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Two Visits — Two Eras: The Canadian Tours of Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty, 1947 and 1973

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Members of the generation who lived through the Cold War no doubt know the name of Joseph (in Hungarian József) Mindszenty who became a world-famous symbol of the struggle against communism. Many saw in him a "victim of history" a "martyr from behind the Iron Curtain" while others called him the "Hungarian Ghandi" or just a "stubborn old gentleman." These were just a few of the epithets that people — depending on their sympathies or temperament — applied to Cardinal Mindszenty, the last of the Hungarian prelates who also held the title Prince Primate of Hungary. In his long life (1892–1975) he toured Canada twice, the first time in 1947 when he was in the prime of his life and then again in 1973 when he was nearing the end of his earthly existence. Each of these tours had an impact, in more than insignificant manner, on his future. The first trip contributed to his being arrested after returning to an increasingly communist-dominated Hungary, subjected to a show trial and being condemned to life imprisonment; while the second visit acted as a factor in his removal by the Holy See from his position as the Archbishop of Esztergom, the highest-ranking prelate of Hungary.

The 1947 Visit

At the time of Mindszenty's first trip to Canada, Hungary was in the midst of a campaign by the country's Communists and their allies to "separate" church and state and to break the churches' influence. Although formally Hungary was still being governed by a coalition government, a communist political system was well on its way of being foisted on the country's population. Under these circumstances conflict between the Hungarian state and the Catholic Church became endemic. The roots of this development can be traced on the one hand to communist ideology and on the other to the widespread

perception by Catholics in the country that a communist takeover will follow the same revolutionary and anti-church model as it did in Russia after 1917. As Pope Pius XII's Under-Secretary of State Domenico Tardini had already predicted in 1943 that, since the Soviet Union will survive the war, the peaceful and orderly co-existence of European nations will become impossible and in the "not too far future we'll face a new tragic war."[1] For Soviet leader Joseph Stalin until 1948 the security of his country was more important than the rapid bolshevization of all of Eastern Europe and good neighbourly relations counted for more than the creation of still more Soviet-style republics; that is for him the preservation of the wartime anti-fascist alliance was still essential, so in some Soviet-occupied countries he tolerated the search for national paths and did not make the Soviet model compulsory, not even in the matter of policy regarding the churches. This situation changed only at the end of 1947 and the beginning of 1948 — and the era of war-time and post-war Allied cooperation came to an end.

In regard to the situation of the Catholic Church it should be pointed out that although *de jure* in Hungary there had been no state religion since 1848, some of the Church's traditional privileges had not been abrogated by the country's bourgeois transformation. Until the mid-19th century the Prince Primate was considered the Hungarian Kingdom's highest ranking lay authority second only to the sovereign. By the 20th century such feudal ranks had lost their meaning and became mere symbols. Even during the time of the Dual Monarchy the public role of the Prince Primate was restricted to the crowning of the King while during the interwar period even this role lost its significance in a kingdom that had no king. (At the time Hungary was still a kingdom but the country's head-of-state, Miklós Horthy, was a politician who belonged to the Reformed Church.) In September of 1946 the top prelate of the Catholic Church became József Mindszenty, a man of enormous commitment and mission. He put his considerable energy into fighting for his Church's interests, for the preservation of a relationship between the country's regime and his Church that respected the latter's traditional position.

The question can be asked why Pope Pius XII, who had the choice of several individuals, selected Mindszenty for this sensitive assignment? Why not someone who might have been more flexible and accommodating in his dealings with his country's post-war political leadership? There can be no doubt that what was needed was a prelate with strong character, and unassailable personality and a "clean" past. Mindszenthy, because of his monarchist past, could not be identified the Horthy regime — and his opposition to the country's right-radicals was recognized throughout the country. His anti-

Nazi stance, even if it had not been of an outspoken variety, was also known. For a pro-German Pope who in 1946 continued to look to Germany as Europe's bastion against communist expansion, Mindszenty's record recommended him for the position of Prince Primate of Hungary. Pius XII must have seen Mindszenty as the determined and uncompromising individual who could best lead the Church in Hungary threatened as it was by expanding Bolshevik influence. By his decision Pius XII made clear how he thought the Church should respond to the challenge communism posed to Europe in the post-war world.

Mindszenty considered himself not just a symbolic first flag bearer in the expected attack on religion and the churches but he believed himself, as Prince Primate of Hungary, to be the actual embodiment of this role as the country's highest-ranking lay authority. The problem was that by 1945 Hungary had ceased to be a monarchy and with that change the foundation of the Prince Primate's role as a public figure had also changed. Mindszenty had apparently acknowledged this fact, at least he did not refute it in public, but deep down in his soul he remained a monarchist to the end of his life.

If we have to describe the nature of church-state relations for the period of Mindszenty's time as Archbishop of Esztergom and Prince Primate of Hungary in one word, that word would be *resistance*. He wanted to be a hero, the hero of confrontation with bolshevism — and not a master of compromises. He lacked the capacity to understand post-war Hungarian society, the fundamental changes that it had undergone as a result of which the legal implications of the role of the country's Prince Primate appeared in a different content. János Drahos, Vicar-general who in his life had served under four Princes Primate, the last time under Cardinal Justinian Serédi, saw the essence of the changed situation as follows:

> While law and order ruled in Hungary, the Lord placed an outstanding legal expert [Serédi] as the head of the Archdiocese of Esztergom… [but] now the age of rational arguments and reasoning has come to an end. The time of conflict has arrived. In the streets long-haired, belligerent youths are running around with machine guns… Therefore the Lord has sent us a Primate armed with a "gun". The true embodiment of Mindszenty is struggle.[2]

The logical basis of Mindszenty's behaviour and tactics was the belief that in East Central Europe a great transformation was about to happen. It cannot be denied that the struggle against atheism served also political ends and it brought him popularity but also criticism — and not only from left-wing political parties. It is also a fact that Hungary's government did not remedy the

Church's accumulating grievances. Despite documented requests, no diplomatic relations were established with the Holy See, the publication of a Catholic newspaper was not authorized, the associations that had been dissolved in 1946 were not restored, religious processions were not allowed, and attempts to establish a Catholic confessional party failed.

In the spring of 1947 a new disagreement developed between the Hungarian state and the churches that surpassed in severity all their previous confrontations. The conflict was over education and it began when the ruling coalition government decided that, in accordance with the provisions of the 1946 Act I guaranteeing the freedom of religion in the country, the teaching of religion had to be made optional. A huge wave of protest against this ruling surprised even the politicians. It became obvious that the program of gradually secularizing the country's schools got shipwrecked on the churches' pervasive influence over the masses. Before the law calling for the introduction of optional religious education could be passed, it was — at least for the time being — removed from Parliament's legislative agenda. In the meantime the plans for restoring diplomatic relations with the Vatican were also derailed. The government could not reach any agreement with the Holy See, while Mindszenty received a virtual free hand from Rome. The parties of the coalition, including even the Communist Party, reacted to the situation with a campaign to befriend the public. A visible example of this approach was the permission to hold the 20 August St. Stephen's Day religious procession. During it the Cardinal, accompanied by members of the Council of Bishops dressed in full ecclesiastic regalia, paraded the sacred relics of the country's first king in front of the adoring masses of the faithful as well as thousands of monks and nuns — and even some politicians. Later Mindszenty deemed these months the period of "olive branch politics."[3] It was during this time that he received, without any trouble, his passport for his planned North American tour. How unusual this development was is illustrated by the fact that only a year earlier he got the permission to visit Rome only at the last moment.

