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PROGRAM The Fred Fiske Show

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SUBJECT Full Text

FRED FISKE: Among the things which I deplore is the willingness on the part of so many people to see conspiracy behind many of the dramatic events which occur these days, especially when all the answers aren't immediately apparent. That doesn't mean that plots and conspiracies don't exist. And Paul Hensley, in his new book The Plot to Kill the Pope, reconstructs the conspiracy behind the attempt to assassinate Pope John II on May 13th, 1981.

Paul Hensley was a key staff member of President Carter's National Security Council, and a top expert on Turkey.

Very nice to have you with us.

PAUL HENSELEY: Thank you, Fred. Good to be here.

FISKE: You spent your career in the Foreign Service and with the National Security Council. Is that correct?

HENSELEY: Yes, primarily. I spent nearly 30 years in government by the time I retired, and that was almost four years ago now. I spent about half of that time abroad in quite a variety of places, but Turkey was one of the places where I spent a considerable amount of time.

FISKE: And you are fluent in Turkish.

HENSELEY: Yes, I speak Turkish, and have always managed to keep it up. I go to Turkey quite often and know the country quite well.

FISKE: How'd you develop your interest in Turkey and

the Turkish language. I suspect there aren't a great many people, even in our Foreign Service, who speak Turkish.

HENSEY: Well, there are more, I think, than most people realize because we have had a large American presence in Turkey ever since the days of the Truman Doctrine. And Americans who go to Turkey tend to like the country, tend to like to go back. So if you go to Turkey -- and I first went there in the mid-'50s --you -- and you've learned something of the language and you make friends, then you look for opportunities to go back. And that happened to me on two different occasions I was able to go back. I spent the mid-'70s in Turkey and actually left Turkey at the end of the year 1976 when Dr. Brzezinski became President Carter's National Security Council head, and came back to serve with him directly from Turkey.

FISKE: Well, that certainly was a great advantage to you. And you went back to Turkey for the purpose of research for this book and were able to interview the mother of Ali Agca and some of the other people who had known him.

HENSEY: Yes, it was definitely advantage. Because, of course, during my time on the National Security Council, I'd also worked on Turkey, and a great many other things. And I was quite familiar with what had gone on in Turkey during that time.

And one of the things that intrigued me -- I can remember vividly I was having lunch with a friend in Georgetown the day the news came that the Pope had been shot. And a few hours later the news came that the assassin was a Turk. And then the news came that the assassin was Mehmet Ali Agca. Well, that may not have meant much to many people, but it meant a great deal to me because I had known his first victim in Turkey.

FISKE: A newspaper publisher.

HENSEY: The prominent newspaper publisher Abdi Pecci (?). And, in fact, I had spent an afternoon with Abdi Pecci when I'd been in Turkey on an official mission just shortly before he was assassinated. And that assassination was extremely mysterious, in itself. And that immediately led me to conclude that there was something very peculiar about this attack on the Pope.

FISKE: He was sentenced to life imprisonment for having assassinated Pecci..., and escaped from prison, and then shot the Pope.

HENSEY: Well, yes. He was sentenced -- actually, his full sentencing came after his escape, because he was caught only five months after the assassination had taken place. He immediately confessed, which was rather peculiar. He seemed to enjoy

the process. And in Turkey, there's a mandatory death penalty for murder. And one would think that anybody who'd committed a murder and confessed would be in rather depressed condition. But Agca seemed to enjoy his interrogation and enjoyed the whole process of becoming a prominent personality.

He had been promised, obviously, that he would be sprung from prison. And he was. He was sprung from one of Turkey's highest-security prisons.

FISKE: And you suspect that he may have been given the same promise after shooting the Pope.

HENSEY: I think it's extremely likely, because that's the only way that you can explain his behavior.

FISKE: I was interested to read that the Soviet propagandists have charged that you were involved in instigating the attack on the Pope for the CIA.

HENSEY: Well, I think that's fascinating because it shows how hard up they are to try to find any explanation of it other than that they were involved. So they come up with something that really makes no sense at all.

I've never made any secret of the fact, of course, that I did know his first victim. I knew a great many people in Turkey, and I knew a lot of prominent people in Turkey. But that hardly leads to the conclusion that I would want to have him assassinated. And this is the strange story that the Soviets have concocted. They concocted this story well over a year after the assassination took place.

They were very high put from the beginning to try to find an excuse that people would find credible. And in the very first days after the attack on the Pope, the Russians tried to blame it on the United States. Stories were put out that the American Ambassador to the Vatican, Mr. Wilson, had had a meeting with the Pope, and this meeting was allegedly very unsatisfactory, and it supposedly had to do with questions relating to Israel, Jerusalem, the PLO, and so forth. And supposedly, Mr. Wilson went away from the meeting very unhappy. And, of course, the Soviet implication was that that caused Washington then to decide to do away with the Pope.

The stories the Russians have spread have never been very consistent. It's typical of people who throw lies around, who are so accustomed to lying and seldom get challenged on their own ground, of course. Their lies abroad are frequently...

FISKE: Why did they choose you to charge with instigation?

HENSEY: Well, I think they couldn't find anything else. They've also zeroed in on Claire Sterling. She and I are one of the foulest pairs on the international scene, according to Soviet propaganda. I organized the Gray Wolves in Turkey and I found Agca and I recruited him and organized him and got him to commit his first assassination. And then, somehow, mysteriously, at the orders of Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Ronald Reagan, I targeted him against the Pope.

I've had some very high-level employers, it's quite true. But I have really never worked for all of those together.

FISKE: Well, the Soviets, if your conspiracy theory is correct, chose a rather round-about way of accomplishing what they set out to accomplish. The conclusion is that the Soviets, who were concerned with the difficulties that they were facing in Poland, that the Communist movement was facing in Poland, concerned with the influence that the Pope was having on Catholics and other religious people in the Soviet Union, had engineered a plot, using a Turk managed by Bulgarians, to assassinate the Pope. Now, isn't that a rather complicated, round-about way of doing it, involving a great many people?

It would see, you know, to anybody who has read any detective mysteries that there would be a much more direct, efficient way of doing it, that they certainly must have some very highly skilled, very efficient operatives in the KGB who could have taken on that mission.

HENSEY: Well, reality sometimes is more dramatic than fiction. And I think in this case we have a story that probably if James Bond -- that is, if Ian Fleming had cast James Bond in a role like this, it would have been regarded as really quite improbable.

But when one puts all the pieces together, it really does make quite a bit of sense. And, of course, we have to remember that the Russians wanted the Pope out of the way, but they certainly didn't want the world to be able to conclude that they were the ones who had done it. So they contrived an extremely complicated scheme. And the complicated scheme, in many ways, was too complicated. They were too clever by half.

The scheme, when it was entrusted to the Bulgarians, in effect, got somewhat out of the control of the Russians. It's hard to believe that a scheme quite as amateurish would actually be mounted by the KGB. But on the other hand, if we go back and look at the history of what's been done at various times in the past, we find that it's not as surprising as it seems. And it's particularly not as surprising that the Bulgarians would be engaging in something like this.

Of course, the whole scheme was concocted to look as if it weren't what it was. Supposedly, this was a fanatically Moslem Turk who hated the Pope.

FISKE: And you found out that he wasn't.

HENSEY: Well, I found out that, like most young Turks today, he hardly ever set foot in a mosque and had no interest in it.

FISKE: His mother told you that.

HENSEY: And his mother told me that. And I think she's a pretty good source. His mother is a religious woman, and his mother was really rather touching. When I asked her straightforwardly, she looked rather forlorn and said, "Well, no. He hardly ever went to the mosque. Occasionally on holidays when I asked him to." So you have there, I think, about as good proof as you can get that this fellow was not a fanatic Moslem. In fact, there was never any evidence that he was a Moslem during his time in Turkey, during his time as a student.

FISKE: But they tried to create the impression that he was. Before he went on to Rome, they sent him to Iran, didn't they?

HENSEY: They sent him...

FISKE: ...the impression that he might have been a Khomeini follower?

HENSEY: Well, that's the only explanation we have. That business of going to Iran is one of the most mysterious aspects of his background. It's never been fully explained. Now maybe he's explained it to people in Italy, but it's never come out.

Well, this is one of the many things that we can expect will be coming out now in coming weeks as Judge Martella in Rome delivers his fully report.

But that is one of the explanations. The other possibility, of course, which I allow for in the book and has not been excluded, is that he simply went to the Soviet Union by way of Iran. Because a known criminal, a prison escapee in Turkey, everybody had seen his face in TV and newspapers, couldn't possibly cross the Turkish border into the Soviet Union. But he could have gone the round-about route through Iran.

FISKE: Why would the Soviets have chosen him, given the fact that he was a known killer?

HENSEY: Well, obviously, they wanted a known killer. I mean they wanted an efficient killer. And he'd proven himself to be very efficient. He had not only stood up and kept his cool in prison, but he hadn't revealed anything about his backers. That's only coming out now in Turkey, in fact. There's a major trial underway in Turkey now which is shedding a lot of light on all of this, and it's showing that his backers in Turkey at the time that he murdered the well-known newspaper editor were the same Turkish Mafia figures who'd been associated with the Bulgarians for the last 10 or 15 years, the drug traffickers, the arms traffickers, the people that were sending arms all over the Middle East, all over Europe, down into Africa. Mehmet Ali Agca was picked up by people working for these people and they tried him out. They tried him various ways and found that he was very effective, very efficient. So, obviously, he was very attractive as an assassin.

Now, I speculate in the book -- and we may never know. But so far, many of the things I have put into the book have turned out to be remarkably accurate, even though the information was not complete at the time. But I speculate there may have been other people. For a job this important, the Soviets may well have pinpointed half a dozen people. And they many not all have been Turks. Some may have been Arabs. They may even have tried other nationalities in Europe. But in the end, Agca, obviously, measured up best, and they decided he was the one that it was most advantageous to use.

FISKE: You found, when you spoke to his relatives and friends in Turkey, that he was a very, very bright youngster who was interested in making money. He came from very humble, very modest beginnings in Turkey. His people were herders, were they not?

HENSEY: Well, his ancestors had been simple shepherds. His father had gone to work for the railroad, but the family had moved in from the country to a medium-sized town. The father died when Mehmet Ali Agca, who is the oldest of three children, was only six years old. So he had a pretty simple and difficult life. His mother lived off a pension, made a little money here and there. He made money during his time in school by doing summer jobs and after-school jobs, but he certainly had no extra money. So he learned very early that it would be very, very nice to have money.

FISKE: And, of course, one of the things that interested you and was an important factor in the formulation of this conspiracy theory was that he had some rather sizable bank accounts to which money was deposited by other people, not by him.

