

# A Contribution to the Biography of Ivan Šalić

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**Summary:** *Contemporary historiography, so far, has not engaged in researching the biography of Ivan Šalić, the personal secretary of the Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac. Since the communist system was averse to Šalić and the Catholic Church in Croatia, it is not surprising that, to date, no one has made a critical review and analyzed his life and priestly service. This paper aims to show the life and significance of Ivan Šalić based on archival documents held in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb and Šalić's birthplace in Bebrina (near Slavonski Brod). Numerous postal cards and letters testify to his life, especially the period when he was imprisoned in the Stara Gradiška Penitentiary (1946–1953). The paper will present his life from birth to death and analyze the correspondence with his family to emphasize his importance for the Catholic Church in Croatia.*

**Keywords:** *Ivan Šalić, Personal Secretary of the Archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac, correspondence, Stara Gradiška Penitentiary, Catholic Church in Croatia*

## Introduction

Not much can be found in the existing literature and papers about Ivan Šalić, only information about his activities through the prism of the trial of the Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac. Therefore, this paper deals with the life of Ivan Šalić from his birth, his education and priestly service, and his significant role in the most famous trial that took place in 1946 in Zagreb, when he was on trial together with the Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac. After

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the trial, Šalić spent seven years in the Stara Gradiška prison, from where he sent hundreds of postal cards and letters to his family, which are kept in the Šalić family's private estate in Bebrina<sup>1</sup>, and describe his life in prison. After his release from prison, he was monitored, and the paper will analyze the police reports and the reports of collaborators of the Department for People's Protection (Cro. *OZNA*) (until 1946) and the State Security Administration (Cro. *UDBA*) that are kept in his file in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, as well as his service in the parish of St. Peter in Zagreb and the marriage tribunal court of the Zagreb Archdiocese. It will analyze which methods the government used to discredit and gather evidence to accuse Šalić of being a state enemy.

### 1. Šalić's education and service until the end of the Second World War

Ivan Šalić was born on June 23, 1911, in Bebrina, in the family of the blacksmith Pavle (1888<sup>2</sup>–1953) and Magdalena Šalić (née Grgić) (1887–1964) (*Uredovna potvrda*). He had a brother, Matija (1914–1941), who died of tuberculosis as a seminarian,<sup>3</sup> and a sister, Anka (1920–2003).<sup>4</sup> He spent his childhood in Bebrina, where he finished primary school, and in 1923, he enrolled in the classical gymnasium at the Archdiocesan Seminary and graduated from the newly opened Archdiocesan Classical Gymnasium in Šalata (Zagreb) in 1931 (*Oporuka; Ivo Šalić 13*). He spoke German, Italian, and partly French (*Vojna knjižica*). After Gymnasium, he continued preparing for the priesthood at the Zagreb Theological Seminary, during which he served in the Royal Yugoslav Army in Valjevo in 1934 (*Fotografije*). After graduating, he was ordained a priest on June 29, 1935,<sup>5</sup> by Archbishop Coad-

<sup>1</sup> A total of 117 postal cards and letters between Šalić and his family, from October 26, 1946, to November 7, 1953, are preserved in the private archives of the Šalić family in Bebrina and they can be reached only through relatives who have the key to Šalić's house.

<sup>2</sup> The dates of birth and death of Šalić's family were taken from *Izvjestnica*.

<sup>3</sup> In his will, Šalić states that his brother Matija died »after a long and severe illness« (*Oporuka*). In November 1960, Matija's bones were transferred from his tomb to the tomb in Mirogoj arcades at the request of Ivan Šalić (3. *izvještaj suradnika »Zlato«*).

<sup>4</sup> For his sister Anka, Šalić states: »I have a good and dear sister Anka, who was not only my sister but like a mother because she made superhuman sacrifices for me.« (*Oporuka*).

<sup>5</sup> This date of ordination is mentioned in Batelja, *Rivellijeva zavjera laži* 121. A picture was printed during his imprisonment in the Stara Gradiška prison, and Ivan Šalić was mentioned among the priests who were ordained and served the first Holy Mass in 1935. The following priests are listed on the picture: Josip Crnković, Andrija Dolenčić, Josip Gjurić, Tomo Habdija, Mijo Jagodar, Milutin Juranić, Vlado Margetić, Martin Matan, Josip Ormuž, Mato Paljug, Josip Rukelj, Martin Sakač, Ivo Šalić, Ivan Škrebilin, Josip Zlatolas, Josip Telebar, Josip Volk, with then already deceased: Ivo Gjanić (June 1943), Karlo Ivančić (Oct. 1943), Rudolf Mikec (Nov. 1944) and Ivan Posavec (Sept. 13, 1943) (*Uspomena na 15 god. ređenja*).

jutor Alojzije Stepinac (*Oporuka; Ivo Šalić* 12). Šalić's first priestly service was in Slavonska Požega, where he was appointed chaplain to the parish priest Franjo Pipinić. He stayed there for only one year because, in 1936, he was transferred to become the chaplain of the parish of St. Blaise in Zagreb, where the priest was Vladimir Kerdić (*Oporuka*). During his service in the parish of St. Blaise in Zagreb, he visited his native parish Bebrina accompanied by the Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac. It is recorded in the memorial book of Bebrina parish that the Archbishop of Zagreb Stepinac visited the parish in 1938. In Bebrina »came (...) Mr. Archbishop Dr. Alojzije Stepinac in a peasant carriage from Kobaš« on June 2, and, on June 3, he administered the sacrament of Holy Confirmation in the parishes of Bebrina and Dubočac.<sup>6</sup> This event was important for all the residents of Bebrina and Dubočac because Stepinac was accompanied by »mr. Ivan Šalić, chaplain at St. Blaise in Zagreb, born in Bebrina« (*Spomenica Župe svete Marije Magdalene*).

On November 11, 1939<sup>7</sup>, Šalić was enrolled at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome and studied canon law. He obtained his bachelor's degree<sup>8</sup> in canon law after his first year of study on June 20, 1940<sup>9</sup>, and then continued his studies and submitted his doctoral dissertation *De distinctione inter privilegium Fidei* (The distinction between the privileges of Faith) (*Nadbiskupski*). During his studies at Gregoriana, he was appointed actuary of the Archbishop's Spiritual Table (Cro. NDS)<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Bebrina parish priest wrote: »The Most Rev. Mr. Archbishop only went to school, but was otherwise not interested in the work of the parish. He simply signed the books proposed to him without examining them.« (*Spomenica župe svete Marije Magdalene*). It may be that Archbishop Stepinac was uninterested during the visit because he was in pain. Kobaš parish priest Matija Ferić wrote the following: »From Kobaš, the most reverend chief shepherd left with the dean Rev. Maretić to Bebrina via the field road (...). It seems that this trip harmed the chief shepherd, because he was in terrible pain in the church in Bebrina, and in the evening the pain subsided, so there was no need for a physician who came from Oriovac. At the end of that year, the chief shepherd underwent surgery on his appendix and recovered so well.« (*Spomenica župe svetog Ivana Krstitelja*). See more detailed information in: Jagodar and Berbić Kolar 177-78.