It was during these months of olive branch politics, but still against the background of a tense political situation, that in June of 1947 Mindszenty undertook his visit to North America. He had been invited by Alexandre Vachon, the Archbishop of Ottawa, to participate in a congress dedicated to the Virgin Mary and celebrating the centennial of the Archbishopric of Ottawa. The proceedings of this Marian Congress were to be held from the 18th to the 22nd of June. Mindszenty was accompanied on his trip by András Zakar, his secretary who also served as the Cardinal's interpreter. The farewell Mindszenty gave at the time of his departure from Hungary: "God bless and

lead the Hungarian people" gave rise to speculations that perhaps the Prince Primate was not planning to return to his native land since a few week's absence does not call for a good-bye with such pathos.[4] Many argued that just at the time of elections in Austria Mindszenty's absence from Central Europe was ill-timed. "It appears that such an excursion is more important for him than the future of Austria's Catholics" someone complained.[5] Mindszenty however, had good reasons to go. He wanted to be better informed about world affairs and he hoped that with his presence in Canada he could enhance the image of the Hungarian Catholic Church abroad. In the planned Marian Congress eight Cardinals were to participate and three of the eight were from Europe: in addition to Mindszenty there was Cardinal Pierre-Marie Gerlier, the Archbishop of Lyon, France; and Cardinal Joseph Frings, the Archbishop of Cologne, Germany. Mindszenty was the youngest of the three.

According to the event organizers the gathering's purpose was to undertake preparations for the establishment of a just world. They stressed that the Congress was not a legislative or advisory assembly, it was authorized only to bring together representatives of the Catholic World to pray and call attention to the struggle waged for the creation of a just world. The Government of Canada gave full moral and material support to the Congress. Pope Pius XII did not take part in the gathering — he was not a "travelling pope" — but he appointed Cardinal James Charles McGuigan, the Archbishop of Toronto, as his personal representative. McGuigan presided over the Congress' most important proceedings and celebrated the high holy mass held on the last day. For this day a special delegation arrived from Rome to help McGuigan in the performance of his tasks. The Congress was also attended by representatives of the Canadian Government, a fact that was protested by a convention of the Baptist Church of Canada held simultaneously in British Columbia. "Such participation," complained the Baptists, "show the [Catholic] Congress before the world as if it was the business of Canada only, as if it had the blessing of the Canadian Government that ignored the convictions of the country's Protestant community."[6]

During Mindszenty's visit, there was another religious gathering taking place, this one in Montreal. It was the convention of the Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne (JOC) or Young Christian Workers that had been founded in the mid-1920s in Belgium. The opening ceremonies of this gathering, held on June 24 at the University of Montreal, were presided over by Mindszenty. Representatives came from 48 countries and five continents and they gave Mindszenty a ten minute ovation as he entered the auditorium. No other cardinal was present at this event but their absence was compensated for by the great many letters of congratulations and thanks Mindszenty received in

connection with his participation in this event. June 24 also happened to be the holy day of St-Jean-Baptiste, the patron saint of French Canada. In the traditional St-Jean-Baptiste procession of the day, out of respect for Mindszenty, the Hungarian flag was prominently displayed and the masses of onlookers who were venerating the Virgin Mary were also paying their respects to Hungary.[7]

The Marian Congress presented an opportunity for protesting against atomic weapons but it also gave a chance to the participants to voice their opposition to communism — something which more Congress attendees did than was anticipated. Before the closing ceremony Cardinal Joseph Spellman of New York brought up the spectre of the Third World War.[8] His reputation gave much weight to his words and it is not surprising that Mindszenty shared his opinion.

In addition to the official proceedings there were various private functions as well. Through the efforts of Pál Zsámboky, a priest stationed at the time in New York but long time earlier the confessor to Emperor-King Charles IV of Austria-Hungary, Mindszenty managed to get an audience with Charles' widow, the Empress Zita who was living at the time in a nursing home in Ottawa.[9]

After the celebrations in Montreal Mindszenty travelled to New York City but before then he met with Otto Habsburg the claimant to the Hungarian throne.[10] From András Zakar's reminiscences we know what they talked about: the establishment with American support of a confederation of Catholic states in East-Central Europe under Habsburg auspices — an idea that had been discussed in Washington but had been dropped by the end of 1943 or the beginning of 1944. Mindszenty acknowledged only that in these conversations with Otto, the Habsburg Archduke advised any monarchists in Hungary to be cautious. According to Mindszenty, Otto did not call on monarchists to organize a movement, instead he urged them to take leading positions in political parties and in public life.[11] The same information was reported to the Hungarian secret police in May of 1948. After his return to Hungary, Mindszenty conveyed Otto's message to István Kray a royalist politician: Otto had advised his supporters "not to risk their freedom while [Hungary] was under Soviet occupation." It should be mentioned that by this time Kray was an agent codenamed Magasházy working for Hungary's political police.[12]

Reflecting on all this in an interview Archduke Otto gave in 1993 he denied that in his talks with Mindszenty in 1947 they daydreamed about the restoration of the Habsburg Monarchy since this would have certainly been a grotesque idea. "We exchanged views about how Hungary could be helped in

reducing poverty in the country and how the [Catholic] Church could be aided."[13] (Of course we cannot really know what exactly had been said nearly half-a-century earlier by an ambitious young man who was unaware of the situation in Hungary.)

In New York Mindszenty was the guest of Cardinal Spellman who counselled him to give the widely respected Otto Habsburg authorization to act on behalf of Mindszenty in case it would be needed, considering Hungary's precarious situation and the fact that even in America helping Hungary was becoming a difficult proposition. In response to this plea Mindszenty wrote a short letter: "I authorize Otto Habsburg to represent the Catholic population of Hungary should I be prevented from doing so." According to Zakar's recollection the letter said something different: "I don't know what fate awaits me therefore I declare that Otto Habsburg is fully authorized to represent Hungarian Catholics especially in the United States."[14] What exactly this authorization meant remained a mystery. It is unlikely that it concerned purely matters relating to charity since if it did this would have been mentioned in the statement. More likely it referred to American and if necessary international affairs, concerns that Mindszenty had little influence over in view of the ever-tightening Iron Curtain. In talking about this affair in 1989, Otto Habsburg could not recall what authorization he received from Mindszenty forty-two years earlier. In any case the Archduke began cultivating the friendship of pro-Habsburg émigrés only from 1950 on but avoided creating the impression that he cared only for monarchists. He showed interest in the cause of all Hungarian émigrés and retained contacts with anti-monarchists as well.[15]