HENSEY: Well, this is one of the most remarkable things

about the case, and it's particularly remarkable -- would be remarkable anywhere in the world, and certainly remarkable in Turkey at the time.

He was a bright fellow and he qualified for university entrance, at least into the university at Ankara. And he went away to school. In Turkey it doesn't cost a great deal to go to universities if you qualify and get a state scholarship. And that's what he did.

After his first year, he suddenly became affluent. Money began to flow into bank accounts. And during the period before he committed his first murder in Turkey, the equivalent of about \$16,000 was deposited in at least four different bank accounts. Now, nobody's sure, even today, that all the bank accounts have been found.

FISKE: Is \$16,000 as much money in Turkey as I suspect it is?

HENSEY: Sixteen thousand dollars in Turkey at that time is certainly equivalent of two or three times that amount here today. And there's just no way that a student from a poor background could acquire that type of money.

Now, Agca himself never gave any real explanation for the money. And when he was first arrested in Turkey, the existence of all of those banks accounts was, of course, not known. It's only been uncovered gradually. And there may actually be others still to be uncovered. But the trials and investigations that are still going on in Turkey are finding that even more money was floating around. He fell into hands where people had money to throw around pretty freely.

FISKE: You expect that he may have been recruited for this apparatus by his teachers at the university?

HENSEY: That, I think, is the most likely, because teachers in Turkey -- this was a period in Turkey when the country was practically ripped apart by terrorism. Rightists and leftists were both undermining society. They were both supported from the outside. They were both supported by Bulgaria, Syria, and, in the last analysis, the Soviet Union pouring in weapons and arms. And one of the principal channels that was used for encouraging students to riot and disrupt normal life was teachers.

This isn't to say that all the teachers were supporters of terrorists. But teachers and teachers' unions and organizations became a very convenient channel for this type of operation. And this is the most likely possibility. In fact, new

information is coming out now in Turkey that indicates very direct connections between Agca and teachers who were involved in terrorism at the time.

FISKE: And he traveled rather luxuriously. He traveled first class, stayed at the first class hotels. I think I have read recently that some people think he was to have gotten a total of \$400,000 for the assassination. Is that...

HENSEY: Well, he was promised more than that. He was promised three million deutchemarks. Now, at that time, three million deutchemarks was somewhere up around a million, two or three hundred thousand dollars.

There's other evidence of additional money. The calculations that I made and a number of others made fairly soon after we got some idea of his travels in the 18 months between his escape from prison and his appearance in Rome, we calculated that it would have had to cost a minimum of \$50,000 to engage in all that travel.

Now, anybody that goes to Europe knows that you can't travel around Europe very cheaply these days, and especially if you stay in fashionable hotels, eat in fashionable restaurants, and do things like signing up for vacation tours to Spanish islands and go off to Tunisia. It's remarkable how often Agca took vacations. And it's all the more remarkable when you think that this young Turk had never really been out of Turkey before. He spoke a little bit of English and no other known foreign language.

FISKE: And had no visible means of support.

HENSEY: And had no visible means of support. So, obviously, somebody was taking care of him all that time.

He never borrowed any money. He never stole anything. He never turned up in any police records. It's quite an operation.

FISKE: The Pope, of course, is an extremely important individual in this world. I wonder how he reacted when he heard that the original plan was to kill Lech Walesa and that they decided to kill the Pope when they figured it wouldn't be wise to kill Walesa.

HENSEY: Well, I think they may have decided to kill both. But they had better reasons for not killing Walesa than they had for not killing the Pope, because the Pope, obviously, was the key figure.

And the Walesa case is extremely interesting because we

know now, which, of course, no one knew then, and Walesa himself didn't know, that the prime Western link to Walesa, the Italian Luigi Scricillo (?), a very respected young Italian labor leader, about 35 years old, very much respected throughout Europe and in the United States, had actually been a Bulgarian agent since 1976. This is a classic successful intelligence operation on the part of the Bulgarians. They had got this Italian to work for them. They had then got this Italian to go to Poland and develop a close relationship with Walesa. He served as a channel for sending help to Solidarity: money, mimeograph machines. He went to Poland at least half a dozen times. And when Walesa came to Rome to visit the Pope, this Italian, Luigi Scricillo, a Bulgarian agent, was in charge of his security arrangements.

So, my conclusion is that somewhere along the way Scricillo persuaded the Bulgarians, and perhaps the Russians themselves, that trying to do away with Walesa would not be a very good idea.

That part of the whole story remains to be clarified.

FISKE: Now, what did they expect would be accomplished by assassinating the Pope?

HENSEY: Well, I think they must have concluded, in the process that I reconstruct is, that as they looked at it, they concluded that it would be much better to get rid of the Pope, and then you'd have a much better chance of getting Poland in hand. If you killed Walesa, you might just set the whole situation aflame, because Poland, of course, was very close to breaking itself completely free by that time.

FISKE: Incidentally, that also explains why they particularly would want to use third parties, a Turk and Bulgaria.

HENSEY: Exactly.

FISKE: Because if, in fact, their problem was Poland, if it became known to the Poles, who were quite restive anyway, that the Soviets had assassinated the Pope, given Poland's Catholicism and devotion to the Pope, why, they would have exacerbated their problems rather than solved it, from their perspective.

HENSEY: Well, it goes back even deeper than that. The Russians just couldn't believe it when the Pope was elected. And as you'll recall, it was a great surprise to everybody because the Pope's predecessor had only been in office a few weeks and died unexpectedly. Then when this Pope, a Pole, was elected, the world was truly astonished.

The Russians were most astonished of all, and immediately concocted a theory that this couldn't have happened naturally; it had to be the result of a plot. It was a plot between Brzezinski, the American Catholic hierarchy, and the German cardinals; and it was all designed to frustrate them.

Well now, it turned out to be very frustrating for them because Pope John Paul II, Cardinal Wojtyla, is an unusually able and talented man who knew a great deal about the Communist system. But there isn't a shred of evidence that anybody plotted to get him into that office.

FISKE: They were also disturbed because some of his immediate predecessors had, in fact, sought accommodation with the Soviets, and the indications were that this Pope would not.

HENSEY: Yes. This Pope, of course, had lived in Poland during the Nazi occupation. He had, during that time, had begun to study for the priesthood. He lived in Poland, then, during the period it was being turned into a Communist satellite. So he knew the system extraordinarily well. And he had risen not by virtue of toeing the mark as far as the Communists are concerned, but by virtue of being a real leader in the Polish church.

So, the Russians knew they had a tough man on their hands here. They tried to intimidate him to begin with. They discovered that that was going to be impossible. And meanwhile, the mere presence of a Polish Pope in the Vatican inspired Poles so much that the whole sequence of events which we know well, the rise of Solidarity, the fact that Poles took matters very much into their own hands, gave the Soviets reason to fear that their whole empire might come apart.

FISKE: Interestingly, the plot to assassinate Lech Walesa was built around a scheme to put a bomb in his automobile, which probably would have not -- would not have involved Ali Agca, because his thing is guns. Right?

HENSEY: Yes. As far as we know, Agca never had any specialized training in bombing. Now, he may have, because that aspect of his background is still a bit unclear. We know that he went from Turkey down Lebanon, was smuggled across the border into Syria, and then went to Lebanon to a PLO camp for training. But there, it seems, he was trained in marksmanship and how...

FISKE: Was this before the first killing?

HENSEY: This was before his first killing. This was before his first killing.

Now, what we don't know is the training he may have been given in Bulgaria, or the training he may even have been given in

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the U.S.S.R., because there are stories and rumors that when Agca went across the Turkish border into Iran, he was then quickly spirited into the Soviet Union and trained at a KGB camp in the Crimea. Now, I've never been able to track this down. And, of course, it's a very difficult thing to track down. Only Agca knows and only Agca can tell. And it may be that we'll learn this when Judge Martella puts his report out.

FISKE: You theorize that Bulgaria was involved in this because she is a pliant and devoted and unquestioning Soviet satellite. But you've also mentioned several times Bulgaria and Syria. Are we to believe that Syria is as unquestioning?

HENSEY: Syria was certainly used for all sorts of nefarious purposes, is still being used today. After all, from what I hear of the investigations of the bombing of the American Embassy in Beirut and the blowing up of the Marine barracks last year, it has very direct connections with Syria.

Syria was very much involved in the whole Soviet effort to destabilize Turkey. Weapons went across the Syrian-Turkish border, people were smuggled across. The Syrians offered facilities to the PLO for training. In many of these training camps, you had both leftists and rightists train together.

When the Israelis moved into Lebanon two years ago, they discovered records and they discovered people still there. They discovered a couple of dozen Turks still there.

This is the whole framework of the operation where Mehmed Ali Agca himself was trained. Now, he probably wasn't regarded as terribly important when he was trained there. But what they were doing, I think, at the time was testing out various young men. They sent people down, they put them through training, they evaluated them, they saw how well they did. They sent back with their report cards, so to speak. And on the basis of their report cards and the evaluation of their trainers, they got further assignments.

FISKE: Now, Paul, this was a very carefully constructed, if complicated, plot. The way the plot was supposed to have worked was that after Agca shot the Pope, an accomplice was to detonate two panic bombs to distract the crowd, following which both of them were to make their way to a van. Was it a Syrian van?

HENSEY: No, it was a Bulgarian van.

FISKE: A Bulgarian van.

HENSEY: It was a great big Bulgarian international

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transport truck which the Bulgarians, as the Italians have now discovered and told us, had asked special permission to have come into Turkey just that very day.

FISKE: And that could cross the border without being examined. And that's the way the plan had them escaping.

Now, involving professionals, highly trained professionals, as this plot did, how is it that his accomplice didn't detonate those bombs?

HENSEY: Well, that, of course -- no chain of conspiracy is any stronger than its weakest link. And here the man who was with Agca turned out to be a fairly weak link. He was a weak link, but it seems highly probable he was probably the only one who was really saved in that whole operation, because the van did leave Rome, it did make its way back to Bulgaria. Nobody knows what was in it, but it may well be that Oral Celik (?), Agca's companion, who had also been involved in Turkey in some of Agca's activities, is living in Bulgarian today under a new identity, I suppose, and feeling very comfortable because he's relatively safe. On the other hand, being condemned to spend all your life in Bulgaria I don't think would be anybody's idea of paradise.

FISKE: Do you suspect that they might have believed that Agca would have been killed on the spot and, in fact, they preferred that?

HENSEY: Well, that's the other possibility. I speculate in the book that that is a distinct possibility. And I think Agca himself, from what I've learned, fears that that may well have been the plan. And Agca was promised that he would be rescued. But, of course, that was beyond the capabilities of the Bulgarians in Italy. If they tried it, they were unable to pull it off. We know that in Turkey they were able to pull it off. But even there, there were a couple of attempts before it finally succeeded.