<sup>7</sup> Before leaving for Rome, Jovan A. Bvešany sent him a postal card on June 23, 1939, stating that he had many obligations at the university and sent him a photograph of the building where he would stay in Rome (Bvešany, *Dopisnica*).

<sup>8</sup> Šalić states that he passed the »Licentiate in Canon Law« (*Oporuka*), and another document states that he passed the »Master's degree (...) in the study of canon law in Rome at the Pontifical Gregorian University, where he studied from 1939 to 1941.« (*Uredovna potvrda*).

<sup>9</sup> He completed his bachelor's degree with good success (ital. *bene*) (*Diploma*). During his stay in Rome, he lived at the address Via Tomacelli 132 (*Tessera N. 313*).

<sup>10</sup> The NDS is the central administrative and advisory body of the Archdiocese of Zagreb which helps the archbishop with the management of the Archdiocese (NDS, <https://www.zg-nadbiskupija.hr/> nds, Accessed 10 Feb 2022).

in Zagreb on June 1, 1940 (Batelja, *Blaženi Alojzije Stepinac* 280). When he returned to Croatia in 1941, due to wartime circumstances, he could not return to Rome and complete his doctoral studies (*Oporuka*). After returning from Rome on December 11, 1941<sup>11</sup>, he was appointed personal secretary of the Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac and held that position until November 15, 1945 (*Nadbiskupski*). During his secretarial service, he performed the duties assigned to him by Archbishop Stepinac: he received and sent the archbishop's mail, welcomed ministers, took the archbishop's gifts to wounded Croatian fighters in Zagreb hospitals, informed priests of the archbishop's decisions, traveled with the archbishop and participated in administering the sacrament of Holy Confirmation to the Home Guard Catholics in May 1944, and other duties (*Dnevnički zapisi* 451, 457, 461, 468, 470). We will now cite the examples in which Šalić advocated for Jews and Serbs during World War II. On Stepinac's order, Šalić, together with Stjepan Lacković<sup>12</sup>, was supposed to find a way to help the Jews who were waiting on the train in Novska on March 27, 1943,<sup>13</sup> to be transported to Germany. The order was that they should not be given food or drink, but at Lacković's urging, the German officer on duty allowed them to be served a hot meal (Batelja, *Blaženi Alojzije Stepinac* 280). On May 26 of the same year, Šalić went to an interview with Filip Crvenković at the Directorate for Public Order and Security in order to intercede for Jews in mixed marriages and to try to save them from arrest (*Dnevnički zapisi* 441). Thanks to Šalić, 56 children between the ages of 4 and 14 were released from the Jasenovac camp and handed over to Caritas in 1943 (Batelja, *Blaženi Alojzije Stepinac* 280). A letter dated March 22, 1944, from Šalić to Milutin Jurčić, Director General for Public Order and Security of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), on behalf of Archbishop Stepinac, has also been preserved, asking Jurčić to release the detained Jews (Batelja, *Rivellijeva zavjera laži* 149). During the interrogation of dr. Milutin Radetić, it was established that, on the order of Archbishop Stepinac, he also helped the Serbs during the NDH. They intervened with the authorities to release Radetić from prison in the summer of 1943, and after that, a few weeks before the Yugoslav Army entered Zagreb, Šalić offered accommodation to Radetić in his room in the archbishop's palace and asked him to pass on his offer to other Serbs who

<sup>11</sup> Some documents state that he was appointed archbishop's personal secretary on November 24, 1941. (*Oporuka; Uredovna potvrda*).

<sup>12</sup> Msgr. Stjepan Lacković (1913–2007) was the secretary of Archbishop Stepinac from September 1941 to July 1945. (Batelja, *Blaženi Alojzije Stepinac* 146).

<sup>13</sup> This information was recorded by Ivan Šalić on March 29, 1943, by order of Archbishop Stepinac (Batelja, *Rivellijeva zavjera laži* 148).

felt threatened so that they could hide in the archbishop's palace (*Izjava doktora Milutina Radetića*).<sup>14</sup>

During the war, chief rabbi Miroslav Šalom Freiburger, who appreciated Stepinac and his advocacy for Jews during the Second World War, also came to the archbishop's palace. Šalić sometimes attended these meetings and stated in one testimony: »Chief rabbi dr. Freiburger used to say at the palace: 'When the war is over and when we build a new temple (synagogue), the first words of gratitude will be addressed to Archbishop Stepinac« (Batelja, *Blaženi Alojzije Stepinac* 289; *Kao Krist pred Pilatom*). As the archbishop's secretary, Šalić also took care of the documents and various archives. By order of Archbishop Stepinac, he sent a Memorandum to the new government in Croatia on June 6, 1945,<sup>15</sup> informing them that there were several boxes of documents in the basement of the archbishop's palace that Archbishop Stepinac had allowed to be stored at the request of Mehmed Alajbegović, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the NDH, »for the preservation of important documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the NDH«, due to possible bombing or destruction of the city of Zagreb (Batelja, *Rivellijeva zavjera laži* 164-65). The archives of Caritas were also kept in the archbishop's palace, so on July 5, 1945, Šalić handed over to the director of Caritas Vilim Nuk documentation on the activities of Caritas and asked him to return the documentation to the archivist of the NDS, Rev. Josip Peroš (Batelja, *Blaženi Alojzije Stepinac* 372). Ten days before his arrest, on November 4, 1945, Šalić accompanied Archbishop Stepinac to the opening of the parish in Sveta Nedjelja. In Zaprešić, some people started throwing stones and rotten eggs at the Archbishop's car and, on that occasion, they broke the windows.<sup>16</sup> It was already evident that the authorities were planning something against the archbishop. For the mentioned period, Šalić states that he performed his service in »difficult wartime circumstances and years« (*Oporuka*).

## 2. Arrest and trial

Ivan Šalić was arrested on November 15, 1945<sup>17</sup>, at 11 o'clock. At the intervention of don Giuseppe Masucci, Šalić was allowed to change his clothes and take only

<sup>14</sup> The doctor said he had treated Šalić for an ulcer at the Surgical Clinic in the spring of 1944 (*Izjava doktora Milutina Radetića*).

<sup>15</sup> The Memorandum was sent two days after Stepinac verbally informed the Prime Minister of the Federal State of Croatia, Vladimir Bakarić, during his official visit (Batelja, *Rivellijeva zavjera laži* 165).

