

#131
WB

~~SECRET~~

10 MAR 1982 13 50

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301



INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

10 MAR 1982

In reply refer to:

I-20924/82 SEC DEF AS SEEN

MAR 11 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

SUBJECT: Meeting Between Presidents Reagan and Mitterrand (U) -- ACTION MEMORANDUM

(S) President Mitterrand will meet with President Reagan on 12 March 1982. Secretary of State will recommend that the issue of the lenient French policy toward terrorism be raised during the meeting because Mitterrand is the key to changing French terrorism policy. Secretary of State also plans to discuss the issue with the Foreign Minister on 12 March following the meeting between the Presidents. A State Briefing Paper on this issue is at Tab B. This paper is consistent with our views, as far as it goes. It does not point out that our intelligence indicates the French government may shift, as a matter of policy, from tolerating terrorist groups in-country, to actively supporting them in the furtherance of French interests and the ideological predilections of individuals within the French government, such as Regis Debray--and without, such as Mrs. Mitterrand.

FRENCH

(S) Because of the sensitivity of this issue, there may be some reluctance to address the issue with Mitterrand. However, it is critical that Mitterrand understands the importance we attach to this issue.

(U) RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the letter at Tab A.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

Noel C. Koch
Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary
International Security Affairs

cc: USD/P

Office of the Secretary of Defense
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS
Date: 19 APR 2018 Authority: EO 13526
Declassify: X Deny in Full: 3552
Declassify in Part: _____
Reason: _____
MDR: 17 -M- 2098

~~Classified by Director, P&R
Declassify on 10 March 1988~~

~~SECRET~~

Sec Def Cont No. X-18748

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING PAPER

FRENCH POLICY ON TERRORISM

The murder of Colonel Ray and attempt against Charge d'Affaires Chapman brought home what was increasingly obvious: that French permissiveness on international terrorism has resulted in France becoming a major center for international terrorism. Both present and past French government policy and practice have fostered this.

Terrorist activity in France has become increasingly common during the past two years. Syrians, Libyans, Iranians, Palestinians, and Armenians have been the primary actors. Long-standing French acceptance of comings and goings of Arab terrorists cannot be divorced from the French need for oil and markets. Armenian terrorists also seem to operate with impunity against Turkish diplomats. Those that have been caught have received scandalously lenient treatment, at least in part because of the large, politically active Armenian community in France. French refusal to extradite known Spanish Basque terrorists is almost certainly part of an implicit deal for continued peace in France's own Basque region.

The French justify their lenient attitude as part of a tradition of France as a land of political asylum. The concept is enshrined in the Constitution, and it has been used to rationalize actions taken for political reasons. In practice, French governments have not put pressure on embassies known to support terrorist activities, police investigatory follow-up of terrorist incidents have often been perfunctory, and well-known terrorists have been allowed to leave the country without punishment. The government has become even more lenient since Mitterrand took power. Legislation is even being considered which would modify the law in a way which would make it even more difficult to extradite terrorists.

To change this situation it is necessary to go to the root cause, which is French policy on terrorism. Mitterrand himself, and secondarily Prime Minister Mauroy must be convinced that we consider terrorism an important bilateral issue. We have already discussed our concerns with Interior Minister Defferre, and Ambassador Galbraith will raise these issues again with Prime Minister Mauroy next week. We particularly want France to end abuses of political asylum and diplomatic cover, to initiate more effective immigration border controls and to be more active internationally. A good first step would be France's ratification of the 1973 UN Convention on Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons.

~~SECRET~~

~~RDS 3 3/5/02~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

~~SECRET~~

Mr. Koch has seen

SEC DEF
AS SEEN

2. PARIS ENCOURAGES OPERATIONS TO SUPPORT THIRD WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

(S//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT//ORCON//NOINTEL)

MAR 11 1982

REF: (S//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT//ORCON//NOINTEL) CIA [REDACTED] 21 Jan 82.

[REDACTED] whose information has generally been substantiated, reports a French Government initiative to support revolutionary movements in the Third World. The source is in close touch with members of the "Curiel Apparatus." Henri Curiel, who was killed in 1978, ran a network to support revolutionaries and terrorists throughout the world, including those in Western Europe and Japan. Curiel was known to have KGB connections and once confessed that he was a KGB agent.