After Agca had waited six months and found that he was not going to be rescued, he obviously began to think things over and to look back at what had happened, and that was what led him to begin to talk.

FISKE: Okay. Our telephone number is 966-8850....

Good evening.

MAN: I have a question for your guest. How much do the Poles know about this whole assassination attempt? I know the Soviets are good at jamming broadcasts. I'd like to know exactly, you know, what's going on. You know, how do they know what's going on?

HENSEY: The Poles know a great deal. I've talked to Poles from Poland who told me that, of course, the day the Pope was shot, a great many Poles immediately suspected that the Russians must have been behind it. They had no evidence at that point, of course, but evidence began to accumulate quite rapidly.

The Poles learn of all this from Western broadcasts. They learn not only from broadcasts that are directed particularly at them by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe and the BBC and the German radio, and so forth, but great numbers of people in Poland, of course, understand German and French and other languages, and they listen to those radio stations too.

I suspect, and the evidence I have from talking to people who've been in Poland and come out of Poland over the past three years, is that the Poles are probably among the best-informed people in the world on all this. A great many people are following everything.

And, of course, a great many Western publications go into Poland. I know that my book is in Poland. I know that it's been widely read in Poland already.

MAN: What about the Soviet people themselves now? Are they aware of what's going on, what their own government's doing? Or does the Soviet have an even tighter control over what they can here?

HENSEY: They have much tighter control. But nevertheless, they can't prevent people from learning a great many things, and people learn in a great many ways.

I'm sure that my book is in Poland. I know, for example, that it's in Bulgaria. And people, particularly in the Western parts of the Soviet Union, in the Ukraine and Lithuania and the Baltic states, listen to Western broadcasts, do manage to travel out, get information from people who come in. And there's a very large Catholic population there.

FISKE: The Soviets are particularly concerned about Ukrainians.

HENSEY: Very much so.

FISKE: Their problem area.

I sent to the Soviet Union some seven or eight years ago, and we had a group of Ukrainians from the United States who were going back there for a visit. And when we landed at Moscow, all of us went through Soviet customs without any difficulty at all. They examined us. But they gave those Ukrainians a

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terribly thorough going over.

HENSEY: And what they were afraid of, I'm sure, is that those Ukrainians were carrying literature in Ukrainian on them, and they would spread it in the Soviet Union. The KGB, the Russian authorities are scared to death of this sort of thing.

FISKE: Literature generally scares them. The only question they asked us was whether we had any books.

HENSEY: Exactly. They're frightened of the printed word. It's very hard, I think, for many people who live in free societies to understand that. We're so surrounded by printed material, we can get it anywhere, any time. It really has very little value to us. To understand the value it has, you have to experience one of those societies.

MAN: You are right about how the Soviets are not only afraid of literature, but they're also afraid of broadcasts getting into their country and the Iron Curtain countries. To give you an example -- and I'm going to hang up after this -- a friend of mine who was from Estonia told me that it is now against the law to possess a TV antenna because you could pick up broadcasts from Finland and some of the other surrounding countries, and they don't want you to do that.

FISKE: Good evening.

WOMAN: Mr. Hensey, I'm a Catholic, and we're very tired of hearing that it was the KGB that attempted the assassination on the Pope. We don't believe it. We believe that the story is not yet told and will take many, many years.

Now, number one, no, it was not Syria. Syria has good relations with the Vatican. No, it was not the PLO. Cardinal Cesaroli (?) had met with a member, a Palestinian member, because we are interested in the plight of the Palestinians.

Also, how come you keep saying -- I'm tired of hearing Miss Sterling and Mr. Kalb insinuate that Mr. Casey knows who did it and is covering it up. Mr. Casey happens to be a good Catholic, and he would not cover it up. But I don't doubt that he doesn't know.

I would remind you that prior to the assassination of the Pope, he was put down by various people from Israel, from the Mosad. How come you never mention the Mosad?

HENSEY: I have never mentioned the Mosad because I don't think the Mosad had a thing to do with it. I find your interpretation grotesque.

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WOMAN: Well, why don't you ask some of the Catholics, like the Catholic cardinals, the Catholic bishops?

HENSEY: I've asked enormous numbers of Catholics. I don't know what gives you the right to speak for Catholics.

WOMAN: What do they say to you?

HENSEY: There is no difference. I wouldn't expect all Catholics, any more than all Jews, all Protestants, all Buddhists, or anybody else, to have the same views.

WOMAN: You have to admit that because the Pope met with Arafat, because the Pope -- Cardinal Cesaroli met with Palestinians, he was put down. Now, he is a man of peace. He has the right to meet with...

HENSEY: I don't think your interpretation makes much sense. It doesn't correspond to anything I know. You seem to be talking in terms of your emotions and not in terms of any facts.

WOMAN: I am a Catholic and I have heard it from many, many Catholics.

HENSEY: Well, the fact that you're a Catholic doesn't seem to make any difference. I've heard a great many things from a lot of people of all kinds.

WOMAN: Why do you say the Syrians? Why do you say the KGB when you're not sure?

HENSEY: Well, why do you say -- what makes you so sure?

WOMAN: But you're not sure either.

HENSEY: I can't comment on what you say, nor will I comment on what Mr. Casey allegedly believes or doesn't believe. I've made no comments to that effect whatsoever.

WOMAN: ...and you ask the Pope. Okay?

FISKE: Thank you.

WOMAN: All right.

FISKE: We're talking to Paul Hensey. His book is titled The Plot to Kill the Pope.

You're on the air.

MAN: You sound very agitated and nervous and defensive. Why is that, Mr. Hensey?

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HENSEY: I sound agitated, nervous and defensive? I don't feel agitated, nervous and defensive. I think the lady who just called in sounded agitated, nervous and defensive.

MAN: Well, I've listened to the program for the last 40 minutes. You know, I'm not talking just about that last call.

HENSEY: Well, all right. If from your point of view I'm nervous and defensive, I'm nervous and defensive. From my point of view, I'm not.

What's your question?

MAN: Well, my question is, how long did you work for the CIA?

HENSEY: That's not a relevant question. I'm not interested in answering that question. That's a have-you-stopped-beating-your-wife question.

Who do you work for? Why are you asking that question?

MAN: Because I recently read that you worked for the CIA. I think it was in Turkey..

HENSEY: If you've read what the Bulgarians send out, you've read that I also organized the plot to kill the Pope. But, you know, that really doesn't have much relevance.

MAN: I haven't read the book yet, but I think Claire Sterling is like your protege, isn't she?

HENSEY: Who do you work for? Claire Sterling is in no sense a protege of mine.

MAN: Oh, I see. Okay. Thank you.

FISKE: Sir, where do you get your information concerning this entire matter?

MAN: Just from my reading.

FISKE: Of what?

MAN: Well, I read an article in the Daily World about it, a few articles.

FISKE: Oh, that's the Marxist publication.

MAN: Yes.

HENSEY: I suggest you read something a little more

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objective. Try the Wall Street Journal.

MAN: Well, I've read the Washington Times, also.

HENSEY: Well, the Washington Times? There's a wide range of things. Anybody who wants interesting information should read a wide range of them.

MAN: Yes, and I have.

HENSEY: And you should also read my book. I think you'll find it extremely enlightening.

MAN: Thank you.

FISKE: Good evening.

MAN: There have been some allegations recently the Cuban secret service is involved in an awful lot of plots around the world. What, if any, involvement did you find in this instance?

HENSEY: I found none whatsoever. The Cubans don't seem to have had a thing to do with this. There are things the Cubans don't get involved in. In fact, there's a fascinating division of labor. Bulgaria is sort of the Cuba of Europe and the Middle East. The Soviets use the Bulgarians for a lot of the dirty work there that the Cubans perform in other areas, like Africa and the Caribbean.

FISKE: You speak about an ambassador to Bulgaria who had been ambassador to Cuba, where he performed something of the same sort of work.

HENSEY: Well, that doesn't represent a Cuban link, of course. But the...

FISKE: Tell that story, will you?

HENSEY: Yes. One of the most interesting aspects of this case, and a measure of how important Bulgaria obviously is to the Soviet Union, is that the Soviet ambassador to Cuba from 1970 to '79 -- and anyone who even thinks back on that history briefly will realize all the things the Cubans did for the Russians 1970 to '79, active all over Africa (Angola, Ethiopia), active in the Middle East, active in the Caribbean. Mr. Tolobiyev (?), who was the Soviet ambassador to Cuba from 1970 to '79, and who, incidentally, happens to be a friend of the current head of the KGB, recently promoted to marshal Chebrykov (?), Mr. Tolobiyev was moved to Bulgaria in 1979 and was ambassador in Bulgaria from 1979 till 1983. He went back to the Soviet Union

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about a year ago. I haven't heard what he's doing there now. Maybe was in slight disgrace because the plot to kill the Pope came apart and a lot of the other Bulgarian activities came apart.

But the Soviets are usually pretty good with their people, even when they have trouble. So I suspect after a period of disgrace he'll turn up somewhere else. But any country he turns up in should certainly be wary.

FISKE: Good evening.

MAN: Mr. Hensey, I have read several articles in the American media which completely refutes word-by-word every one of these various stories by Claire Sterling and others. And they state that Agca was a member since his childhood of the Turkish Gray Wolves and the National Action Party, which are right-wing fascists. And he attempted to kill the Pope because of religious and political purposes having to do with wars in the Middle East, and that had nothing at all to do with the Russian Communism or the KGB. He confessed to all these KGB connections while he was in jail only to get lenience for himself and to protect his right-wing Gray Wolves and National Action Party. He is known to be a right-wing fascist terrorist, very efficient, a murderer, and a notorious liar.

HENSEY: Well, you, sir, seem to be working for the Soviet Union, because you're spreading the Soviet line. You should...

MAN: This is confirmed by one of your own men, former CIA officer Ralph McGee. In Deadly Defeats, he states that the CIA has lied continuously and that disinformation is a large part of covert action responsibility.

HENSEY: Well, I'm glad you're so convinced of what you think you've read. I must say I haven't read those articles in the American press. I've read them in stuff the Bulgarians have circulated.

FISKE: Why would a right-wing organization want to assassinate the Pope?

HENSEY: Well, this gentleman is simply peddling the Moscow line. Moscow's not been able to come up with anything else. This gentleman seems to know a great deal more than I know. After all, I've looked into all these things in Turkey, know Turkey well, have investigated the case. That is a great deal of what my book is about. But he obviously is only interested in peddling a contrary view.

MAN: I'm quoting only American sources and ex-CIA

agents, and so on.

HENSEY: You aren't quoting any American sources at all. There have never been any articles to that effect that haven't come out, been planted by somebody on the other side. I'm totally unaware of them. And I'm sure that if they...

