup>

Do sličnih je pojava dolazilo i kasnije. Dana 3. kolovoza 1945. Operativno odjeljenje Štaba II. Jugoslavenske armije (JA) upozorilo je Komandu splitskog vojnog područja na nesavjesnost pripadnika JA-e u obavljanju stražarske službe istaknuvši da je „redovna pojava da iz zarobljeničkih logora, kolona zarobljenika koji se sprovode pješke ili sa vozom ili bilo na koji drugi način ili mjesto, zarobljenici i druga lica koja se sprovode, bježe“ te da „ima slučajeva masovnog bježanja, manjih i većih grupica, a ne samo pojedinačno“.<sup>41</sup> Dana 8. studenoga 1945. Komanda splitskog vojnog područja obavijestila je Štab I. streljačkog bataljuna na Gripama da je Štab II. JA-e dostavio naredbu Ministarstva narodne obrane Demokratske Federativne (DF) Jugoslavije povodom učestalih bjekstava ratnih zarobljenika koji se nalaze po logorima ili na raznim radovima, a koja precizno propisuje čuvanje zarobljenika.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.3.3, Izvješće III. odsjeka OZN-e oblasti VIII. korpusa, 12. 1. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 303-327; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 72-81; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 277-286.

<sup>41</sup> HR-DAS-195, Zbirka dopunskih preslika arhivskog gradiva iz inozemnih arhiva – Arhiv oružanih snaga – Beograd, kut. 42, P-VPV Komanda Sp. Pod. 43-45, Dopis Operativnog odjeljenja Štaba II. Jugoslavenske armije Komandi splitskog vojnog područja, 3. 8. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 499-500; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 540-541; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 397.

<sup>42</sup> HR-DAS-195, Zbirka dopunskih preslika arhivskog gradiva iz inozemnih arhiva – Arhiv oružanih snaga – Beograd, kut. 42, P-VPV Komanda Sp. Pod. 43-45, Dopis Operativnog odjeljenja Štaba II. Jugoslavenske armije Komandi splitskog vojnog područja, 3. 8. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 499-500; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 540-541; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 397.

the 3rd Department of OZNA for the 8th corps district, on January 12, 1945 to the 3rd Department of OZNA for Croatia, states the following:

“The Ustaša camp prisoner Vrcan deserted from the GRIPE prison camp in Split, together with the warden of the GRIPE camp, Brkić Ivan. Brkić Ivan was sent by the Military Court of the 8th Corps, as the warden of the prison. The commander of the camp and member of the Military Court, Lieutenant Jenić, was warned about his bad past by the OZNA officers of the Central Dalmatian area. However, this was insufficiently taken into account. According to the data collected so far, Brkić tried to organize a larger desertion and escape from the camp, and he was supposed to bring along one convict from the death row, but he did not succeed, because they were separated due to the daily labour”.<sup>40</sup>

Similar instances occurred later as well. On August 3, 1945, the Operations Department of the 2nd Staff of The Yugoslav Army (hereinafter: JA) warned the Command of the Split military area about the negligence of YA members in performing guard duty, pointing out that “it is a regular occurrence that rows of prisoners who are being escorted on foot, or by train, or in any other way or place, the inmates and other persons escape from prison camps” and that “there are cases of mass escapes, smaller and larger groups, and not just individual cases”<sup>41</sup> On November 8, 1945, the Command of the Split military area informed the Staff of the 1st Firing Squad at Gripe that the 2nd Staff of the JA submitted the order of the Ministry of National Defence of the Democratic Federative (DF) Yugoslavia regarding the frequent escapes of prisoners of war located in camps or at various labour

<sup>40</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.3.3, Izvješće III. odsjeka OZN-e oblasti VIII. Korpusa (OZNA for Croatia, 11.3.3, Report by the 3rd Department of the OZNA of the 8th corps district), 12. 1. 1945.; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 303-327; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 72-81; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 277-286.

<sup>41</sup> HR-DAS-195, Zbirka dopunskih preslika arhivskog gradiva iz inozemnih arhiva – Arhiv oružanih snaga – Beograd, kut. 42, P-VPV Komanda Sp. Pod. 43-45, Dopis Operativnog odjeljenja Štaba II. Jugoslavenske armije Komandi splitskog vojnog područja, 3. 8. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 499-500; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 540-541; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 397.

U naredbi je istaknuto da će „Komanda pozadine, preko otsjeka za zarobljenike i Komande vojnih Područja, skrenuti pažnju Komandama matičnih komanda logora, štabovima zarobljeničkih bataljona i rukovodiocima osiguravajućeg ljudstva na delikatnost njihove službe, i predložiti im teške posljedice u slučaju povrede iste“<sup>43</sup> Štoviše, bilo je potrebno i naglasiti da će se „u slučaju bekstva ratnih zarobljenika krivica odgovornih lica u tom pogledu raspravljati sudskim putem“<sup>44</sup>

U knjizi *Hrvatski smrtni put* Mate Šimundić navodi da je veći broj osoba u Splitu ubijen na starom gradskom groblju na Sustipanu i na groblju Lovrinac, a unutar tvrđave Gripe, na šetaljsnom prostoru s južne strane, zatočenici su ubijani navodno sve do proljeća 1946. i zatim nabacivani na teretnjake i pokapani na Lovrincu. S likvidacijama na Lovrincu Šimundić povezuje i logor na Firulama. Ondje su zatočenike navodno ispitivali Jure Bilić<sup>45</sup> iz Studenaca i Mišo Rudež iz Donjih Vinjana.<sup>46</sup> Zapisnici ispitivanja nisu uopće vođeni, a Rudež i Bilić su navodno odgovorni za smrt većeg broja osoba ubijenih na Lovrincu 13. lipnja 1945. godine. Nakon desetak godina grobar Špiro Domljanović ispričao je sinu ubijenog Mije Šonjića da su uhićenici morali iskopati zajedničku

camps, which precisely prescribed how the prisoners should be guarded.<sup>42</sup> It was pointed out in the order that “the Background Command, through the Department for Prisoners and the Military Area Command, will direct the attention of the Command of the Primary commands of camps, the staffs of the prisoner battalions, and the leaders of the security personnel to the delicacy of their service, and it will present them with severe consequences in case of violating the same”<sup>43</sup> Moreover, it was necessary to emphasize that “in the case of the escape of prisoners of war, the culpability of the persons responsible for it will be discussed in court”<sup>44</sup>

In the book *Hrvatski smrtni put* (“The Croatian Trail of Death”) Mate Šimundić states that a large number of people in Split were killed at the old city cemetery in Sustipan and at the Lovrinac cemetery, and inside the Gripe fortress, on the south side promenade, the inmates were allegedly killed and then thrown onto

<sup>42</sup> HR-DAS-195, Zbirka dopunskih preslika arhivskog gradiva iz inozemnih arhiva – Arhiv oružanih snaga – Beograd, kut. 42, P-VPV Komanda Sp. Pod. 43-45, Dopis Operativnog odjeljenja Štaba II. Jugoslavenske armije Komandi splitskog vojnog područja (Collection of supplementary copies of archival material from foreign archives - Archive of the armed forces - Belgrade, box 42, P-VPV Command Sp. Pod. 43-45, Letter from the Operational Department of the Staff of the 2nd Yugoslav Army Commands of the Split military area), 3. 8. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 499-500; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 540-541; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 397.

<sup>43</sup> HR-DAS-195, Zbirka dopunskih preslika arhivskog gradiva iz inozemnih arhiva – Arhiv oružanih snaga – Beograd, kut. 42, P-VPV Komanda Sp. Pod. 43-45, Dopis Operativnog odjeljenja Štaba II. Jugoslavenske armije Komandi splitskog vojnog područja (Collection of supplementary copies of archival material from foreign archives - Archive of the armed forces forces - Belgrade, box 42, P-VPV Command Sp. Pod. 43-45, Letter from the Operational Department of the Staff of the 2nd Yugoslav Army Commands of the Split military area), 3. 8. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 499-500; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 540-541; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 397.

<sup>44</sup> HR-DAS-195, Zbirka dopunskih preslika arhivskog gradiva iz inozemnih arhiva – Arhiv oružanih snaga – Beograd, kut. 42, P-VPV Komanda Sp. Pod. 43-45, Dopis Operativnog odjeljenja Štaba II. Jugoslavenske armije Komandi splitskog vojnog područja (Collection of supplementary copies of archival material from foreign archives - Archive of the armed forces forces - Belgrade, box 42, P-VPV Command Sp. Pod. 43-45, Letter from the Operational Department of the Staff of the 2nd Yugoslav Army Commands of the Split military area), 3. 8. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 499-500; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 540-541; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 397.

<sup>45</sup> Bilić Jure, „istaknuti komunist i sudionik Španjolskog građanskog rata“. Uključen u aktivnosti POC-a za Srednju Dalmaciju u ljeto 1943. U činu kapetana šef Opunomoćstva Udbe za kotar Šestanovac 1946. 1950-ih umirovljenik u Šestanovcu. Radelić 2019: 80.

<sup>46</sup> Moguće da je riječ o Milanu Rudežu, članu Udbe za Hrvatsku, po svemu sudeći početkom 1950-ih. Radelić 2019: 849.

grobnicu, a potom su usmrćeni kolcima i željenzim šipkama. Preživjelim zatočenicima s Firula oduzimana je sva imovina koju su imali uza se, a prilikom povratka kućama pojedince je opljačkala i OZNA-e u Šestanovcu, u kojoj je radio upravo Jure Bilić.<sup>47</sup>

S obzirom na opisane okolnosti, ne začuđuje broj onih koji su u tom razdoblju sigurnost potražili na skrovitim mjestima, često uz podršku rodbine koja ih je opskrbljivala hranom i obavještavala o kretanju vojske i milicije.<sup>48</sup> Već krajem 1944. na dalmatinskom će se prostoru pojaviti prve križarske skupine koji će nastaviti djelovanje sve do početka 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća.