According to the source, two advisers of French President Mitterrand, Regis Debray and Francois Grossouvre, approached a key leader of the Curiel organization. They said that Mitterrand was impressed with the organization's past work and would like to see its activities reactivated. Grossouvre explained that official French intelligence services could not become involved in aiding Third World revolutionaries, but that the Curiel organization could provide the necessary competence and experience. The French Government would provide supplies and services to support the effort.

The President's emissaries stressed that the government would not intervene to bail out the Curiel organization in case of exposure. The organization would not be allowed to disclose the French Government connection except in certain cases and to "clients" at the highest level. No names of the officials involved would ever be disclosed.

Grossouvre is one of Mitterrand's oldest and closest associates. Thus, the fact that he was one of the emissaries suggests the approach was made with Mitterrand's blessing, if not at his initiative.

Mitterrand's interest in supporting Third World revolutionaries is in line with his belief that they can be wooed away from the USSR if given an alternative. He may be using clandestine channels to avoid provoking some of his domestic constituency, as well as his US ally.

The Curiel network has well-known links to the USSR, as well as to terrorists in Europe, Japan, and elsewhere. We find the choice of this group strange to say the least. It shows the ambiguity of Mitterrand's character and his revolutionary leftwing bias. (Classified by multiple sources. Review on 2 Feb 02.)

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

CIA E.O. 13526 Section 3.3(b)(1)

1. FRENCH PRESIDENT'S ENTOURAGE SUPPORTS THIRD WORLD REVOLUTIONARIES. (S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/ORCON/WINTEL)

REF: (S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/ORCON/WINTEL) CIA [redacted] 17 Feb 82;
[redacted] 13 Feb 82.

[redacted], who has provided generally reliable reports, tells us that part of the military equipment France recently sold to Nicaragua is in fact destined for guerrilla forces in El Salvador. This information was disclosed privately to our source by the leading French Communist expert on Latin America, Fournial, who in turn learned it from Presidential Adviser Regis Debray. Debray gave no further details of what type of equipment is involved.

French defense officials have stressed that the equipment includes patrol boats, trucks, helicopters, and air-to-ground rockets, which they claim are not suitable for guerrilla warfare. Other reports confirm that rockets and rocket launchers are being purchased.

Another source whose reliability has not yet been established comments that resale to a third party requires approval in writing from the French Government. This same source asserts that the initiative for the sale came from the French President's wife and Regis Debray. Apparently the French Minister of Defense was not fully briefed on the weapons deal at the time he was in Washington and the sale was announced. The Minister expressed his irritation and indignation when he returned to Paris.

We are not surprised that Regis Debray, a long-time Communist revolutionary, pressed for supporting the Nicaragua regime and the Salvadoran guerrillas. Certainly the Salvadoran guerrillas could make good use of some of the equipment in the shipment. President Mitterrand's wife is also quite known for her sympathies with the Salvadoran opposition. She is active in a French committee supporting the Salvadoran guerrillas. Therefore, Regis Debray and Mitterrand's wife quite possibly provided the initiative for the sale, which in fact does not involve large orders for the French defense industry -- the total order is less than \$20 million. The reports, which are probably accurate, give us one more indication of where the sympathies of Mitterrand's entourage, if not of Mitterrand himself, lie. We can expect further examples in which French policy toward the Third World will diverge sharply from that of the US. (Classified by multiple sources. Review on 22 Feb 02.)

CIA E.O. 13526 Section 3.3(b)(1)

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

~~SECRET~~

DIAIAPPR 122-78



DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

INTELLIGENCE APPRAISAL

PERSPECTIVES IN COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY:

THE CURIEL APPARAT(U)

12 MAY 1978

~~Classified By DIA-VP~~
~~Exempt From General Declassification~~
~~Schedule Of Executive Order 11652~~
~~Exemption Category 2~~
~~Declassify Upon Notification By The~~
~~Originator~~

~~Warning Notice~~
~~Sensitive Intelligence Sources and Methods Involved~~
~~National Security Information~~
~~Unauthorized Disclosure Subject to Criminal Sanctions~~