MAN: Well, these articles were in Mother Jones magazine and Covert Action Bulletin and several other...

HENSEY: I wouldn't even call those American sources.

MAN: Yes, they are. And Deadly Defeats is written by your former officer, Ralph McGee.

HENSEY: I have no further comment on the disinformation you're peddling.

MAN: Of course you don't. You're all part of the whole conspiracy yourself, and Claire Sterling and all the others. That woman that called up first is perfectly right.

HENSEY: I love to be labeled that by the likes of you.

FISKE: Okay. Thank you.

You mentioned disinformation. And in your book you argue that the Soviets really mounted a large, varied campaign of disinformation. They were creating several different pictures of Ali Agca. Now, why would they want to do that? They painted him as a right-winger. They painted him as a member of the George Habash Popular Front Party for the Liberation of Palestine. He was presented as somebody concerned with the freedom of El Salvador, and so on. Wouldn't a disinformation campaign be better served if they chose one line, even though it might be a false line, and to emphasize it?

HENSEY: Well, the Soviets are still operating their disinformation campaign, and I think we see evidence of that in some of these calls tonight. Whether these people know what they're doing or not, they're simply peddling the disinformation line.

The disinformation line is very confused because it's very difficult to put together any kind of coherent explanation of this plot that doesn't lead back to Moscow. You have to end up slinging slanders around. You have to do the kind of thing that these recent callers have been doing.

Disinformation is not something that is automatically successful. It's a way of life with the men of the Kremlin and

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with many of the people who work for them. It's very easy to pull apart when you have it as a whole. But unfortunately, there are a lot of people in the world who like to believe this sort of thing. There are a lot of other people who like to peddle it for money or for whatever other advantage they seem to get out of it.

FISKE: But wouldn't their purposes be better served if, for example, they -- what is it, the Gray Wolves you call them, the right-wing organization?

HENSEY: Well, Agca was never a member of the Gray Wolves.

FISKE: I know. From the Soviet point of view, assuming that as part of their disinformation campaign they wanted to paint him as a member of this right-wing organization, why would they concoct other stories as well? Because that only would make it...

HENSEY: Well, obviously, they've been running hard to try to get the -- to try to deflect the suspicion from themselves.

The one thing that the Soviets have never done, never for one moment, is try to look at this thing objectively and try to figure out what really did happen. There hasn't been a single article in the Soviet press, a single initiative taken by the Soviet Union, under any circumstances -- they've never cooperated with anybody's investigation. They've never cooperated with any journalist's activity, with any governmental activity. All they've done is simply heap up invective, diatribes, slanders against other people. And that goes on and on.

They're desperate because they really can't come up with a story that makes any sense. This, to me, is one of the most convincing pieces of circumstantial evidence...

FISKE: You think that if, in fact, they had no involvement, then it would have served their purposes to cooperate.

HENSEY: If they had no involvement, they wouldn't appear as neurotic as they do.

I'm sure that when the Soviets hear that I'm talking on a program like this, they set people to work calling in. And I've had this happen time and time again in many comparable situations.

FISKE: You're on the air.

WOMAN: ...I'm Turkish. I'm relatively young. I am not

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a Communist. And your guest was very irate at the last caller. But I want to make the point that Agca is known as a registered member of the Turkish Nationalist Movement Party, which is a fascist party. And that is the line that is adopted by the government of Turkey, that has been adopted by the government officials. And the head of the party is in jail, at present. And I was there following it all.

Now, if your speaker is as well accustomed to Turkish political scene as he claims to be, now, how would he account for Agca's accepting training by the KGB in the Soviet Union?

Thank you. This is my point and my question.

FISKE: Listen, hang on with that.

WOMAN: I can't hang on. I'm paying too much.

FISKE: Well, invest another 25 cents and let's discuss it.

HENSEY: Again, you're awfully dogmatic in what you say, but you simply happen to be wrong. That's the only comment I can make no what you say.

WOMAN: I think you're the one who's dogmatic. I am from the country.

HENSEY: Well, the fact that you're from Turkey doesn't make you right about everything in respect to Turkey, any more than the fact that I'm from America makes me right about everything in respect to America.

I have no further comment on that observation.

WOMAN: Well, explain how to me how do you think that Agca, being the rightist he is, accepted training in the...

HENSEY: You obviously aren't familiar with what's going on in your own country, if you've managed to stay in touch with it at all. There's a fascinating trial going on at the present time which demonstrates that Agca had no significant political connections, but that he had extensive connections with the Bulgarian-supported Turkish Mafia.

FISKE: Let me say this, ma'am. From your speech, I would judge that it's been some time since you've been in Turkey, since you lived in Turkey. How long has it been?

WOMAN: Just one year ago I was there.

FISKE: Well, where were you born?

WOMAN: In Turkey.

FISKE: Where'd you learn to speak such fluent English?

WOMAN: Pardon?

FISKE: You speak rather fluent English.

WOMAN: Yes, I do.

FISKE: Well, I would suspect that your English was acquired through long years of living in the United States.

WOMAN: You would be very, very wrong to assume that.

FISKE: I detect no trace of accent at all in your speech.

HENSEY: I question whether you're Turkish. You don't, to me, speak with a Turkish accent.

WOMAN: Well, I'm flattered.

FISKE: One year? You mean you've lived all your life in Turkey except for the last year that you've been in the United States?

WOMAN: I lived in other countries too. But, yes, I've only been in the States for one year.

FISKE: Where did you learn English?

WOMAN: In Turkey.

FISKE: Well, I'm sorry. I don't believe you.

HENSEY: You're not convincing.

WOMAN: You've got to be kidding.

[Conversation in Turkish]

WOMAN: Now tell me who's dogmatic. Okay?

HENSEY: All I said is that your information is incorrect.

WOMAN: Now wait a minute. You also told me that you did not believe me.

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HENSEY: Well, I simply wanted to check to see if you were a Turk.

FISKE: I'm a speech person. I don't dispute that you may be a Turk. But I am a speech student and former speech teacher, and I don't believe that anybody who learned to speak English in Turkey would speak English the way you do. Who taught you English in Turkey?

WOMAN: Americans did.

FISKE: American? How did that happen?

WOMAN: Did you know that there -- well, your guest should know about the schools in Turkey.

FISKE: Are there many people in Turkey who speak English the way she does?

HENSEY: She speaks English as if she'd been speaking English for a long, long time.

WOMAN: Yeah, sure. Since I was 14.

FISKE: Okay. Thank you.

You're on the air.

MAN: I am very interesting in knowing -- I think the integrity of your guest is compromised by the fact he was a CIA agent.

And secondly, I'd like to know how he defines American, since he says Mother Jones is not an American magazine. And as a matter of fact, I guess I'd just appreciate it if you'd get this sleaze-ball off the air before my...

FISKE: Listen, we can have arguments, but I won't have insult or name-calling.

MAN: Yeah. Well, he's a sleaze-ball.

FISKE: You're off the air.

You're on 88.5-FM.

MAN: It's just amazing how many extreme left-wing callers you have lined up tonight. It's quite incredible.

My question is, would -- their response, of course, is predictable. But another question would be this: Claire

Sterling, at least, has alleged that not only has -- there has been reluctance in many quarters to accept the Bulgarian, and thus Soviet, involvement in the assassination plot. Not just in, you know, the lunatic fringes of the left, but also in some of the establishment -- you know, among the establishment in governments in Western Europe, and even in the United States, the CIA, etcetera, etcetera.

Has this been your experience, Mr. Hensey? And if so, what do you think the reluctance is?

HENSEY: I'm happy to be able to comment on that because I have not had the experience Claire Sterling had. I was looking into this plot considerably before she began to. No one discouraged me. No one in the U.S. Government ever told me that I shouldn't look into it. I would have welcomed a lot more people looking into it. I wish the journalistic profession had been more energetic. I think it's kind of a sad commentary on the journalistic profession that Claire Sterling and I and just a handful of others are the only ones who've ever investigated it seriously.

But as to whether it has been deliberately suppressed or covered up in the U.S. Government, I personally don't think so. I didn't expect to find much information in the U.S. Government on this, because after all I'd been in the U.S. Government a long period of time. I knew the U.S. Government wasn't in a position to be able to uncover this kind of information in great detail.

MAN: One follow-up. Do you think -- and I mean this is quite a strong possibility. Do you think the American Government really has been refusing to comment on the case until the work by the Italian prosecutor and the Italian Government was finished? In other words, they want to have more of a certain case before they make a comment.

HENSEY: I think that will continue to be the position of the Administration. That doesn't mean that a great many people in the government don't have their own ideas on the case. And I must say I have yet to meet in the government anybody who is profoundly skeptical. I've met infinitely more people who share the views that I have and who recognize the significance of the work that Claire Sterling, I, and a few others have done, and particularly recognize the significance of the work the Italians have done.

FISKE: I haven't heard anybody charge that the Italian judge is working for the CIA.

HENSEY: [Laughter] Yes.

FISKE: You're on the air.

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MAN: I just wanted to ask an open-ended philosophical question. And that is, what can you conclude about the media in America, in its ignoring this issue? I'm interested in the facts. I think the facts point in the direction of the Bulgarians and the Russians. But why is the media ignoring it?

HENSEY: Well, I wouldn't say the media was ignoring it. Two of the most prominent media organizations in America, which I worked for and which without whose support I really wouldn't have gotten into this the way I did, Reader's Digest and the National Broadcasting Corporation, have done distinguished work. And a good many other media organizations, including the New York Times. After all, the New York Times devoted more than a full page to this story only a month ago, asking Claire Sterling to summarize the Italian prosecutor's report. The Wall Street Journal devoted a very substantial article only this week to the Turkish trial that is currently underway.

I don't know any reason to expect the media to deal with it every day. What I do say and what I would have appreciated, myself, is that some of our journalistic and media organizations might have assigned more people to work over a longer period of time and done work comparable to the work that Claire Sterling and I were able to do. But I have the highest regard...

FISKE: Their role, really, is to report the findings when they become clear.

HENSEY: Well, they've been doing that, I think.

FISKE: They are not in a position to conduct long-term investigations of this sort of thing. There are organizations and investigators and nations and officials who are charged with this, and the media reports on their findings.

HENSEY: Well, if the Reader's Digest hadn't asked me, and then asked Claire Sterling, and asked us both to work on it, I don't suppose -- I didn't have the means to go work on it, myself. And if NBC hadn't mounted an enormous effort which resulted in its White Papers...

FISKE: There are two prominent members of the media. Is there any reason why everybody in the media should do the same thing?

HENSEY: No, I suppose there isn't. I would say here, you know, none of these things is terribly simple or entirely black and white. What I do feel a little annoying is a great part of the media, each time the story breaks open again, then has to go back over it all again. But after all, that's one of the reasons I wrote my book. It's a handy thing for people to

have at hand. If they want to find out what some of the background is, they can pick it up and learn.