## „REAKCIJA“ NA SREDNJODALMATINSKOM PROSTORU I REPRESIJA NAD KATOLIČKIM SVEĆENSTVOM

U Dalmaciji su se križari pojavili gotovo isključivo u njezinom brdovitom dijelu, napose u područjima vezanima za planinske masive Biokova, Dinare, Promine, Svilaje te Velebita gdje su utočište nalazili križari sa zadarskog područja.<sup>49</sup> Iako se prve križarske skupine na dalmatinskom prostoru osnovane još 1944., uspješnim akcijama KNOJ-a i OZNA-e veoma je brzo dolazilo do njihova osipanja, pa se djelovanje pojedinih skupina svelo na puko preživljavanje. Tako je na Biokovu i neretvanskom prostoru broj križara od 1400 do 1500 pao na otprilike 500 u srpnju 1945.<sup>50</sup>

O tim prvim mjesecima osnivanja križarskih skupina svjedoče brojni dokumenti. Tako se u izvješću OZNA-e za srednju Dalmaciju za veljaču i ožujak 1945. navodi da „o bilo kakvom neprijateljskim organizacijama ne može se govoriti, niti o bilo kakvom organizovanom radu

freighters and buried on Lovrinac until the spring of 1946. Šimundić also connects the camp at Firule with the executions at Lovrinac. The prisoners were allegedly interrogated there by Jure Bilić<sup>45</sup> from Studenci and Mišo Rudež from Donji Vinjani<sup>46</sup>. The interrogation logs were not kept at all, and Rudež and Bilić are allegedly responsible for the death of a large number of people killed at Lovrinac on June 13, 1945. Ten years later, the undertaker Špiro Domljanović told the son of the murdered Mijo Šonjić that the arrested persons had to dig a mass grave, and then they were killed with stakes and iron bars. The surviving prisoners from Firule were stripped of all their possessions, and during the return home, individuals were also robbed by the OZNA in Šestanovac, which was precisely Jure Bilić's workplace.<sup>47</sup> Considering the described circumstances, the number of those who sought safety in hidden places during that period, often with the support of relatives who supplied them with food and informed them about the movements of the army and military police, is not surprising.<sup>48</sup> Already at the end of 1944, the first crusader groups will appear in the Dalmatian area, and they will continue to operate until the beginning of the 1950s.

## “REACTION” IN THE CENTRAL DALMATIAN AREA AND THE REPRESSION OF THE CATHOLIC CLERGY

The crusaders appeared in Dalmatia almost exclusively in its hilly part, especially in the areas connected to the mountain massifs of Biokovo, Dinara, Promina, Svilaja and Velebit, where the Zadar area crusaders found refuge.<sup>49</sup> Although the first crusading groups in the Dalmatian area were founded in 1944, the successful actions of

<sup>47</sup> Šimundić 2001: 222–225, 449–454. Mate Šimundić zatvoren je 1955. u zatvor unutar tvrđave Gripe gdje je čekao suđenje pred Vojnim sudom u Splitu i o čemu je pisao u tekstu „Mučilište i morilište u vojarni na Gripama“ objavljenom u časopisu *Hrvatska obzorja*, g. IV, br. 3., Split, rujan 1996., 575–582.

<sup>48</sup> Radelić 2011: 212.

<sup>49</sup> Radelić 2011: 453.

<sup>50</sup> Radelić 2011: 458.

<sup>45</sup> Bilić Jure, “a prominent communist and participant in the Spanish Civil War”. Involved in the POC activities for Central Dalmatia in the summer of 1943. In the rank of captain, chief of the Udba Authority for Šestanovac district in 1946. In the 1950s, retired in Šestanovac. Radelić 2019: 80.

<sup>46</sup> It is possible this is Milan Rudež, a member of the Udba for Croatia, apparently in the early 1950s. Radelić 2019: 849.

<sup>47</sup> Šimundić 2001: 222–225, 449–454. In 1955, Mate Šimundić was imprisoned in the prison inside the Gripe fortress, where he awaited the trial before the Military Court in Split, and about which he wrote in the text “Mučilište i morilište u vojarni na Gripama” (eng: Torture and the slaughterhouse in the barracks at Gripe) published in the magazine *Hrvatska obzorja*, vol. IV, no. 3., Split, September 1996, 575–582.

<sup>48</sup> Radelić 2011: 212.

<sup>49</sup> Radelić 2011: 453.

neprijatelja, osim pojedinačnih ispada pristalica raznih reakcionarnih grupa, što se u zametku suzbija protuakcijama naših organizacija, a u težim slučajevima same OZNE”.<sup>51</sup> U zapisniku savjetovanja Opunomoćstva OZNA-e III. odsjek za oblast VIII. korpusa NOV Jugoslavije od 1. i 2. ožujka 1945. Petar Ljuština ističe da su „ustaške“ organizacije „zahvaljujući našim vojničkim i političkim udarcima danas mrtve“ iako to ne znači da je njihovo djelovanje potpuno prestalo te se osvrće na problem križara i potrebu njihove brze likvidacije.<sup>52</sup> U izvješću OZNA-e za srednju Dalmaciju za travanj 1945. zabilježeno je da na prostoru kotara Solin – Split „ustaških i četničkih elemenata ima u svim selima, grupišu se i ubacuju razne parole“.<sup>53</sup> U narednom izvješću za svibanj 1945. OZNA za srednju Dalmaciju javlja o pojačanom radu „reakcije koja se vrlo brzo snašla i prilagodila svoj rad uslovima po završetku rata“.<sup>54</sup> Štoviše, „reakcija u svome radu u mnogome koristi neaktivnost, pa čak i otsutnost našeg političkog djelovanja u selima od kojih su se naši politički rukovodioci po oslobođenju i previše udaljili“<sup>55</sup>, a u dokumentima OZNA-e, odnosno kasnije UDBA-e, ta „reakcija“ će se mahom vezivati za svećenstvo i bivše pristaše Hrvatske seljačke stranke.

KNOJ and OZNA quickly led to their disbandment, so the activities of individual groups were reduced to mere survival. Thus, in Biokovo and the Neretva area, the number of crusaders ranging from 1,400 to 1,500 members fell to approximately 500 in July 1945.<sup>50</sup> Numerous documents testify to those first months after the founding of crusader groups. Thus, in the report of the OZNA for Central Dalmatia for February and March of 1945, it is stated that “there are no any enemy organizations, nor any organized work by the enemy, except for individual outbursts by supporters of various reactionary groups, which are nipped in the bud by the counteractions of our organizations, and in more serious cases by the OZNA itself”<sup>51</sup>. In the minutes of the consultation of the OZNA Authority for the 3rd department for the 8th corps district of the NOV of Yugoslavia from March 1 and 2, 1945, Petar Ljuština points out that the “Ustaša” organizations “are dead today thanks to our military and political strikes”, although this does not mean that their activities have completely ceased, and he refers to the problem of the crusaders, and the need for their quick elimination.<sup>52</sup> In the OZNA report for Central Dalmatia for April 1945 it is recorded that in the area of the Solin-Split district, “the Ustaša and Četnik elements are present in all villages, they are grouped and inserted into various slogans”<sup>53</sup>. In the next report for May 1945, the OZNA for Central Dalmatia reports on the increased efforts of “the reaction which very quickly found its way and adapted its efforts to the conditions after the end of the war”<sup>54</sup>. Furthermore, “in its efforts, the reaction

<sup>51</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.31.9, Izvješće OZN-e srednje Dalmacije, veljača i ožujak 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 405–410; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 367–371.

<sup>52</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.3.1, Zapisnik sa savjetovanja Opunomoćstva OZN-e III. odsjeka za oblast VIII. korpusa, 1. i 2. 3. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 97–110; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 390–396.

<sup>53</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZNA-e za srednju Dalmaciju za travanj 1945. godine (prethodno kutija 168); *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 49; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 417–441.

<sup>54</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZNA-e za srednju Dalmaciju za svibanj 1945. godine, 3. 6. 1945., Br. 714/45 (prethodno kutija 168); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 460–472.

<sup>55</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZNA-e za srednju Dalmaciju za svibanj 1945. godine, 3. 6. 1945., Br. 714/45 (prethodno kutija 168); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 460–472.

<sup>50</sup> Radelić 2011: 458.

<sup>51</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.31.9, Izvješće OZN-e srednje Dalmacije, veljača i ožujak 1945. (OZNA for Croatia, 11.31.9, Report of the OZNA for Central Dalmatia, February and March of 1945); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 405–410; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 367–371.

<sup>52</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.3.1, Zapisnik sa savjetovanja Opunomoćstva OZN-e III. odsjeka za oblast VIII. Korpusa (OZNA for Croatia, 11.3.1, Minutes from the consultation of the Authorisation by OZNA of the 3r d Department for the 8th corps district), March 1-2 1945; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 97–110; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 390–396.

<sup>53</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZNA-e za srednju Dalmaciju za travanj 1945. godine (prethodno kutija 168) (SUP for Dalmatia, OZNA Report for Central Dalmatia for April 1945 (previously box 168)); *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 49; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 417–441.

<sup>54</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZNA-e za srednju Dalmaciju za svibanj 1945. godine, 3. 6. 1945., Br. 714/45 (prethodno kutija 168) (SUP for Dalmatia, Report of

Upravo je rad svećenstva bio drugi veliki problem s kojim se nova vlast suočavala tijekom 1945. i o čemu također svjedoči veći broj dokumenata. Tako se u prethodno citiranom izvješću OZNA-e za srednju Dalmaciju za veljaču i ožujak 1945. navodi i sljedeće:

“Za sada možemo govoriti jedino o organizovanom tj. planskom radu, a to je rad svećenstva, iako taj rad je minimalan i uopće neosjetljiv. Centar i glavno gnijezdo svećenstva na našem području je u Sinju i Splitu. Rad svećenstva na terenu van Splita ne osjeća se. Posljednje naše akcije u Sinju, hapšenje gvardijana i još dvojice, premetačina i pronalazak bunkera u Sinu sve je to njih toliko prestrašilo, da su se sasvim zatvorili i povukli, a dosta njih izražavaju želju svlačenja iz uvjerenja da NOP ima namjeru potpuno likvidirati svećenstvo...Na našem području možemo kazati da su likvidirane skoro sve idejne ustaše bilo fizički bilo da ih se na koji drugi način onemogućilo.”<sup>56</sup>

U izvješću OZNA-e za srednju Dalmaciju za travanj 1945. istaknuto je da su „najaktivniji, iako neoobično oprezni popovi, koji na pametan način djeluju na narod“<sup>57</sup> Upravo je u travnju 1945. osnovana prva vlada Federalne Hrvatske pod predsjedanjem Vladimira Nazora, predsjednika ZAVNOH-a. Nakon što je predsjedništvo usvojilo dnevni red, tajnik Jedinstvenog narodnooslobodilačkog fronta (JNOF) Hrvatske Vladimir Bakarić podnio je izvješće o vojno-političkoj situaciji u kojem se osvrnuo na prosvjed hrvatskog katoličkog episkopata protiv sustavnog ubijanja i mučenja nevinih svećenika i vjernika, koji je 24. ožujka 1945. potpisalo pet nadbiskupa i biskupa iz Poslovnog odbora Predsjedništva biskupskih konferencija. Bakarić je istaknuo „da narodnooslobodilački pokret u Hrvatskoj osim utvrđenih zločinaca (...) nije progonio

largely uses the inactivity, and even the absence of our political activity in the villages from which our political leaders have become too distant after the liberation”<sup>55</sup>, and in the documents of the OZNA, that is, later the UDBA, this “reaction” will mostly be associated with the clergy and former supporters of the Croatian Peasant Party.