~~NOFORN~~
~~NOCONTRACT~~
~~ORCON~~
~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PERSPECTIVES
IN
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE
AND
SECURITY:

THE CURIEL APPARAT (U)



HENRI CURIEL, former leader of the CURIEL APPARAT (died 4 May 78)

DIAIAPPR 122-78
12 MAY 1978

DISTRIBUTION "X"

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

HENRI CURIEL'S ORGANIZATION

Curiel Apparat: An organization established by Henri Curiel following his release from a French prison in 1962. The inner circle of the organization at that time consisted of Joyce Blau, an ex-HADITU movement member from Egypt; Jehan De Wangen, an activist in Curiel's FLN support network prior to 1960; Robert Davezies, a dropout cleric; and Layla Fawzi, also an ex-member of HADITU. Both Blau and Fawzi have spent time in the USSR. The latter reportedly told French authorities that she had made frequent trips to the USSR.

Solidarite: A cover or front organization that was used by the Curiel Apparat from 1962 through the summer of 1976 to protect the Apparat's inner circle from being linked with assisting revolutionary activists.

Aide et Amitie: The name adopted for the Curiel Apparat's cover organization in the summer of 1976 after Aide et Solidarite became too well known.

Atlas Group: The code name used by the Curiel Apparat from about December 1970 to the present to designate activities in support of the African National Congress and the Breyten Breytenbach net.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

PERSPECTIVES IN COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY: THE CURIEL APPARAT (U)

SUMMARY

~~(S//WNINTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT//ORCON)~~ The Curiel Apparat is a covert organization composed of leftwing activists, anarchists, and maverick revolutionaries. It provides clandestine support to dissident, insurgent, revolutionary, and selected terrorist groups worldwide. The Apparat was formed in 1962 by the late Henri Curiel, a relative of British KGB agent George Blake, whom Curiel may have influenced on behalf of the Soviets while Blake visited him in Egypt. Curiel was a leader in the Soviet-supported Egyptian communist movement prior to his deportation in 1950 and was in charge of a support network for the Algerian National Liberation Front until his arrest by French authorities in 1960. He was killed in Paris on 4 May 78 by an unidentified assassin.

~~(S//WNINTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT//ORCON)~~ To protect itself over the years, the Apparat's inner circle has operated from a base in Paris through various front groups, including Solidarite and Aide et Amitie. Despite the amorphous, New Left politics of the Apparat, Curiel had probably been guided if not controlled by the Soviets. The Apparat is anti-US and anti-Western and has directed its operations in Latin America against US interests. In Europe the group has supported The Second Front, an organization that encouraged desertion among US troops and operated an underground railway to move them across borders to safety. The Apparat has had contact with over 70 revolutionary movements, including several Latin American leftist groups, the Japanese Red Army, and various dissident organizations in Africa and the Near East.

~~(S//WNINTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT//ORCON)~~ The Apparat's services extend from arms procurement and training to preparation of false documentation and

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PARTIAL LIST OF MOVEMENTS AIDED BY THE CUIEL APPARAT

- The Second Front
- The Kurdish Separatist Movement
- The Quebec Separatist Movement
- Dominican Republic Revolutionaries
- The Iranian Tudeh Party
- The Venezuelan Armed Forces of National Liberation
- The Haitian Party of Popular Accord, a communist party.
- Moroccan leftwing extremists
- The Guatemalan Communist Party
- The Spanish Marxist-Leninist Communist Party
- The Guyanan Caribbean Liberation Movement
- The Japanese Red Army
- Ugandan dissident groups
- The African National Congress
- The Zairian Peoples Revolutionary Party
- Mexican leftist revolutionaries
- Indonesian dissidents
- Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left
- The Brazilian National Liberation Action
- Thai dissidents
- Cameroon Peoples Union
- Haitian Workers Party

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

packaged propaganda campaigns. The organization is expected to have considerable difficulty continuing the current scope of its activities since Henri Curiel's death. None of his former associates have the experience, capability, or connections to replace Curiel, nor do any appear to have the strength of personality and authority needed to control a group as diverse as the Apparat. Consequently, the group will probably fragment, and its activities are likely to be usurped by regionally oriented support groups, such as the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta that operates in Latin America.