Mindszenty reported about his tour to the Council of Bishops on June 25, 1947. He said that the trip's aim had been to exchange information, to say thanks for help received, and to visit Hungarians living beyond the seas. He had avoided asking for donations but whatever was given, he accepted. He praised the spiritual life in Hungarian-Canadian and Hungarian-American parishes and their schools. He regretted however the lack of a Catholic daily newspaper though he admitted that this was not missed by the faithful. He thought that Hungarian Catholicism had much respect internationally: "people do not talk about Hungarians having been [Hitler's] allies, they only say that they do not want to be [Stalin's] allies." He told his audience that in the USA Communists are being arrested one after another. "The [war-time] alliance is about to break." In concluding he predicted the approach of war: "*bellum in proximes.*" According to his associates Mindszenty had hoped to achieve more from his North American visit than he had gained: he was quite disappointed that Cardinal Spellman was not there to greet him when he arrived at the New York airport and only sent one of his aides to welcome him.[16]

In his report to the bishops Mindszenty made no mention of his talks with members of the Habsburg family or with politicians. Hungary's communist leader Mátyás Rákosi had learned about these talks even before Mindszenty arrived back in the country, but he remained silent about them waiting for the opportune moment to make this information public. This moment arrived on 7 February 1948 when there was an official meeting between the government and a delegation representing the Catholic Church. Rákosi's poker-faced announcement of the meeting between Mindszenty and Archduke Otto had the effect of a bomb exploding — the prelates present were taken aback by the news. Later in private they expressed disappointment over the Cardinal's involvement in politicking.[17] When at the next meeting of the Council of Bishop's Gyula Czapik, the Archbishop of Eger, related Rákosi's announcement, Mindszenty did not react. Only when Czapik said that Rákosi even claimed that there were photos of Mindszenty and Otto meeting did the Cardinal interject that there "were no such photos." At the end of the Cardinal's report Czapik put a direct question to Mindszenty: "Had Your Highness met with Otto or not?" after a long silence the Prince Primate replied with one word: "yes".[18]

We may wonder why Mindszenty was reticent to disclose this information? Presumably because he suspected that his actions would not please the Council of Bishops — nor the Holy See. In fact there were rumours at the time that Pope Pius XII had refused an audience to a member of the Habsburg family — even though this person had never been involved in politics — in order to avoid creating the impression that the Vatican was in any way favouring the House of Habsburg. The meeting between Archduke Otto and the Prince Primate of Hungary cast doubt about the neutrality of the Holy See in the matter of Habsburg restoration and could be considered an embarrassment for the Catholic Church. Not surprisingly, when the meeting between Otto and Mindszenty began receiving media coverage in the West following the Cardinal's arrest in late 1948, many questioned the veracity of the reports that it had taken place — after all Mindszenty would not want to discredit the Vatican. Journalists in the West even claimed that spokesmen for the Prince Primate as well as Cardinal Spellman had denied that the meeting had taken place.[19] These sources had turned a true event into "trumped up" charges by Mindszenty's prosecutors. In the meantime, for the Cardinal's accusers the meeting was "proof" enough to argue that Mindszenty, with American help, was plotting to overthrow Hungary's legitimate republican government and replace it with a monarchy headed by Otto Habsburg — from whom he had received instructions to accomplish this aim.

The Hungarian Aftermath of Mindszenty's First Canadian Visit

His Canadian experience inspired Mindszenty to announce, soon after his return to Hungary, a celebration of the "Year of the Virgin Mary" which was to last from 15 August 1947 (the Feast-day of the Virgin Mary) to 8 December 1948 (the Feast-day of the Immaculate Conception). The Marian Congress Mindszenty had attended in Canada demonstrated what masses the Catholic Church could muster and what influence the Church commanded in the northern half of the North American Continent. Mindszenty aim in holding the Year of the Virgin Mary was to do the same in Hungary: the events of this year were to demonstrate the real presence and power of the Church — notwithstanding the different political circumstances of the country. Mindszenty wanted to counter the growing power of communism by prayer and the demonstration of the influence of Catholicism.

The acceptance of the Canadian model succeeded, one might say succeeded too well. While between 1945 and 1948 the Communists in Hungary managed to eliminate the civil law in almost all aspects (ownership, political, social, ideological and cultural) it became crystal clear that they failed to liquidate completely religiosity and the churches. Hungary's faithful had become the Communist Party's primary ideological opponents and by the end of the 1940s the churches had become the focal point — what the Communists called the "clerical reaction" — to the country's socialist transformation; and the leading figure of this opposition had become one man: Joseph Mindszenty. He was the only public figure who had influence over the masses. His peasant background, the fact that he had been imprisoned during World War II by the right-radical Arrow Cross movement, and his austere character made him into a virtual hero of folk-tales. He became a veritable David combating the communist Goliath. (He even became popular with Arrow Cross émigrés who at the time of their rule loathed him — because he was the only public figure who refused to try compromising with the Communists.)[20] In spite of all his contradictions in the historical moment Mindszenty, this ultra-conservative and monarchist prelate, became the true defender of democratic values in Hungary — in contrast to many who claimed this role for themselves but in fact were helping the Communists to build a Bolshevik dictatorship. Cardinal Mindszenty fought not only to preserve religious freedom in Hungary but he also struggled for the protection of Hungarian democracy.

On 26 December 1948 Hungary's political police arrested him and a few weeks later the Peoples' Court in Budapest sentenced him to life im-

prisonment. The members of the British Commonwealth, among them Canada, were the first to protest this outcome. On the recommendation of the US Government, the United Nations called on the International Court of Justice in The Hague, Holland, to decide whether the show trials in Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria violate the provisions regarding human rights of the peace treaties the Allies had signed with these countries. The Soviet delegation at the UN opposed this request claiming that it contradicted the UN's constitution and it represented an attempt at interference in the internal affairs of the countries concerned.[21] The International Court of Justice released its decision on 30 March 1950 in the form of a non-binding resolution. It observed that there is a dispute about the interpretation and implementation of the peace agreement and that the countries concerned, including Hungary, must accept the decision of the three-member arbitration tribunal provided for by Article 40 of the treaty.[22] On 5 October of the same year the UN Assembly condemned Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria for violations of human rights. All this was in vain: Mindszenty remained in prison, as did the other victims of the show trials. The Cardinal regained his freedom only on October 30, 1956 — and within a week he exchanged incarceration by the Communists for "exile" in the American Embassy in Budapest that was to last for a decade-and-a-half. When he left that building on 28 September 1971 he was also obliged to leave his homeland.