It was precisely the work of the clergy that was the other major problem that the new government faced during 1945, and which is also evidenced by a large number of documents. Thus, in the previously cited report of the OZNA for central Dalmatia for February and March 1945, the following is also stated:

“For now, we can only talk about organized, i.e. planned efforts, and that is the effort of the clergy, although this effort is minimal and insignificant. The centre and the main nest of the clergy in our area is located in Sinj and Split. The field work of the clergy is not felt outside of Split. Our latest actions in Sinj, the arrest of the abbot and two others, the search and the discovery of a bunker in Sinj, had scared them so much that they have completely shut down and retreated, and many of them express the desire to leave the priesthood because they believe that the NOP intends to completely eliminate the clergy...In our area, we can say that almost all ideological Ustaša have been eliminated, either physically, or by being disabled in some other way.”<sup>56</sup>

In the OZNA report for central Dalmatia for April 1945, it was pointed out that “the unusually cautious priests who influence the people in a smart way, are the most active”.<sup>57</sup> It was in April 1945 that the first

OZNA for Central Dalmatia for May 1945, June 3, 1945, No. 714/45 (previously box 168); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 460–472.

<sup>55</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZNA-e za srednju Dalmaciju za svibanj 1945. godine, 3. 6. 1945., Br. 714/45 (prethodno kutija 168) (SUP for Dalmatia, Report of OZNA for Central Dalmatia for May 1945, June 3, 1945, No. 714/45 (previously box 168)); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 460–472.

<sup>56</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.31.9, Izvješće OZN-e srednje Dalmacije, veljača i ožujak 1945. (OZNA for Croatia, 11.31.9, Report of the OZNA for the Central Dalmatia, February and March 1945); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 405–410; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 367–371.

<sup>57</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju za travanj 1945. godine (prethodno kutija

<sup>56</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.31.9, Izvješće OZN-e srednje Dalmacije, veljača i ožujak 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 405–410; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 367–371.

<sup>57</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju za travanj 1945. godine (prethodno kutija 168); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 417–441.

niti jednog jedinog predstavnika crkve niti jednog jedinog vjernika samo zato što je on bio svećenik ili vjernik”.<sup>58</sup> Dana 22. travnja 1945. Narodna vlada Hrvatske izdala je upozoravajuću Deklaraciju u kojoj se, između ostalog, naglašava da „neće nikome dopustiti da koristeći svoju svećeničku halju radi protiv svoga vlastitog naroda i domovine.”<sup>59</sup>

Već u izvješću za svibanj 1945. OZNA-a za srednju Dalmacijujavlja da „popovi sa svojim radom nastoje što više privezati mase uz vjeru i crkvu, kako bi na taj način što više razjedinili narod i omladinu stvarajući razna društva i organizacije / što će te vidjeti iz izvještaja/”, a „gledajući što aktivnije rad popova možemo reći da nam oni danas na našem sektoru prestavlјaju najveću opasnost”.<sup>60</sup> U lipnju 1945. situacija se naizgled promjenila pa OZNA izvještava da je „kler naizgled prestao sa reakcioniranim djelovanjem” i „promijenio stav”.<sup>61</sup> U izvješću se navodi da se u posljednje vrijeme rijetko može čuti svećenike da otvoreno govore protiv narodnooslobodilačkog pokreta (NOP) iako se u pozadini mnogo više radi, ali na drugi način.<sup>62</sup> Sva izvješća nisu sačuvana, no na temelju onog za studeni i prosinac 1945. može se zaključiti da je utjecaj svećenstva i dalje bio naročito jak u kotarevima Brač, Hvar, Omiš, Sinj i Split. Pritom se posebno ističe da je „kler na kotaru Sinj, Trilj, Vrlika glavni organizator i pomagalac bandita-križara sa kojima podržava najtješnje veze“ te da se „osobito u tome ističe franjevački samostan u Sinju, koji je često posjećivan kradomice od članova porodica bandita-križara“.<sup>63</sup>

government of Federal Croatia was established under the chairmanship of Vladimir Nazor, the president of National Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Croatia (hereinafter: ZAVNOH). After the presidency adopted the agenda, the secretary of the United National Liberation Front (hereinafter: JNOF) of Croatia, Vladimir Bakarić, submitted a report on the military-political situation, in which he referred to the protest of the Croatian Catholic episcopate against the systematic killing and torture of innocent priests and believers, which was signed on March 24 1945 by five archbishops and bishops from the Business Committee of the Presidency of Bishop Conferences. Bakarić pointed out “that the national liberation movement in Croatia, apart from the established criminals (...) did not persecute a single representative of the church or a single believer just because he was a priest or a believer”.<sup>58</sup> On April 22, 1945, the People's Government of Croatia issued the warning Declaration which, among other things, emphasized that “no one will be allowed to use his priestly robe to work against his own people and homeland”.<sup>59</sup> Already in the report for May 1945, the OZNA for Central Dalmatia reported that “with their work, the priests try to bring the masses to religion and the church as much as possible, in order to divide the people and the youth as much as possible by creating various societies and organizations /as you will see from the report/”, and “by actively looking at the work of the priests, we can say that today they pose the greatest danger to us in our sector”.

<sup>60</sup> In June 1945, the situation apparently changed, and OZNA reports that “the clergy apparently stopped their reactionary activities” and “changed their attitude”.<sup>61</sup> The report states that recently the priests can rarely be heard openly speaking against the National Liberation

<sup>58</sup> Sirotković 1981: 1011.

<sup>59</sup> Sirotković 1981: 1017.

<sup>60</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju za svibanj 1945. godine, 3. 6. 1945., Br. 714/45 (prethodno kutija 168); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 460–472.

<sup>61</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju za lipanj 1945. godine, 19. 6. 1945., Br. 1074/45 (prethodno kutija 168); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 447–485.

<sup>62</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju za lipanj 1945. godine, 19. 6. 1945., Br. 1074/45 (prethodno kutija 168); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 477–485.

<sup>63</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZNA-a za Hrvatsku, 11.31.10., Izvješće OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju, studeni/prosinac 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 538–546.

168) (SUP for Dalmatia, Report of OZNA for Central Dalmatia for April 1945, (previously box 168)); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 417–441.

<sup>58</sup> Sirotković 1981: 1011.

<sup>59</sup> Sirotković 1981: 1017.

<sup>60</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju za svibanj 1945. godine, 3. 6. 1945., Br. 714/45 (prethodno kutija 168) (SUP for Dalmatia, Report of OZNA for Central Dalmatia for May 1945, June 3, 1945, No. 714/45 (previously box 168)); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 460–472.

<sup>61</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju za lipanj 1945. godine, 19. 6. 1945., Br. 1074/45 (prethodno kutija 168) (SUP for Dalmatia, Report of OZNA for Central Dalmatia for June 1945, June 19, 1945, No. 1074/45 (previously box 168)); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 447–485.

No, iako vezani za mahom ruralne i zabačene planinske prostore koji su im omogućavali lakše skrivanje, križarski utjecaj nije zaobišao ni veće gradove poput Splita. U gradovima će se djelovanje „reakcije” odnositi na prikupljanje materijalne pomoći za križare, a kako proizlazi iz slučaja fra Petra Turkalja, također i na navodno organiziranje bijega zarobljenika iz splitskih logora i njihovo prebacivanje „u šumu”.

### PROGON FRA PETRA TURKALJA, KORNELIJA FILIPIJA I DRAGUTINA HOMOLKE

O istrazi protiv fra Petra Turkalja ostao je sačuvan tek manji broj dokumenata, uključujući zapisnike sa saslušanja. Iz tih se dokumenata doznaće da je fra Petar Turkalj uhićen 31. listopada 1945. i istog dana saslušan u prostorijama OZNA-e za grad Split. U izjavi je naveo da nikad nije bio član ni jedne političke organizacije, a NOP-u nije pomagao organizirano iako je pomagao obiteljima siromašnih i onih koje su progonili Talijani. Istaknuo je da nikad nije surađivao s ustašama. Na upit o poznanstvu sa suosumnjičenim Dragutinom Homolkom, fra Petar tvrdi da su se upoznali u gostonici Sarajevo u Splitu, gdje je Homolka bio zaposlen kao ekonom. Fra Petar ga je upitao bi li mu mogao davati kruha za siromašne kako je to činio prethodni ekonom. Homolka mu je uglavnom davao jedan ili dva kruha, a prilikom likvidacije menze donio mu je i pet malih vreća brašna i 50 konzervi ribe s namjerom da ih pohrani u samostanu. Tijekom razgovora osvrnuli su se i na politička zbivanja, a Homolka mu je navodno istaknuo da „ako imamo koga da se prebaci u kamišare, da će on to urediti, jer da za to ima mogućnosti”.<sup>64</sup> Fra Petar mu je odgovorio da nema nikoga, ali da će nekoga pitati, misleći pritom na Kornelija Filipija, tada kažnenika.

