

SAME OLD RECIPES

Mikhail Ozerov

Particularly loud among those attacking now the latest Soviet peace initiatives are career anti-Sovieteers, such as Zbigniew Brzezinski.

This seems to be an incurable disease. Because it has nothing to do with medicine. And because the patient refuses any treatment, believing he is all right.

But is he? The man is manifestly colour-blind. He is not just confusing his colours, but deliberately sees only one and everywhere.

Proof is near at hand, you need only look through a book just published in Washington by the Atlantic Monthly Press. The volume is bulky, containing almost three hundred pages. And nearly every page is tainted with one and the same colour - the author sees red behind any development in the world.

What is surprising is that no one is recommending that the author should go to the doctor. On the contrary, he is admired and praised. The President made a personal telephone call to congratulate him. The Secretary of Defense sent him a wildly enthusiastic letter. Aides of the President's national security adviser are distributing copies of the book all over the country. Newsweek proclaimed it the bestseller of the US capital.

What's the matter? Let us dot our i's. To begin with, the author is not just so-and-so but Zbigniew Brzezinski. That same Brzezinski, who was the presidential national security adviser during Carter's office. It is not the post he held that matters - Brzezinski has always claimed to be the "ideological oracle" of the United States.



Once the president's adviser, he set about translating his theories into practice: sabotaging SALT-2 talks, opposing the improvement of relations with the USSR and insisting that the US should pursue policy from strength.

The possibilities he had at his disposal were impressive: besides all else, he was head of the Special Coordinating Committee (SCC) that directed CIA clandestine subversive operations. He now claims "credit" - and not without reason - for the subversive war in Afghanistan and the anti-Polish campaign (it was Brzezinski who raised a ballyhoo about the "Soviet aggression" in Poland and used Department of State, CIA and his own channels to send instructions to Solidarity leaders).

This bit of history could have been dispensed with if Brzezinski's past services were not now praised to the skies on the occasion of his new book. And if the political views of this doctor of Sovietology were not exactly the same as they were seven to ten years ago. They still rest on bitter hatred of communism. True, the Brzezinski of the 80s is careful to conceal his feelings behind the quasi-scholarly nature of his work, behind the semblance of analysis.

The "scholar's" conclusions, however, are overprimitive: the Red menace, the "hand of Moscow" and so on and so forth. Brzezinski depicts the Soviet Union as an expansionist and aggressive power about to capture the whole world and quite able to start a Third World War.

How are these "horrors" to be avoided? Brzezinski's latest recipe does not differ from the ones he offered before: America should beef up its armed might dramatically and not allow Russia to get ahead. This idea, however, which has long been nurtured by himself and his colleagues in Sovietology, is now modified by Brzezinski - he is anxious to keep up with the times. First, Washington must not agree to any arms control.



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Secondly, it should go ahead with the SDI - Strategic Defense Initiative - without losing a minute. And in general, everything, up to and including force, should be used in the struggle against Soviet expansionism.

Not surprisingly, some statesmen on the Potomac are just wild with the Sovietologist's writings. They may well be, but political colour-blindness is not in much reverence among sober-minded people.

(Sovetskaya Rossia, August 29. Abridged.)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VE YAYIN KURUMU  
TÜSTAV



VITALY YURCHENKO ON CIA'S FRAUDS

"The CIA and its bosses are practising in the international arena crude flouting of the norms of international law, of human morality and ethics of interstate relations," said Vitaly Yurchenko in an interview.

As has already been reported, in the summer of 1985 US secret services used narcotics to take Yurchenko forcibly from Rome to the USA. In November 1985 he succeeded in breaking away beyond the reach of his warders and getting in touch with the USSR Embassy in Washington. Addressing a press conference in Moscow, he spoke about the inhuman treatment of him by the US CIA. Then Yurchenko said that he intended to issue a number of papers exposing the US secret services.

"The Western mass media were spreading all sorts of cock-and-bull stories about me," Vitaly Yurchenko said. "As you see I am alive and well, and their reports do not correspond to fact. My health has improved, in December 1985 and in January 1986 I underwent a course of treatment, then I was given some time for rest and in March I returned to my old job."

He recalled the US intrigues against the USSR and Nicaragua and the so-called "Antonov case". "When being in the hands of the CIA I had an opportunity to familiarize myself with how they prepare 'proofs' of involvement of the USSR and the other socialist countries in international events objectionable to the USA. Thus once my permanent 'bodyguards' brought to me a stranger. He proved to be an American and introduced himself as Tom Fountain. Then he added that he was deputy CIA director responsible for work directly against the



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USSR. Fountain said that the CIA intended to use me in certain actions. First I was to attend a press conference, at which it was planned to discuss the problems of the countries of Central America, in particular, the situation in Nicaragua. Main attention was to be devoted to 'exposing' the 'unlawful' activity of the USSR in that region."

"In October 1985 when CIA director Casey personally joined in the process of my 're-education', he also discussed with me this problem but in broader terms, saying that it was necessary to convince the world that all the anti-American actions in Central and Latin American states were directed by Moscow.

"They in the CIA not simply produce 'canards' and rumours, but also carefully prepare false papers to furnish documents for these 'canards'.

"As far as the 'Antonov Case' is concerned, they not only discussed it with me, but also tried to make me give false testimony at the Roman trial.

"The CIA was doing its best in order to 'save its face', and one day CIA deputy director McMahon in charge of covert operations, began talking with me about Antonov. CIA man Colin Thompson said that a convincing scenario of my testimony and papers confirming them were already being prepared. According to that scenario I was to say that I went to Rome in connection with the 'Antonov case'. I was also to say that previously I repeatedly came from Moscow to Sofia under the name of Malenkov, met with Agca and proposed to him three million West German marks for the assassination attempt. In trying to present me for a leading KGB man, the Americans hoped to add special weight to my testimony and thus have a decisive influence on the course of the trial in Rome.

"By fabricating different papers and juggling with facts, sending numerous 'canards' all over the world and spreading



rumours, the CIA tries to present the USSR's foreign policy in a distorted light, to sow distrust in the Soviet Union and instigate anti-Soviet sentiments in the United States and in other countries. Yet there is one more aspect of that provocative activity that is no less important. By its fresh sensational exposure of 'Moscow's intrigues' Washington, on the one hand, tried to justify its expansionist policy and, on the other, to distract world public attention from the subversive actions of the CIA and the consequences to which that policy inevitably leads. It is precisely these acts which are one of the tools of the policy of neoglobalism."

(Moskovskaya Pravda, August 9. Summary.)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMALARI  
TÜSTAV



WHERE IS VLADIMIR ALEXANDROV?

Iona Andronov, Literaturnaya Gazeta's Own  
Correspondent

Last December Literaturnaya Gazeta published an article entitled "Who Wanted to Get Rid of Vladimir Alexandrov?" Vladimir Alexandrov was a researcher at the Soviet Academy of Science's Computer Centre and was engaged in computer modelling of the global climatic consequences of a nuclear war. In March 1985 he came to Cordoba, Spain, to participate in an international conference of nuclear-free zone advocates. On April 1 he suddenly disappeared. The Soviet embassy's repeated inquiries with the Spanish authorities and requests to find Alexandrov gave no results. The Soviet Academy's appeals to the Spanish authorities and scientific community for help also produced no effect. Now, 15 months afterwards, Alexandrov, a professional man who was engaged in strictly civilian research, is still listed as missing, as if in wartime. Why? What did he do to anger some people in the West? Who are these people?

