

of a true civilization of labor. Labor is, in some way, the key to the entire social question.”

**The national and international common good.** “Such a culture of labor will imply participation tending to promote the national and international common good, and not to defend individual and corporative interests.”

**The value of human labor.** “Every man has a right to work, which must be recognized practically through an effective commitment to the end of resolving the dramatic problem of unemployment. The fact that this maintains broad layers of the population in a condition of being outcasts, and most markedly, youth, is intolerable. For this reason, the creation of jobs is a primary social task, which is imposed on individuals and on private initiative, and in equal measure on the State. Broadly speaking, here as in other sectors, the State has a subsidiary function; but often it can be called upon to intervene directly, as in the case of international accords between different States.”

**Priority of labor over capital.** “Entrepreneurs have the moral obligation to not hold unproductive capitals and, in investments, to look above all to the common good.”

**Universal destination of goods.** “The principle of the universal destination of goods, together with that of human and supernatural brotherhood, dictates precise duties to the richest countries with respect to the poor countries. These duties are of solidarity in aid to developing countries.”

**Development aid.** “International solidarity is a requirement of a moral order. It is not imposed only in the cases of extreme urgency, but also for aid to real development. There is here a common work to do, which requires a concerted and constant effort to find concrete technical solutions, but also to create a new mentality in the men of our time. Peace in the world depends in large measure upon it.”

**Right to education and culture.** “Every man has the right to culture, which is the specific force of a truly human existence, to which he accedes with the development of his faculties of consciousness, his moral virtues, his capacities of relations with his fellow man, his aptitudes to produce useful and beautiful works. From that derives the requirement of promotion and diffusion of education, to which everyone has an inalienable right. The first condition of that is the elimination of illiteracy.”

The choice of the Church of Pope John Paul II and Cardinal Ratzinger to align themselves with “those who have no voice, the poor of the world,” is evident. In some respects the document of the former Holy Office is revolutionary and demands a profound transformation of even many sectors of the Church. “The direct conclusion of this profound reflection,” says the document, “is the elaboration and the implementation of audacious programs of action in view of the social and economic liberation of millions of men and women, whose condition of economic, social, and political oppression is intolerable.” The message is clear.

## Western accomplices

by Paolo Serri

After a trial lasting eight months, the Rome court deliberating on the plot to assassinate Pope John Paul II on May 13, 1981, found three Bulgarians and three Turks “not guilty,” because of “insufficient evidence.” With this verdict on March 29, the almost five-year-old investigation is back to square one, marking a failure not so much for the magistrates and investigators involved in the case, but for the political and intelligence leaderships in the West. In other words, there has not been the political will by Western circles to fully expose the evident Bulgarian and Soviet masterminding of the plot which brought the Turkish murderer Ali Agca to St. Peter’s Square in May 1981.

The Rome court acquitted the Bulgarian officials Sergei Antonov, Jelio Vassilev, and Todor Ayvazov (the latter two tried in absentia), as well as the Turkish “Grey Wolves” leader Musa Serdar Celebi and followers Omer Bagci and the fugitive Oral Celik. They were found not guilty of the crime of conspiracy and complicity in the murder attempt against the Pope, “because of lack of proof,” an Italian juridical formulation in the cases where doubt persists on the culpability of the defendants. The verdict means that Ali Agca is not the sole actor and that there was an international plot to kill the Pope, but that the circumstantial evidence against the Bulgarians and Turks are not enough to convict them.

The decision came as a surprise to prosecutor Antonio Marini, who had asked for the acquittal of the Bulgarians “for lack of proof,” but life sentences for the Turks. Reflecting the failure in pinpointing the Bulgarian connection in court, with its Turkish mafia and right-wing extremist ramifications, Marini said, “Everything is open again. Nothing definite has yet been established; in practice we are back at the starting point.”

The problem faced by the magistrates and jurors was that the bulk of the accusations relied on the testimony of papal assailant Ali Agca, who during infinite public interrogatories at the trial undermined his own credibility. With his testimony discredited, the multifaceted circumstantial evidence collected by the Italian investigators could not have sufficed

# protect Bulgarians

to convict the defendants. In part, Agca decided to play the "madman" with a mixture of mystical announcements, well-calculated messages to unknown "receivers," and concrete references.

