## UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS



Department of International Relations
St. Andrews
Fife KY16 9AL
Scotland U.K.

Telephone: (0334) 76161 ext: 438

Telex: 9312110846 SA G Fax: (0334) 75851

pwletdm

25th March, 1992.

Dr David Miller, Department of Sociology, 61 Southpark Avenue, The University, GLASGOW. G12 8LF.

Dear Dr Miller,

Thank you for your letter of 17th March. The short answer to your question is 'yes'. There is abundant evidence from the parliamentary investigative committees, files uncovered by the opening up of secret police archives (e.g. Stasi files in Germany) and the testimony of numerous defectors, that the Communist regimes of the Warsaw Pacts played their small parts in providing military training and other facilities for approved client terrorist groups (e.g. Abu Nidal in Poland, 'Carlos' in Hungary, RAF in East Germany etc. etc.). No doubt this help was often very helpful to the clients, but, as I have argued elsewhere, they would have survived quite successfully without it and would have found alternative sources.

You ask about weapons supplies. Most of the communist - manufactured weapons were obtained via third party conduits (e.g. the PLO or Libya). Sometimes there were direct supplies (e.g. the consignment of weapons sent to the IRA in October 1971 from the Czech Omnipol agancy, obviously with official approval, but intercepted at Schiphold Airport).

You ask about the Semtex supplied by the Gadaffi regime to the IRA. In general terms the Czech secret service and their KGB controllers knew full well the kind of group Gadaffi was sponsoring or assisting. It is worth noting that there was a substantial compliment of Soviet Military advisers in Libya during the whole period of Gadaffi's most active assistance to the IRA and other foreign groups. (Gadaffi now claims to regret his involvement in assisting the IRA and to have closed down terrorist training camps, but there are reports contradicting this.)

What/....

What I was saying in the brief Thames TV comment you quoted was that the Warsaw Pact regimes were quite happy to see weapons reaching foreign terrorist groups, providing they were creating problems for Western countries and not for the East.

If you wish to pursue this fascinating aspect of state sponsorships and support your timing is propitious. You are likely to get friendly cooperation from the parliamentarians and political leaders of the newly democratized East European states who have been busy cleaning the Algean stables.

Yours sincerely,

Professor Paul Wilkinson, Chairman of the Department of International Relations.