All his colleagues at Soviet Academy's Computer Centre in Moscow agree that their fellow-worker fell a victim to subversion and that it is the political opponents of the theory of "nuclear winter" that are responsible for it. This theory was worked out simultaneously with Soviet scientists by leading experts in West Germany, the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Canada and Australia. They provided convincing proof that no one would survive in the event of a global thermonuclear war. Our planet would be covered with a black shroud of soot and dust and this would lead to a catastrophic fall of temperature. All crops would be destroyed; all freshwater reservoirs would freeze; animals and microorganisms would die; tropical forests, the main source of oxygen, an



element supporting all life on Earth, would disappear.

There is only one way of salvation: nuclear war must never be fought. As might be expected, the US Department of Defence did not like this conclusion.

In the July number of the monthly Science Digest, Andrew Rivkin, who is not a scientist, bluntly rejected the theory of "nuclear war" and tried to discredit Alexandrov, calling him the Kremlin's predictor of the end of the world. The article is full of references to "US intelligence experts," who are, in fact, its anonymous co-authors. Their promptings to Rivkin are the most informative part of his article.

For all their efforts, the angry militarists in Washington failed to controvert the detested "nuclear winter" theory for 18 months. However, a month before Alexandrov's disappearance, the Pentagon made public the following statement: "The models of atmospheric phenomena made by Soviet researcher V. Alexandrov and his colleague G. Stenchikov contain extremely exaggerated allegations. The difference between Soviet scientists and propagandists is very small."

Three days after Alexandrov disappeared -- the press had not yet reported his disappearance -- Brenda Weaver, administrator of the American Geophysical Union, lodged an invitation request with the State Department for 10 Soviet scientists, including Alexandrov. The State Department replied that all could come to the United States "with the only exception of Alexandrov." Doesn't this mean that Washington already knew what had happened to Alexandrov? Rivkin confirmed this. An intelligence expert, he said, assured me that the US intelligence services had known about the Alexandrov incident in Spain.

It is now known that Pentagon strategists were not alone in wishing to get rid of an active scientist, one of the authors of the "nuclear winter" theory. Late in June his study



was sharply criticized in the American press by experts of two military-industrial laboratories, the Livermore Laboratory in California and the Los Alamos Laboratory in New Mexico. Both laboratories are major centres for the development of advanced nuclear missile systems, including the neutron bomb and the laser weapon of the Star Wars system. The inventors of weapons of mass destruction claim that contrary to what V. Alexandrov said a thermonuclear world war would not cause a lethal drop in temperatures.

They also suggested a milder term instead of "nuclear winter" -- "nuclear fall." The "compromise" name not only creates the false illusion that one could survive a total war in a bomb-shelter but also allows the Pentagon to stick to its aggressive strategy of "pre-emptive nuclear strike."

As I continued to make inquiries in New York and Washington about possible involvement of the CIA in Alexandrov's disappearance, I found out that the man who was best informed about the case among journalists was Ralph Ditoledano. A commentator notorious for his ultra-conservative views, he has written three articles about Alexandrov during the year. He declared that "nuclear winter" was a Soviet fib. I felt that he knew more than he cared to say and I phoned to ask him for a date.

Ditoledano agreed to meet with me, but, as it turned out later, not because he wanted to be polite. He wanted to find out how much the Soviet correspondent knew and then malign him in the press and discourage Americans from helping me in my search for the Soviet scientist.

Did he achieve his objective? It's hard to say. In any case, the meeting was not useless.

"Why did you decide, in investigating the Alexandrov case, to contact Western European intelligence services?" I asked.

"Because my friends linked with the CIA advised me to go



to Madrid and Paris," Ditoledano said.

"What did you find out there?"

"I have access to French intelligence sources. They told me that Alexandrov, who disappeared on Spanish territory, did not become a trophy of intelligence services in Spain, France or Italy. The French first believed that the CIA got him, but that was not confirmed later."

"Why?"

"My friends categorically deny that he had been taken to the United States. At the same time, people in the CIA know his whereabouts."

"Do you?"

"Yes."

"Where is he then?"

"I have information that he is in the hands of the British secret service MI-6. It has a lot of experience in performing such tricks."

"The CIA was in the know, wasn't it?"

"I think it was."

"Why then are the people who abducted Alexandrov have been hiding him for more than a year?"

"There may be two reasons. There is a chance they are keeping him in custody to break him psychologically, force him to surrender and then display him at a press conference where he would publicly renounce the theory of 'nuclear winter' he invented. However, the agents handling the case, are probably still in doubt. They fear the stubborn Russian may outwit them and tell at the press conference that he was kept by force and bullied into lying. He may even demand that he be sent back home. There would be a fantastic scandal."

"What is the other reason?"

"The grilling might have killed him. He might have had a heart stroke. In that case, nobody would ever tell about the



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captive's death."

"But the CIA would know?"

"Sure."

Of course, I could not take on trust everything the CIA-linked journalist told me. Why did he point to the British secret service MI-6? To shift the blame from the CIA for the nearly uncovered crime. Why did he make transparent hints about the prisoner's possible death? Again to clear the CIA and, at the same time, convince us that it is useless to try to save Alexandrov. But if he had been tortured to death, Ditoledano would have hardly said anything like that. No, I can't believe that Vladimir Alexandrov is dead.

Some time ago our newspaper helped the liberation of our fellow-journalist who was abducted in the West. We shall not lose hope this time too. And we shall not give up our efforts to find out the fate of the Soviet scientist and, if he is alive, help him return home.

Washington-New York.

(Literaturnaya Gazeta, July 23. Abridged.)



Thursday, April 10, 1986

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VORIO-860410-505

NOVOYE VREMYA ON THE ROME TRIAL

Bulgarian citizen Sergei Antonov has been released as a result of the struggle waged by the progressive public all over the world to expose the lies and international conspiracy against the good name of People's Bulgaria and other countries of the socialist community, the Novoye Vremya weekly says. It notes that the conspiracy was engineered by world imperialism and Western secret services, above all the US CIA, the Italian SISMI secret service with the participation of the Mafia, neofascist, pro-Zionist and masonic circles.

In political terms, the article says, the Rome trial has been described as an international provocation. But the reactionaries failed to achieve all of their aims, albeit at the initial stage they succeeded in a measure in unfolding a slanderous propaganda campaign, but it soon lost its momentum, and then they had to stick to a monotonous repetition of the same false arguments. From time to time these arguments were "substantiated" by Ali Agca's clownery designed to galvanize the "Bulgarian connection."

Contrary to the designs of those who framed up the trial, it has convincingly shown that neither the People's Republic of Bulgaria, nor the other socialist countries or their citizens, have anything to do with international terrorism. On the contrary, they condemn it as a grave crime to be prosecuted and severely punished.

From the legal viewpoint, the weekly says, the trial has seriously violated the Italian law and the norms and principles of international law. The preliminary investigation and examination in court were unsubstantiated and biased, with an accusatory tilt and preference for versions directed against the Bulgarian citizens. The violation of the right of the defendants for legal protection, crude treatment of



witnesses for the defence, and violation of the order of identification prevented an objective examination of the case, analysis and appraisal of the proofs, and misrepresented the circumstances of the "case" to the West European public.