Mindszenty in Western Exile, 1971-1975

By then the world had changed a great deal. When Mindszenty applied for asylum at the gate of the US Embassy in 1956 the Cold War between East and West was at its height. When he left the Embassy fifteen years later East-West relations were far less acrimonious. This period was also the time of developing European integration, the de-colonization of Africa, and of the growth of the non-aligned bloc of nations. Still, the Soviet Empire appeared unassailable. In Hungary, after the humiliating collapse of communism in 1956, the new communist leader János Kádár managed to consolidate his power and make his country an accepted member of the community of nations. In 1962 the "Hungarian question" was left off the agenda of the UN Assembly — without managing to free Mindszenty from his "internal exile" in Budapest's American Embassy. In March of 1963 the Kádár regime proclaimed a general amnesty. Soon thereafter Canada established an embassy in the Hungarian capital. Mindszenty greeted these developments with indignation: "As possessor of the constitutional authority over historic Hungary I protest all

compromises [with Communists]; I protest the bagatellization, through the amnesty, of the affairs of a heroic nation."[23] What the world took to be *détente*, the Kádár regime as success, for Mindszenty was still another sell-out of the Hungarian nation. His fanatic anti-communism made him put on paper incredible opinions: "a war of punishment such as that against [North] Vietnam would be morally justifiable" against the Kádár regime.[24] He penned this sentence in a letter addressed to American President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965 — a year after the United States, anxious to stop the North Vietnamese offensive against South Vietnam, increased its involvement in the war. It is hard to put a different interpretation on Mindszenty's views than that he accepted the idea of war as a means of expelling the Soviets and their collaborators from Hungary. It would be rewarding to answer the question whether the struggle against communism could be morally taken as far as wishing for war. Would this be according to Christian teachings? To call for a war in the name of a "sacred goal" — that of defeating the much hated opponents? Only revolutionary utopians or millennial heretics thought in such extremist terms — but also, it seems, someone living in isolation and afflicted by the inevitable mental decline of old age. Mindszenty was not only a leader of resistance but he also started to be a believer in the Cold War turning into outright conflict, one that threatened mankind with extinction.

The 1973 Visit

Mindszenty had remarked several times: he would have preferred to die in Hungary but in the end he accepted the heaviest cross of his life and in 1971 he left his native land. He spent the last years of his life in Vienna where he considered as his pre-eminent task the creation of unity among the diverse communities of Hungarians in emigration. The most important events in this endeavour happened in 1973 and they consisted of short trips to West Germany and England and a longer tour of North America, followed by a visit to South Africa. Originally he had planned to spend quite some time in the United States but in the spring of the year he changed his mind and decided to tour Canada which he did in the second half of September, and spent only three days in America.

The eighty-two-year old Cardinal looked forward to his trip to Canada with a certain degree of nostalgia. His reception there did not disappoint him. Cardinal Paul Grégoire, the Archbishop of Montreal, welcomed Mindszenty in person at the city's airport. There were invitations for him from every Canadian archbishop. After Montreal he visited Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary

and Vancouver as well. Canada's Hungarians connected the visit to celebrations of the millennial of Hungary's conversion to Christianity and received Mindszenty as the exiled Prince Primate of their native land. They even had commemorative coins struck with Mindszenty's portrait in bronze, silver and gold versions. They also published a commemorative booklet entitled *973-1973* with the full image of the Holy Crown of Hungary on the cover. The publication contained greetings of the Cardinal by Canada's federal, provincial and municipal dignitaries, though Governor General Roland Michener greeted only the 1000 years of Hungarian Christianity.

The Hungarian communities of the five cities Mindszenty visited took care of the hosting of the Cardinal and his entourage and covered all of their expenses. The hosts asked every Hungarian Canadian to make sure that they participated in as many of the festive occasions as possible.[25] There were masses of people everywhere. The rituals of the individual visits were predictable: the Cardinal's arrival, the speeches of welcome, the presentations of bouquets of flower, a press conference, the taking of official photographs, and the signing of the guest-books. For the assembled faithful there were prayers, blessings and greetings. The religious celebrations also had a pattern of their own: a mass, the giving of an audience, and the blessings of flags — all followed by a reception. Wherever Mindszenty went he was greeted by the masses of the pious and the curious. Into an otherwise often quarrelling community Mindszenty's miraculous presence brought faith, hope and enthusiasm. People did not care or could not understand the fact that Mindszenty came to them claiming to be the religious *and* the political leader of the Hungarians of the whole world.

The first major stop of the Cardinal's tour was Montreal. On arrival, as he would do elsewhere as well, he gave a press conference. He stressed with smugness that "the agreement between the Vatican and the Hungarian government would not prevent him from publishing his memoirs (expected in the spring of 1974), from visiting the Hungarians of five continents, and from expressing his opinions, etc."[26] He then refuted accusations against him, above all the claim that in 1956 he had demanded the return of the great estates to their former owners. The journalists present kept asking him about his forthcoming memoirs, his years in prison, the situation in Hungary, about communism, and his future plans. Mindszenty refrained from sharp political statements and gave restrained answers to questions; still, the press found the essence of his message in the following sentence: "I will fight to my last breath."[27]

In Toronto the city's mayor, in honour of Mindszenty, declared 23 September 1973 "Hungarian day" and the Hungarian flag could be seen flying

all day at City Hall. (The flag itself was a national relic: at one point it covered the casket of the Hungarian patriot Pál Nyíregyházy.) The celebrations in Toronto got long and tiresome: had Mindszenty's speech not been left last, one reporter speculated, "half the audience would have left."[28] The organizers had told the Cardinal that while the Hungarian identity of the Magyar émigré community was strong, its members also had an attachment to Canada, a country that had given them home and livelihood. For these reasons a special Hungarian-Canadian identity developed in which the Canadian element got stronger and stronger as time passed. Mindszenty's hosts had asked him to be cautious when it came to instructing his audiences about Hungarian patriotism. The Government of Ontario held a reception for the Cardinal at the Ontario Legislature, but Premier William "Bill" Davis was not personally present but was represented by Claude Bennett, the Minister of Industry and Tourism.

We mention Winnipeg among the stops Mindszenty made because there Archbishop Cardinal George Flahiff was accompanied by Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk of Canada's Greek Catholic Church when Flahiff greeted the visitor at the city's airport. (By 1951 the mainly Ukrainian Uniate population of Canada had been organized into four Exarchates. In 1956 the Vatican took the Winnipeg Exarchate out of Canada's Latin Church hierarchy and elevated it to the rank of archbishopric.)[29] Metropolitan Hermaniuk's special respect was paid to the prelate whose fate under communist rule resembled the tribulations of the Ukrainian Archbishop Josyf Slipyj. During the visit to Winnipeg's Hungarian community, the speakers of the Saint Anthony of Padua Parish all paid tributes to Mindszenty's sacrifices and to his faithfulness to the Church, as did the city councillor who proclaimed Mindszenty an honorary resident of the city.