Filipi je pristao pridružiti se križarima navevši da bi isto učinili i neki drugi kažnenici. Fra Petar je navodno pitao o kamionu za prijevoz bješunaca, na što mu je fra Petar odgovorio da je u vezi toga intervenirao kod Homolke. Prilikom

<sup>64</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava fra Petra Turkalja, 31. 10. 1945.

Movement (NOP), although much more is being done behind the scenes, but in a different way.<sup>62</sup> Not all reports have been preserved, but based on the one for November and December 1945, it can be concluded that the influence of the clergy was still particularly strong in the districts of Brač, Hvar, Omiš, Sinj and Split. It is particularly emphasized that “the clergy in the districts of Sinj, Trilj, Vrlika are the main organizers and helpers of bandits-crusaders with whom they maintain the closest ties” and that “the Franciscan monastery in Sinj, which is often secretly visited by the members of the families of the bandits-crusaders, stands out in particular.”<sup>63</sup>

However, even though they were mostly bound to rural and remote mountain areas that made it easier for them to hide, the crusader influence did not bypass even larger cities like Split. In the cities, the action of the “reaction” will refer to the collection of material aid for the crusaders, and as it follows from the case of Friar Petar Turkalj, also to the alleged organization of the escape of prisoners from the Split camps and their transfer “to the forest”.

### THE PERSECUTION OF FRIAR PETAR TURKALJ, KORNELIJO FILIPI AND DRAGUTIN HOMOLKA

Only a small number of documents have been preserved about the investigation against Friar Petar Turkalj, including the minutes from the interrogation. These documents reveal that Friar Petar Turkalj was arrested on October 31, 1945, and interrogated on the same day in the premises of the OZNA for the city of Split. In his statement, he stated that he was never a member of any political organization, and he did not help the NOP in an organized manner, although he helped the families of the poor, and those who were persecuted by the Italians. He emphasized that he had never cooperated with the Ustaša. When asked about his acquaintance with the co-suspect Dragutin Homolka, Friar Petar claimed that they met at the “Sarajevo” inn in Split, where Homolka

<sup>62</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Izvještaj OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju za lipanj 1945. godine, 19. 6. 1945., Br. 1074/45 (prethodno kutija 168) (SUP for Dalmatia, Report of OZNA for Central Dalmatia for June 1945, June 19, 1945, No. 1074/45 (previously box 168)); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 477–485.

<sup>63</sup> HR-HDA-1491, OZN-a za Hrvatsku, 11.31.10., Izvješće OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju, studeni/prosinac 1945. (OZNA for Croatia, 11.31.10., Report of the OZNA for Central Dalmatia, November/December of 1945); *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 538–546.

jedinog posjeta Ivana Hršića iz Drniša fra Petru samostanu, upravo je Hršić obećao da će pronaći kamione kojima bi se odbjegli kažnjenici prebacili u okolicu Drniša gdje se po Hršićevim navodima nalazio veći broj križara.<sup>65</sup> Pripremu osobnih isprava na sebe je preuzeo Kornelijo Filipi koji je također naveo da će naći nekoga iz logora da ih fotografira. Prema Turkaljevim navodima, Filipi je nabavio više od sto osobnih isprava Gradskog odbora Split, od kojih je 12 ostavio kod fra Petra koji ih je sakrio u peć.<sup>66</sup> Filip ih je navodno namjeravao falsificirati i predati ostalim kažnjenicima.

U međuvremenu je fra Petar otisao u tiskaru Penović zamoliti jednog radnika da mu izradi pečat Gradskog narodnog odbora, no bio je odbijen pa je Filipi pokušao pečat dati izraditi u Zagrebu. Od Filipija je fra Petar zatražio da mu doneše papira potrebnog za umnažanje 5000 primjeraka pastirskog pisma. Filip je uzeo papir iz Oblasne tiskare i donio ga u samostan gdje je papir kasnije i pronađen. Kako ga je tijekom saslušanja upravo Filipi teretio da „ste im vi govorili da bježu, jer će ih svih poslije izbora pobiti, a sada prebacivati na druga mjesta”,<sup>67</sup> fra Petar je u svom iskazu naveo da se ne sjeća dobro svojih riječi, ali da je možda doista rekao da „ako se stanje izmjeni da bi mogli nastrandati istaknutiji ustaše i da bi bilo bolje da se oni sklone”.<sup>68</sup> Štoviše, fra Petar je istaknuo da je cijelog života pomagao i zalagao se za siromašne, zagovarao mir među ljudima, nastojao spriječiti progone i ubijanje te da je ono što je učinio protiv „današnje vlasti” učinio „samo da se glave spase, a nikako u namjeri da se ruši današnji režim” jer „odlaskom ljudi u šumu nijesam mislio da se te ljude upućuje u borbu protiv vlasti nego samo, da se sklone”.<sup>69</sup>

was employed as a procurer. Friar Petar asked him if he could give him bread for the poor, as the previous procurer had done. Homolka usually gave him one or two loaves of bread, and during the liquidation of the canteen he also brought him five small bags of flour, and 50 tin cans of fish with the intention of storing them in the monastery. During the conversation, they also referred to political events, and Homolka allegedly pointed out to him that “if we have someone to transfer to the renegades, he will arrange it, because he has the means to do so.”<sup>64</sup> Friar Petar replied that there was no one, but that he would ask someone, referring to Kornelijo Filipi, who was a prisoner at the time.

Filipi agreed to join the crusaders, stating that some other convicts would do the same. He allegedly asked Friar Petar about the truck for the transport of fugitives, to which Friar Petar replied that he had intervened with Homolka regarding the matter. During the only visit of Ivan Hršić from Drniš to Friar Petar’s Monastery, Hršić promised that he would find trucks for the transport of the escaped convicts to the area of Drniš where, according to Hršić, there were a large number of crusaders.<sup>65</sup> The preparation of personal documents was undertaken by Kornelijo Filipi, who also stated that he would find someone from the camp to photograph them. According to Turkalj, Filipi obtained more than a hundred personal documents of the City Committee of Split, and he left 12 of those with Friar Petar, who hid them in the stove.<sup>66</sup> Filipi allegedly intended to falsify them and hand them over to other prisoners. In the meantime, Friar Petar went to the Penović printing house to ask a worker to create a seal of the City People’s Committee, but he was refused, so Filipi tried to have the seal made in Zagreb. Friar Petar asked Filipi to bring him the paper necessary for the duplication of 5,000 copies of the shepherd’s pass. Filipi took the paper from the District Printing House and brought it to the monastery, where the paper was later found. Since during the hearing it was Filipi who accused him that “you told them to run away, because they would all be killed after the elections, and now they will be transferred to

<sup>65</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Kornelija Filipija, 28. 10. 1945.

<sup>66</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava fra Petra Turkalja, 31. 10. 1945.

<sup>67</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Kornelija Filipija, 28. 10. 1945.

<sup>68</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava fra Petra Turkalja, 31. 10. 1945.

<sup>69</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava fra Petra Turkalja, 31. 10. 1945.

<sup>64</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava fra Petra Turkalja (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Friar Petar Turkalj), 31. 10. 1945.

<sup>65</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Kornelija Filipija (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Kornelijo Filipi), 28. 10. 1945.

<sup>66</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava fra Petra Turkalja (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Friar Petar Turkalj), 31. 10. 1945.

Spomenuti Filipi uhićen je još 22. listopada 1945., a u dosjeu fra Petra Turkalja sačuvana je tek jedna njegova izjava od 28. listopada. Filipi, rođen 2. travnja 1922. u Betini, u tom je trenutku služio kaznu od dvije i pol godine prisilnog rada zbog pripadnosti ustaškom pokretu, a na koju ga je osudio sud Splitskog vojnog područja. Filipi je naveo da je fra Petar upoznao slučajno te se oda-zvao njegovoj zamolbi da mu donosi kruh za si-romašne. Nakon nekoliko posjeta samostanu fra Petar ga je navodno pozvao na razgovor tijekom kojega ga je „upozorio u kakvim se opasnostima nalazim ja a sa mnom skupa svi logoraši, naime da će nas /sve logoraše/ poslje izbora postreljati, a manje opasne odaslati na teške robije“.<sup>70</sup> Što-više, „spominjao je da će kažnjjenici iz Mostara i okolice otići u logor Jasenovac koji da se obnav-lja za tu svrhu, zatim da će kažnjjenici iz Janku-lovice kod Biograda n/m otići u Staru Gradišku dok bi mi, odnosno oni koji bi preostali poslje streljanja, bili bi poslati u Lepoglavu ili Zenicu“.<sup>71</sup> Važno je napomenuti da je prebacivanja logoraša u druge logore doista bilo. Tako, na primjer, u dopisu Crvenom križu od 15. studenoga 1945. zapovjedništvo logora Firule potvrđuje da su od dostavljenih 11 zarobljeničkih dopisnica devet komada otpremili u Dubrovnik kamo su logoraši u međuvremenu prebačeni.<sup>72</sup> U nastavku sasluša-nja Filip napominje da je fra Petrovo upozorenje utjecalo na njega „jer sam i ranije tu stvar čuo u logoru od ostalih kažnjjenika, koji su radili na komandi druge baze, i tu im je navodno zaprijetio neki zastavnik da će svi kažnjjenici poslje izbora biti poslani u podzemne bataljone“.<sup>73</sup> Navodno mu je stoga fra Petar predložio da pobegne iz logora zajedno s još nekoliko logoraša, da se o tome nikome ne povjerava te da će mu naknadno

other places“,<sup>67</sup> Friar Petar stated in his testimony that he did not remember his words well, but that he may have really said that “if the situation changes, the more prominent Ustaša could get hurt and it would be better for them to hide”.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, Friar Petar pointed out that throughout his life he helped and advocated for the poor, advocated peace among people, tried to prevent persecution and killing, and that what he did against “today’s government” he did “only to save heads, and not in the intention to overthrow the current regime” because “by sending the people to the forest, I did not intend for those people to be sent to the fight against the government, but only to take shelter”.<sup>69</sup>

The aforementioned Filipi was arrested on October 22, 1945, and only one of his statements from October 28 was preserved in Friar Petar Turkalj's file. Filipi, born on April 2, 1922 in Betina, at that moment was serving out a sentence of two and a half years of forced labour for being a member of the Ustaša movement, as sentenced by the court of the Split military area. Filipi stated that he met Friar Petar by chance and that he responded to his request to bring him bread for the poor. After several visits to the monastery, friar Petar allegedly invited him for a conversation, during which he “warned me of the dangers I and all the camp inmates were in, namely that after the election we/all the camp inmates/ would be shot, and the less dangerous would be sent to hard labour”.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, “he mentioned that the prisoners from Mostar and the surrounding area would be sent to the Jasenovac camp, which was being rebuilt for that purpose, then that the prisoners from Jankulovica near Biograd n/m would go to Stara Gradiška, while we, that is, those who remained after the shooting, would be sent to Lepoglava or Zenica”.<sup>71</sup> It is important to note that the transfers of inmates to other camps actually occurred. So, for example, in a letter to the Red Cross dated November

<sup>70</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Kornelija Filipija, 28. 10. 1945.