Commentaries by a number of Western press media alleged that the formula of "acquittal for insufficient evidence or lack of evidence" is not tantamount to full and unconditional acquittal, which should have been the only correct conclusion drawn from the facts examined in court, the article says. "What can be said on that score? The court proved unable to overcome its political prejudice and pressure from the forces concerned. The casuistic formula "acquitted for insufficient evidence" is illogical. In this specific case it was used to cast at least a shadow of aspersions on Sergei Antonov, Zhelyo Vassilev and Todor Aivazov. This attempt was made, in full absence of proofs of any guilt of the slandered Bulgarian citizens, to save the face of Italian justice and substantiate the unlawful keeping of Sergei Antonov in custody for such a long time.

Nevertheless, even this verdict is a recognition of the fact that neither Bulgaria, nor the three of its slandered citizens, have anything to do with the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II, the weekly says in conclusion.

(Novoye Vremya No.15. Summary.)



ONE ODD MAN OUT

Turkish businessman Bekir Celenk has died as a result of a heart attack, without giving evidence at the trial of the case involving the attempted murder of Pope John Paul II. Agca, the Turkish terrorist, who had shot at the Pope, claimed that Bekir Celenk had promised him three million West German marks for the murder. As Literaturnaya gazeta reports in connection with this in its latest issue, in the spring of 1983 in Sofia, Bekir Celenk made literally the following statement: "I have been slandered! I have never seen this damned Agca even from a distance!"

Celenk tirelessly reiterated one and the same thing, the journalist notes, including at a press conference in the face of the whole world press. Yet some bourgeois newspapers are complaining now that Bekir Celenk's death allegedly deprives Italian justice of the last chance to prove any connection between murderers and Bulgarian agents. There has never been such a chance, the article stresses.

Bekir Celenk, the newspaper notes, was detained by the Bulgarian authorities. In conformity with the international legal norms, the public prosecutor's office of People's Bulgaria suggested that Italian investigating judge Ilario Martella should come to Sofia and interrogate the detained man. But Martella... refused point blank to do so. Over the two years, which the zealous judge spent to maintain as much as he could the notorious "Bulgarian connection", he found no possibility to spend a week in order to visit Bulgaria and find out the truth first hand.

Moreover, the journalist stresses, over the whole of the two years, Bulgaria, despite repeated notices, has never



received from the Italian side an official request for the extradition of Celenk.

At last, the Bulgarian authorities, who got convinced that the businessman had nothing to do with the attempted murder in St. Peter's Square, let him go home, to Turkey. Yet, he was immediately taken by the police. Celenk was responsible for smuggling operations and customs violations. But he remained indomitable till his dying hour on one point: he had absolutely nothing to do with the attempted papal murder.

There is information, the newspaper says in conclusion, that since his arrest in his homeland, he was being incessantly masterminded by the Western secret services, which persuaded him to cooperate and promised that if he did so he would be immediately absolved of all his real sins. Celenk did not succumb, and as one of the newspapers put it "the expected thing happened".

New evidence came to light at the same time, confirming the mendacity of the statements by Turkish terrorist Agca concerning the circumstances of the attempt to assassinate Pope John Paul II in Rome in 1981. Under the programme of the ongoing tour of several European states, members of the Rome court of jurors have held a session in Bern, Switzerland where they interrogated one of the members of the Turkish profascist terrorist organization Grey Wolves, Mehmed Senner. Agca who had shot at the Pope in St. Peter's Square had claimed that his "close friend" Senner was involved in that plot and had taken an active part in its preparation.

At the interrogation, though, Senner who is regarded as one of the main witnesses by the Italian authorities, according to the ANSA agency, utterly dismissed the provocative statements of Agca. He said that Agca was resorting to outrageous lies in an attempt to shift his blame onto others. Answering jurors' questions, Senner disproved the words by



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Agca that they had supposedly been together in Vienna on the eve of the assassination attempt. He also said that he had not been in Bulgaria after his escape from Turkey no matter what Agca might be saying. Senner has also flatly dismissed a number of other statements by Agca.

(Literaturnaya Gazeta - TASS. Oct.23. Summary).

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA KURUMU  
TÜSTAV



Thursday, March 13, 1986

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VORIO-860313-512

TRIAL IN ROME

E. Kovalyov

More than nine months of court investigation, sometimes biased, and nearly forty tormenting months in custody is the price Sergei Antonov has been forced to pay. His plight vividly attests to the illusory nature of "human rights" in the West, the subject of so much talk by advocates of Western-style democracy and civil liberties, the author writes.

The freedom, health and family life of an honest man, the peace of mind of his kin were sacrificed for the sake of mean political calculations.

The "Antonov case" shall for ever remain an example of a sleazy political provocation.

The Pope assassination attempt trial, staged allegedly for exposing the accomplices of the actual criminal, terrorist Ali Agca, who shot at Pope John Paul II, was deliberately put off track by behind-the-scene forces and turned into a means of the large-scale political provocation against socialist countries and against detente in Europe.

Certain circles, Kovalyov writes, have been seeking to prove, come what may, the obviously false claim about "Bulgarian connection" in the assassination attempt for nine months. The court was thus denied an opportunity to objectively reveal and expose the true accomplices Agca in all likelihood had.

An anti-Bulgarian, anti-socialist campaign was launched around the assassination attempt on the pontiff's life and around the trial itself. Special services in the United States and several Western European countries, as well as



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professional misinformers on their payroll played a sinister part in working up the slanderous "Bulgarian connection" claim.

The masterminds of the campaign failed, however, despite all subterfuges. The attempts to break the innocent Antonov failed, too. The position of the prosecution was finally undermined by the inevitable admission that Agca's anti-Bulgarian "testimony" was nothing but fiction.

The author notes in conclusion that it is up to jurors and judges, as Italian law goes, to pass the final verdict. Only a few days are left before their ruling. Let us hope that the sense of justice and impartiality will prevail, and they will be able to remain free from the impact of the intrusive anti-communist, anti-socialist propaganda that for months described the horrors of "communist-controlled international terrorism", and sought to prove the "complicity" of Bulgarian citizens in the crime on St. Peter's square. Let them return Sergei Antonov the freedom stolen from him, Kovalyov writes.

(Novoye Vremya, No.11. Summary.)



SOVIET LAWYER: LESSONS OF THE ANTONOV CASE

"It wasn't difficult to notice that the prosecution at the Rome trial was least of all interested in impartial facts. Instead, it concentrated on hoaxes and groundless claims," said in an Izvestia interview an Academician Vladimir Kudryavtsev, director of the Institute of State and Law under the Soviet Academy of Sciences. "Prosecutor Marini referred in his statement, for instance, to persons who were never summoned to court, quoted from 'documents' which no one ever saw. Thus, the principles of directness, objectiveness and competitiveness of the sides, recognized in all European countries, were grossly violated. In fact, Marini was doing his utmost to avoid all routes leading towards the truth."

Describing the investigating methods used at the Rome trial, Kudryavtsev stressed, "It is known that there are in fact two crimes. One is the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II. The true culprits, besides Agca, are not yet known. The other is the provocative arrest of Antonov. This should also be qualified as an offence. That includes perjury, false denunciation, incorrect conduct of the investigation, abuse of office by persons linked with special services. All this calls for an investigation."