The celebrations tended to conceal many real problems behind the formalities. The most serious of these became evident in the fourth city Mindszenty visited: Calgary. It was here that the troubles of Hungarian organized religious life were revealed to Mindszenty in their most dramatic details. The complaints were numerous: the assimilation of Hungarians was an unstoppable process, the members of the community were becoming more and more materialistic, Hungarian patriotic spirit no longer motivated them, and most of their priests were no longer Hungarians — and in some cases it was actually a Hungarian pastor or minister who destroyed the unity of their little communities. Some people grumbled that in 1956 the local Hungarian priests refused to act as interpreters for them claiming that they were not in the business of being employment agents. In 1973 their churches were empty on Sundays and the buildings were in disrepair. Out of 3,000 families in the city

at best fifty came to celebrate mass.[30] This depressing picture painted by some was not an exaggeration. In Montreal a medical doctor described the very difficult circumstances under which members of the Hungarian-Canadian clergy had to operate: while members of priestly orders found companionship in monasteries, lay priests serving Hungarian-Canadian parishes were at the mercy of their parishioners. The Roman Catholic church fathers of Canada lived comfortable lives and looked upon priests who had landed here from Eastern Europe with suspicion. Many of these exiled clergy sought solace in alcohol, or in the arms of a woman, or became depressed.[31]

Among the Canadian cities visited by Mindszenty Vancouver was kind of a "frontier outpost" — Catholics hardly made up ten percent of the city's population. Here the Cardinal entered the Our Blessed Lady of Hungary Church while the faithful sang a traditional song of praise of the Holy Virgin. (The church had been bought from a Protestant congregation in 1961 for $60,000.) Lajos Horányi, the parish's pastor, lay gravely ill in a Toronto hospital so Mindszenty was greeted by Béla Ugrin, a Jesuit priest (he was the brother of József Ugrin, the former member the Hungarian of Parliament representing the pro-democratic People's Party). Also greeting Mindszenty was the Reverend Attila Csiszár, the minister of Vancouver's Hungarian Reformed congregation. It was not only the parish's 250 families who gathered to greet and hear the visitor, people came from neighbouring towns also. One of the functions the Cardinal performed was the planting of a pine-tree, into soil brought from Hungary, near the city's 1956 Hungarian monument. Then came a quick lunch at the parish hall followed by a visit to Vancouver's Hungarian House where there was a special exhibit organized just for the occasion. All this as followed by high mass in the city's Catholic cathedral. The tapes recorded on these occasions were re-played in radio broadcasts courtesy of the Museum of the Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie and Armed Forces.[32] The Hungarian press of Canada saw in the elderly prelate a new Savonarola (the 15th century Florentine monk and popular leader). Mindszenty, with his assertive personality and uncompromising character, commanded the respect of everyone. His visit elicited all kinds of reactions and political actions; there were some among his admirers who began handing out flyers calling for the restoration of the lands that had been taken from Hungary in the post-World War I peace settlement.

Mindszenty's Canadian tour cast a dark shadow on diplomatic relations between Canada and Hungary. Pierre Trudeau, Canada's free-minded and non-religious Prime Minister — despite being urged to do so by Mindszenty's Hungarian-Canadian hosts — declined to meet with the Cardinal, but sent Mitchell Sharp, the Minister of External Affairs, in his stead. (Mind-

szenty's private secretary knows the story differently, according to him it was the Hungarians who did not want a meeting between the Cardinal and Trudeau.)[33] No matter how it happened, Sharp, a Protestant by religious affiliation and a republican at heart, in the name of his government heaped praise on Mindszenty whom he called the hero of justice and the greatest truthful man "living today." All this happened despite the fact that the Hungarian Ambassador in Ottawa had warned Canada's Ministry of External Affairs that the government in Hungary would consider the participation of members of the Canadian government in the events connected with Mindszenty's visit an unfriendly act. Indeed, Sharp's welcome to Mindszenty — which was relayed to the Hungarians by the Soviet Ambassador to Canada — was followed by recriminations from Hungary's foreign ministry. In turn Sharp tried to minimize the role he had played in the affair and referred to his need to cater to the expectations of the people who voted for him — as well as to his private interest in matters of religion.[34] It is also true that the actual words Sharp used were more moderate than those that had appeared in news reports: "This is not the first time that I have addressed a large audience. This is not the first time, that I have addressed an audience that included distinguished personages. Never before, however have I ever addressed an audience that included such a distinguished personage as our guest of honour Cardinal Mindszenty. Never has this man abandoned his faith. Never has he bowed to the oppressor."[35] The Canadians added an explanation to the last of Sharp's sentences: the Minister of External Affairs referred to Mindszenty's opposition to Hungary's Nazi German occupiers. This statement in the end reduced the friction between Ottawa and Budapest, and no great damage was done to Canadian-Hungarian relations. At a meeting between Sharp and his Hungarian counterpart János Péter a few months later relations were deemed definitely "improving". At the same time János Bartha, the Hungarian Ambassador to Canada, however had a different opinion about what had transpired: "The events of József Mindszenty's Canadian tour and the statements made about it by officials of the Canadian Government did not surprise anyone. They just proved that Canada's leaders, despite their pretences of cooperation, consider the enemies of the People's Republic of Hungary their 'true friends'."[36]

The highlight of Mindszenty's few days' side-trip to the United States was the consecration of the re-built Saint Ladislaus Church in New Brunswick, New Jersey. As far as the reception he got from American clergy leaders, Mindszenty must have been disappointed. He had hoped that Cardinal Terrence Cook of New York, the successor of Archbishop Spellman, would welcome him with sympathy reminiscent to that of his predecessor. Although Cook went to greet him at the airport, their relationship remained strictly

formal throughout the visit. They had breakfast together and Mindszenty sat through a mass celebrated by Cook — and afterward there were photographs taken, but it was obvious that the visitor was just a "decoration" at all these proceedings with whom the American prelate had no common topic to talk about. It was certainly difficult to conduct a conversation with a "living legend", someone who had devoted his entire life to achieve what he considered important in the world. As Mindszenty's secretary remarked: "He creates a feeling of inferiority in the people he meets or those who welcome him."[37] It was difficult for Mindszenty to get a fifteen-minute interview with Cook before the American had to hurry off to watch a game of football. He showed little interest in the creation of a Hungarian parish in New York, a business that had been pending since 1929, nor in the matter of the appointment of a deputy bishop to attend to the spiritual care of scattered Hungarian communities in North America and Latin America.[38] Neither of these plans came to fruition at the time. The expansion of the institutions of Hungarian-American Catholics (parishes, weekend schools) were also of little interest to America's Catholic leaders who wanted to preserve the faith without reference to ethnic religious organizations and the use of languages other than English. The idea of an independent Hungarian church organization, possibly with Mindszenty as its leader, was far from the mind of the American Cardinal.

Aside from the short discussion with Cook, Mindszenty did not have the opportunity to talk to any American prelate. Behind this circumstance we can suspect the influence of Archbishop Giovanni Cheli, the recently appointed papal representative to the United Nations — and through him of the Vatican. Mindszenty had no better treatment from members of the American government either, although President Richard Nixon greeted him in a telegram.[39] True, Senator Edward Kennedy spoke about Mindszenty's visit in the US Senate, the Cardinal's tour was paid attention to only by the emigrant press, although some of the mainstream dailies also mentioned his visit. Mindszenty's newsworthiness was enhanced by the fact he did not avoid answering questions put to him by journalists about political issues.

