

političkih stranaka (osiguravanje stranačkih skupova). Ubrzo se skala odbrambenih akcija širi, pa se usmjerava ne samo prema ortodoksnim protivnicima s lijeva i s desna (komunistima i četnicima), političkim suparnicima, nego i prema predstavnicima režima (žandarmetriji, državnim službenicima).

Obrazovanjem Banovine Hrvatske, tj. u drugoj fazi, Zaštita i Garda doživljavaju višestruku transformaciju. Kao što matica — HSS — postaje stranka režima, tako se i djelatnost zaštitara početkom 1940. formalno legalizira. Organizaciono usavršavanje Zaštite utiče na sve naglašenije prisustvo vojnih elemenata (pješađijska, konjička, motorizovana i obavještajna odjeljenja). Opšte nacionalno-političko i socijalno stanje sredina u kojima djeluje HSS, odnosno organizacije hrvatskog narodnog pokreta karakterizira sveopšte raslojavanje, a u Zaštiti i Gardi svojevrсна diferencijacija. Elementi nezadovoljni kompromisnom politikom sporazuma (u njenim redovima poznati kao frankovci) toliko uzimaju maha da izmiču samom vodstvu Stranke i dr Mačeku. Tok događaja u Evropi, Jugoslaviji i Hrvatskoj uticao je na proces koji je konkretne sadržine i forme ispoljio uoči i nakon šestoaprilске katastrofe 1941.

Osnivanje, djelatnost, specifična organizacija, namjena i transformacija Zaštite na tlu Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine, koliko ukazuju na specifiku jedne od organizacija »hrvatskog narodnog pokreta«, još više ukazuju na značaj procesa ne samo unutar HSS-a i markiraju pojavu novog ustaškog pokreta, koji će uskoro aktivno i otvoreno stupiti na scenu zbivanja u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini.

Tomislav Išek

THE CROAT PEASANT DEFENCE AND THE CROAT NATIONAL GUARD — THE TWO HALF-MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE CROAT PEASANT PARTY

Summary

Conceived as half-military illegal organizations, the Croatian Peasant Defence (Hrvatska seljačka zaštita) and the Croatian Peasant Guard (Hrvatska seljačka garda) had, in relation to the Croat Peasant Party (HSS) and the so-called Croatian People's Movement, a specific role. At the beginning of the first stage of their activity (1935-36), they displayed some characteristics which were common with some other political parties. Soon the scale of defensive actions was widened and directed not only against their orthodox opponents from right and left (communists, četniks), or political rivals, but also against the representatives of the regime (i.e. gendarmerie, state administration).

With the creation of Hrvatska banovina, i.e. the Banate of Croatia, (August 26, 1939), i.e. in the second stage, the Defence and the Guard underwent multiple transformation. Just as the Croat Peasant Party became a regime party, so also the activity of the members of the Defence was formally legalized at the beginning of 1940. The organizational streamlining of the Defence reveals an ever more stressed presence of military elements. The national-political and social state of affairs in places where the Croat Peasant Party was active is characterized by a total stratification, while inside the Defence and the Guard a differentiation sui generis takes place. The elements who were not satisfied with the compromising policy of the treaty (Frankovci) got so self-willed that they escaped the control of the Party leadership. The sequence of events in Europe, in Yugoslavia and in Croatia affected the process which manifested its concrete form and content on the eve of and after the catastrophe of April 6, 1941.