<sup>16</sup> During the attack on the car, the archbishop's nose was slightly injured, and Šalić was not injured (Benigar 506).

<sup>17</sup> Batelja states that the police forces surrounded the archbishop's palace on November 10, 1945, and wanted to attack the archbishop, but gave up because don Giuseppe Masucci informed the British Embassy and the office of President Bakarić. Five days later, Ivan Šalić was arrested (Batelja, *Blaženi Alojzije Stepinac* 386).

the most necessary things (Benigar 512, 529). On the same day, he was questioned in the OZNA prison about cooperating with the Ustashas, a leaflet signed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party (CKKP) for the City of Zagreb, about a list of Ustasha and Home Guard officers who were sent to the camp in Kovin, the blessing of the flag in the archbishop's palace, and delivery of medicines to the Crusaders<sup>18</sup> (*Zapisnik*). After the interrogation, Šalić remained in custody, and as investigators confirmed certain suspicions of Šalić's cooperation with the Ustashas, the public prosecutor of the People's Republic of Croatia, Jakov Blažević, launched an investigation on November 20, 1945, and sentenced him to pre-trial detention. Shortly after ordering pre-trial detention, Šalić's sister Anka sent a letter to Vladimir Bakarić, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Croatia, on December 10, 1945, requesting that the proceedings against her brother be suspended or that the case be handed to »competent court for further proceedings« referring to the Constitution.<sup>19</sup> In the continuation of the letter, she emphasized that Archbishop Stepinac intervened to help the persecuted communists, partisans, Orthodox Serbs, and Jews. Stepinac was assisted in this by his secretary, Ivan Šalić, and because of that, he experienced »reproaches and humiliations«. She also gave an example of Ivan Kokot, a priest in Sveta Klara near Zagreb, who took down from the gallows and buried according to religious rites 30 partisans who were hanged by the Ustashas. Šalić helped him hide from the Ustasha authorities, who were looking for him for that act. He received him in the archbishop's palace and hid him next to his room for three weeks. In the letter, Anka Šalić emphasized that Archbishop Stepinac had launched an »office for the help of political exiles« and entrusted it to Ivan Šalić, who worked on the release of prisoners, saving them from certain death. Therefore, she demanded that Šalić be released from the OZNA prison or handed over to the public prosecutor (*Molba predsjedniku Vlade Federalne Hrvatske*). Apart from November 15, he was questioned five more times<sup>20</sup> and signed a statement

<sup>18</sup> The Crusaders were mostly members of the Croatian Armed Forces who fought guerrillas against the communist government with the aim of re-establishing the NDH after the Second World War (Radelić, *Nadbiskup Stepinac* 176).

<sup>19</sup> She stated that the Constitution stipulates that »no case can be with the police authorities for only a few days without being given to the regular court for further investigation and trial« (*Molba predsjedniku Vlade Federalne Hrvatske*).

<sup>20</sup> The second interrogation was held on December 22, 1945, and the investigators questioned him about Filip Lukas and storing personal belongings in the archdiocesan library and about the private belongings of NDH ministers Josip Balen and Pavao Canki who brought some of their belongings to the archbishop's palace. The third interrogation took place two days later, on December 24, 1945, and then Šalić had to answer questions related to the Archives of the Great Crusader Brotherhood and the activities of Caritas since May 1945. The next two interrogations took place on January 7 and 16, 1946. In the first interrogation, the questions were related to the journalist Milivoj Huber

on February 16, 1946, detailing the arrival of Erih Lisak, who was later tried in the trial of Šalić and Archbishop Stepinac (*Izjava osumnjičenog*). Šalić spent more than 11 months in the remand prison »in complete darkness, eternal solitude, in cell number 11, 1.5 meters below ground level.«<sup>21</sup> It was very difficult for him during that time and he mentions: »But there is a God, His holy mercy and faith that this hopelessness can be endured.« (*Oporuka*).

There are no records from the time spent in the remand prison regarding the attitude of OZNA members towards Šalić but, at the hearing during the trial, the public prosecutor asked Šalić how OZNA employees treated him after his arrest, and Šalić stated that he was not mistreated and that they had treated him well (*Suđenje* 79). However, in a conversation with a parishioner<sup>22</sup>, he said that he was interrogated in prison by Nedo Milunović, who often cursed him during interrogation, cursed God, and that he once wanted to hit him but did not (*1. izvještaj suradnika* »Zlato«).

The indictment against the eighteen was issued on August 28, 1946, and the proceedings against Erih Lisak<sup>23</sup>, Ivan Šalić, and others<sup>24</sup> who were charged with carrying out anti-state activities under the influence of Archbishop Stepinac, began on September 9, 1946 (Batelja, *Blaženi Alojzije Stepinac* 394, 398-99). The indictment<sup>25</sup>

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and the Pastoral Letter (which will be discussed later) and in the second interrogation, Šalić spoke about Safet Pajić and Erih Lisak. At the last interrogation, held on August 24, 1946, Šalić spoke about the time when he studied in Rome in 1940/1941 and contacts with Nikola Rušinović and NDH ministers who visited Stepinac (*Zapisnici*).

<sup>21</sup> Šalić's statement to the Postulate is also recorded: »I was completely isolated from the world. Cell no. 11, one meter below ground level, constantly without light, only some air came through the holes« (*Kao Krist pred Pilatom*).

<sup>22</sup> The exact name of the parishioner is not known, in the UDBA documents she is listed under the name »Zlato« (*1. izvještaj suradnika* »Zlato«).

<sup>23</sup> Erih Lisak (1912–1946) participated in the organization of the Ustasha movement in Italy from 1935. He returned to Croatia in 1941 with Pavelić, and in the NDH served as the head of the Supervisory Department of the Ustasha Major's Command, Grand Prefect of the Great Parish based in Zagreb. Towards the end of the war, he withdrew to Austria and later returned to Yugoslavia with the aim of organizing forces to resist the communist regime. He was arrested in October 1946 and sentenced to death (Batelja, *Blaženi Alojzije Stepinac* 394).

<sup>24</sup> The indictment also included suspects Josip Šimečki, Đuro Marić, Pavao Gulin, Josip Crnković, Modest Martinčić, Krešo Klemen, Mamert fra Margetić, Franjo fra Tiburcije Pavlek, Mika fra Kvirin Kodelnjak, Josip fra Valerije Vidović, Stjepan fra Pio Svašta, Ivan fra Leopold Ivanković, Josip fra Mladen Majnarić, Blaž Lorković, Ivan Kirin and Božidar Cerovski. Data on arrests in: *Suđenje* 3-4.