## Western complicity

But a deeper and more significant explanation clarifies that the failure at the Rome trial was the lack of political will on the part of Western elites, in really pursuing the Bulgarian—i.e., Soviet intelligence—connection. This lack of political will, at a time when the previous KGB chief, Yuri Andropov, had become the new absolute ruler of Russia, made sure that the various Italian investigations could reach only very limited results. Moreover, some "Western" financial and intelligence circles and interests, which have been cooperating with Russian expansionist and provocative operations all along, have done everything possible to sabotage the Bulgarian connection investigation.

A recent, striking example in this respect came from the current Italian defense minister, Giovanni Spadolini, who, after the terrorist massacres in December 1985 at the Rome and Vienna airports, called on the *Soviets* to join in the fight against international terrorism, stating at the same time that he never believed in the Bulgarian connection. Given that Spadolini, as defense minister, is responsible for the Italian secret services, one can easily deduce what kind of cooperation the magistrates and policemen have gotten in their investigation of the Bulgarian connection.

Another glaring case is Robert M. Gates, recently named deputy director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Gates has testified twice before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence that the United States has no evidence of a Russian connection to the attempts on the life of the Pope.

Despite all that, and the failure to produce in court enough definite evidence to pin down the accused Bulgarians and Turks, the investigation and the court procedure proved beyond any possibility of doubt that there was a Bulgarian connection, as well as a KGB-Bulgarian secret services connec-

tion to the Turkish and international drugs-for-arms organized crime networks behind the plot to kill the Pope. Attorney Antonio Marini, representing the Italian State at the trial, proved to everyone in his ten-day summation that the Bulgarian authorities not only did not cooperate in any way in the investigation, but deliberately falsified documents and testimony and sabotaged any attempts to find the truth. Marini emphasized that the exposure of the Bulgarian connection came not only from the investigation preceding this trial, but overlapped with other investigations: namely, the one by the Rome judge Ferdinando Imposimato which led to the arrest to the confessed Bulgarian spy, Luigi Scricciolo, a high-level member of the trade union confederation UIL; and the gargantuan arms-for-drugs investigation carried out by the Trento Judge Carlo Palermo.

Just as the trial was ending, the Italian justice ministry officially stated that the Bulgarian authorities had lied in saying that they had never received any arrest warrant against the Turkish mafia boss resident in Bulgaria, Bekir Celenk. According to Judge Ilario Martella, who led the probe which led to the recent court trial, Celenk was the key personal connection between the Bulgarian secret services, the Turkish mafia, and Ali Agca. Celenk was also wanted by Judge Carlo Palermo as a key figure in the multi-billion-dollar arms-for-drugs trade run through Bulgaria, Turkey, and several Italian regions. On April 1, the Italian justice ministry said that two arrest warrants and extradition requests were channeled to Sofia, with no answer from the Bulgarians. Even worse, when the Rome court decided to formally ask the Bulgarian authorities what was the official, legal status of Celenk in Sofia, where he has been resident for years, the Bulgarians decided to put Celenk on a plane, not to Rome, but to Ankara in Turkey, where he was also wanted, but on lesser charges. Soon after, Celenk died of a timely heart attack in the Turkish prison, albeit after confirming a part of the conspiracy—the Bulgarian secret services' control of the arms-for-drugs trade.

Another person who suffered a strange heart attack in a Milan prison was the Syrian Henry Arsan, identified and arrested by Judge Palermo, as one of the key connections in the arms and drugs trade. With two star witnesses out of the way, with Agca's wisely pretending to be unreliable, and with lack of cooperation or sabotage by most Western intelligence and political factions, the wretched outcome of the Rome trial could hardly have been different.

While the former Balkan Air chief and principal defendant Antonov left for Sofia, Italian newspapers reported that a third investigation of the assassination attempt against the Pope is already under way, conducted by three competent magistrates. While this, with the same political climate, might not lead to the juridical condemnation of the Soviet and Bulgarian masterminding of the murder plot, it may still provoke some chilly embarrassment and surprises for the Soviet's accomplices and friends in the West.