<sup>71</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Kornelija Filipija, 28. 10. 1945.

<sup>72</sup> HR-DAS-265, Oblasni odbor Crvenog križa za Dalmaciju, kut. 1, Obavijest zapovjedništva logora Firule, 15. 11. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji... 2011: 536; Partizanska i komunistička represija... 2011: 611; Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e... 2017: 416.*

<sup>73</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Kornelija Filipija, 28. 10. 1945.

<sup>67</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Kornelija Filipija (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Kornelijo Filipi), 28. 10. 1945.

<sup>68</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava fra Petra Turkalja (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Friar Petar Turkalj), 31. 10. 1945.

<sup>69</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava fra Petra Turkalja (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Friar Petar Turkalj), 31. 10. 1945.

<sup>70</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Kornelija Filipija (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Kornelijo Filipi), 28. 10. 1945.

<sup>71</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Kornelija Filipija (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Kornelijo Filipi), 28. 10. 1945.

objasniti detalje plana. Čini se da se taj dio izjave djelomično razlikuje od fra Petrove izjave iz koje proizlazi da je Filipi bio taj koji je spomenuo nekoliko kažnjenika koji bi bježali zajedno s njim.

Filipi dalje navodi da ga je drugom prilikom fra Petar upoznao s još dvije osobe od kojih je jedan bio Đuro Levar. Razgovaralo se o detaljima planiranog bijega prilikom čega se fra Petar navodno obvezao osigurati kamion za prijevoz, a Filipi se na prijedlog njemu nepoznate osobe koja je nazočila sastanku obvezao donijeti osobne isprave iz tiskare. Ipak, za razliku od fra Petra, Filipi navodi da je jedan od druge dvojice koji su nazočili sastanku obećao dogovoriti se s fotografom radi izrade fotografija za osobne isprave. Nadalje, pojavio se problem s pečatom Gradskog narodnog odbora, a s obzirom na to da je Levar namjeravao otići u Zagreb, Filipija su zamolili da ih ondje poveže s nekim tko bi mogao izraditi pečat. Filipi se pismom obratio svom bivšem šefu Stanku Draženoviću, no Levara nije susreo nakon njegova povratka iz Zagreba, stoga mu je ishod ostao nepoznat.

U međuvremenu je Filipi u gradu susreo Ivana Hrštića kojeg je poznavao iz logora. Hrštić mu je spomenuo da održava vezu s križarima u okolini Unešića te ga je pozvao da im se pridruži. Također mu je kazao da se uputio kod biskupa gdje je trebao preuzeti poslanice. Zbog toga mu je Filipi predložio da zajedno odu kod fra Petra koji će mu zasigurno dati tražene poslanice. Hrštić je fra Petru opširno govorio o vezama s križarima zbog čega mu je fra Petar iznio svoj plan. Stoga je Hrštić obećao pripremiti kamion.<sup>74</sup> Ti navodi odgovaraju izjavi fra Petra Turkalja, iako ih Filipi opisuje sa znatno više detalja. Filipi je potvrđio i navode fra Petra o većoj količini papira koju mu je dostavio početkom listopada 1945. godine.

Treći suošumnjičeni Dragutin Homolka, rođen 5. srpnja 1922. u Zagrebu, uhićen je još sredinom rujna 1945. U svom iskazu Homolka potvrđuje navode fra Petra da mu je dostavljaо kruh za siromašne te da su se s vremenom upustili u razgovore političke naravi. Homolka ističe da „samo, uvidivši da ne simpatiše ovaj poredak,

<sup>74</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Kornelija Filipija, 28. 10. 1945.

15. 1945, the Firule camp command confirms that out of the 11 prisoner's papers, nine pieces were shipped to Dubrovnik, where the prisoners were transferred in the meantime.<sup>72</sup> In the continuation of the hearing, Filipi noted that Friar Petar's warning had an effect on him "because I had previously heard about this matter from other prisoners in the camp, who were working at the command of another base, where they were allegedly threatened by an ensign that after the elections, all of the prisoners would be sent to underground battalions".<sup>73</sup> Therefore, Friar Petar allegedly suggested to him an escape from the camp with several other prisoners, and that he should not confide to anyone about this, and he would explain the details of the plan to him later. That part of the statement seems to be partially different from Friar Petar's statement, from which it appears that Filipi was the one who mentioned several other prisoners that would escape with him. Filipi further states that on another occasion Friar Petar introduced him to two other people, one of whom was Đuro Levar. They discussed the details of the planned escape, during which Friar Petar allegedly undertook to secure a truck for the transportation, and Filipi, at the suggestion of a person unknown to him that was present at the meeting, undertook to bring personal documents from the printing house. However, in contrast to Friar Petar, Filipi stated that one of the other two persons that attended the meeting, promised to make arrangements with a photographer that would take photos for the personal documents. Furthermore, there was a problem with the seal of the City People's Committee, and given that Levar had intended to go to Zagreb, Filipi was asked to connect them with someone there who could create a seal. Filipi wrote a letter to his former boss Stanko Draženović, but he did not meet Levar until after he returned from Zagreb, so the outcome was unknown to him.

In the meantime, Filipi met Ivan Hrštić in the city, whom he knew from the camp. Hrštić mentioned to him that he was in contact with the crusaders in the vicinity of Unešić and invited him to join them. He also told him that he was on his way to the bishop where he

<sup>72</sup> HR-DAS-265, Oblasni odbor Crvenog križa za Dalmaciju, kut. 1, Obavijest zapovjedništva logora Firule (District Committee of the Red Cross for Dalmatia, box 1, Notice by the command of the Firule camp), 15. 11. 1945.; *Zločini i teror u Dalmaciji...* 2011: 536; *Partizanska i komunistička represija...* 2011: 611; *Split i srednja Dalmacija u dokumentima OZN-e i UDB-e...* 2017: 416.

<sup>73</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Kornelija Filipija (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Kornelijo Filipi), 28. 10. 1945.

iz čistog interesovanja počeo potvrđivati njegove navode i par puta se istračao u želji da mu se prikažem kao istomišljenik<sup>75</sup>. Stoga je kazao fra Petru „da i ja imam svoj specijalni zadatak i kad bi vlasti znale tko sam ja da bi loše prošao“<sup>76</sup>. Fra Petar ga je pozvao na razgovor u samostan gdje se Homolka susreo s još jednim čovjekom. „Sa njim bi imalo bježati još dvanaest-trinaest ljudi, ali da će on još nekoga glavnijeg pitati“, navodi Homolka kazavši da su ga tada pitali za kamion za Livno ili Zadar kojim bi se ti ljudi prebacili.<sup>77</sup> Homolka je tada spomenuo da i on poznaje četiri osobe koje bi trebalo prebaciti, no „stvar je poprimila ozbiljan karakter“ zbog čega je počeo izbjegavati fra Petra.<sup>78</sup>

Homolkina izjava ne podudara se u potpunosti s navodima fra Petra iz čije prethodno citirane izjave proizlazi da je zapravo Homolka započeo s upitima o prebacivanju u križare uz napomenu da „za to ima mogućnosti“<sup>79</sup>. Iako se i Homolkina i Filipijeva izjava naizgled podudaraju s izjavom fra Petra, činjenica jest da su ga obojica znatno teretila napomenama da je on bio taj koji je njih poticao na bijeg, odnosno na pomaganje pri bijegu. To je ujedno i ključna razlika između citiranih izjava koja je zasigurno otežala položaj fra Petra Turkalja i doprinijela strožoj presudi.

Dana 15. siječnja 1946. u prostorijama OZNA-e za grad Split saslušan je i spomenuti Đuro Levar, rođen 14. ožujka 1917. u Graberju kod Kloštar Ivanića, iako u svojstvu svjedoka, a ne suosumnjičenog. Levar je naveo da je fra Petra upoznao u kolovozu 1945. u magazinu OPH-a.<sup>80</sup> Tom ga je prilikom fra Petar pozvao u samostan gdje ga je upoznao s Kornelijom Filipijem, tada kažnjениkom u logoru Firule u Splitu. Naknadno

was supposed to receive the missives. Due to this Filipi suggested to him that they go together to Friar Petar, who would surely give him the requested missives. Hrštić spoke to Friar Petar extensively about his connections with the crusaders, which is why Friar Petar presented his plan to him. Therefore, Hrštić promised to secure a truck.<sup>74</sup> These statements correspond to Friar Petar Turkalj's statement, although Filipi describes them in much more detail. Filipi also confirmed Friar Petar's statements about the large amount of paper that he delivered to him at the beginning of October 1945. The third co-suspect, Dragutin Homolka, born on July 5, 1922 in Zagreb, was arrested in mid-September 1945. In his statement, Homolka confirmed Friar Petar's allegations that he delivered bread for the poor to him, and that over time they engaged in discussions of a political nature. Homolka pointed out that “by realizing that he did not like this system, out of pure interest I started to support his statements, and a couple of times I got ahead of myself in the desire to present myself as a sympathiser”<sup>75</sup>. Therefore, he said to Friar Petar that “I also have my own special task and if the authorities knew who I was, it would not go well for me”<sup>76</sup>. Friar Petar invited him to the monastery for a conversation, where Homolka met another man. “Twelve or thirteen people would escape with him, but he would have to ask someone with more authority,” Homolka stated, saying that he was then asked about a truck to Livno or Zadar in which these people would be transferred.<sup>77</sup> Homolka then mentioned that he also knew of four people that needed to be transferred, but “the matter took on a serious character”, which is why he began to avoid Friar Petar.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>74</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Kornelija Filipija (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Kornelijo Filipi), 28. 10. 1945.