<sup>25</sup> The indictment against Šalić was divided into eight counts. In the first count, Šalić is accused of collaborating with Erih Lisak. In the second count that he received and forwarded to Archbishop Stepinac letters from the Ustasha Colonel Moškov. The third count speaks of an unknown Ustasha

alleges that Šalić was one of the »anti-national« priests and that he had cooperated with the Ustasha authorities since 1941 and supported the crimes they committed. He was accused of helping to organize and connect the Ustashes and certain groups that did not accept the new government after the war, and helping Ustasha emigrants who were returning to Croatia »to commit crimes« and providing them with accommodation and attending the blessing of the crusaders flag<sup>26</sup> in archbishop's chapel (Batelja, *Blaženi Alojzije Stepinac* 388, 395; *Suđenje* 10-3, 64). Furthermore, the indictment stated that all the acts for which Šalić was accused had been proven and that during the Ustasha regime, Šalić cooperated with the Ustashes and worked to prevent the »National liberation struggle«. It was pointed out that Šalić based his defense on his duty as the archbishop's secretary, since he admitted that he met and talked with Erih Lisak on Stepinac's order on September 21, 1945<sup>27</sup>, but the prosecution did not accept his explanation stressing that he and Lisak were talking about the possibilities of organizing a »crusade-terrorist activity« and admitted co-operation with the persons<sup>28</sup> charged in the indictment (*Suđenje* 26-7). Šalić was questioned on the fifth day of the trial<sup>29</sup>, September 13, 1946, and immediately replied to the prosecutor's first question that he felt guilty, but that they need to »determine the degree of (...) guilt« (*Suđenje* 55). The public prosecutor

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emigrant who Šalić received and brought to Archbishop Stepinac. The fourth count is related to the wife of Ustasha captain Ana Juroš, who brought Šalić a letter from Ustasha Major Mate Medvidović, which was intended for Archbishop Stepinac, and Šalić ordered Josip Crnković to procure material from Mrs. Juroš. The fifth count refers to the blessing of the crusader flag in the archbishop's palace, which was also attended by Šalić. In the sixth count, he is accused of sending a letter to Pavle Gulin in September 1945, requesting that Josip Crnković connects with the crusaders led by Moškov, who operated in Bilogora and Papuk. The seventh count accuses Šalić of sharing his typewriter with Ustasha lieutenant Safet Pajić in October 1945, who used it to write several publications and forged them with the Sarajevo City Command stamp, and for connecting him to crusader groups in the woods. The last count of the indictment states that Šalić collected medicines, instruments, and other materials, as well as information on arrested and convicted Ustasha officers and other prisoners for »Ustasha-Crusader groups« (*Suđenje* 10-3).

<sup>26</sup> The draft for the flag was made by Josip Crnković, and it was made by the nuns of the Society of the Sisters of Charity in Zagreb (Gundulićeva 12 and Frankopanska Street). Šalić was accused of giving church vestments to Josip Šimečki, who blessed the crusader flag in the archbishop's palace, and of attending the blessing of the flag, and after the dedication he treated Šimečki and Crnković to brandy in his office (*Suđenje* 17, 30, 70-2).

<sup>27</sup> During the interrogation of Archbishop Stepinac, the archbishop stated that it was more likely that the meeting with Lisak took place on September 24, rather than September 21, and that Šalić introduced him as Petrović and did not tell him that he recognized Lisak (*Suđenje* 287; Benigar 571).

<sup>28</sup> During the testimony of Zorka Zubović, who brought medical supplies to Šalić, Šalić stated that his acquaintance with the Crusaders, (»with persons connected with the Crusaders«), began on October 21, 1945. (*Svjedoci* 2).

<sup>29</sup> The hearing of Ivan Šalić was recorded on 32 pages in *Suđenje* 55-86.



called him a »criminal« and said that Archbishop Stepinac influenced Šalić's political stance with his pastoral letter<sup>30</sup> that incited him to »terrorism and aiding terrorism«; to which Šalić replied that he would be a »characterless man« if he were to accuse Archbishop Stepinac of that (Batelja, *Blaženi Alojzije Stepinac* 399-400).<sup>31</sup> During the trial, Šalić was defended by Zlatko Kuntarić<sup>32</sup>, which is why Šalić wrote to his sister Anka to pay Kuntarić as much as he asked. He advised her that, if there was not enough money, she should sell his newest vestment because there were four of them, or that she should ask for money from her cousin Branko Šalić (Šalić, *Pismo Anki Šalić od 6.10.1946.*).

After all the hearings, Šalić stated: »I regretfully admit my guilt and I repent of it from the bottom of my heart. I feel that I came to the dock more perhaps due to the post-war unsettled circumstances and unsettled spirits, which is so to speak the regular occurrence of every war, and especially this one, which was led by the same ideas as weapons. I hope that the People's Government will soon gain a deep assurance that I have thoroughly improved and that I will be not only loyal but also a useful member of the new state of the Republic of Yugoslavia.« (*Suđenje* 447). In the closing remarks, the public prosecutor Jakov Blažević stressed that Šalić was dishonest during the trial and that he, together with the other accused, was trying to put his guilt on others, and that he was accidentally involved in all the events for which he was accused (*Optuženi*). On October 11, 1946, the Supreme Court of the People's Republic of Croatia in Zagreb, in a show trial<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The pastoral letter adopted by the Bishops' Conference was sent by Archbishop Stepinac on September 23, 1945, to all »state authorities of federal units, regional parish offices, and the Holy See.« The aim of the letter was to »establish the injustices inflicted on the Catholic Church in the SFRY and warn the people of their religious rights (schools, religious education, church marriage, Catholic press, Catholic printers, seminary, research institutes, etc.)« (Batelja, *Blaženi Alojzije Stepinac* 411).

<sup>31</sup> After the arrest of Archbishop Stepinac, it was said at Kaptol that Šalić was hypnotized because they believed that he would not admit the acts he was charged with and the accusations against Archbishop Stepinac. Priests in Zagreb condemned Šalić for his behavior in court, and Mother Magdalena, the superior of the Ursuline monastery, said that Šalić was too young and should not have been the archbishop's secretary. (*Dnevnički zapisi* 508, 510, 511, 514-15).

<sup>32</sup> Zlatko Kuntarić (1900–1979), a lawyer who represented Ivan Šalić at the trial. He also defended many priests, monks, and nuns and did not take a fee for it. During Šalić's trial, he selected a group of priests and lawyers who *ex officio* assisted the defenders and prepared the necessary documentation for the defense; »canons dr. Nikola Kolarek and dr. Antun Slamić, Antun Ivandija, secretary in the Archdiocese, theologian Mijo Pišonić, don Ante Radić and dr. Lav Znidarčić« (Lončarević).