In connection with the fact that the wording of acquittal due to insufficient evidence is not equivalent to a full acquittal, The Soviet lawyer said, "In all democratic states, and I say it as a lawyer, any grounds in favour of acquittal are equivalent due to the presumption of innocence. As to the Italian justice, it is based on a legal formula that appeared during the times of Mussolini. This formula is archaic. It contradicts, in my view, the Italian constitution and



international covenants dealing with the presumption of innocence. That wording, as it is interpreted in Italian legal practice, was used to cast aspersions on the Bulgarian nationals."

Kudryavtsev said the following on the political lessons of the Rome trial: "Firstly, the trial revealed the aspiration of the imperialist circles, using all means, to poison the consciousness of citizens in Western countries by enmity and mistrust with regard to socialism as a whole. This political action was designed to revive the Cold War atmosphere and make a turn for detente in Europe impossible. It contradicted the Helsinki accords, destabilised the political climate on the continent. Secondly, the trial also showed, and this is a positive moment, that subversive actions of this kind always hit back. The international public took vigorous efforts to expose the secret collusion around the trial, facilitated the finding of the truth, familiarized the population of other countries with the details of the hearings at Foro Italico, and explained the essence of the developments. I think that this played a significant part in the court's final ruling. One should also know and, what is even more important, remember the truth about the trial so that nothing like that would happen again."

(Izvestia, March 30. Summary.)

THE END



TRACING THE UNTRACEABLE

Public prosecutor Marini has wasted three hours trying to construct an oversophisticated yet utterly indefensible "Bulgarian version". He laid himself out to misguide the court by talking about events alleged to have taken place before Ali Agca's assassination attempt on the Pope.

Marini told the astonished audience that the "Bulgarian trace" had appeared right after the shooting in St. Peter's Square. The only "argument" he could produce in support of this allegation was that during the very first interrogation, the "grey wolf" had declared that he had been to Bulgaria and bought the weapon he fired at the Pope with... Meanwhile, it had been irrefutably proved that it was not in Bulgaria but in Vienna that the Browning had been bought. Besides, wasn't the public prosecutor aware that you cannot buy any arms in socialist countries, as you can in the West?

But those "details" appeared to be of no interest to the prosecutor. He tried to prove that if Agca had been in Bulgaria before the assassination attempt, "it was there that he had been brainwashed". Marini deliberately omitted the fact that Agca had been to Italy and some other West European countries prior to May 13, 1981.

The object behind this fact-twisting was to get across the idea that although Agca had, indeed, perpetrated that act of terrorism, there had been an international conspiracy masterminded from Sofia. The "Bulgarian trace", he claimed, had not been thought up by Western secret services, but had appeared before, rather than after, the visit that the men of the SISMI (military information and security service) paid to Agca in prison.

After the opening sessions, observers analysing the



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prosecutor's speech found that the prosecutor had been twisting facts <sup>by</sup> trying to produce an extremely "distorted picture". The way prosecutor Marini has chosen to follow is not one in search of the truth and justice.

(Izvestia, February 16. Abridged.)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI  
TÜSTAV



Part 16

## THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION; A NEW HERESY?

Alvaro Oviedo

CC member, Colombian CP

Professor Stepan Mamontov

WMR staff member

Latin America, now swept by a spreading popular struggle for a better future, has almost 42 per cent of the world's Catholics. Considering the continent's high social dynamism and the novel religious practices and theological ideas, one can well understand why it is an increasingly salient factor in the Vatican's strategic calculations. It also appears to be perfectly natural that Latin America has offered a breeding ground for the latest religious trends which are regarded in Rome with suspicion as dangerous free-thinking. Religious institutions, among them those in the service of Catholicism, have always developed in close connection with the economic, social, philosophical and political history of the peoples in whose bosom they originated.

In the course of its five centuries in the region, the Catholic Church has reflected the most general stages on the way of its peoples to social emancipation, passing through two major and completed periods and entering upon a third incipient period.<sup>1</sup> The first (1492-1810), from the discovery of America

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<sup>1</sup> See P. Richard, "A Igreja latino-americana entre o temor e a esperança", Quadernos do CEAS, No. 69, 1980, p. 38.



to the War of Independence, was marked by the Conquista, colonialism and feudalism; the second (1810-1959), ranging over the entire period of the anti-Spanish struggle and the subsequent nominally independent existence of the Latin American nations, was marked by a less than serene development of local capitalism under the neocolonial domination of the imperialist powers, the United States in the first place. At both stages, the Church had its non-conformists and rebels who sided with the dispossessed and the oppressed, such as Bishop Bartolome de las Casas (1474-1566), who stood up for the Indians and fought the ecclesiastical dogmatists, or the fighters for Mexico's independence, the priests Miguel Hidalgo (1753-1811) and Jose Maria Morelos (1765-1815), who were executed with ~~the~~ the blessings of the "Holy See", i.e., the Vatican.

The victory of the Cuban Revolution ushered in even more "troubled" times in the history of Latin America, and also of its Church, leading to the appearance of new "rebels" and new "heresies" among the Catholic clergy, including some episcopal circles.

#### The General Crisis of Capitalism and the "Aggiornamento"

From the standpoint of the criticism of ecclesiastical dogmas, this latest period abounds in novel approaches to religious questions, and changes in the everyday life and attitudes of the Church, which has to reckon with the realities of the world. Mankind had changed by the end of the 1950s: an ever more favourable balance of forces was being created for peace,



democracy and social progress by the emergence and strengthening of the socialist community, the disintegration of the colonial system, fresh pressure from the working class and all the other democratic strata in the developed capitalist countries, and the rise of the national liberation movement.

It is not surprising, therefore, that important events also occurred in the life of the Catholic Church in the two subsequent decades: the pontificate of two unusually "free-thinking" Popes--John XXIII (1958-1963) and Paul VI (1963-1978), and also the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), which passed under the sign of what is known as the "Aggiornamento", which is, simply speaking, the adaptation of an increasingly senile ecclesiastical organism to the new realities of the latter half of our century connected with the successes of socialism and the threat of a nuclear war.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Pope John XXIII, for instance, moved away from the cold war policy and supported the idea of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. He recognised the need and usefulness of contacts and dialogue between Catholics and Communists; he abandoned the practice of excommunicating clerical "dissidents" and recognised the right of various groups, trends and opinions to exist within the Catholic Church. Pope Paul VI helped to improve the Vatican's relations with the socialist countries and came out in defence of peace; on the occasion of the signing of the nuclear test ban treaty he cabled messages of greetings to the heads of the governments of the nuclear powers, including the first friendly message to the Soviet leadership since the establishment of the USSR. The Second Vatican Council, which was held under John XXIII and Paul VI, effectively reaffirmed the Catholics' right to freedom of conscience,



The general crisis of capitalism, interlaced with the harmful effects of the dependent state of local capital, became especially acute in Latin America in the early 1960s and affected every sphere of social life. In economics, it was expressed in the collapse of the "Latin American model" of industrial development, which fell victim to rapid penetration by transnational corporations (TNCs), and to the neoliberal monetarist conceptions with an abrupt worsening of the working people's condition. In politics, the crisis was signalled by the incapacity of the propertied classes to rule by means of the old and mainly parliamentary and reformist methods--in a majority of the countries in the region, at any rate. In that period, military dictatorships, a product of the notorious "national security doctrine", were established for a long time in response to the revolutionary upswing in the republics of the Southern Cone: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Uruguay and Chile. In social thinking, the growing impoverishment of the masses and the impressive victories of the Cuban revolution reduced the erstwhile influence of bourgeois, including national-reformist, ideological trends, and caused the wide spread of left-wing, revolutionary ideas, largely formed by Marxism-Leninism, in all the strata of the society.