The central point of the speeches Mindszenty delivered during this Canadian tour of his was the unity of the family. He linked the issues of the "Hungarian mother," the "Hungarian family" and the "Hungarian school" to the cult of the Virgin Mary and the condemnation of abortion. The latter issue was always on his mind but he emphasized it now because earlier in the year the Supreme Court of the United States had made abortion legal in the country. (This was the reason why, during his tour of the USA the following year, Mindszenty refused to receive an honorary doctorate offered to him by an American university.) It was also increasingly becoming obvious that, by

the time of his Canadian tour, Mindszenty's previously measured public announcements had become a thing of the past — his statements were increasingly forthright even strident. Why did this change come about? The reason became evident during his press conference in Montreal where he mentioned his forthcoming memoirs. It was just before his trip to Canada that he had received a letter from Pope Paul VI in which the Pontiff asked Mindszenty to postpone the publication of the work. The Cardinal reacted to this request with indignation: if the Holy See brakes the promise made to him in the summer of 1971 that his memoirs could be published, he would no longer abide by the usual custom regarding "political correctness" in his public statements.[40]

The Visit's Aftermath

The tour that had been originally planned for six weeks was shortened because of insufficient finances. On returning to Vienna Mindszenty issued a sort of "spiritual will" to the Hungarians of Canada and the United States:

> Before I close my eyes, it is not the man, and not the pastor in me, but God and our common ancestors call on me to say [the following] and I would like to put this under the pillow of every Hungarian living anywhere on this planet, that they should have no rest from the prodding iron until the moment of their death: from the remaining few [Hungarians] we have to build a new Homeland. This is our task in this world. We cannot escape from this, only hide from it. […] Put aside the rivalries, the unbridled striving for success, … Do not look to the right nor the left, everyone do his share wherever fate had placed him/her. We [should] establish a community based on Christian principles. Let there be children in the family since this remains a blessing and brings a future, no matter what the world says. In the home — and in the weekend school if there is no other school — the child should acquire the Hungarian language and a Hungarian identity.[41]

In this document Mindszenty repeated the fact that in Hungary since 1956 more than three million foetuses had been aborted — protesting with this shocking number against abortion. (His facts were basically accurate: in Hungary the number of abortions per year in the decade before 1970 varied between 170 and 200 thousand.)

The content of this message also went against the expectations made of Mindszenty. In the discussions leading to his release from the American Embassy in Budapest the demand had been made that after his departure he

make no statements that disturbed the relationship between the Holy See and the Government of Hungary, or which offended that government of the Peoples Republic of Hungary. Furthermore, Pope Paul VI had pleaded with Mindszenty that he should not claim any authority over refugees from Hungary scattered throughout the world. Despite this, in a letter dated 28 November 1971 and addressed to the Hungarians of five continents, Mindszenty signed himself "Archbishop of Esztergom and Prince Primate of Hungary". A single ambiguous sentence of this declaration created an immediate political storm: "We left the threshold of our prison, and the temporary and life-destroying border of a country, with confidence in our faith and with hope."[42] The Governor of the Province of Burgenland in Austria immediately protested the statement to Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky claiming that Mindszenty had called into question the "territorial integrity" of their country.[43] The media in Austria also interpreted the statement as a questioning of the status of the Austro-Hungarian state border — even though Mindszenty pointed out shortly after his statement that he had referred only to the so-called Iron Curtain complete with its minefields and other deadly obstacles. Nevertheless the Pope next asked Mindszenty that in the future he should clear all his statements, including his church sermons, in advance with the Papacy.[44] Not surprisingly Mindszenty never again issued a pastoral letter to Catholic Hungarians in emigration. The above-outlined appeal to the Hungarians of the world can better be seen as a "spiritual will" rather than an official appeal to the world's Hungarian community. We found no record of Mindszenty having cleared it with the Holy See before issuing it. Presumably he did not, and it, along with his political statements during his tour, and his preparations for the publication of his memoirs sooner rather than later, all contributed — along with other developments — to his being removed from his ecclesiastic position by the Vatican.

Aside from being pre-occupied with matters of interest to the world's Hungarian community, Mindszenty was concerned with more mundane matters, such as the case of the school of Toronto's Hungarian parish, as well as some cultural matters. Concerning these issues he even wrote a letter to Prime Minister Trudeau.[45] Furthermore he remained in contact with István Bácsalmási, the school's principal until his (Mindszenty's) death. In his last letter to the Cardinal, Bácsalmási was pleased to report that after two years of efforts his school had received a grant of $7,800 from the Canadian federal government. Bácsalmási also gave advice to Mindszenty how the organizations of Hungarian Canadians should be transformed. The association of former members of the Hungarian gendarmerie, he opined, could only be an institution destined for disappearance and is capable only of lamenting the

past. Since the organizations of Hungarian Canadians should be renewed and reformed, he felt the main task was to make Hungarian immigrants worthwhile members of the community that accepted them so that the young can be proud of their roots and their culture. For all this, Bácsalmási argued, solid material foundations were needed. Mindszenty was impressed with such reasoning and offered to dedicate the funds collected for a memorial statue to be dedicated to him to the cause of the education of the young.[46]

In Hungary the authorities were worried that Mindszenty's activities would negatively impact their policies regarding religion and the churches. There were also signs that a new and different type of Mindszenty myth was being born. Mindszenty's overseas tours began creating an image for him as a man who represented old traditions and the old-style Catholicism toward the Hungarian émigré community that received all this with nostalgia. For the Cardinal the world tended toward compromise regarding communism, the rebellion of the young against tradition, and the sexual revolution, were all anathemas. But so were some of the new ideas about religion, as for example the revisions to Catholic liturgy that were being considered in the 1960s and the 1970s by the Second Vatican Council. The image Mindszenty began projecting was by this time not only the symbol of anti-communism, but also the symbol of conservative opposition to social (and religious) change.

The End

On November 1, 1973, Pope Paul VI wrote a hand-written letter Joseph Mindszenty, asking him — with reference to the Cardinal's unlimited love for his Church, for his avocation and for his homeland — that he renounce his title as Archbishop of Esztergom. After his resignation, the Pope explained, Mindszenty would be in a better position to decide whether it would be "appropriate to make his memoirs public for the purpose of the revelation of truth and the defence of his own good reputation."[47] Mindszenty was deeply shocked by this papal request for giving up his position and he decided not to comply. He replied to the letter three times, and every time with a no. The first time on the 15th of November, then on the 21st, and then — after his return from his trip to South Africa — on the 8th of December.[48] It seems that he mailed only the last two of his replies. In his letter of the 8th of December he summed up his reasons for not resigning: 1. he did not trust the promises made by the Communists; 2. the ten-year-old agreement between Hungary and the Holy See brought only disappointment; 3. "if I resigned, I would only become an accomplice" he wrote,[49] he would be lending legitimacy to

Hungary's communist regime; 4. in the future the appointments of prelates would depend entirely on the communist state; 5. his resignation would negatively impact Hungarians in emigration; and 6. his resignation would harm the cause of the publication of his memoirs — and through that, the causes that he had fought for throughout his life. The essence of Mindszenty's reasoning was that with his resignation — even if according to the wishes of the Pope — he would be giving the "godless" communist regime of Hungary a gift.[50]

After this Pope Paul VI no longer wanted Mindszenty's consent to his removal from office but decided to act on his own. He made his decision public on February 5, 1974: the Archbishopric of Esztergom was vacant. The decision shocked not only Mindszenty but the entire Hungarian emigration. The "Eastern policy" of the Holy See was deluged with critical comments. When Paul VI, after prolonged consideration, accepted the heavy cross of this decision and sacrificed Mindszenty, he sent a message to Hungary's politicians: for the Holy See what counted was not the gaining of political advantages or popularity but the serving the interests of Hungary's Catholics.