MAN: You certainly wouldn't say the story has been spiked, so to speak.

HENSEY: I don't think it would be fair to say the story is spiked. If any new development occurs, it immediately gets attention. I'd certainly say this from my own personal experience. After all, I've been involved, off and on, for over three years in researching this story. Whenever something comes into the headlines, or even on page 3 or 4, I'm deluged with phone calls, deluged with requests to appear on radio and TV programs and have reporters practically shaking my phone off the wall.

FISKE: You're on 88.5-FM.

WOMAN: I would just like to say a couple of things. I think that your guest has kept it together pretty well. It's, I guess, a little startling to have people call and be so boiling inside, and you can hear their voices shake and all. I'm just a little surprised. I guess there -- I realize there are people with all kinds of different thoughts out there. But, boy, they really come out from under the rocks. And I was just a little surprised. But I thought it was all handled very well, and I just wanted to say that.

HENSEY: Well, thank you, ma'am. I appreciate that very much. What you're seeing here, I think, is a marvelous example of what I've experienced several times, but is always more noteworthy here in Washington itself. And that is, people know that I'm going to talk, or they know that Claire Sterling is going to talk. And you have an awful lot of people scattered around Washington working in places like the Soviet and the Bulgarian Embassies. And they mobilize their forces in order to deliver harassing questions and to accuse others of exactly what they're doing themselves.

WOMAN: It almost seems obvious. I'm not quite sure. And the one fellow who said the CIA -- I realize a lot of people don't think, you know, a great deal of the CIA, and there are parts of it that are changing and whatnot. But I think maybe we ought to be glad that we do have -- as long as there have to be something like that, that we have it. And hopefully it will try to be on the up-and-up, though some things have to be so that everybody doesn't know, I think, what they're doing, exactly.

By anyway, I just wanted to say that.

HENSEY: Well, those are very wise observations, and I thank you.

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WOMAN: Well, I hope so.

FISKE: You're on 88.5-FM.

MAN: ...At the time that this was hatched, assuming it was hatched from the KGB, Andropov was head of it, I believe. Would the probably have been extremely high, then, that he must have known about it?

HENSEY: Absolutely. Andropov was head of the KGB from 1967 until he took over as head of the U.S.S.R. in 1982. So Andropov had 15 straight years. An awful lot of the things that became major problems in the world (terrorism, subversion, destabilization, disinformation, violence of many kinds) increased markedly after Andropov became head of the KGB.

It's inconceivable, from what we know of the way the KGB works -- and we have a great many defectors from the KGB on whom we can rely -- that the head of KGB wouldn't have known this.

FISKE: Paul, can you stand by? We have five minutes of news coming up, and then we'll talk some more.

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FISKE: Good evening.

WOMAN: I am a listener of 88.5 quite frequently, and a donator. And as a member, I feel horrified by the way you treated the woman from Baltimore. I think that a radio show should -- especially hosts. I've heard quite a few hosts on your radio, and I think that being impartial is a very diplomatic way to handle it. I felt offended that you would attack somebody personally on a radio show, even though...

FISKE: Well, I appreciate your point of view. However, I do not pretend to remain impartial. This is a talk show, a conversation show in which I voice my opinions, and I'm expected to. And I don't take back anything I said to her. I do not believe that that woman has spent only one year of her life in the United States and the rest of her life in Turkey. And I say that as an expert in speech.

And you can differ, and I respect your right to differ. So I'll be happy to leave it at that.

WOMAN: I respect your right.

FISKE: Okay. Thank you.

You're on the air.

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MAN: I've got a broad generic question for your guest, and probably for you too. And I certainly don't disagree with your ability to speak and say whatever it is that you feel like saying and sharing your opinion with us. And I've been a subscriber to WAMU for a long time.

FISKE: Well, anybody who listens to this program knows that that's the way I do it. On our news programs, we try not to present opinion. On this program, one of our purposes is to present opinion.

MAN: Yeah. And I think we all understand that down deep. I have a broad generic question. The question is basically this: We have all, I think, been pretty well scared to death about the writings of Mao and the writings of Marx-Leninism, and we see the onslaught of terrorism as another phase of Communism throughout the world. But there's something good, too, about the way our country came to be through revolution from Great Britain a long time ago. What sort of signposts do you look at and do you weigh and do you measure to make sure that you're not getting some revolutionary fervor being expressed by the people of a country, as opposed to some concerted diabolical plot for terrorism to implement Communism throughout the world?

HENSEY: Is that a question for me?

MAN: Yes, it is.

HENSEY: I'm not quite clear what your...

MAN: The question basically is, at what point do you leave the nationalistic fervor, or whatever it is, from the people in a country, what point do you leave that and ascribe that then to a Communistic terroristic activity kind of thing that spreads Communism throughout the world?

HENSEY: Well, there's an enormous difference between situations where people can express themselves relatively freely or where, even where they can't express themselves freely, but don't resort to terror. And I think the most striking example of that is Poland itself. You have countries like Turkey and Italy, free democratic countries, open societies allied with the West. They were practically ripped to pieces by terror in the 1970s. You have Poland, clamped down on tightly by the Russians, never able to really express itself. Poland hasn't known freedom since the Nazis and the Russians marched in in 1939. And still, all of the things that happened in Poland over the last several years involved no violence at all. Remarkable self-control.

There you have a people that really knows the value of freedom. There's an enormous difference. And that, I think,

tells us all something very important about the nature of the world we live in.

MAN: Really. But if you were to look at the presumption that is made that the Bulgarian threat against the Pope were really a manifestation of the Communistic effort, through the KGB, what would be, in your estimation, the outcome for Communism of such an act?

HENSEY: Well, Communism is a bankrupt system. It's been bankrupt a long time, but it's more seriously bankrupt now than ever because it simply can't deliver. If Communists thought they could trust free institutions for a moment, they'd have genuinely free elections. Instead they have sham.

MAN: But if they were to kill the Pope, wouldn't that galvanize Christianity throughout the world, as a barbaric act that was likely done under Communistic tenets?

HENSEY: Well, I'm not saying that trying to kill the Pope is a good idea, even from their point of view. I think, from their point of view, trying to kill the Pope was a bad idea.

MAN: Really.

HENSEY: And the best evidence we have that it was a bad idea is that it backfired on them. It's causing them terrible embarrassment and it's causing them to react with an emotional frenzy.

FISKE: Your theory, anyway, is that they realized it would reflect badly upon them, and that's why they had such an involved plot.

HENSEY: Well, exactly.

FISKE: Using a Turk who's handled by Bulgarians.

HENSEY: That's why they wanted to try to give the impression, and why some of the people that are still trying to take their side are trying to give the impression, that it was a fanatic fascist Turk, or it was the Jews, or it was the Masons. You have all these strange notions floating around. You have a whole new book alleging that this Pope's predecessor was murdered as a result of some fiendish plot. That book, itself, shows all evidence of being disinformation deliberately concocted to draw attention away from the actual crime plot.

MAN: Well, I look forward to reading your book. And I guess I'll leave it for tonight with the thought that not every terroristic act that I've looked at over the last five or six

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years of reading the news, to my mind, is a Communistic terrorist kind of thing.

HENSEY: Well, they certainly are not. The majority of terroristic acts probably aren't. But some terribly important ones are.

MAN: And it would be nice to know if the United Nations or some world government body could bring to bear some controlled investigation and correction of these kinds of things, because -- I guess I'm naive because I believe that's what the United Nations was really for.

HENSEY: Well, it may have been when it was formed, but it's been corrupted by an awful lot of people. I would have very little hope the United Nations...

MAN: You think there's no hope whatever for the United Nations doing anything with international terrorism with respect to any kind of Communistic motivation?

HENSEY: None whatsoever.

MAN: Okay. Thank you very much.

FISKE: Good evening.

WOMAN: ...I have a big favor to ask of your guest. I'm a former Foreign Service officer and I have worked a long time on disinformation. I'm in full agreement with him with regard to the role of Moscow and the existence of a plot. But I have a different thesis because I approach it from the disinformation point of view. It is much too long to discuss it and present it to him over the phone, and I would like to leave my name and phone number and ask him to call me collect sometime in order to discuss it. Is that possible?

HENSEY: Thank you. I'd be very happy to do that, if you leave your name and phone number.

FISKE: I would suggest that you not give it on the air, however. I will put you on hold....

WOMAN: Thank you very much. And I think it is a very, very interesting discussion. And I agree fully with the KGB approach.

HENSEY: Thank you.

FISKE: You're on the air.

WOMAN: I actually started out to make a comment on the

subject tonight, but I'm not going to take up too much of your time. I, instead, would like to just comment and say that I find your guest very -- well, actually, I'd like to protest. And I find it very absurd and ludicrous that he argues over the callers -- with the callers over the issue that, you know, what nationality they are.

I happen to be raised -- was born and raised in Turkey, have only been living in this country for the last 16 months. But just because anybody speaks, you know, fluent English, you question their nationality and ask if they're Turkish or not. I just find that very, very -- just very absurd.

HENSEY: Well, I have no comment.

WOMAN: All right. Fine.

FISKE: Hello. You're on the air.

MAN: I don't find it absurd. But on to my question.

I've not read your guest's book, but I shall certainly make a point of doing so. But I have read Claire Sterling's book, and it seems to me that that establishes, in my mind, certainly, without much question, that there is indeed a connection between Agca, Bulgaria and the KGB. Okay, fine. No argument.

The question, as I recall, in Claire Sterling's book --and I'm not sure, since I only picked up about 15-20 minutes ago on your program, whether your guest has addressed himself to this point -- the question that she raises is why the United States is so reluctant to speak out on this issue. As I recall her arguments -- I read the book a couple of months ago -- was that it was simply too explosive, as far as U.S.-Soviet relations might be concerned, if the United States would take a position that linked the KGB with Bulgaria and with Agca.

I don't know if your guest has addressed himself to this question. But I would ask why. I mean how does he explain the fact that we -- when I say we, I mean the United States Government has been so, as best I can understand it from what I've read in the news reports, so reticent, so reluctant to speak out on this issue.

HENSEY: Well, I don't know any reason why the United States Government should speak out, in the first place. After all, the crime was not against us and it didn't occur in this country, and we have absolutely no connection with it. It just happens that two Americans, Claire Sterling and myself, have been the people who've done perhaps the greatest amount of research in

depth on it, next to the authorities in places like Italy and Turkey who are pursuing it officially. And it's their job. And I have every reason to believe, from all that I know, that they're doing a very good job. And we see that in the prosecutor's report that came out in Italy recently and in the work that continues in Turkey to probe into Agca's background.