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and for the first time came out in favour of a dialogue between believers and atheists. See I. Grigulevich, The Papacy. The Twentieth Century, Moscow, 1978, pp. 352, 370-371, 382-383, 414 (in Russian).



In those conditions, the Catholic Church, one of the principal pillars of the / <sup>exploitative</sup> system, intimately linked with the ruling elite of the Latin American countries for centuries, could not escape deep internal changes either.

The prime cause of the changes within the Church will not, of course, be found in any evolution of views among the churchmen themselves; it lies in the strategy of the most liberal and dynamic sections of the bourgeoisie, striving to overcome the backwardness of the countries of the continent, to win a gradual modernisation of economic structure within the framework of capitalism.<sup>3</sup>

The Church made a noticeable step towards meeting the demands of the time at the Second Vatican Council, and even began to denounce the abuses of power by the rich, and to take an open stand in defence of the most deprived section of the population. But this was a level of criticism that did not, of course, imply anything but a reformist alternative of social development. It was, at root, an effort to get more believers to take part in the system, which was presented as modern "advanced, liberal and technologically developed" capitalism.

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<sup>3</sup> This bourgeois-reformist theory, presented in various nationally frameworked modifications, emerged after the Second World War and was most widely spread in the 1950s and 1960s under the general name of "desarrollismo" (desarrollo being the Spanish for development). Among the demagogic slogans of the "desarrollist" bourgeoisie are "justice", "participation" and "free development" for all.



### The Origin of the New Theology

In the early 1960s, there was a rapid spread of understanding of the true workings of the mechanisms and causes of underdevelopment in nearly all Latin American countries. It was becoming evident that this was not just a technical or a political problem, but a congenital effect of capitalist development itself, within a system whose core consisted of highly industrialised states, mainly those within NATO. The well-known Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff says: "In order to maintain the levels of acceleration and accumulation which they have attained, they have to establish profoundly unequal and unfair relations with partners who are technologically more backward but rich in raw materials. The result is that the latter are doomed to underdevelopment, which is the reverse side of development."<sup>4</sup>

Latin America's economic enslavement sparked off mass action by the working people and radicalised broad strata of the intelligentsia and the students, who seek to act together with the people and to support its demands and struggle, which has assumed the most diverse forms--sometimes the form of armed struggle--depending on the national conditions. That is the period in which the struggle was first joined by many young Christians, and entire organisations of believers in some countries.

The most outstanding personality in the "rebel" Church in that turning-point period was Camilo Torres Restrepo, professor of sociology and chaplain at the National University of Colombia, who formulated a revolutionary alternative for the country in

<sup>4</sup> Leonardo Boff, Iglesia: Carisma y Poder, Bogota, 1962, p.22.



the light of his religious convictions. His example gave many food for thought and met with a response among thousands of priests, who united into numerous clerical organisations and movements seeking to democratise and renew the Church, which was on the whole alien to popular revolutionary aspirations. Even some members of the higher clergy did not quite escape the influence of these new theological trends.

Council

Even before the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM), which met in Medellin (Colombia) in 1968, the Manifesto of the Bishops of the Third World, supported by 800 Latin American priests, became widely known. It sharply criticised the inhuman economic and social practices and spoke in favour of socialism. Just before the Medellin meeting opened, 1,000 priests throughout Latin America addressed an open letter to their bishops to put on record the fact that the cause of the popular suffering was the "existing political, economic and social system" and urging Christians to display solidarity with the struggle for the rights of the working people and the establishment of a more just society. At Medellin, the Latin American bishops on the whole took a favourable attitude to "the liberation of the peoples of the continent from the age-old misery, dependence and oppression, and came out without reservation in favour of eliminating the conditions of exploitation and injustice".<sup>5</sup> All of this inevitably had an impact on the processes of renewal in Catholicism, and markedly strengthened the positions of their advocates.

<sup>5</sup> Documento de Teólogos Alemanes, Chile-America, No. 37-38, 1977, p. 19.



Soon after the Medellin meeting, the principal tenets of the theological trend which later came to be known as "liberation theology" began to crystallise and take shape as a system. Its founders then said that that was a "moment of reflection" under the impact of the changing ecclesiastical practices. Let us now consider, if only in most general terms, what the new social practice of the Church consisted in and what it suggested to the renewalists.

#### Grassroots Christian Communities

These communities first emerged because of the shortage of priests (in Latin American countries, there is one priest per 7,000 Catholics as compared with one per 880 in the United States). Grassroots Christian communities emerged in the early 1960s in the poorest districts of Brazil, mainly within large parishes, some of which had as many as 10,000 parishioners, a number much too large for one priest, with the result that small groups (from 10 to 30 persons) were formed under some literate lay person who had had an elementary course of religious instruction. Such a man from the people became a kind of spiritual pastor for his mini-community under the direction of the parish priest.

It would be naive to assume that these innovations were introduced without the Vatican's or its local representatives' knowledge. From the outset, the emergence of grassroots Christian communities in Latin American countries proceeded under the attentive, but far from always benevolent eye of the



national episcopates, who had perforce to reckon with the growing activity of the Catholic grassroots. This activity was largely promoted by the Medellin decisions, which called on the clergy and the laity to take part in the transformation of the society on fairer lines, and which proclaimed a "preferential option for the poor".

The senior clergy regarded these communities not only as a possibility for easing the great shortage of the lower clergy in the Latin American backwoods, but also as a powerful instrument for evangelising the population, a means of bringing the Church closer to the masses, in short, as an important instrument of the "aggiornamento". But in practice everything proved to be much more complicated. At first, the tasks of these communities were formulated as "the spread of faith internally, the preparation of liturgy, the sacraments and life in piety". But the members' mutual assistance in facing the problems of life subsequently came to the fore, as they came to realise that their problems sprang from the elitist organisation of the society, private enrichment and, ultimately, from the economic and social structure of capitalism itself. That was an invasion of politics into the realm of religious reflection and religious practice, while the question of moral purification was invested with concrete historical meaning.

"It is no longer a matter of liberation from sin (from which we must <sup>always</sup> liberate ourselves), but of liberation in historical terms (economic, political and cultural)," says Leonardo Boff, adding: "Such liberation as a process requires a more detailed analysis of the society, of how wealth is produced and



distributed, and of the place of each human being in the "capital--labour--participation relationship."<sup>6</sup> A community which has awakened to an understanding of this is already aware of why human rights are being violated, why there is a structural poverty and social injustice which do not spring from the ill will of the master, but from the system itself that is generally presented as good, Christian, democratic and so on.

While there are still no exact data on the number and geography of the grassroots Christian communities, by the end of the 1970s virtually the whole Latin American region had become a field of their vigorous activity, while their total number exceeded 150,000, with more than one-half in Brazil, where they have roughly three million parishioners. Several thousand communities are in Chile, Peru and Central America, and hundreds in Colombia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Mexico, Ecuador, and other countries. It is well known, for instance, that they had, and still have, a noticeable role to play in the revolutionary process and in building a new life in Nicaragua and in the liberated areas of El Salvador.