<sup>33</sup> Today, no one disputes that the whole process was rigged, and the historian Radelić states the arguments for it in the book called *Križari gerila* 130-9 and the paper *Nadbiskup Stepinac* 180-3. Šalić stated the same: »The whole trial against Archbishop Stepinac was a show« (*Kao Krist pred Pilatom*).

»Lisak, Stepinac<sup>34</sup>, Šalić and company«<sup>35</sup>, sentenced Šalić to strict imprisonment with forced labor for a period of 12 years and a loss of political and civil rights for five years under Article 4 paragraph 1<sup>36</sup> of the Act on Crimes against the People and the State (*Suđenje 468; Odobrenje*). After the trial, Šalić was transported to the Stara Gradiška Penitentiary on October 24, where he served his prison sentence.

### 3. Life in prison

Šalić's life in the Stara Gradiška Penitentiary can only be traced from the correspondence with his family. He sent postal cards and letters to his father Pavle, mother Manda, and sister Anka who lived in Bebrina. A total of 117 postal cards and letters<sup>37</sup> between Šalić and his family, from October 26, 1946, to November 7, 1953, are preserved in the private archives of the Šalić family in Bebrina. Ivan Šalić was registered in Stara Gradiška under number 4293 (Šalić, *Dopisnica Pavlu Šaliću od 10.2.1948.*).

After the trial, he sent his first postal card to his uncle Đuro Šalić<sup>38</sup>, informing him that he had come to the Stara Gradiška Penitentiary on October 24 and that he was held in Department I, room no. 3<sup>39</sup> of the Institute for Forced Labor. He immedi-

<sup>34</sup> In his will, Šalić mentions that the Archbishop of Zagreb and Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac sent him several »beautiful letters« kept by his sister Anka. He also states that in 1978, from Rome, through the Archbishop of Zagreb, Msgr. Franjo Kuharić, he received about 430 questions about Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac, used to investigate the life of Cardinal Stepinac through »still living witnesses«, because material is being collected for declaring him a »Servant of God« and then »Blessed«. He states that he answered about 350 questions and that he confirmed them with an oath and that they were sent to Rome (*Oporuka*). In addition, after Stepinac's death, in private prayers, he sought the intercession of his »late Archbishop, whom he personally considered a saint« (*Ivo Šalić 12*).

<sup>35</sup> The trial of Šalić is also mentioned in the memorial book of Bebrina parish. The parish priest Augustin Kralj states in 1946: »On 17. IX., our Archbishop Most Reverend Dr. Alojzije Stepinac was deprived of liberty ( ... ) And the trial of Lisak, Šalić, and others was used to carry it out, where the connection between the accused and the archbishop was aggressively emphasized« (*Spomenica župe svete Marije Magdalene*).

<sup>36</sup> Article 4 paragraph 1 of the Act states: »Deeds from Art. 3 of this Act, with the exception of deeds from item 14 and from Art. 3a, shall be punished by deprivation of liberty with forced labor for at least three years, the confiscation of property and the loss of political and individual civil rights, and in the presence of particularly aggravating circumstances, the death penalty« (*Zakon*).

<sup>37</sup> Only the most important data will be mentioned in this paper because there is enough information in postal cards and letters for another scientific paper.

<sup>38</sup> Đuro Šalić (1885–1952) was the brother of Šalić's father Pavle. Ivan also wrote to his uncle in March 1951, but there is no information as to whether he received an answer from him (Šalić, *Dopisnica Pavlu Šaliću od 10.4.1951.*).

<sup>39</sup> He remained in room no. 3 until January 1947, when he was moved to room no. 19; in May, he was in room no. 4; in August, in room no. 18; and since October, he was in room no. 21. In De-

ately mentioned that he had health problems with his teeth and that they would have to be removed (Šalić, *Dopisnica Đuri Šaliću od 26.10.1946.*)<sup>40</sup> He wrote to his parents in November because he was allowed to send one letter per month. He complained to them about dental problems and stated that he was expecting a visit from his sister because he needed clothes and food that he could receive from outside (Šalić, *Dopisnica Pavlu Šaliću od 19.11.1946.*). In subsequent postal cards and letters to his family, he wrote that he was in good health<sup>41</sup> and thanked them for packages of food, clothes, cigarettes, money, soap, toothbrush and toothpaste, shoe polish, paper, stamps, medicines, and vitamins. In December 1946 and January 1947, he complained that his uncle Đuro and cousin Branko had not yet contacted him and that he had a bruise on his right side (Šalić, *Dopisnice Anki Šalić od 18.12.1946.; 23.1.1947.*). By December 1947, he had sent only five postal cards informing his parents and sister of the packages and visits he had received. In December, he reported from the hospital where he had been since early December because a beam fell on his right foot and his leg was in a cast, and he was in the prison hospital until February 9, 1948 (Šalić, *Dopisnice Pavlu Šaliću od 15.12.1947.; 10.2.1948.*). During 1948, his parents sent him one or more packages a month (as allowed), and in late August, he asked for teeth repairing material but did not repair them until June 1950. (Šalić, *Dopisnice Pavlu Šaliću od 25.8.1948.; 3.11.1948.*)<sup>42</sup> Until September 1949, he wrote to his family regularly, and then on September 15, his parents received a postal card with an illegible signature, informing them that they will not be able to visit or send him packages until October 6.<sup>43</sup> In the

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ember 1948, he was in room no. 9, and from May to August 1949, he was in Department II, room no. 7, and then room no. 8. In January 1950, he was transferred to Department I room 29, and in May 1951, he stated that he was in Department II, and from June 1952, in Department I. In September 1953, he was transferred to building II, Department IV and remained there until leaving the Penitentiary (Šalić, *Dopisnice Anki Šalić od 23.1., 17.5. i 5.10.1947.; Dopisnice Pavlu Šaliću od 2.8.1947., 2.12.1948. 12.5. i 15.8.1949., 9.1.1950., 10.5.1951.; Dopisnice Mandi Šalić od 20.6.1952. i 20.9.1953.*).

<sup>40</sup> In the postal card, he lists the rules regarding visits, receiving food parcels and mail, and who needs to be informed about where he is (Šalić, *Dopisnica Đuri Šaliću od 26.10.1946.*).

<sup>41</sup> He had a cold from December 1949 to February 1950, and he complained about the pain in the cervical gland in August 1951 (Šalić, *Dopisnice Pavlu Šaliću od 5.12.1949.; 15.2.1950.; 24.8.1951.*).

<sup>42</sup> A letter from his sister Anka to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Zagreb from 1950 has been preserved, asking for permission for her brother's teeth to be repaired, and in May of the same year, Ivan asked his sister to bring him his teeth (Šalić, *Pismo Ministarstvu unutrašnjih poslova; Šalić, Dopisnice Pavlu Šaliću od 8.5.; 25.5.; 11.7.1950.; Pismo Pavlu Šaliću od 26.6.1950.*).