Now, I think much too much has been made of the alleged reticence of the United States Government. It's true that President Reagan...

MAN: You think that Miss Sterling overstates the case?

HENSEY: She certainly overstates -- her experience has certainly been different from mine. I don't know if you heard me say that earlier. I never had anybody in the United States Government discourage me or threaten me or tell me that I shouldn't pursue this. In fact, I had considerable help when I asked for it. I didn't ask for a great deal. But when I wanted help, I got help.

MAN: All right.

FISKE: Hello.

WOMAN: Mr. Fiske, I trust that I have impeccable credentials. I'm an American citizen and do not have a single foreign person in my ancestry since before 1800. And I also have lived abroad a great deal and I've been to Turkey and I have been married to a Foreign Service officer. And I know something, a little something, you know.

But I would say that putting people on the air who want to make accusations of this kind is a very questionable kind of thing unless you do allow the debate, because the United States itself has been involved in so many operations of the same sort. I mean I remember when Mossadegh, back in the 1950s, and in Pakistan, with all their revolutions, and in Turkey itself, in Italy and in Greece, all all the money where the CIA has been involved, in Argentina, and this and that and the other thing.

FISKE: Well, I, for one, am willing to grant that we have been involved -- hang on a minute -- that we have been involved in assassinations, the CIA. And I think the CIA itself has acknowledged that.

Now, what does that lead you to now?

HENSEY: What's your point, madam?

WOMAN: The point I want to make is this: I do not have

any proof of what I say at all, but it has seemed to me from my observations of Europe, what little I know, is that what happened in Poland could hardly have taken place without a substantial influx of money from the CIA. I mean that whole Solidarity movement must have had substantial support of some kind.

HENSEY: You seem to be an addict of conspiracy theories, madam.

WOMAN: Well, no. I think you're more the conspiracy theory. I mean I just tell you what I'm just looking at. And I mean I certainly think...

FISKE: Do I gather from what you're saying that you accept the thesis that Paul Hensey puts forth about the killing of the Pope, that you are attempting to justify it by the fact, by your argument that the United States has been involved in assassinations in the past? Is that what you're saying?

WOMAN: I don't justify anything.

FISKE: Do you accept his thesis?

WOMAN: Well, I do not think that the whole story is given as to -- I mean I don't think that -- it will be some years, just like the...

HENSEY: Well, so do I. I couldn't agree with you more. Getting to the bottom of something like this takes a long time. We've only begun the process.

WOMAN: And I feel that today, with the tension in the world what it is, that it would be much better to try and say, "Well, look. We've done bad things. You've done bad things. Let's stop."

HENSEY: So one shouldn't look into questions like this? The Pope is shot and nobody should investigate how it happened?

WOMAN: Well, I hardly think it becomes an ex-CIA agent to do it.

HENSEY: You really don't make very much sense, madam. Here you are again slinging accusations instead of -- you say you want to talk about things objectively, and you're doing quite the obvious.

WOMAN: Well, I'm just saying that if you want to make a good impression on the American people as for your credibility, it would be just as well to accept the fact that you might just not know everything.

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HENSEY: Who said I knew everything?

WOMAN: Well, then you come out and make...

HENSEY: You're putting words in my mouth. Again, your approach is...

WOMAN: ...that you have irrefutable evidence.

HENSEY: I didn't say I had irrefutable evidence.

FISKE: Hang on. Let me say that having read Paul Hensey's book today, he says several times that the missing pieces will be provided by Soviet defectors who probably will emerge in the next few years. In his book, at least, he makes very clear that there are lots of missing pieces, that not everything is known, and that he expects it will be a number of years before these things come out.

WOMAN: Well, then I think it's a little premature to come out with this book.

FISKE: Thank you.

Good evening.

MAN: I'm trying to find out if your guest has ever known a person named Romi Nazar, or Ruzi Nazar, R-u-z-i N-a-z-a-r, under that name or other names -- for example, Nazarov, N-a-z-a-r-o-v.

HENSEY: Well, where? Have you known somebody by this name?

MAN: No. I'm trying to find out if the guest, Ruzi Nazar has ever -- if the guest has ever known him or worked with him.

HENSEY: Why does that interest you?

MAN: I'm just trying to verify some credentials.

HENSEY: I've never known him and have never worked with him. And this is part of -- the question you're acting, whether you're doing it consciously or not, goes back to the disinformation that the Russians have been spreading about this story. I have no further comment to make on it.

FISKE: You've heard that name before, then?

HENSEY: That name has come up in tails out of Moscow in

booklets that the Bulgarian embassy is passing around in a magnificent concoction of disinformation that tries to put the blame on Americans.

MAN: Well, I'm trying to find out if the guest ever worked for Radio Free Europe about 1959.

HENSEY: If I worked for Radio Free Europe? I worked for Radio Free Europe from 1952 to 1958. That is very well known. And what significance does that have to you?

MAN: Again, I'm just trying to verify some of the...

HENSEY: Well, you could -- there are other ways of verifying my background if you want. But I'm perfectly happy to supply information.

MAN: I'm just tracking credentials, then.

FISKE: Okay. Thank you.

You're on 88.5-FM.

MAN: ...I'm a regular listener of your program, and occasionally I will make comments. And I think anybody who recognizes the sound of my voice will know from past comments that I've made that I'm no friend of the Soviet Union. I believe that it's capable of anything in its attempt to destroy the West. Additionally, I agree with most of the things that the CIA does. I'm glad it exists.

But I find that your treatment of the earlier caller who was claiming to be Turkish, and I believe eventually established the fact that she was through speaking the language to your guest, I found the treatment of that woman incredibly boorish.

And I don't know whose pay your guest is in. But I don't trust the man either.

FISKE: Okay.

MAN: Okay. Thank you.

HENSEY: I have no further comment.

MAN: You wouldn't comment on any of the questions that you haven't liked tonight.

HENSEY: The questions -- your technique seems to be very similar to the others.

MAN: Oh, sure. I'm guilty of Soviet disinformation...

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HENSEY: You seem to be very easily aroused, sir.

MAN: Just like the old fellow who called you tonight, who's a regular caller, whom you accused of Soviet disinformation.

HENSEY: Who's getting nasty?

MAN: Sir, if you do work for the CIA, you're certainly no credit to them.

Thank you.

FISKE: You're on 88.5-FM.

MAN: I'd like to ask a question, going back to a point that was raised by the woman from Baltimore, which seems to have been lost. And her point was that as far as the Turkish Government was concerned, what is their position? I always thought that they always assumed that Agca was a rightist-leaning individual. And I was over in Turkey at the time most of this was going on. And at that time, inside the country, I never heard anything about a Communist plot of any sort or any KGB ties. And if anybody would want to bring this out, I would think it would be the Turkish Government themselves.

HENSEY: The Turkish Government is conducting at the present time a major trial in Istanbul on the basis of very extensive investigations, and the results of that trial are extremely interesting. You can read a good summary report of it in the Wall Street Journal of Tuesday of this week.

Your comments seem to beg the answer. You seem to be implying that the information that I've given is faulty. I think any objective Turk -- and I know a great many -- would support the views I've stated.

MAN: But what about the government? Are you saying the Turkish Government itself is not objective? Because as far as I know...

HENSEY: The Turkish Government is very objective. The Turkish Government is investigating the case, just like the Italian Government.

MAN: Yes, they're investigating. But I have never heard while I was there...

HENSEY: When were you there?

MAN: I was there up until almost a year ago.

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HENSEY: Well, if you were paying much attention to what was going on, you wouldn't be as much in the dark as you seem to be.

MAN: Well, I'm not in the dark. I mean can you specifically tell me at any time when the Turkish Government has ever commented that there's a possible KGB association between Agca...

HENSEY: Yes. The Turkish Government has put out vast volumes of information on terrorism and destabilization in Turkey. There's a great deal of it available, and I'm sure you can get it.

MAN: ...I'm asking in the specific case about Agca and the KGB.

HENSEY: The Turkish Government is investigating the case.

MAN: Yes, they are investigating it. But has anybody ever, within the Turkish Government, an official, implied or suggested there was a tie?

HENSEY: Yes.

MAN: Who?

HENSEY: I'm -- numerous people on numerous occasions.

MAN: Can you give me one example?

HENSEY: I really don't care to press this discussion any further because, obviously, the purpose of your question is harassment, not the elicitation of information.

MAN: It's not harassment. I would like the information. If I'm wrong, I'm willing to admit it. Some of our readers might be interested.

FISKE: Okay. Thank you, sir.

You say Istanbul. I thought they gave up that. Don't they call it Ankara?

HENSEY: No, no, no. They are two very different cities.

FISKE: Are they really? Isn't that funny? I was under the impression that -- they changed capitals? Is that what they did.

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HENSEY: Istanbul is the old capital. Istanbul is the old Constantinople.

FISKE: I was under the impression that they changed the name of the capital.

HENSEY: Not the name. They're both very lively, interesting cities.

FISKE: ...You're on the air.

MAN: I would like to make a couple of comments. I'm a long-term listener and supporter of the station. And although it is perhaps not all that relevant, given what I have to say, I have had the experience of working in elements of our government who have been concerned and conducted investigations of political assassinations within the United States. That has given me occasion to spend a good time not only as a homicide investigator, but also as someone who has watched the reactions of the American public and numerous call-in shows from various investigations over the years of political assassinations. And I can sympathize that these forums have a lot of inherent difficulties. Not only are you in the position of dealing with a lot of shadows and smoke, but you do have a lot of callers who are somewhat off the wall and they have their own pet theories. And I think there was a reference made to people who are bent toward conspiracies, and whatnot.

I wish that all of the experience that I had would put me in a position to make some sort of a positive comment with respect of where do we go from here with this investigation. I have not read the book and I'm not an expert or at all informed about the facts of the case with regard to the Pope. But I do have some experience on the way that these things go, and have been an avid listener. And I would like to make this one comment about the way that I see the show going tonight.

I am very disappointed with the rude and short treatment and the defensive attitude of your guest tonight. And Fred, I think that, frankly, it would be incumbent upon you to listen to this program and go back and realize there are some very reasonable people who have raised reasonable objections tonight with respect to their treatment and the treatment of earlier listeners.

For what it's worth, I just want to make that comment and wish you well with this case. Thank you.

FISKE: Thank you for your call.

Hello.

MAN: Fred, I'm both Turkish and I'm also a regular listener. And I was calling for two reasons. And you just added a third one while I was on hold.

The first reason is that I wanted to illustrate that Turks are capable of speaking good English. And, you know, I was also disappointed in the way that the lady was treated on the air just a while back.

FISKE: Can I ask you how long you have been in this country?

MAN: Oh, I've been here about ten years, so I am different. Yes.