It is important to note that the activity of these communities is coordinated on a continental scale as well: two inter-American meetings of community activists have been held--one in Brazil (Sao Paulo, 1980), and another in Ecuador (Cuenca, 1984). The Cuenca resolution said, in part: "We are organising ourselves against the oppressors, against the system which exploits

<sup>6</sup> Leonardo Boff, op. cit., pp. 23, 193.



us, and which tries to keep us disunited and everyone fending for himself."<sup>7</sup>

In this context, much significance also attaches to the final document of the First Ecumenical Meeting on Pastoral Theology of the Southern Cone countries (Brazil, July 1982), which was attended by prominent leaders of the Catholic and other churches of Latin America. It said: "We believe, first of all, that the communities should not be transformed into elitist groups in the midst of the people, and that their religious experience, and the warm sense of inner fraternity, should not absorb their members to such an extent that they should remain unconcerned about the lot of their compatriots." The document goes on to formulate as one of the tasks the need "to articulate the ecclesiastical communities with the other popular organisations, especially those whose objectives and strategy are political... We must strive to have the communities support these organisations, whenever necessary, and show respect for their goals and autonomy, without substituting for each other. It is also necessary that every Christian, and the various groups of believers should gradually move towards a living synthesis between their faith and their ecclesiastical affiliation, on the one hand, and their class solidarity and political commitment, on the other."<sup>8</sup> (Emphasis added.--A.O., S.M.) These / are not, ideas

<sup>7</sup> ALAI, September 1984, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Respuesta teológica a los desafíos del Cono Sur, Chile-America, No. 80-81, 1982, pp. 123, 124.



of course, shared by the entire Church hierarchy. Most of its dogmatists, such as the Guatemalan Cardinal Casariego, has pinned the label of "Judas" on the priests working with these communities, and has accused their members of having "communist sympathies".

The real attitude to the grassroots communities on the part of the Latin American establishment and the official Church was most vividly formulated by the French missionary Michel Piton, who lived <sup>for</sup> many years in Central America, and is not a Marxist by any stretch of the imagination. He says that the men in power regard it as a "silent, peaceful but very real subversive activity, and the fear which it inspires is all the greater because no one knows how it can be stemmed, since there is no plausible pretext for any repression".<sup>9</sup>

### Three Rounds of Discussion

The new religious practices involving the establishment and the broad spread of grassroots Christian communities with their heightened social activity, their inherent rejection of the injustice and immorality of the bourgeois society, and their vigorous theological thinking, have led some of the lower clergy to develop a system of views generally known as "liberation theology". One of its founders and its "godfather" (and the author of a book of that name) was the Peruvian priest Gustavo Gutierrez, who, like many of his associates and followers, believes that theological constructs must start not only from a

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<sup>9</sup> Le Monde Diplomatique, June 1984, p. 9.



consideration of the "great social movements of our epoch", but also from the incontrovertible fact that most Christians belong to a "social class exploited by another class". Hence the need to "side with those ... who come out against the perpetrators of man's exploitation by man".<sup>10</sup>

We do not set ourselves the task of analysing in detail the "liberation theology", which has its national aspects in different Latin American countries. Let us merely formulate three sets of problems constituting its discussion core and presenting a special interest from the standpoint of Marxism, namely, the renewalists' view of <sup>the</sup> Church's attitude to "politics"; defence of human rights, freedom of conscience for believers; and, most importantly, the class nature of the present-day capitalist society. The new line of arguments on these problems is exemplified by the writings of Leonardo Boff, who has now become a prominent spokesman for the latest trends in Catholic theology.

On the Church's participation in "politics", he relies on the distinction made by a conference of the Latin American Episcopal Council at Puebla<sup>11</sup> between Politics (with a capital P) and politics in the conventional sense of the term. The former

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<sup>10</sup> See J. Rosales, Cristo y/o Marx, Buenos Aires, 1984, p. 113.

<sup>11</sup> A conference at Puebla in Mexico in 1979, where there was a showdown between the conservatives and the renewalists, and which continued the "aggiornamento" line on some issues.



is taken to mean the quest for the common good, the promotion of social justice and civil rights, and the exposure of corruption and violation of human dignity; "politics", with a small p, signifies the activity of individual parties which should not concern the Church as a religious institution, but which can be of interest only to the laity as a part of it. Boff believes that the Church cannot afford not to take part in Politics "on the grand scale", i.e., "it cannot be indifferent in the face of the justice or injustice of a cause, it cannot remain silent in the face of the people's open exploitation, for there is no neutrality in Politics on the grand scale: it is either in favour of changes towards a more democratic society or for the preservation of the status quo, under which a large part of the population is marginalised in many countries, as it is in our country."<sup>12</sup>

the attitude of the church hierarchy to  
Concerning/human rights, Boff starts from the general theological tenet that human dignity is sacred and inviolable. On the strength of that he criticises the Church on some points and stresses that these are not occasional abuses but practices stemming from the distinctive church organisation, although the contradictions producing violations of human rights are not inherent to the Church itself but subordinate to processes occurring in the society, and it is there that one should look for their prime causes and denounce and combat injustice.

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<sup>12</sup> Leonardo Boff, op. cit., p. 48.



Among the aspects being criticised are: first, the way elections are held for senior church office, without any regard for the opinions of the lower clergy, while the ecclesiastical authorities, from top to bottom, are in fact imposed on the communities at the will of a handful of influential persons. Second, the fact that the Church discriminates against women, who make up more than one-half of the faithful, with the number of women in religious orders ten times larger than that of men. Nevertheless, they are not entitled to hold any ecclesiastical office, with the exception of semi-technical ones. Third, the virtually inquisitorial control over Catholic publications and the mass media. Fourth, the Vatican's disciplinary practices and doctrine aimed against internal "dissidents", which are long-standing and incompatible with human rights.

Of most interest to Marxists are the ideas of the "liberation theology" on the place and role of the Church in the bourgeois class society seen from the historical standpoint. Boff writes: "In the West and in Latin America, we live in a society with an asymmetrical mode of production. It is capitalism, which is characterised by the private property in the means of production held by a permanent minority, ... and by an unequal distribution of the final products of labour. This asymmetrical mode of production produces a class society with an asymmetrical distribution of power, with the classes having divergent interests and locked in relations of domination... The ruling classes, in their strategy of hegemony, want the Church to serve the ampli-



fication, consolidation and legitimation of their domination, helping them to preserve and legitimate their power... But there is no fatal inevitability for the Church to adapt itself to those who historically happen to be in power. For their part, the oppressed classes also look to the Church, and it is quite capable of effecting and justifying its break with the powers that be and putting itself at the service of the revolutionary cause. The faithful will be found on both sides of the barricades, which is why the Church, inevitably rent by class conflicts, can assume either a revolutionary function, or the function of consolidating the positions of the class in power. Which of these two alternatives is chosen does not depend either on human will or whim, but on the kind of relations the religious institutions have established with the various classes in the course of the socio-historical process."<sup>13</sup>

Until the Medellin meeting, the Church, as a social institution, remained relatively united in Latin America and was invariably on the side of the oppressors. From the early 1960s on, the renewalists say, historical conditions took shape for the emergence of a new church originating in the midst of the oppressed people, a church reflecting its demands and aspirations, having made a "preferential choice in favour of the poor", without, however, forgetting its universal mission, that of "justice for all, rights for all, participation for all". That is why the grassroots Christian communities have not closed in upon their narrowly practical and religious interests, being open to everyone who stands for justice, and supporting their struggle.