<sup>43</sup> Apart from the illegible signature, this postal card is also suspicious because, in addition to the stamp of the post office in Bebrina, it also bears the stamp of the post office Dubrovnik 2 dated September 16. All other postal cards bear the stamp of the post office of Stara Gradiška (*Dopisnica Pavlu Šaliću*).

letter dated October 17, Šalić does not state the reason why they could not write to him or visit him (Šalić, *Dopisnica Pavlu Šaliću od 17.10.1949.*). From July 15 to 24, 1950, he moved to the wasteland and worked there, but on July 24, he had to return to the Penitentiary due to health problems (colon), so he spent some time in the Penitentiary clinic in Stara Gradiška (Šalić, *Pismo Pavlu Šaliću od 1.8.1950.*). As his health did not get better, he was transferred to the »Holy Spirit« Clinical Hospital in Zagreb in September, where he was treated with special therapy for two months and he returned to Stara Gradiška on November 24 (Šalić, *Dopisnice Pavlu Šaliću od 15. i 24.11.1950.*)<sup>44</sup> He continued to send letters every month, informing the family of the packages he had received and asking them to contact him more often. In January 1951, he told his parents that they could sell his two vestments because he did not need them (Šalić, *Dopisnica Pavlu Šaliću od 25.1.1951.*). An unknown person from the Penitentiary sent a postal card to his parents in September 1951, stating that Šalić could not receive packages or visits until October 15, because he had been punished for sharing bread.<sup>45</sup> Since his father Pavao passed away on September 20, 1951, Anka went to Zagreb and asked Fran Ivšić, whose brother Krešimir was a prisoner in the Penitentiary, to inform Ivan about his father's death (Ivšić). In the following postal cards, he wrote about caring for his sister and mother. He begged them to write to him more often and was interested in the field work and household chores (Šalić, *Dopisnice Mandi Šalić od 25.10.; 15. i 25.11.; 10.12.1951.*). In the postal cards from 1952 and 1953, he worried about his mother's and sister's health and the condition of the roof on the house.

While serving his prison sentence, he worked in the wasteland, then in a garden, and in May 1951, he stated that he worked in a tailor shop (Šalić, *Dopisnice Pavlu Šaliću od 13.6.1949. i 10.5.1951.*). During his time in prison, he was most often visited by his sister Anka, and sometimes by his father Pavao<sup>46</sup>. Due to his dedicated work, in June 1950, he was praised and placed in higher categories, so he could receive more visitors and talk to them, but that did not last long. Also, he was allowed to send two letters a month and receive more packages (Šalić, *Dopisnice Pavlu Šaliću od 8.5. i 8.6.1950.*). Some nuns contacted him by letter, but he was disappointed that those he hoped would contact him did not (Šalić, *Dopisnica Anki Šalić od*

<sup>44</sup> He was treated with therapy because he had problems with hemorrhoids, and the problems reappeared in March 1952, and he mentioned the possibility of surgery (Šalić, *Dopisnica Mandi Šalić od 30.3.1952.*).

<sup>45</sup> The signature on the letter states: »This is written to you by his friend (...) Lj« (Šalić, *Dopisnica Pavlu Šaliću od 16.9.1951.*). This postal card is suspicious because Šalić sent postal cards on September 15 and 25, asking his parents not to visit him or send packages until October 13. (Šalić, *Dopisnice Pavlu Šaliću od 15. i 25.9.1951.*)

<sup>46</sup> He mentions his father in May and July 1950 (Šalić, *Dopisnice Pavlu Šaliću od 8.5. i 11.7.1950.*)

23.1.1947.). During his time in prison, he was tortured more than other prisoners. He spent two and a half months in solitary confinement in the basement, which left serious consequences on his health (*1. izvještaj suradnika »Zlato«*).

#### **4. Petitions for pardon and opinions of the Stara Gradiška Penitentiary administration on prison behavior**

While serving his sentence, Šalić's parents, Pavao and Magdalena, asked for pardon for their son two times. The first petition for pardon was sent to the Presidium of the National Assembly of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY) in Belgrade via the Supreme Court of the People's Republic of Croatia in Zagreb on June 21, 1949. They stated that Šalić was tried in one of the largest trials in FPRY and that this process was of world importance because he was tried together with Archbishop Stepinac. They emphasized Šalić's role as the archbishop's secretary who performed his secretarial duties: receiving and giving letters, messages, and information. They then referred to his guilty plea, remorse, and promise of »improving and loyalty«<sup>47</sup> and concluded that Šalić's priestly vocation could give meaning to his future life. In the end, they stated that they were old and infirm and that they did not want to lose their son, who was starting to get very weak (*Molba Prezidijumu*). The Presidium of the National Assembly of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia considered the petition of Šalić's parents at the session held on November 19, 1949 (together with the petitions for the pardon of Josip Crnković and Josip Šimečki) and decided to reject them without further explanation (*Odluka*). The parents sent a second petition to the Presidium of the Parliament of the People's Republic of Croatia two years later, on June 13, 1951, requesting that Šalić be pardoned and released or that he be released on parole. The petition was conceived in five points. In the first point, they listed his personal information and conviction. In the second point, they stated that it has been five years and six months since Šalić's arrest and that he has decided to make amends. The third point was about remorse and loyalty to the authorities and state laws, and the fourth was about his behavior while serving his sentence in the Penitentiary.<sup>48</sup> In the fifth point, they stated that they are already old and that their son is their only hope and help for the future (*Molba Prezidijumu Sabora*).

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<sup>47</sup> The petition states that Šalić has been in prison for a long time and that a third of his sentence has passed and they considered that this was enough time to »complete the development of correction and re-education, which had begun before the court hearing and had already moved quite far during the hearing« (*Molba Prezidijumu*).

<sup>48</sup> His parents emphasized that he had been praised several times by the Penitentiary warden and that he had received a cash prize on May 1, 1950 (*Molba Prezidijumu Sabora*).