NOTES

A shorter version of this study was presented in Hungarian at the annual meeting of the Hungarian Studies Association of Canada, held in conjunction with the Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Canada at the beginning of June, 2013, at the University of Victoria in Victoria, British Columbia. The full version of the study was translated from Hungarian into English by Nándor Dreisziger in consultation with the study's author.

[1] Hansjakob Stehle, *Die Ostpolitik des Vatikans 1917–1975* (München–Zürich: R. Piper und Co. Verlag, 1975), 279; Hansjakob Stehle, *Geheimdiplomatie im Vatikan. Die Päpste und die Kommunisten* (Zürich: Benziger, 1993), 236.

[2] The document collection of Csaba Szabó. Archives of the Mindszenty Foundation / Mindszenty Alapítvány Levéltára (hereafter MAL) 010. dossier. The words of Drahos, the Vicar-general, eerily remind us of the text of the report by a state security agent: Mindszenty "has one passion, if it is possible to call it a passion, conflict. This is the essence of his being. Without conflict he cannot exist. If someone is in a more advantageous position in a conflict with him, the greater effort he will make to struggle." (Report dated at Budapest, 19 May 1948. Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára [hereafter ÁBTL] /The Historical Archives of State Security Agencies, 3.1.8. Sz–222/9a. 240. fol.)

[3] Proceedings of the meeting of the Council of Bishops, 8 October 1947,

item 1. *A magyar katolikus püspökkari tanácskozások története és jegyzőkönyvei 1945–1948 között,* ed. Margit Beke (Köln–Budapest: Argumentum, 1996), 251.

[4] Report dated at Budapest, 19 June 1947. ÁBTL 3.1.8. Sz-222/4, 22 fol.

[5] Report dated at Budapest, 24 June 1947. ÁBTL 3.1.8. Sz-222/4, 28 fol.

[6] *Vancouver Sun*, 21 June 1947. Found in Gosudarstvenniy Arhiv Rossiyskoy Federacii (hereafter GARF) f. 6991. op. 3. gy. 50.

[7] *L'Osservatore Romano,* 87 (no. 155) 6 July 1947, p. 2.

[8] A confidential report by TASS about the concluding session of the Ottawa Marian Congress, 25 June 1947. GARF f. 6991. op. 1. gy. 78. l. 129–136:129.

[9] Report of János Mészáros, Vicar-general, to Prince Primate Jusztinián Serédi, dated at Budapest, 10 April 1937. Archives of the Princes Primate, Esztergom /Prímási Levéltár, Esztergom (hereafter EPL) Processus V–700/44. 129–131. fol; see also in the same place, 160–164/b. fol. Zsámboky had the reputation of an iron-handed disciplinarian who was known to have administered physical punishment to "sinners" among his parishioners in his Csillaghegy parish church — and was "exiled" to New York for such behaviour. For official notes about the indiscretions committed by Pál Zsámboki, as well as a medical certificate dated August 1937 see: Aide memoire. Also, copies of several letters of complaint. ÁBTL 3.1.9. V–700/44.

[10] Report entitled "A történtekről összefoglaló jelentés," ÁBTL 3.1.9. V–700/50. 152–156.

[11] Proceedings of Mindszenty's interrogation, 5 January 1949, original: Mindszenty József gyanúsított kihallgatási jegyzőkönyve. EPL Processus V–700/1. 71–98:75–76. fol. (Its copy can be found in ÁBTL 3.1.9. V–700/1.)

[12] Document dated 12 May 1948 and entitled "Péter Gábor összeállítása Mindszenty Józsefről." Politikatörténeti és Szakszervezeti Levéltár, 274 f. 7/24. ő. e. 187. fol. The same words were used in the records of the interrogation of István Kray: ÁBTL 3.1.9. V–700/6. 81. fol.

[13] *Magyar Nemzet,* vol. 54, no. 72 (27 March 1993).

[14] József Mindszenty, *Emlékirataim* (Budapest: Szent stván Társualt, 1989, 4th ed.), 250. [No author indicated] *Mindszenty a népbiroság előtt* (Budapest: Állami lapkiadó, 1949), 98-99. Notes on the confession of András Zakar of 13 January 1949. For an English version of Mindszenty's memoirs see Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty, *Memoirs* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1974).

[15] Gyula Borbándi, *A magyar emigráció életrajza, 1945-1985* [The biography of the Hungarian emigration, 1945-985] (Munich: published by the author, 1985, re-published in Budapest: Európa Kiadó, 1989), 94.

[16] Report dated at Budapest, 21 July 1947. ÁBTL 3.1.8. Sz-222/4. 49.fol.

[17] The handwritten report of the agent codenamed "Bihari" (Béla Kovrig) (no date), ÁBTL 3.2.4 K-384/2. This report mistakenly dates the meeting as 9 February.

[18] Report dated at Budapest, 17 March 1948. ÁBTL 3.1.8. Sz-222/7. 46. fol.

[19] *L'Osservatore Romano* vol. 88, no. 303 (30 Dec. 1948), p. 1. The claim

that the meeting had never taken place originated with the Reuters News Agency.

[20] See the press products of the émigré Arrow Cross such as *Hidverők, Út és Cél, Tájékoztató Szolgálat.*

[21] Memorandum by Anrei Vishinsky, deputy Foreign Minister, for Stalin, 28 December 1949. In Rossiyskiy Gosudarstvenniy Arhiv Socialni-Politicheskoy Istorii f. 82. op. 2 gy 1079, pp. 174-178.

[22] Regarding the interpretation of the peace treaty regarding Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria see Vanda Lamm, *A Nemzetközi Bíróság ítéletei és tanácsadó véleményei 1945–1993* (Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1995), 413-419.

[23] Ádám Somorjai, ed., *Mindszenty bíboros követségi levelei az Egyesült Államok elnökeihez. 1956–1971. Letters to the Presidents, Cardinal Mindszenty to the Political Leaders of the United States* (Budapest: METEM, 2011) the Hungarian version 198–199; the English version 631–633.

[24] Letter by Mindszenty addressed to US President Lyndon Johnson dated at Budapest, 21 March 1965. The last part of the letter is worth quoting (despite its awkward English): "Not a U Thant guest and shameful comedy in Budapest and Western support is necessary, but on moral basis because of the crass genocide and open breach of treaties a Vietnam punishing action would be convenient and justified." National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland (NARA) Record Group (RG) 84. Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State. Hungary, Budapest, Subject Files Relating to Cardinal Mindszenty 1956–1972, Entry 2691-B, Box 3. SOC 12 Cardinal File, Jan–Sept 1965; NARA RG 59. General Records of the Department of State. Central Foreign Policy Files, 1964–66. Box 3222. SOC 12–1. Churches Sects Hung. 1/1/65.; Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum, Austin (Texas) National Security Files, Country Files, Hungary, Cardinal Mindszenty Correspondence, Box. 195. Folder 5. A published version of the letter can be found in Somorjai, *Mindszenty bíboros követségi levelei*, Hungarian version, p. 275; English version, p. 714.