<sup>13</sup> Leonardo Boff, op. cit., pp. 163-164.



The liberation theologians believe that capitalism, as a system, with its prevailing "social asymmetry", and expressing the interests of one class, is an impediment to the Church's "universality". Boff writes: "A democratic and socialist society offers better objective conditions for the fullest expression of the catholicity of the Church."<sup>14</sup> In other words, under capitalism the catholicity of the Church often has a hollow ring, with the use of the same symbols but with a different content, depending on class status.

#### The Pentagon and the Vatican Against the Renewalists

From the outset, the new religious practices and their theological comprehension were closely watched by Washington. In 1969, President Richard Nixon sent Nelson Rockefeller on a "friendship tour" of Latin America. The result was the "Rockefeller Report", which said that the modern mass media and education, with their influence on the minds of men, have also had a tremendous impact on the Church, turning it into a force dedicated to change, and of necessity, to revolutionary change. It urged caution with respect to the Latin American Church, which was bound to infringe on US interests, if it acted in accordance with the Medellin decisions.<sup>15</sup>

The Banzer Plan, worked out with the direct participation of the CIA, was put into practice a year later. It bore the name

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>15</sup> Solidaridad, Aportes cristianos para la liberacion, No. 57, 1984, p. 2.



of the then dictator of Bolivia, and was first applied only in that country, and then on the scale of the continent as a whole. The first <sup>provision</sup> / recommends that no attacks should be made against the Church as a religious institution, but only against its more progressive part, while point 7 says: "(Black--  
S.M.)  
A.O., / listed priests should be <sup>apprehended</sup> / in deserted streets or in the countryside. The <sup>agents</sup> / should be in civvies and in taxis taken for the purpose."<sup>16</sup>

The Episcopal Council at Puebla heard far from complete data showing that in the 1970s alone, more than 700 priests and monks had been imprisoned, tortured, exiled or killed. Since then, the figure has multiplied, the persecution, killings and attacks having been turned into a system, some of whose victims are bishops, such as the head of the Catholic Church in El Salvador Romero, who was shot while officiating in church. It is not surprising that even Father Arrupe, General of the Jesuit Order, has bitterly declared that the crimes against Christians and entire peoples are not being committed by "atheistic regimes, but by governments claiming to be Christian and Catholic".<sup>17</sup>

The well-known Santa Fe Document, which has become the gospel of imperialism on the continent, says: "US foreign policy must confront the liberation theology (now and not retroactively). The role of the Church in Latin America is vital for the ideals of liberty. Regrettably, the Marxist-Leninist

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> GIAS, April 1978.



forces are using the Church as a political weapon against private property and the capitalist system of production, infecting the religious community with ideas which are less Christian than communist."<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile the liberation theology has had little sympathy from the Vatican, among whose latest innovations are the official recognition of the ultra-conservative Opus Dei<sup>19</sup> and the reactivation of the Inquisition under the name of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. Since Wojtyla's election as Pope, attacks on the liberation theology have multiplied, and the hopes of its votaries have been subjected to serious trials. After the Medellin meeting, the ecclesiastical authorities at once started a covert campaign against them, with the support of such well-known Colombian bishops as Alfonso Lopez Trujillo (now cardinal) and Dario Castrillon de Pereira. A part of this campaign has been the establishment in Bogota in 1973 of a Centre for Church and Liberation Studies, one of whose aims was to pave the way for the condemnation of the liberation theology. But these plans failed because, as the prominent specialist on Latin American Church affairs Enrique Dussel said, "the Church cannot destroy itself. The popular

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<sup>18</sup> Solidaridad..., p. 2.

<sup>19</sup> A politico-religious organisation (founded in 1928) with headquarters in Rome. Among its members are those who wield actual power and are prepared to mount "a new crusade" against communism.



strata within it are much too strong for anyone to expect that."<sup>20</sup>

Then followed yet another attack, this time directly from the Vatican: Leonardo Boff, one of the more prominent liberation theologians, was invited for a "talk" to the Congregation for the Doctrine on the Faith in 1984. While his writings were not officially condemned, he was ordered to refrain from making any public statements for a year. At the latest meeting of the Vatican Synod, where there was a sharp polemic on the liberation theology (December 1985), the Brazilian Bishop Eugenio de Salles said it was "putrid meat that had to be taken off the market".<sup>21</sup>

For his part, Pope John Paul II has applied sanctions against the progressive Nicaraguan priests / Ernesto Cardenal and Miguel d'Escoto,<sup>22</sup> being highly active in spreading his far from "renewalist" views, and appointing prelates most loyal to him to the most responsible posts in the Church hierarchy. There has been a generous flow of funds from the coffers of Catholic foundations / in the FRG and the United States to finance publications critical of the liberation theology and to train priests in the same spirit.

Let us note, however, that the Pope has been highly cautious when it comes to open or blanket criticism of the new trends in Catholicism, for he is aware of the actual balance of forces. The Vatican has countered the "liberation theology" with its own

<sup>20</sup> "Los cristianos despues de Puebla", ALAI, No. 15, 1981, p. 171.

<sup>21</sup> Granma, December 5, 1985.

<sup>22</sup> They were stripped of their pastoral functions for refusing to resign from their ministerial posts in Nicaragua's revolutionary government.



"theology of reconciliation", which has been most rabidly supported by the bishops of Colombia. Criticism of Marxism and "Marxist influence" in the ranks of the Church are the gist of it: anti-communism is once again being used in the efforts to divide the masses.

One of the first to come out against the policy of dividing the working people was the revolutionary priest Camilo Torres Restrepo, who issued a bold challenge to anti-communism for the sake of unity. At a meeting of Colombian Communists, he delivered a speech which clearly reflected the mood of many believers: "We are beginning to break with much precedent, when a priest with origins in the bourgeois class, but honest in his intentions, presents himself before the Communists, without losing his faith or demanding that they should give up their convictions. For if the people's needs have been made urgent through the fault of the oligarchy, the people <sup>themselves seek</sup> the forms of revolutionary unity. I am not unaware that my presence here will arouse the ire of the oligarchy, but if I had not come I would have allowed myself to be blinded by anti-communism, the banner of the oligarchy under which the people are exploited and oppressed. Anti-communism is being implanted among the people by the exploiters, because it suits their mean interests. Let us, therefore, fight against anti-communism!"<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See J. Rosales, op. cit., p. 104.



These words have a most meaningful ring today. The liberation theology, of which Camilo Torres was a striking herald (he died for his people twenty years ago), provides fresh evidence that atheists and believers, Marxists and Catholics can and must act in a united front against imperialism, their common enemy.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMALARI  
TÜSTAV



Thursday, October 10, 1985

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DIRTY TRACKS

Notes on the Trial in Rome

G. Zafesov, Pravda's own correspondent

Posts of carbineers in bulletproof vests have again appeared at the former gymnastics hall of the Olympic complex, now converted into an impregnable bunker. Attentive, studying glances. Fingers on the triggers of Tommy guns. A little more "politeness" at the checking point through which accredited newsmen get into the courtroom. The folders and tape recorders are inspected half-heartedly, with a gracious smile; one may even hear an occasional joke.