FISKE: Interestingly, you've been here for about ten years, and I detect evidences of a foreign accent in your speech, which you must be aware of. The woman who called earlier said she had been here for only one year, and there was no evidence of any foreign accent in her speech, which made me, you know, wonder about that. It's highly unlikely. And my suspicion was and is that she learned to speak English in the United States.

MAN: Yeah. I won't hold that you against you forever. I think I'll still continue to be a regular listener. And in fact, I think you should have bumper stickers that say "Fred Fiske for President."

[Laughter]

MAN: Anyway, the second point is I think -- I agree with your guest today that the Russians were probably behind this whole thing and they were basically fostering this terrorist group through Bulgaria. But I think one would be smart to look back at how the group Gray Wolves actually developed in Turkey. Because in the early '70s, there were only left-wing terrorists in Turkey, and they were just trying to be heard of and they were just starting in the business, basically. And one of the things that was thought by the right-wing people at the time was that they said, "If the government tries to antagonize those left-wing terrorists, it's going to be as if the people are fighting the government, and vice versa." And instead of that, what they did was to foster right-wing groups and arm them so that they could actually fight the left-wing terrorists.

So, it really was that group Gray Wolves really started out that way, and it was a baby, I guess, or a child, or whatever you call it, of the right-wing people in Turkey. And I wouldn't really be surprised if I found out that they would have some outside contacts or assistance in fostering that group of people.

Now, eventually, the Russians, I think, wanted to capitalize on this because all they care about is to have chaos in Turkey so that they can fractionate the country and get their hands on a piece, which will put them in a strategic location. So, basically, it's something that really backfired and eventually was exploited by the Russians to their advantage.

Now, the shooting of the Pope, obviously, is another example of how this thing really misfired, or whatever, so to speak. I mean it basically illustrates how this geopolitical power play between large countries and major powers, or superpowers, can really influence smaller countries like Turkey and lead to some freak accidents or some other plots like the shooting of the Pope. And I think we have a lot to learn from this type of an incident.

HENSEY: You make some very, very good observations, sir. And you clearly have a good grasp of what happened in your country during that time. The fact is that all sorts of people were playing around in the situation. And the Russians found that the Gray Wolves served their purposes, the extreme rightists served their purposes. Most of the extreme rightists, obviously, didn't know that in the end they were getting support and arms and money from sources that were ultimately backed by the Kremlin. But I suspect that some did.

This is one of the misfortunes. When politics, in any country, become split into extremes, everybody in the middle suffers, and the extremes become more extreme, and the whole system is in danger of collapse. And this is clearly what did happen in Turkey in the '70s.

FISKE: Thank you for your call.

You're on 88.5-FM.

WOMAN: I wanted to ask Mr. Hensey if he has noticed in the recent Soviet press, particularly in [Russian expression], articles saying that they have mounted a real campaign for the release of Mr. Antonov. And it seems to me that it's a possibility that they may have been kind of -- or they may be angling for an exchange. What do you think of that possibility?

HENSEY: That's definitely possible. [Russian expression] has continued to be preoccupied with this case over a long period of time.

It's interesting to note, for example, that the Soviet Government, itself, has almost never said anything about this case. Obviously, they're extremely embarrassed by it. But they've given the job of spreading propaganda and agitating to

[Russian expression], with Pravda and Izvestia and other papers occasionally weighing in as well.

The possibility of an exchange was foreseen very, very early. When the Italians first came out with clear-cut evidence of a Bulgarian connection, you may recall, the Bulgarians arrested two unfortunate Italians, a young lady and a young man, who were traveling in Bulgaria at the time and accused them of espionage, allegedly photographing military installations. They carried out a sham trial and put these people in prison. They were obviously just, in effect, taking hostages, hoping to trade them. The Italians have never responded to this kind of cheap gesture.

WOMAN: I had one more other brief question, which was: Has the Catholic Church mounted an investigation?

HENSEY: Oh, I suppose it has. It's certainly interested. The Catholic Church doesn't dispose of the same kind of investigative and judicial power that the Italian state does. The Lateran Treaty of 1929 between the Government of Italy and the Vatican provides that any attack on the head of the Vatican -- that is, the Pope -- will be treated in the same manner as an attack on the head of the Italian state. It's on that basis that the responsibility for investigating this whole case rests with Italy.

FISKE: Since the shooting attempt, since the assassination attempt was made, has the Pope altered his direction any? It seems to me, if anything, he has intensified his efforts to spread the word in Poland and to some of the religious groups in the Soviet Union, and so on.

HENSEY: There are people who argued in the first year or so that the Pope had softened up, that he'd been frightened, and so forth. I see no evidence of that. In fact, the Pope went back to Poland, of course, after the assassination attempt. People were very apprehensive about it. That visit to Poland was, in its way, just as significant as his earlier visit had been.

The Pope continues to be extremely interested in Catholics throughout the world, but particularly Catholics in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. I don't believe the Pope has altered his views or his policies in any respect.

FISKE: You're on the air.

WOMAN: I am enjoying your program very much this evening. And I've also heard Claire Sterling on Diane Rehm's earlier show during the day on WAMU.

I wanted to, first of all, compliment both Mr. Hensey and Claire Sterling for their personal efforts to bring and to continue to keep this in the eye of the public. I think it's very, very critical, as this story continues to evolve, that we're being kept up to date on this. So that's my first comment that I'd like to make.

HENSEY: Well, thank you very much.

WOMAN: Secondly, I'd like to say also this evening that as an American and deeply interested -- I've read Claire Sterling's book and I've also followed through with great interest the Reader's Digest articles that came before the actual completion of her book. And early on -- and I happened to also catch the NBC, one of the White Papers. And there was some mention very early on that there had been an Italian magazine publication at one point of time where a leader of the Armenian community perhaps [unintelligible] had commented, in his efforts to attack Turkey and the Turks and the history of that antagonism, that he felt that he was so strong, this Armenian leader felt that he was so strong and the community was so strong that they could even get a Turk to kill the Pope.

I was wondering, has there been any additional information on that possibility and where that has led to? I have not read anything more on that lately.

HENSEY: I don't know of any evidence that there have been any Armenian connections in this whole operation.

Curiously enough, when Agca was first arrested, immediately after attacking the Pope, there were reports that he was an Armenian. But this, of course, was clarified very quickly.

It's quite true that Armenians have been involved in particularly vicious terrorism against Turks, shooting Turkish diplomats, attacking Turkish offices around the world. There's a fairly good reason to believe that the KGB has been supporting these efforts. It's certainly not been doing anything to interfere with them in any way.

WOMAN: The other comment that I'd like to make, also, is recognizing the extremely large, and perhaps, I understand, the largest minority in the Soviet Union today being of Turkish descent, that there would be a definite interest in putting down anything Turkish in the Soviet Union, even to the point of, again, an interest in destabilization of Turkey, because I understand that in Russia, in the Soviet Union today there still is a great fearing of [unintelligible] Turk. And with, you know, this downplay and this attack on Agca, and also destabilization of

Turkey, it seems to be very much of a total program.

HENSEY: Well, you're quite right. And it isn't so much that there's a Turkish minority in the Soviet Union as that there are a great many people in the Soviet Union who are Turks, who are closely related to the Turks of Turkey. There are probably today 50 million people who are Moslem and Turkish and who live in the Caucuses and in Central Asia.

WOMAN: You hear a lot today about the American Jewish population being concerned about the oppression of Soviet Jewry, but you hear very little about what's happening today in Russia regarding the suppression of the Turkish minority there.

HENSEY: Well, you hear very little about the oppression of Moslems in the U.S.S.R. In the U.S.S.R. the Moslems do not lead a free life at all. While the Soviets abroad, in trying to cater to people in the Middle East and Africa, like to pretend that they're great friends of Moslems. It's a very duplicitous, hypocritical approach.

FISKE: Well, nobody in the Soviet Union leads a free life.

HENSEY: Absolutely nobody.

FISKE: Why would we expect the Moslems would?

HENSEY: Well, the Moslems, of course, are disadvantaged in some ways. In some ways, however, they've learned how to take advantage of the system.

But you're very right in making the observation that you make, that the Soviets are deeply worried about Turkey. This is one of the reasons why they want to sow hate between Turkey and the rest of the world.

WOMAN: Yes. I want to congratulate you and Mr. Fiske on being brave enough. And I apologize for my fellow Americans who have been very rude this evening.

HENSEY: Well, it's a pleasure to hear someone who is open and objective and interested in learning, rather than to be continually a victim of comments by people who seem to be in a state of emotional frenzy at the mere thought of trying to look at this whole question with some degree of open-mindedness.

WOMAN: Well, again, I congratulate you and Claire Sterling for keeping this in front of the American public, and also the Western World.

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HENSEY: Thank you. I hope you have a chance to look at my book. You'll find some very interesting things there.

WOMAN: I'm sure I will. Thank you very much.

FISKE: And it's titled The Plot to Kill the Pope. It's by our guest, Paul Hensey.

You're on the air.

WOMAN: I had several points to make. One is that your guest said that he was very active in Radio Free Europe in the '50s. Ambassador Davies, who was the Polish ambassador up till '78, he said Radio Free Europe was funded by the CIA and run by the CIA in those years. So I think when he's an expert on dis-information, he might also be an expert at dishing it out.

And I wanted to mention a book called The Eyes of the KGB. Fred, you had that author on here. He was with the CIA for 20 years, and he completely...

FISKE: The Eyes of the KGB?

WOMAN: Yes. And he completely refuted Claire Sterling and threw out the things, her hypothesis.

FISKE: I think you've got somebody -- you heard it on somebody else's program.

WOMAN: No, it was your program, Eyes of the KGB. And he made the point that the Soviet Union does not indulge in assassinations. They work in a vastly different way.

And being on the side of bread and justice, as Barry Goldwater said, the Soviet Union and the Communists have won more territory in the world without a shot, just by their philosophy.

And the thing is that I think it's very interesting because your guest completely dismisses this book about the murder and assassination of this former Pope. And I guest read the Book of the Month Club News, and they have about three pages with all the pictures of the people in that Mafia Vatican bank. They were on the enemies list of the former Pope and he was about to prosecute them when he mysteriously died of a -- you know, died. And then this new Pope came in.

And as a matter of fact, I think he may have been preferable because he was more willing to deal with the drug smuggling people, and therefore he was involved with some very scummy...

FISKE: Where are you taking us? Can we discuss --let's discuss the subject we have on the table.

WOMAN: Okay. What I'm saying is that Claire Sterling, she would constantly get back to her hypothesis that the Soviet Union would have liked to see this Pope out of the way because of the role of the church in Solidarity. However, I often heard during those days that it was the Pope who mediated the situation and gave the Government of Poland the most hope. So I think that that is a very alternate hypothesis.