[25] Circular letter by József Máté S. J., Toronto, 3 April 1973, MAL 808 MAL 808. dossier, "Kanada, 1973." 1. ő. e.

[26] Copy, report from the Embassy in Ottawa, dated 4 October 1973. ÁBTL 3.2.9. R–8–009/3. 69. fol. Mindszenty's memoirs appeared in the fall of 1974 instead of the spring as the Cardinal had hoped.

[27] See the folder called "Kanada, 1973," MAL 808; also, the *Kanadai Magyarság,* 29 September and October 6, 1973; and *Magyar Élet* of the same date (October 6).

[28] MAL 808. folder named "Kanada, 1973," 2. ő. e. the article by Anna Virágh [pen-name of Mrs. István Vörösváry-Weller] "Korunkhoz tartozik," *Kanadai Magyarság,* 6 October 1973.

[29] ÁBTL 3.2.3. Mt–988/1. This is the patriarchate of the so-called Uniate Ukrainians.

[30] Summation by Péter Noel, Calgary-Edmonton, 26 Sept. 1973. MAL 808, folder "Kanada, 1973" 10. ő. e.

[31] The letter of Dr. János Mahig to Mindszenty, Montreal, 15 March 1973. MAL 808, folder "Kanada, 1973," MFN 10211, L-5056.

[32] Program plans. MAL file 808, "Kanada, 1973."

[33] Tibor Mészáros*, A száműzött bíboros szolgálatában. Mindszenty József titkárának napi jegyzetei (1972–1975)* (Abaliget: Lámpás Kiadó, 2000), 62. Entry for 25 September 1973.

[34] Memoranda, Hungarian Embassy, Ottawa, October 6th, 11th, 19th, and 22nd, 1973. ÁBTL 3.2.9. R–8–009/3. 72–75. fol.

[35] Summation by József Németh, head of the consular department, dated at Budapest 15 November 1973. MNL OL XIX–J–1–j Kanada 004280/8/1973.

[36] Report by János Bartha, Hungarian Ambassador, dated at Ottawa, 4 October, 1973. MNL OL XIX–J–1–j Kanada 004280/5/1973.

[37] Mészáros, *A száműzött bíboros szolgálatában,* p. 70. Entry for 28 September 1973.

[38] Mindszenty refused to remove this latter matter from his agenda. See the relevant documents in MAL 054. dossier: „Levelezés magyar emigráns püspök kinevezése ügyében."

[39] Draft of telegram, President Nixon of József Mindszenty, 29 September 1973. Nixon Library National Security Council Files, Presidential Correspondence 1969–1974. Box 755. (Mindszenty sent a polite reply: handwritten and typed draft of a telegram, Mindszenty to Nixon, MAL 086/5. Washington. MFN 10199, L-5034, 1973. október 2.)

[40] When in late June of 1971 József Zágon as the representative of the Pope held discussions with Mindszenty in the American Embassy about the Cardinal's leaving his internal exile, he insisted on four conditions. The last of these was that Mindszenty should not publish his memoirs but should leave the manuscript in his will to the Holy See. Mindszenty did not except this proposal and to allay fears about the memoirs he showed the multi-volume manuscript to Zágon who, after familiarizeing himself with its content, saw no obstacle to seeing a *substantial portion of the text* appear in print within Mindszenty's lifetime. Zágon, however, could not have seen the entire manuscript as the volume describing the Cardinal's role in the post-1945 events in Hungary, which later became the published part of the Mindszenty memoirs, was still not complete.

[41] Typed message of József Mindszenty entitled "Dear Hungarians in Canada and the United States" and dated on All-Saints Day, 1973, MAL 808. dossier, "Kanada, 1973." 8. ő. e. (The message appeared in the press with minor stylistic changes.)

[42] "Articles, notes from 1971," unnumbered collection, MAL 060. dossier, 507/1971.; in the same place, 040/b dossier, MNL OL XIX–A–21–c ÁEH Adattár, 17.1. Mindszenty József hercegprímás 1–101. Box 60, 1966–71. Item 50. For a

published version see József Mindszenty, *Hirdettem az igét. Válogatott szentbeszédek és körlevelek, 1944–1975,* comp. József Közi Horváth (Vaduz, 1982; Budapest, 1989), 188–191.

[43] Memorandum 772/EU by François Leduc, French Ambassador to Austria, to Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann, dated at Vienna, 10 December 1971. Archives du Ministères des Affaires étrangères Série: Europe, Hongrie, versement aux Archives (1971–juin 1976), boîte 3330, dossier Questions religieuses (1 janvier 1971–30 juin 1976).

[44] Original of a letter written in Latin by Pope Paul VI to Mindszenty, 14 December 1971. MAL 060. dosszié, MFN 7910, L-2861. Published first in Latin in Gabriel Adriányi, *Die Ostpolitik des Vatikans 1958–1978 gegenüber Ungarn. Der Fall Kardinal Mindszenty* (Herne, 2003), 160–161. (Studien zur Geschichte Ost- und Ostmitteleuropas, 3.); and then in Hungarian in Gábor Adriányi, *A Vatikán keleti politikája és Magyarország 1939–1978. A Mindszenty-ügy* (Budapest: Kairosz Kiadó, 2004), 229–230.

[45] Copy of typed letter, Mindszenty to Prime Minister Pierre Eliott Trudeau, dated at Vienna, 8 October 1973.

[46] Copy of letter, Bácsalmási to Mindszenty, dated at Willowdale, 29 April 1975. MAL 606 file, separate attachment.

[47] Original of a letter written in Italian from Pope Paul VI to József Mindszenty, dated at the Vatican, 1 November 1973. MAL 060. dossier, MFN 7935, L-2886. This letter has been published in several volumes. Its Hungarian text can be found in Ádám Somorjai, *Ami az emlékiratokból kimaradt. VI. Pál és Mindszenty József 1971–1975* (Pannonhalma: Bencés Kiadó, 2008), 35–36.

[48] The drafts of Mindszenty's letters were published by Somorjai, *Ami az emlékiratokból kimaradt*, pp. 36-40. The Hungarian original of the 8 Dec. 1973 letter can be found in MAL 060. dossier, MFN 7939, L-2890. Its Latin translation is in MFN 7938, L-2889. [21 November 1973]); MFN 7940, L-2891. The original of the 15 November 1973 letter is not in the archives but its text has been published, along with the other two letters, in Somorjai, *Ami az emlékiratokból kimaradt*, pp. 36-40.

[49] In the translation by Ádám Somorjai (*Ami az emlékiratokból kimaradt,* p. 38). The text of the letter's Hungarian original kept in the archives differs stylistically from the published version: „Ha lemondanék, részes lennék abban, hogy ez a kártékony békepapi had segítségével kiépült egyházi rendszer újabb megerősítést kapna" [If I would resign I would partake in the process through which this harmful ecclesiastic system that had been created with the help of peace-priests would receive a new infusion of strength] MAL 060. dosszié, MFN 7937, L-2888.

[50] Mészáros, *A száműzött bíboros,* p. 137.