Two reports on Šalić's behavior in the Stara Gradiška Penitentiary have also been preserved. The first report was written in Stara Gradiška on December 5, 1952, stating that Šalić was withdrawn and that he did not associate with other priests and prisoners, and that he did not express a negative opinion on the state system. Therefore, the »re-education officer« suggested that Šalić be the first to be released because he promised to the officer that he would be »loyal, (...) actively work on cultural and educational work in the area where he will be a priest (...) and that he will help with the bookkeeping in the cooperative« because he will no longer work on Kaptol (*Podaci*). The report said he was despised and shunned by other priests in prison for his confession in court, but ultimately it expressed a negative opinion because the writer of the report described him as an »excessive careerist« and a »terrible coward« because he only cares about himself, not for others. It was concluded that Šalić would not be interested in cooperating with the authorities, but that he could become »a very dangerous agent of the Vatican and some of the foreign intelligence services« because in that way he would rehabilitate himself (*Podaci*). The second report describes, in more detail, Šalić's change of opinion in relation to the state system and the relationship between the Catholic Church and the FPRY. The report was written on November 24, 1953, two days before his parole, so it can be concluded that the report is one of the reasons why Šalić was released on parole from the Stara Gradiška Penitentiary. It states that the convict is »very vague and hesitant« and that re-education in the institution made him a »character servant« and that he is powerless to do anything »either for the benefit of today or against, because he is timid« (*Podaci o vladanju*). It is further mentioned that Šalić often had periods of crisis and that he could therefore be made a loyal member of society who would cooperate with the people's government and the Society of Catholic Priests<sup>49</sup>. After his imprisonment in 1946, and until 1951, Šalić was consistent and did not comment on the social order, and in 1951, he signed, with several other imprisoned priests, a declaration of loyalty with a request for release. From 1951 to 1953, he began to change his opinion, according to the report, and began to express himself affirmatively about the state of society. It is pointed out that in his discussion »The position and role of the clergy in the

<sup>49</sup> The first Class Association of Catholic Priests was the Istrian Society of Priests of St. Cyril and Methodius, founded by Božo Milanović in Pazin on September 16, 1948. It should be noted that some bishops approved the establishment of societies, while Archbishop Stepinac was against it. Therefore, on April 26, 1950, the Bishops' Conference decided that the membership in such societies was »not recommended« and in September 1952, they decided that the membership in such societies was forbidden. Regardless of the recommendations of the Bishops' Conference, the Class Association of Catholic Priests of the People's Republic of Croatia was founded in Zagreb on November 12, 1953, and the UDBA demanded that as many priests as possible be present at the founding assembly (Akmadža 14-5, 57, 71-2, 308).

new Yugoslavia« he made a statement that the Church can act according to constitutional principles and that it has enough land after the agrarian reform and that it can accept the Act on Church Communities. He also spoke positively about the Class Associations of Catholic priests in Yugoslavia<sup>50</sup>, and in a negative context, he mentioned the Vatican as part of Italian imperialism which has certain pretensions to neighboring states (*Podaci o vladanju*). Because of his words and his behavior in the Penitentiary, the officer gave a positive opinion on Šalić's release on parole.

## 5. Life after release from prison

Šalić was released on parole on November 26, 1953, by a decision of the State Secretary for Internal Affairs of the People's Republic of Croatia. Until the expiration of the sentence (November 15, 1957), he was assigned Zagreb as his place of residence and had to report to the Directorate for Internal Affairs of the National Committee of the City of Zagreb, and he could change his residence only with the approval of the State Secretary for Internal Affairs of the People's Republic of Croatia (*Odobrenje*). After his release from prison, he was appointed parish vicar in the parish of St. Peter in Zagreb in 1954, and, from April 14, 1955 (*Imenovanje br. 2489*) to 1967<sup>51</sup>, he served as chaplain. He was appointed pastor of the same parish on July 27, 1967<sup>52</sup>, and held that position until April 14, 1981 (*Oporuka*). During the fourteen-year service as the pastor of the parish of St. Peter in Zagreb, Šalić did a lot. He states: »During the pastorate, the parish church was completely renovated on the inside with the understanding of good and dear parishioners: everything was decorated, a new council altar, all new pews, new chandeliers, electric clock, confessionals, public address system, heating, the organs was repaired

<sup>50</sup> The report states that Šalić sent a letter to the Central Executive Committee of the Association of Catholic Priests in Croatia in which he offered cooperation after his release from prison (*Podaci o vladanju*). However, Šalić never joined the Society, and he even criticized some priests who joined the Society (*1. izvještaj suradnika »Zlato«; 3. izvještaj suradnika »Dean«*).

<sup>51</sup> Coadjutor Archbishop Franjo Šeper transferred Ivan Šalić to the post of chaplain in the parish of Kutina and he was introduced to the office on April 12, 1958. In the transfer, Šeper stated the following: »This transfer is of temporary importance. Upon the arrival of the permanent chaplain in Kutina, you will return to duty in the parish of St. Peter in Zagreb« (*Premještaj Ivana Šalića od 8.4.1958.*). Nine days later, he was transferred as a chaplain to Slavenska Požega, where he was introduced to the office on April 21, 1958, and the Vicar General made the same remark as Coadjutor Archbishop Šeper because it was an appointment »as needed« (*Premještaj Ivana Šalića od 11.4.1958.*).

<sup>52</sup> Đuro Katunar wrote to Šalić on August 25, 1967, congratulating him on his appointment as pastor of the parish of St. Peter: »Be assured that I am very happy and that I am looking forward to it from the bottom of my heart. And I congratulate you, although I know that this is a heavy burden on you. However, knowing you and your soul completely devoted to God's Providence, I am sure that you will happily lead the many souls entrusted to you to eternity« (Katunar).

several time, the Stations of the Cross, and the statue of Our Lady of Fatima«. In addition, Šalić decorated the rectory and three religious halls. He collaborated with the Sisters of the Precious Blood of Jesus who took care of the parish house and church (*Oporuka*). He dedicated his days »especially to prayer, care for the spiritual education of young believers, preparation of young people for marriage, attending the sick and encouraging frequent access to confession and communion« (*Ivo Šalić 12*).

For each departure from Zagreb, he had to obtain the consent of the authorities. Immediately after his release from prison, he received consent to visit his native Bebrina, so he had to report to the Department of Internal Affairs of the Slavon-ski Brod District Supervisory Board, which he did on December 3, 1953, and they made him a military record book stating that he was deployed to the medical service as a paramedic, so he reported to the Military Department in Slavon-ski Brod and Zagreb from 1953 to 1955.<sup>53</sup> He was in Zagreb on February 20, 1954, and he again stayed in Bebrina from August 2 to 12 of the same year (*Odobrenje*). As his health condition deteriorated after his release from prison (heart and nerve problems, rheumatism, sciatica), he was treated in Zagreb and outside Zagreb. For this reason, he wrote to the authorities to allow him to go to Selce from September 5 to October 6, 1954, to treat his heart and nerves, on the recommendation of a specialist doctor. After that, he wanted to travel to the »Split sulfur spa« from October 6 to 26 of the same year to treat his rheumatism and sciatica<sup>54</sup> (*Šalić, Molba za dozvolom za boravak u Selcima i Splitu*). At the end of the same year, he applied for a permit to visit his mother and sister from December 15, 1954, to January 15, 1955 (*Šalić, Molba za dozvolom za boravak u Bebrini*) and from June 4 to 12, 1956 (*Odobrenje*). On January 31, 1956, Archbishop Coadju-tor Franjo Šeper appointed Ivan Šalić judge of the »second petition« marriage tribunal court of the Zagreb Archdiocese and he took the oath before the Arch-bishop's Ordinariate (*Imenovanje br. 17*). The following year, Šalić was appointed »Defender of the Marriage Bond of the Second Petition« of the Zagreb Archdi-ocese and took the oath *de munere fideliter exercendo* (Eng. to faithfully perform duty) (*Imenovanje br. 44*).