The fact that your guest was with the CIA, Radio Free Europe for so long -- I think this is being used to rally Catholics in this country in the three months before a vastly different government might come in, to rally them against the Soviet Union with his shadowy allegations.

FISKE: Okay.

HENSEY: The lady seems to have all the answers. I have no comment.

FISKE: Hello.

WOMAN: I want to thank tonight's guest for really beautifully and clearly laying out this very complicated situation. And it's one that we all should know about. And I'm so glad he's written a book about it.

HENSEY: You have read my book, have you?

WOMAN: No, I haven't. But I'm dying to after hearing this.

HENSEY: Well, I hope you have the opportunity to because I think you'll find it very interesting. Actually, it seems to me tonight, in the course of the discussion, that we've had very little opportunity to talk about what's actually in the book. So I do appreciate your comments.

WOMAN: Well, I must add that I'm appalled at the rudeness of the callers. You haven't been rude at all. And I do think that the Communist embassies have been very active in getting these people to call tonight.

HENSEY: Indeed they have.

WOMAN: I feel sorry for you.

HENSEY: They're more efficient that they were the last time I appeared on this station with Diane Rehm. Then they had

people calling in who had East European accents. I noticed that all the people who called in tonight have native American accents, except a couple who have Turkish accents.

WOMAN: Yes, I noticed that too. I do feel sorry for you. But you're doing a wonderful job, and please keep it up.

HENSEY: Well, thank you very much.

FISKE: You're on the air.

MAN: Just a comment to Mr. Hensey there, if I might.

FISKE: Go ahead.

MAN: Yes. I believe you may be damaging your own case. You seem to have laid out fascism and Communism as opposite poles. But might it not be true...

HENSEY: I certainly haven't done that, under any circumstance. I have known from childhood that fascism and Communism are essentially the same thing. Facism is essentially a heresy of Communism, and Communism is a heresy of facism. They're both totalitarianism.

MAN: I'm glad to agree, because commentators than I have laid them out as meeting on the arc of the circle.

HENSEY: Well, where did you get the impression that I considered facism...

MAN: Only because some of your earlier callers, with whom I'm not in agreement with, seemed to be pushing you towards the Gray Wolves explanation rather than the other. And I wonder...

HENSEY: Well, that's not my explanation. Agca was made to look like a Gray Wolf. He never was a Gray Wolf.

MAN: That's an irrelevant argument, really.

HENSEY: The experience of terrorism in Turkey, though, demonstrates how close facism and Communism are. It's the people who argue from the left who always want to pretend that the Gray Wolves are something totally different from the Communists. Actually, the Gray Wolves and the Communists were simply two ends of the same extreme spectrum.

FISKE: Were the Gray Wolves something like the Black Shirts, that kind of organization?

HENSEY: The Gray Wolves were a youth organization of

the Nationalist Party. They've been painted to be far more vicious than they really were, but they weren't a very nice organization. They don't exist anymore. They were dissolved when the military took over in Turkey and brought terrorism and destabilization to an end.

Agca, however, was never a Gray Wolf. The people that recruited Agca and prepared him for his brief but spectacular career in international crime tried to make him look like a Gray Wolf. They've tried to befuddle the situation since. You've heard what some of the callers tonight, the kinds of information that are being spread, the kind of distortions, the kind of emotional, frenzied intensity. One of these ladies, who maintained that she was a Turk, tried her best to spread this type of thing.

But your basic observation is very correct. Fascism and Communism are simply -- are essentially the same kind of problem. It's the extremes against the center. The real problem in the world today is that those of us who are trying to maintain and operate free societies find ourselves attacked from all sides.

MAN: Well, good. If you made the point earlier, I'm sorry I missed it. I did tune in late.

HENSEY: If you have a chance to read my book, you'll see a very clear exposition of these problems.

MAN: I'll certainly do that.

FISKE: You're on the air.

MAN: A remarkable show that you've got tonight. I think that this is just one of the best shows you've ever put on.

FISKE: I'm glad you're enjoying it.

MAN: The thing that fascinates me is the tremendous opposition that's being raised. I've listened to you for years. I've never heard anybody get attacked the way that this Mr. Hensey has been attacked.

HENSEY: It's not accidental, you can be sure. The attacks on me tonight have been organized.

MAN: Well, but then I'm beginning to realize for the first time that the Soviet Union is frightened.

HENSEY: You see a good example of that tonight.

MAN: The fact that they would go to such an extreme as

to arrange to seek to assassinate the Pope tells me several things. One, as I understand it, in Poland something like 90 percent of the population, or better, are Catholic; that the men all go to church and they bring their sons with them; and it's a very virile, tough church. And that maybe they're scared that now that their leadership is aging in the Soviet Union, that there's a similar type of underground church in the Soviet Union, and that this might be the thing that they're terrified of, that they're going to be -- if there is an overthrow in the Soviet Union and they're going to go belly-up and the Communists are going to be kicked out, that the people that will do it are people who are willing to go to their death and be martyrs to save their country because of their belief in their church.

Is there a chance that the Catholic Church can -- there can be a revival underground in the Soviet Union...

HENSEY: Well, it isn't only the Catholic Church that the leaders in the Kremlin are afraid of. It's all religion. It's the Orthodox Church. It's the Moslems. It's Protestant churches, Baptists and so forth.

It just happens that the Catholic population of the Soviet Union has been given special hope and special inspiration, has experienced a real sense of exultation by virtue of having a Polish Pope.

MAN: What percent of the people of the Soviet Union are Catholics?

HENSEY: Only a very small percentage, probably no more than five or six million out of a population of about 260 million.

MAN: What about the Orthodox?

HENSEY: The great majority of Russians are at least nominally Orthodox. And we have a good deal of evidence that the Orthodox Church, though it's been oppressed and distorted and subjected to regime controls over a long period of time, still enjoys the support of a large number of people?

MAN: Would you say 50 percent are Christian church people?

HENSEY: Possibly that high. Among Moslems in the Soviet Union, the sense of devotion to their own religion, I think, is much higher because they've been interfered with somewhat less.

MAN: What percent are they?

HENSEY: Of the population of the Soviet Union?

MAN: Uh-huh.

HENSEY: Rapidly approaching 20 percent.

MAN: So you're talking about 50 and 20.

HENSEY: Well, you're talking about a very sizable number of people. The real problem with Communism and religion is that Communism is a substitute religion, but it doesn't satisfy people the way religion does. It doesn't provide what religion provides.

MAN: The question I ask you is this: It seems to me that they're, at least at the very minimum, afraid that Poland may revolt and that could lead to a similar kind of revolt in other countries, perhaps Czechoslovakia and some of the other satellite countries that are leaning westward, and that ultimately it might blow up in the Soviet Union. What do you think about that?

HENSEY: I couldn't agree more. It has to do not only with religion, but nationalism. It has to do with the fact that people really do want to be free. And the system in the Soviet Union really offers no freedom, doesn't respect human rights, and tries to lock everybody into an old empire that's shakier and shakier.

FISKE: Thank you, sir.

You're on 88.5-FM.

WOMAN: I was listening to this tonight and I was of two minds. And I kept saying to my husband, you know, "This is a strange call-in program." I mean, you know, I listen every night. But the callers were so different.

And then Mr. Hensey said that there were people calling in from strange places. That scares me out of six-weeks growth to think that this could happen. Because every night when I listen to you, people call in very openly and speak their minds. But tonight it was very strange.

HENSEY: I don't know if the places were strange. Some of the people were strange.

WOMAN: That's what I meant. But doesn't it sort of...

FISKE: We probably attracted -- I don't disagree that it's possible that some of those calls may have been orchestrated

and planned. But on the other hand, when we're talking about a subject of this sort, it's likely that people, for example, who are of Turkish extraction would be motivated to call who might not on other subjects.

WOMAN: Well, I understand from Mr. Hensey that they weren't all Turkish.

FISKE: Well, okay.

HENSEY: Well, we have a free society. It's one of the great virtues of a free society that we can all talk freely, we can all call in. In the Communist world, this would be inconceivable.

FISKE: You're on 88.5-FM.

WOMAN: There are two things I want to say. One, I just want to congratulate you for having such a wonderful guest on your program. And I hope that you invite either him or somebody like him back in the future.

There was another point that some one of you made on the program, that saying that a lot of people that called in tonight were very rude. And one of you commented that they -- or one of the callers that called in made a statement that she wants to apologize for the Americans that were rude. Well, I noticed from reporters interviewing Russians and people from Eastern Europe, you really cannot tell whether they're Americans or not by their accent, because they sound just like an American until the reporter would say, "Where did you pick up your American accent?"

So, I really do not think we should think that all those people with American accents that called in were really Americans.

FISKE: Okay. Thank you.

You're on 88.5-FM.

MAN: I have a point and a question, please. Let me say that you might be a speech expert, but obviously you are not an expert on the human capacity to excel, judging by what I have observed tonight.

And let me ask you a question. Are you continually studying speech, or have you just decided that, being an expert, you can stop now? Are you still studying?

FISKE: Well, of course. My work and my life are all bound up in it every single day.

Thank you.

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You're on the air.

MAN: I am just calling to confirm one point that your guest made about the organized effort by the Soviet agents in this country whenever a program like this comes, where the Soviet policy is condemned and evidence is given for that. A couple of weeks ago there was a program in New York City where the current Soviet situation in Afghanistan was discussed, and we were surprised that all the people who called in, they were all pro-Soviet and there was no evidence given, nobody supported the Afghan cause.

This is done very nicely. All the people, when a program like this is publicized, the pro-Soviet people, they organize and they call first and they always try to discredit the person who gives the evidence.

HENSEY: That's a very cogent observation, and it's very pertinent. I think Americans need to recognize how often our free institutions are abused by these people. They're willing to go to almost any lengths to try to justify their own repressive system and attack those of us who try to expose it.

MAN: This is very true.

I come from Afghanistan and I've been here for many years. I've yet to see a person who has the views that are expressed over and over again against a person who speaks, you know, on the radio or on TV against the Soviets.

HENSEY: Yes. I understand very well your problem because I'm, of course, very familiar with your situation as well. And it's part of the whole vast Soviet imperial problem.

One of the great concerns of the men in the Kremlin has been Poland, and another one of them has been Afghanistan. And they both demonstrate what a bankrupt, but vicious, system this is.

MAN: Anyway, it's been very enjoyable to listen to you.

HENSEY: Thank you.

FISKE: And I want to thank you so much for coming.

HENSEY: Thank you, Fred. It's been a pleasure. I'm accustomed to being assaulted by frenzied, emotional people who are not attacking anything that I've said, but who always try to attack me, my background, and the fact I've looked into it.

FISKE: Well, good luck to you.

Paul Hensey. His book titled The Plot to Kill the Pope.