<sup>75</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Dragutina Homolke, nedatirano (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Dragutin Homolka, undated).

<sup>76</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Dragutina Homolke, nedatirano (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Dragutin Homolka, undated).

<sup>77</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Dragutina Homolke, nedatirano (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Dragutin Homolka, undated).

<sup>78</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Dragutina Homolke, nedatirano (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Dragutin Homolka, undated).

<sup>75</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Dragutina Homolke, nedatirano.

<sup>76</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Dragutina Homolke, nedatirano.

<sup>77</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Dragutina Homolke, nedatirano.

<sup>78</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Dragutina Homolke, nedatirano.

<sup>79</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava fra Petra Turkalja, 31. 10. 1945.

<sup>80</sup> Iz dostupnih dokumenata je nejasno na što se odnosi spomenuta kratica.

ga je fra Petar navodno počeo nagovarati da se pridruži križarima obećavši mu da će se brinuti za njegovu suprugu i djecu. „Tom prilikom mi je također rekao da ubijam sve što sretnem, a što nosi petokraku na čelu“, ističe Levar, no „uz sve to ja nisam nikako htio ići u šumu i gledao sam na svaki način da se istog otresem“.<sup>81</sup> Prilikom drugog sastanka u samostanu, kojemu je prisustvovao i Filipi, navodno je pripremljen plan bijega logoraša iz logora Firule koji je trebao organizirati upravo Filipi, a od Levara je zatraženo da pribavi kopiju pečata Upravnog odjela Gradskog narodnog odbora. „Od tada nisam sa istima htio imati nikakove veze i uopće s njima nisam više govorio“, zaključuje Levar svoj iskaz preskočivši u cijelosti odlazak u Zagreb gdje je trebao preuzeti spomenuti pečat preko veze koju je uspostavio Filipi.<sup>82</sup> Upravo je Levarova izjava ona koja je najteže teretila fra Petra Turkalja, a s obzirom na to da se Levar nije našao na optuženičkoj klupi, opravdano se postavlja pitanje je li se nagodio s lokalnom OZNA-om osiguravši svoju slobodu u zamjenu za što teže terećenje fra Petra. Ipak, neobično je to da je Levarova izjava datirana tjedan dana nakon što je Okružni narodni sud u Splitu proglašio fra Petra Turkalja, Kornelija Filipija i Dragutina Homolku krivima.

O slučaju fra Petra Turkalja pisala je *Slobodna Dalmacija* u broju od 29. prosinca 1945. godine. U tekstu pod naslovom „Otac Pero Turkalj organizirao je u kolovozu o. g. u Splitu ilegalnu ustašku bandu“ taj se slučaj stavlja u znatno širi kontekst tadašnjih obračuna komunističkih vlasti s Katoličkom Crkvom. Tako se u uvodu spomenutog novinskog teksta navodi sljedeće:

„Cjelokupna naša štampa u Hrvatskoj donosi zadnjih dana dokumente o izdajničkom radu jednog dijela visokog katoličkog klera, koji dokazuju usku povezanost tog dijela klera s ustaškim zlikovcima. Predsjednik Narodne vlade Hrvatske dr. Vladimir Bakarić u razgovoru s novinarima iznio je

Homolka's statement does not completely coincide with Friar Petar's statements, from whose previously quoted statement it follows that it was in fact Homolka who started inquiring about the transfer to the crusaders, noting that "he had the means for that".<sup>79</sup> Although both Homolka's and Filipi's statements seem to coincide with Friar Petar's statement, the fact is that both of them heavily accused him by remarking that he was the one who encouraged them to escape, that is, to help others escape. This is also the key difference between the quoted statements, which certainly made the position of Friar Petar Turkalj even more difficult and contributed to a harsher verdict.

On January 15, 1946, the aforementioned Đuro Levar, born on March 14, 1917, in Graberje near Kloštar Ivanić, was questioned in the premises of the OZNA for the city of Split, although as a witness and not as a co-suspect. Levar stated that he met Friar Petar in August of 1945 in the OPH warehouse.<sup>80</sup> On that occasion, Friar Petar invited him to the monastery where he introduced him to Kornelijo Filipi, a prisoner in the Firule camp in Split. Subsequently, Friar Petar allegedly began persuading him to join the crusaders, promising to take care of his wife and children. "On that occasion, he also told me to kill everyone wearing a five-pointed star on their forehead," Levar pointed out, but "despite all that, I did not want to go into the forest and I was looking to get away from that".<sup>81</sup> During the second meeting in the monastery, which was also attended by Filipi, a plan for the escape of camp prisoners from the Firule camp was allegedly prepared, which was supposed to be organized by Filipi, and Levar was asked to obtain a copy of the seal of the Administrative Department of the City People's Committee. "From that point on, I didn't want to have anything to do with them and I didn't talk to them at all," Levar concludes his statement, completely skipping the trip to Zagreb where he was supposed to receive the said seal through the connection established by Filipi.<sup>82</sup> It was precisely Levar's statement that incriminated Friar Petar Turkalj most heavily, and given that Levar was not

<sup>79</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava fra Petra Turkalja (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Friar Petar Turkalj), 31. 10. 1945.

<sup>80</sup> It is unclear from the available documents what the mentioned abbreviation refers to.

<sup>81</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Đure Levara (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Đuro Levar), 15. 1. 1946.

<sup>82</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Đure Levara (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Statement by Đuro Levar), 15. 1. 1946.

<sup>81</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Đure Levara, 15. 1. 1946.

<sup>82</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Izjava Đure Levara, 15. 1. 1946.

dokumente o aktivnosti katoličkih svećenika iz najbliže okoline nadbiskupa dra Stepinca, koji govore o tome da je jedan dio klera i poslije oslobođenja zemlje i poslije poraza fašizma i poslije nego li je mogao da vidi rad naše narodne vlasti za dobro naroda i dalje nastavio raditi protiv naših naroda i narodne slobode. Taj dio klera je nastavio svoju petokolonašku rabotu. Otkriće ilegalne organizacije u Dalmaciji u kojoj je jedan svećenik, otac Pero Turkalj iz Slunja, igrao ulogu organizatora i vodje, samo je jedan potvrda više da medju katoličkim klerom još i danas ima svećenika koji pokušavaju da rade protiv postojećeg državnog uredjenja Demokratske Federativne Republike Jugoslavije i protiv osnovnih demokratskih i političkih tekovina oslobođilačkog rata našeg naroda.”<sup>83</sup>

U istom broju *Slobodne Dalmacije* najavljeno je suđenje koje je održano 7. i 8. siječnja 1946. O tome je izvjestila *Slobodna Dalmacija* u broju od 9. siječnja. U tekstu pod naslovom „Osudjeni članovi ilegalne družine koja je pripremala bijeg robijaša“ ističe se da „fra Turkalj vrlo oprezno i mudro, a ponkad čak i žučljivo odgovara, te nastoji da narodni sud stekne uvjerenje o nekoj njegovoj nevinosti i čovjekoljublju“.<sup>84</sup> Tijekom rasprave saslušan je svjedok Rafael S. Poljokan Salamonov, činovnik iz Banje Luke, koji je naveo da „on sa još šest članova svoje obitelji duguje zahvalnost fra Peri Turkalju što im je spasio život i sklonio ih u samostan, iako su Nijemci bili oglasili da će svaki onaj koji sakrije Jevreja biti strijeljan“, a fra Petar zauzvrat nikada nije tražio nikakvu protuuslugu.<sup>85</sup> No to svjedočenje neće imati utjecaj na samu presudu u kojoj će se kao jedina olakšavajuća okolnost uzeti fra Petrova neporočnost.<sup>86</sup>

accused, it is a legitimate question whether he had settled with the local OZNA by severely incriminating Friar Petar in exchange for securing his freedom. However, it is unusual that Levar's statement was dated a week after the District People's Court in Split had found Friar Petar Turkalj, Kornelijo Filipi and Dragutin Homolka guilty.

*Slobodna Dalmacija* wrote about the case of Friar Petar Turkalj in the issue of December 29, 1945. In the text entitled “Father Pero Turkalj organized an illegal Ustaša gang in Split in August of this year”, this case is placed in a much broader context of the confrontations between the communist authorities and the Catholic Church at the time. Thus, the following is stated in the introduction of the aforementioned newspaper text:

“These days, our entire press in Croatia has brought to light documents about the treacherous work of a part of the high Catholic clergy, which prove the close connection of that part of the clergy with the Ustaša villains. The President of the Croatian People's Government, Dr. Vladimir Bakarić, in a conversation with the journalists, presented documents on the activities of Catholic priests from the closest circle of the Archbishop Dr. Stepinac, which indicate that a part of the clergy, even after the liberation of the country, and after the defeat of fascism, and after it was able to see the work of our people's government for the good of the people, continued to work against our people and people's freedom. That part of the clergy continued their fifth-column activities. The discovery of an illegal organization in Dalmatia in which a priest, Father Pero Turkalj from Slunj, played the role of an organizer and leader, is just a further confirmation that today among the Catholic clergy there are still priests who try to work against the existing government of the Democratic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and against the basic democratic and political achievements of the liberation war of our nation.”<sup>83</sup>

In the same issue of *Slobodna Dalmacija*, the trial was announced, and it was held on January 7 and 8, 1946. *Slobodna Dalmacija* reported on it in the issue from January 9. In the text entitled “The members of the illegal

<sup>83</sup> „Otac Pero Turkalj organizirao je u kolovozu o.g. u Splitu ilegalnu ustašku bandu,“ *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 29. 12. 1945., 2.

<sup>84</sup> „Osudjeni članovi ilegalne družine koja je pripremala bijeg robijaša,“ *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 9. 1. 1946, 3.