But feeling run high in the hall itself where hearings on the assassination attempt against Pope John Paul II have been resumed. The judges, of course, remain outwardly calm, but the Turkish neofascist Agca screams every now and then. He hates to see the trial going not the way planned by the stage-managers of this farce. He also hates to see that even his accomplices from the terrorist organisation "gray wolves" give testimonies exposing the falseness of the "Bulgarian version." He hates to see that Bulgarian citizen Sergei Antonov, slandered by him and languishing in jail through his fault, bears himself with dignity.

To be sure, Agca has his own reasons for hysterical screams, base clowning and absurd demands. After so much lying the criminal fears that his "employers" won't appreciate his efforts and their promises, for which he is "working" so hard, will dissipate like smoke. And this is not just an assumption at all. A. Catli, a "gray wolf" brought to the trial from a Paris jail, repeated, with reference to one of his accomplices, the words of Agca that "in the Bulgarian case nothing is done for free" and about his confidence that he



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will soon return to freedom. The interpretation of these words can only be one: the neofascist and hired assassin Agca has been given very concrete promises in exchange for his provocateur role.

Catli's admission that FRG secret services promised him and one more "gray wolf," O. Celik, 200,000 dollars for the support of Agca's charges against the Bulgarian citizens involved, has also become a sensation. Thus, West German secret services now feature in the trial alongside the USA's and Italy's.

So what characterises the court sessions resumed after the summer recess?

The contradictions and absurdities of the "Bulgarian version," which the investigating judges "did not notice," now stand more pronounced than ever before during the four months of the trial. Agca, finding himself face to face with new witnesses, has further confused his lies. It is by no chance that the Italian press has noted that trust for his testimonies "has fallen below zero."

Ever more often Agca solicits the court to summon Francesco Pazienza, a crook of international notoriety, now being kept in an American jail. Pazienza is also known as a leader of the Mason lodge P-2, which aimed to subvert the republican institutions in Italy. He was also the mainspring of the influential group Super-3 within the Italian SISMI, a military information and security service. It was he who maintained contacts with Agca when the latter was being held in the Ascoli Piceno jail - first through the Naples mafia (camorra), and then also personally.

Recently Pazienza through his lawyer sent a letter to the Italian court expressing a readiness "to explain certain things." What is this - a manifestation of good will? Hardly so. Of what assistance can there be any talk if the SISMI's



Super-S was engaged, among other activities, in putting the Italian investigation of major terrorist act cases on the wrong trail? These facts have been proved. Pazienza's accomplices, including General P. Musumeci, former deputy chief of the SISMI, are now behind bars. In the light of this it is clear why the local press treats the possibility of help to justice from such an inveterate rogue as Pazienza with scepticism.

The last two days of hearings have been devoted to the questioning of Sergei Antonov, who has calmly and flatly denied the very fact of being acquainted with Agca. The court thought that this was not enough and made an attempt at a "turning manoeuvre." The judges concentrated on finding out whether Antonov spoke English, though he himself had clearly and unambiguously said "no" on this score.

What is the point here? Why has so much attention been paid to what may appear a fact of secondary importance? The explanation is simple: Agca continues to insist that the contacts he claims to have had with Antonov were conducted in English. This is, by the way, one of the "holes" of the pretrial investigation. How could any "plot" have taken place if Antonov has no command of English and Agca speaks it very poorly. One of the serious miscalculations of the authors of the farce is obviously here. They proceeded from the assumption that the service in many airlines requires a knowledge of English, but Balkan airlines where Antonov worked holds that Italian is nevertheless more important for the staff workers of its office in Italy.

However, if it is accepted that the language barrier stood between Antonov and Agca, then the whole "Bulgarian version" bursts like a soap-bubble!

At the same time the court has not yet considered the statement of the Turk B. Elmaz that he back in 1979 prevented



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Agca from firing at the Pope from a rifle with an optical sight during John Paul II's visit to Turkey. The statement is truly sensational. It would seem that it should be studied with maximum attention and objectivity. But the court is in no hurry, giving preference to its "linguistic investigations." Yet if the substance of Elmaz's statement corresponds to reality, then this would confirm that the "Bulgarian version" has been concocted from beginning to end. On the other hand, this could become yet another proof of the fact that it is necessary to speak not of a "Bulgarian trace," of which many Western mass media are trumpeting so much, but of the traces of the "gray wolves" and of US, Italian, West German and other secret services. Of the dirty tracks of those who have inspired and carried out such a large provocation. These tracks show themselves ever more clearly.

Rome, October

(Pravda, October 10. In full.)

THE END



Tuesday, April 8, 1986

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### "BULGARIAN CONNECTION" COLLAPSES

Vitaly Korionov, political correspondent

For several years the Western press has worked up anti-socialist hysteria, continuously giving "irrefutable evidence" of participation by socialist countries, primarily Bulgaria, in the attempt on the Pope's life. All the media in the US and other NATO countries laboured to establish a "Bulgarian Connection" and "Moscow involvement".

And now a symptomatic phenomenon can be observed: the whole of that machine has stalled, as though there had been no judicial farce in Rome and Sergei Antonov, a perfectly innocent Bulgarian citizen, had not languished in confinement for more than three years.

What matters, of course, is not only that the facts forced the Italian court to acquit the slandered Bulgarians but the judge lacked the courage, however, to admit that the charges had been groundless and fully clear these innocent parties. The whole thing has much greater implications. A political intrigue against the socialist countries, thoroughly planned and worked out by the West's secret services led by the CIA, has fallen flat. The anti-communist slanderers have landed in a mess, and as they have nothing else to say, they are pretending that nothing actually happened.

The "demeanour of silence" won't help them, however: people can see the kind of intrigue present-day anti-communists are capable of. Capitalism, it was stated at the CPSU's Twenty-Seventh Congress, regarded the birth of socialism as an "error" of history which must be "rectified" at all cost and by any means, irrespective of law and morality.

"Stop at nothing", "ask no questions", "only fight against



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communism", and "it does not matter" how the struggle is conducted--such are the "principles" our adversaries are guided by in the struggle against socialism.

The Rome intrigue was conceived as a far-reaching affair, as one in a chain of acts of subversion against the socialist countries and the communist movement. It was part of the measures devised by imperialist reaction to play down their aggravation of the international situation.

It will be recalled that it was then that the policy of state-sponsored terrorism began to be actively pursued by Washington. But it had to be somehow camouflaged. That prompted the invention of a myth about the socialist countries' imaginary complicity in "international terrorism". In reality, this was just the other side to the concept of a "crusade" against socialism announced by the head of the White House.

The "Rome Affair" was inflated to international proportions. The United States, the head of the White House said, would do all within its power to prove a communist conspiracy to assassinate Pope John Paul II.

There was a conspiracy, of course, but not communist at all. It was directed above all against the socialist countries. Maxwell Rabb, US Ambassador to Italy, formulated one of its aims, saying that compromising Bulgaria, the USSR's true ally, would be a step forward and present Moscow as a centre of international terrorism.

It was in vain, however, that the CIA involved the secret services of Italy, the FRG and other NATO countries in that criminal affair. The whole of their foul play burst like a soap-bubble. The true instigators of the judicial farce in Rome have been unable to hide themselves behind an anti-communist smokescreen: that this was the handiwork of the CIA and its agents is obvious to all.



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The act of ideological subversion by imperialism has proved a complete failure. This is so not only because the provocateurs did not show enough zeal. Simply, truth this time, too, has prevailed over lies. That's why the anti-communist fanatics are now keeping their mouths shut.

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