<sup>53</sup> After reporting to the military department in Slavon-ski Brod on December 3, 1953, he reported in February 1954, in Zagreb, to the National Committee of the Municipality Črnomerec on March 18, 1954, and to the National Committee of the Municipality Medveščak on May 11, 1955 (*Vojna knjižica*).

<sup>54</sup> There is no information on whether he was allowed to go to Split and Selce. However, the treat-ment did not help him to heal because he could not endure standing long, so he had to lean his back on something during the homily (*1. izvještaj suradnika »Zlato«*).



After the time of parole and Šalić's prison sentence had passed (November 15, 1957), he remained under government surveillance.<sup>55</sup> Two official records have been preserved in Šalić's file. The first was written on January 17, 1959, in the premises of the Secretariat of Internal Affairs of the National Committee of the City of Zagreb, where Šalić was interrogated for half an hour regarding his homily as chaplain on December 26, 1958. In his statement to the officer Boris Horvat, Šalić said that he did not criticize the situation in the FPRY when he spoke about denying faith in exchange for a better position and a higher salary, but that he spoke about the situation in the world in general (*Uredovna zabilježba od 17.1.1959*). The second note was made three days later, on January 20, 1959, because Šalić was questioned about his relations with the Koludrović and Đačić families and had to comment again on the homily on the »bloodless victim« he had already commented on January 17 (*Uredovna zabilježba od 20.1.1959*). He was still followed wherever he went. Thus, the file contains information compiled by the Secretariat of Internal Affairs of the National Committee of the District Split on April 28, 1959, regarding Šalić's stay on the island of Hvar from April 11 to 18 and his activities.<sup>56</sup> Several reports of UDBA collaborators who spied on Šalić have also been preserved. Six reports on conversations with Šalić (October 28, November 7, November 18, December 20, 1960, February 25, March 16, 1961) have been preserved from the collaborator »Zlato«, in which she states how she tried to seduce Šalić (see 1.-5., 7. *izvještaj suradnika »Zlato«*). In three preserved reports, collaborator »Nikola« informed UDBA about Šalić's homilies and conversations about the artist Marijan Premrl (January 13 and 18, 1961) (*Izvještaji suradnika »Nikola«*). Four reports have been preserved from collaborator »Dean«, which mention Šalić's comments on UDBA monitoring bishops, the French elections and the possible poisoning of comrade Josip Broz Tito in the USSR, criticizing the Society of Catholic Priests, and the demolition of the church in Kozara Bok in Zagreb (November 6, December 22, 1962, January 14, 1963, June 6, 1966).<sup>57</sup>

Šalić died during the Holy Week, on April 14, 1981, and was buried in the tomb of the parish priest of St. Peter in Zagreb's Mirogoj on Holy Thursday, April 16, 1981 (*Uredovna potvrda*). The funeral was led by the Archbishop of Zagreb and

<sup>55</sup> Šalić knew that the UDBA was following him all the time and recording his homilies, which he mentioned in a conversation with a parishioner who worked for the UDBA (1. *izvještaj suradnika »Zlato«*).

<sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> The report is detailed and mentions the hotel where Šalić stayed, the restaurant where he ate, that he asked the receptionist not to list him as a priest but as a clerk, the names of the priests he met with, his socializing with the sales assistant Milan Šušnić from Zagreb, etc. (*Informacija*).

<sup>57</sup> According to the information that the collaborator »Dean« had, it can be concluded that he was a priest (See more detailed in *Izvještaji suradnika »Dean«*).

Metropolitan Franjo Kuharić and was attended by many priests and believers (Ivo Šalić 12-3). The notification that Šalić died is kept in his file together with other information about him. He wrote about himself: »May the merciful God judge and will judge my inner spiritual life. In a special way, I presented and directed my intentions every day in honor of the Mother of God, St. Joseph, St. Peter, and Croatian saints and blessed ones. I prayed the holy rosary regularly, both in freedom and in prison. I never missed praying the breviary and the holy mass. Every year, I performed spiritual exercises either in Zagreb, and several times in Opatija« (*Oporuka*).

## Conclusion

Ivan Šalić is an important person in many respects: as a young man from a peasant family, he managed to study in Zagreb, and then in Vatican, and later play one of the most important roles in the structure of the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia, the office of the personal secretary of the Archbishop of Zagreb. The significance is even greater if we consider the time period in which it happened – the Second World War – which brought with it great changes in political, cultural, public, religious, and every other sphere. Šalić performed his secretarial duties and helped many Jews and Serbs who sought help, on the orders of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac. That is why he cooperated with individuals from the NDH government, to help others. He was an operative who did not refuse the tasks entrusted to him, which is why he was tried and sentenced to 12 years and loss of political and civil rights for 5 years. He did not renounce his faith and priestly service in prison, so after his release, he was sent to St. Peter's Parish in Zagreb, where he served until his death. Those were not easy times for him because he was a target of UDBA's collaborators whom he successfully resisted and because of the attitude of other priests towards him because of his testimony in court during the trial. But he persevered in his vocation and served as a priest until his death.

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## PRILOG BIOGRAFIJI IVANA ŠALIĆA

Josip JAGODAR\*

**Sažetak:** *Suvremena historiografija dosad se nije bavila biografijom Ivana Šalića, osobnoga tajnika zagrebačkoga nadbiskupa Alojzija Stepinca. Budući da je komunistički sustav bio nesklon Šaliću i Katoličkoj Crkvi u Hrvatskoj, ne čudi da nitko do danas nije napravio kritički pregled i analizirao njegov život i svećeničku službu. Ovim se radom želi prikazati životni put i važnost Ivana Šalića na temelju arhivskih dokumenata pohranjenih u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu u Zagrebu i Šalićevoj rodnoj kući u Bebrini (kod Slavonskoga Broda). Brojne dopisnice i pisma svjedoče o njegovu životu, osobito o razdoblju kada je bio zatvoren u Kazneno-popravnom domu u Staroj Gradiški (1946. – 1953.). U radu će se prikazati njegov život od rođenja do smrti te analizirati korespondencija s obitelji kako bi se istaknula njegova važnost za Katoličku Crkvu u Hrvatskoj.*

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