<sup>85</sup> „Osudjeni članovi ilegalne družine koja je pripremala bijeg robijaša,“ *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 9. 1. 1946, 3.

<sup>86</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda, 7. i 8. 1. 1946.

<sup>83</sup> „Otac Pero Turkalj organizirao je u kolovozu o.g. u Splitu ilegalnu ustašku bandu (In August of this year, Father Pero Turkalj organized the illegal Ustaša gang in Split),“ *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 29. 12. 1945., 2.

## NEUSPJEŠNA ŽALBA I SMRT FRA PETRA TURKALJA

Fra Petar Turkalj i Kornelijo Filipi osuđeni su na sedam godina zatvora s prisilnim radom i dve godine gubitka građanskih i političkih prava, a Dragutin Homolka na tri godine zatvora i jednu godinu gubitka građanskih i političkih prava. Konfiscirana im je cjelokupna pokretna i nepokretna imovina. U presudi se ističe da „optuženi potječu iz istog kruga odgoja, koji ih je razvio do privrženika iste ideologije“ jer je Filipi „odgojen u školi samostana“, a Homolka je „od malih nogu član Marijine kongregacije“.<sup>87</sup> „Ova se dvojica brzo upoznavaju sa optuženikom fra Perom Turkaljom, gvardijanom samostana trećeg reda u Splitu, koji, kako sam priznaje na raspravi, pod ustašom smatra da je dobar Hrvat koji voli svoju vjeru i svoju domovinu, a partizanom drži onoga koji se borio da Hrvatska dodje opet pod srpsku hegemoniju te koji je svoj borbom doveo do više sotonskog uredjenja“, navodi se dalje u presudi.<sup>88</sup> Također se Homolki i Filipiju predbacuje nezahvalnost prema novom poretku. Tako se ističe da je Filipi izdržavao svoju kaznu „u potpunoj slobodi, radeći u Oblasnoj štampariji kao svaki drugi slobodan gradjanin i bez ikakvog biljega na sebi da bi on bio logoraš kreće se po Splitu potpuno slobodan“.<sup>89</sup> S druge strane, Homolka, „bivši zapovjednik tečaja za ustaške ratne novinare, dakle zapovjednik tečaja, gdje se mladost podučavala u lažnu i otrovnu ustašku propagandu, osobito uperenu protiv narodnooslobodilačkog pokreta, dobiva u Splitu namještenje, u komu vlada takvo izobilje da čak razdava hranu kako mu se prohtije, dok drugi koji su stavljali na kocku svoju glavu bilo u borbi, bilo u ilegalnom radu, znaju da trpe raznu oskudicu“.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>87</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda, 7. i 8. 1. 1946.

<sup>88</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda, 7. i 8. 1. 1946.

<sup>89</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda, 7. i 8. 1. 1946.

<sup>90</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda, 7. i 8. 1. 1946.

group that arranged the escape of prisoners are sentenced” it was pointed out that “Friar Turkalj replies very cautiously and wisely, and sometimes even bitterly, and tries to convince the people’s court of his innocence and philanthropy”<sup>84</sup> During the hearing, the witness Rafael S. Poljokan Salamonov, a clerk from Banja Luka, stated that “he and six other members of his family owe thanks to Friar Pero Turkalj for saving their lives and sheltering them in a monastery, even though the Germans had announced that anyone harbouring a Jew would be shot”, yet Friar Petar never asked for any favours in return.<sup>85</sup> However, this testimony would not have an impact on the verdict itself, and Friar Petar’s virtue would be taken as the only mitigating circumstance.<sup>86</sup>

## THE UNSUCCESSFUL APPEAL AND DEATH OF FRIAR PETAR TURKALJ

Friar Petar Turkalj and Kornelijo Filipi were sentenced to seven years of prison with forced labor and two years of loss of civil and political rights, and Dragutin Homolka to three years of prison and one year of loss of civil and political rights. Their entire movable and immovable property was confiscated. The verdict states that “the defendants come from the same circle of upbringing, which developed them into adherents of the same ideology” because Filipi was “raised in a monastery school” and Homolka “has been a member of Mary’s congregation from an early age”<sup>87</sup> The verdict further states: “These two quickly became acquainted with the accused Friar Pero Turkalj, the abbot of the monastery of the third order in Split, who, as he himself admitted at the trial, considers an Ustaša to be a good Croat who loves his religion and his homeland, and considers a partisan those who have fought for the renewed Serbian rule of hegemony in Croatia, and those whose struggle

<sup>84</sup> „Osudjeni članovi ilegalne družine koja je pripremala bijeg robijaša (The members of the illegal gang that organised the prisoners’ escape have been convicted), “Slobodna Dalmacija, 9. 1. 1946, 3.

<sup>85</sup> „Osudjeni članovi ilegalne družine koja je pripremala bijeg robijaša (The members of the illegal gang that organised the prisoners’ escape have been convicted), “Slobodna Dalmacija, 9. 1. 1946, 3.

<sup>86</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, The Verdict), January 7-8 1946.

<sup>87</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, The Verdict, January 7-8 1946.

Veći dio presude sastavljen je u obliku pripovijetke u kojoj ostaje nejasno što su utvrđene činjenice, a što fikcija optužbe. Tako se u pojedinim dijelovima navodi da je „vjerojatno istina“ ili „možda je istinito“, bez kritičnog promišljanja, analize i pokušaja utvrđivanja činjeničnog stanja iako se i u samoj presudi priznaje da postoji „nesklad“ između pojedinih iskaza optuženika.<sup>91</sup> Sud zaključuje da je mržnja „otrovala“ fra Petra. „Okolnost da je optuženi Turkalj pomogao Jevrejima za vrijeme njemačke okupacije ne može utjecati na sam učin<sup>92</sup> radi kojega je on optužen, jer se to nije dogadjalo u isto doba kad i učin“ pa „iskazivanje pomoći Jevrejima za vrijeme njemačko-ustaške okupacije s jedne strane, a mržnja prema današnjem poretku s druge, nije nešto što jedno drugo isključuje“.<sup>93</sup> Presuda je zaključena sljedećim riječima:

“Sud je imao pred očima pri odmjerenu kazne okolnost da su gotovo sva djela kojima se pokušalo doći do cilja, ostala u stepenu pripreme, ali ipak u jednom već organizovanom skupu s podjeljenim uloga-ma. Ove sve radnje u tom organizovanom skupu jasno su već izrazile cilj i ako one same nisu došle do ostvarenja. Nije došlo do ostvarenja lažnih isprava, do organizovanja kažnjenika za bijeg kao ni do organizovanja prevoza. Razlog zašto nije došlo do ovoga jeste brzo uapšenje optuženika, jer sve do uapšenja čekao se lažni pečat iz Zagreba. Zakon kažnjava svaku radnju, usmjerenu odnosnom cilju u smislu čl. 2 Zakona o kriv. djelima protiv države i naroda. Nema dvojbe, da se je već i u tim radnjama optuženika ispoljio i pokušaj da pomognu kamišare, šaljući im nove snage, tj. da pomognu naoružane bande u smislu čl. 11 spomenutog zakona, te da su u vezi s time pokušali i umnožiti pastirsko pismo

has led to a highly satanic system”.<sup>88</sup> Homolka and Filipi were also accused of ingratitude towards the new order. Thus, it is emphasized that Filipi served his sentence “in complete freedom, working in the District Printing House like any other free citizen, and he moved around Split completely freely, and without any sign of being a prison inmate”.<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, Homolka, “the former commander of the course for Ustaša war journalists, i.e. the commander of the course, where the youth were taught false and poisonous Ustaša propaganda, especially directed against the national liberation movement, got a position in Split, in such abundance that he even distributed food as he saw fit, while the others who put their heads on the line, either in combat or in illegal work, were suffering from various deprivations”.<sup>90</sup> The greater part of the verdict is written in the form of a story in which the difference between the established facts and fictitious accusations remains unclear. Thus, in certain parts there are statements such as “probably true” or “maybe it is true”, that do not employ critical thinking, analysis, or attempt to determine the factual situation, even though it is stated in the verdict that there is a “discrepancy” between the certain testimonies by the accused.<sup>91</sup> The court concludes that hatred “has poisoned” Friar Petar. “The fact that the accused Turkalj helped the Jews during the German occupation cannot affect the very act for which he is accused,<sup>92</sup> because it did not occur at the same time as the act itself” so “helping the Jews during the German-Ustaša occupation on the one hand, and hatred towards today’s order on the other hand, are not mutually exclusive”.<sup>93</sup> The verdict was concluded with the following words:

<sup>88</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, The Verdict, January 7-8 1946.

<sup>89</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, The Verdict, January 7-8 1946.

<sup>90</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, The Verdict, January 7-8 1946.

<sup>91</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, The Verdict, January 7-8 1946.

<sup>92</sup> The word “učin” is used in the document as a synonym for an act, i.e. a deed.

<sup>93</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, The Verdict, January 7-8 1946.

<sup>91</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda, 7. i 8. 1. 1946.

<sup>92</sup> Riječ „učin“ u dokumentu se koristi kao sinonim za čin, odnosno djelo.

<sup>93</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda, 7. i 8. 1. 1946.

u svrhu propagande kod seljaka u okolini, gdje se nalaze kamišari, a što je, obzirom na cijelokupno djelovanje optuženika značilo pokušak nasilnog obaranja postojećeg državnog uredjenja, pa i propagandom preko štampe. Krivična djela protiv narodne imovine potpuno su izvršena.”<sup>94</sup>

Na takvu su se odluku žalili i optužba i obrana zbog čega je 13. veljače 1946. Vrhovni sud Hrvatske donio novu presudu kojom je uvažena žalba javnog tužitelja te preinačen dio presude u kojem je odmjerena kazna. Tom presudom kazna fra Petru Turkalju povećana je na 12 godina robije uz šest godina gubitka građanskih i političkih prava. Filipi je osuđen na 10 godina zatvora s pet godina gubitka građanskih i političkih prava, a Homolki je kazna povećana na pet godina zatvora uz tri godine gubitka građanskih i političkih prava. U obrazloženju presude ponovljeni su zaključci Okružnog narodnog suda u Splitu uz napomenu da je osnovana žalba javnog tužitelja zbog „preblago odmjerene kazne”<sup>95</sup>.

O daljnjoj sudbini fra Petra Turkalja ostao je sačuvan iznimno skroman broj dokumenata. Tako se iz kratkog dopisa OZNA-e za srednju Dalmaciju od 25. veljače 1946. doznaje da je „upravnik kaznione u Trogiru dostavio dva papira, koja je našao kod osudjenog fra Petra Turkalja“<sup>96</sup>. Na papirima su bila ispisana imena zatvorenika pa je OZNA zaključila da je popis nastao s ciljem da bude dostavljen „vani“ i otkrije stanje u kaznionici ili pomogne pri eventualnom organiziranju bijega.<sup>97</sup> Iz druge zabilješke doznajemo da je 11. lipnja 1946. fra Petar Turkalj primljen u Kazneno-popravni dom Stara Gradiška. „Ne radi nigdje, niti je radio, a vrlo je nediscipliniran, svadljiv, tvrdoglav, te je bio disciplinski kažnjavan“, navodi se u istoj zabilješki.<sup>98</sup> Štoviše, „inače je

“When determining the duration of the sentence, the court had taken into account the circumstance that almost all acts that attempted to reach the goal, had remained in the stage of preparation, but still in an already organized group with divided roles. All these actions in that organized group clearly expressed the goal, even if they did not come to fruition. The documents were not forged, the escape of the prisoners, and their transportation were not organised. The reason why this did not happen is the quick arrest of the accused, because they were waiting for the false stamp from Zagreb until the arrest. The law punishes any action aimed at the respective goal in the sense of Art. 2 of the Act on the Criminal offences against the state and people. There is no doubt that even in these actions by the accused, there was an attempt to help the renegades, by sending them new forces, i.e. to help the armed gangs in the sense of Art. 11 of the mentioned Act, and that in connection to that they tried to reproduce the shepherd's passes for the purpose of propaganda among the peasants in the vicinity, where the renegades were located, and which, considering the overall actions of the accused, implied an violent attempt to overthrow the existing state system, also through press propaganda. The criminal offences against public property have been fully committed.”<sup>94</sup>

This decision was appealed by both the prosecution and the defence, which is why on February 13, 1946, the Supreme Court of Croatia issued a new verdict that accepted the appeal of the public prosecutor and changed the part of the verdict about the duration of the sentence. In that verdict the sentence of Friar Petar Turkalj was increased to 12 years in prison with six years of loss of civil and political rights. Filipi was sentenced to 10 years in prison with five years of loss of civil and political rights, and Homolka's sentence was increased to five years of imprisonment with three years of loss of civil and political rights. In the reasoning of the verdict, the conclusions of the District People's Court in Split were repeated, noting that the appeal by the public prosecutor was founded due to “a too lenient sentence”<sup>95</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda, 7. i 8. 1. 1946.

<sup>95</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda Vrhovnog suda, 13. 2. 1946.

<sup>96</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Dopis OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju, 25. 2. 1946.

<sup>97</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Dopis OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju, 25. 2. 1946.

<sup>98</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Zabilješka o fra Petru Turkalju, nedatirano.

<sup>94</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, The Verdict, January 7-8 1946.

<sup>95</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Presuda Vrhovnog suda SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, The Verdict by the Supreme Court), 13. 2. 1946.

veliki protivnik današnjeg režima u FNRJ i očekuje promjenu”<sup>99</sup> Čini se da je u Staroj Gradiški fra Petar Turkalj više puta zatvaran u samicu, a slovio je kao „najreakcionarniji svećenik u Zavodu“.<sup>100</sup>

Puštanje na slobodu predviđeno za 31. listopada 1957. fra Petar nije dočekao. Točan datum njegove smrti ostaje nepoznat. Naime, u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji* od 10. rujna 1948., na popisu umrlih objavljenog je da je 30. kolovoza iste godine umro „Pero Turkalj, svećenik od 57 godina“.<sup>101</sup> No u kartonu osuđenika koji je sačuvan u njegovu dosjeu zabilježeno je da je umro 17. ožujka 1948. u bolnici KPD Stara Gradiška.<sup>102</sup> Kao i mnogim njegovim supatnicima, grob mu je nepoznat.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Fra Petar Turkalj, „najreakcionarniji svećenik“ KPD-a Stara Gradiška i redovnik Katoličke Crkve koja je u prvim poslijeratnim mjesecima slovila kao najopasniji protivnik novouspostavljenog komunističkog režima, bio je jedna u nizu njegovih žrtava. U razdoblju kada se taj režim nemilosrdno obračunavao sa svima onima koje je doživljavao kao prijetnju, fra Petar je pokušao ostati čovjek nastojeći nastaviti s radom koji je doživljavao svojim poslanjem. Tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata život je riskirao spašavajući Židove kojima je prijetilo uhićenje i smrt. U poslijeratnim mjesecima nastavio se brinuti o siromašnima, ali i zarobljenicima splitskih logora. U strahu za njihovu sudbinu, fra Petar je nastojao smisliti kako im sačuvati život. Kao i mnogi njegovi suvremenici, takvu je mogućnost pronašao u odlasku u „šumu“, u planinska i ruralna izolirana područja Dalmatinske zagore u kojima su već djelovale pojedine križarske skupine. Sudeći po njegovim izjavama, fra Petar je tome pristupao

An extremely modest number of documents has been preserved about the forthcoming fate of Friar Petar Turkalj. Thus, from a short letter from the OZNA for Central Dalmatia dated February 25, 1946, it is known that “the warden of the penitentiary in Trogir delivered two papers, which he found with the convicted friar Petar Turkalj”.<sup>96</sup> The papers contained the names of the prisoners, so the OZNA concluded that the list was created with the aim of being delivered to the “outside”, and revealing the situation in the penitentiary, or helping to organize a possible escape.<sup>97</sup> Another note reveals that on June 11, 1946, Friar Petar Turkalj was admitted to the Stara Gradiška Penitentiary Rehabilitation Centre. It is stated in the same note that: “He does not work anywhere, nor has he worked, and he is very undisciplined, argumentative, stubborn, and has been disciplined”.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, “otherwise, he is a great opponent of the current regime in the FNRJ and he expects a change”.<sup>99</sup> It seems that in Stara Gradiška Friar Petar Turkalj was imprisoned in solitary confinement several times, and he was known as “the most reactionary priest in the Institute”.<sup>100</sup>

Friar Petar did not meet his release scheduled for October 31, 1957. The exact date of his death remains unknown. Namely, in *Slobodna Dalmacija* from September 10, 1948, a list of the dead announced that “Pero Turkalj, a 57-year-old priest” died on August 30 of the same year.<sup>101</sup> However, the prisoner’s record, which is preserved in his file, shows that he died on March 17, 1948 in the hospital of the Stara Gradiška Penitentiary

<sup>96</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Dopis OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Letter of the OZNA for Central Dalmatia), 25. 2. 1946.

<sup>97</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Dopis OZN-e za srednju Dalmaciju (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Letter of the OZNA for Central Dalmatia), 25. 2. 1946.

<sup>98</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Zabilješka o fra Petru Turkalju, nedatirano (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Notes on Friar Petar Turkalj, undated).

<sup>99</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Zabilješka o fra Petru Turkalju, nedatirano (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Notes on Friar Petar Turkalj, undated).

<sup>100</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Zabilješka o fra Petru Turkalju (br. 2929), nedatirano (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Notes on Friar Petar Turkalj (no.2929), undated).

<sup>101</sup> Umrli (Obituaries), *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 10. 9. 1948, 5.

<sup>99</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Zabilješka o fra Petru Turkalju, nedatirano.

<sup>100</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Zabilješka o fra Petru Turkalju (br. 2929), nedatirano.

<sup>101</sup> Umrli, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 10. 9. 1948, 5.

<sup>102</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Karton osuđenika, nedatirano.

iz humanitarne perspektive, ne doživljavajući pojedince kao prijetnju bilo kojem režimu, nego isključivo kao ljudska bića čiji je život poštovao. Poništavanjem presuda iz 1946. kojima je fra Petar osuđen na dugogodišnju robiju s koje se nije vratio tek je prvi korak u zadovoljavanju pravde. Kako je prethodno rečeno, mjesto njegova ukopa, kao i u mnogim drugim slučajevima, ostaje obavijeno velom tajne. Lociranje njegova groba i omogućavanje dostojanstvenog ukopa u ime humanosti kojoj je služio bio bi svakako naredni korak koje sve žrtve totalitarnih režima zaslužuju.

Rehabilitation Centre.<sup>102</sup> Like many of his fellow sufferers, his grave is unknown.

## CONCLUSION

Friar Petar Turkalj, the “most reactionary priest” of the Stara Gradiška Penitentiary Rehabilitation Centre and a friar of the Catholic Church, which in the first post-war months was known as the most dangerous opponent of the newly established communist regime, was one of the victims of the same regime. In the period when the regime dealt mercilessly with all those that were perceived as a threat, Friar Petar tried to remain human, striving to continue the work he saw as his mission. During the World War II, he risked his life by saving Jews who were threatened with arrest and death. In the post-war months, he continued to take care of the poor, as well as the prisoners from the Split camps. Fearing for their fate, Friar Petar tried to figure out how to save their lives. Like many of his contemporaries, he found an opportunity in going to the “forest”, to the mountainous and rural isolated areas of the Dalmatian Zagora, where certain crusading groups were already active. Judging by his statements, Friar Petar approached this matter from a humanitarian perspective, not perceiving individuals as a threat to any regime, but exclusively as human beings whose lives he respected. The annulment of the verdicts from 1946, by which Friar Petar was sentenced to long-term imprisonment from which he never returned, is only the first step in serving the justice. As previously stated, the place of his burial, as in many other cases, remains shrouded in mystery. Locating his grave and enabling a dignified burial in the name of the humanity for which he served, would certainly be the next step deserved by all the victims of the totalitarian regimes.

<sup>102</sup> HR-DAS-409, SUP za Dalmaciju, Dosje fra Petra Turkalja, Karton osuđenika, nedatirano (SUP for Dalmatia, Dossier of Friar Petar Turkalj, Convict Records, undated).

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