DISCUSSION

The Anti-US Connection

~~(S/W/INTEL/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT)~~ A former collaborator of Henri Curiel has described him as a "Broker of Conspiracies." Through the Apparat, which he founded and directed until his assassination in Paris on 4 May 78, Curiel had become an almost unique kind of broker: He specialized in organizing support for leftist groups engaged in revolution, insurgency, and terrorism. Just as any broker works on a commission basis, Henri Curiel -- the lifelong pro-Soviet communist -- ostensibly seemed to embody the capitalist ethic because he billed his special category of customers for items and services ranging from false passports to packaged propaganda campaigns. Despite the Curiel Apparat's largely cash-and-carry philosophy, its basic ideological commitment has remained consistent with Marxist goals and the furtherance of leftist revolutionary movements worldwide. The organization performed some of the same roles for the radical New Left of today that the COMINTERN provided for the orthodox communist parties 50 years ago.

~~(S/NOFORN)~~ The Apparat's focus has been relentlessly anti-Western. An associate of Curiel's in the 1960s noted in regards to the Apparat's Latin American involvements that "beyond any doubt, the dominating (Apparat) policy is the battle against the American economy. . . ." Another of Henri Curiel's associates stated "the movement gives financial

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

help to students who would otherwise be slaves of American imperialism and neocolonialism." Although both activists were speaking of operations in support of Latin American groups, the Apparat's anti-US, anti-Western bias remains characteristic, regardless of the location of its operations.

~~(S//NFINTTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ The Apparat, for example, supported The Second Front, an organization that encouraged desertion among US troops in Europe. That group also operated an underground railway to move US deserters across European borders to provide havens for them. In terms of its internal structure, the Curiel Apparat is a remarkably amorphous, politically vague entity that has attracted a number of extreme-left Christians, apolitical leftwing activists, renegades from the established communist parties in Western Europe, anarchists, and maverick revolutionaries with no political allegiance.

~~(S//NFINTTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ Association with the Apparat is exclusively on a voluntary basis and no ideological subscription is required except to the general concept of "anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism." One of Henri Curiel's associates characterized the Apparat's fluid politics in these words: "More than ever, we now take the viewpoint that we should not determine any specific attitude in politics but work only in the interests of the (anti-) colonial movement."

~~(S//NFINTTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ Despite the policy of the Apparat towards political flexibility, Henri Curiel had left little doubt concerning his staunchly pro-Soviet views. In response to a question concerning the correct attitude for Apparat members to take in the Sino-Soviet dispute, Curiel said: "It is not at all difficult. The Chinese standpoint is no different from that of Trotsky The USSR is the leader of all Marxists It is true that there are differences between European and Asiatic countries, but influence of the USSR is decisive." To another associate, Curiel affirmed that he was a Stalinist who hoped one day to go to the USSR.

12 May 78

DIA Intelligence Appraisal

Page 3

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

~~(S/NOFORN)~~ Henri Curiel had been associated with Soviet Marxism since he became a communist leader in Cairo in 1939. Curiel had been born into a wealthy mercantile family of European Jewish origin. During the 1940s, he operated a bookstore that served as the principal outlet for Soviet propaganda in Egypt and as a gathering place for Egyptian communists. George Blake, who gained notoriety as a KGB agent in British Intelligence, lived for a while in Egypt with Curiel to whom he was related and may have been influenced towards if not recruited for the Soviet cause by Curiel.

~~(S/NOFORN)~~ Deported from Egypt in 1950, Curiel eventually settled in France, where he formed the Democratic Movement of National Liberation -- also known by its Arabic title HADITU -- which attracted many Egyptian communists of Jewish origin who were living in Europe as activist exiles. In October 1960, Curiel and a group of his collaborators were arrested for their activities in support of the Algerian National Liberation Front. Following his release from a French prison in June 1962, Curiel established the covert network -- which now bears his name -- that is devoted largely to the cause of third world insurrections.

~~(S//NF//INTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ The Apparat has been involved in various clandestine activities, including the preparation of false documentation, the provision of havens for fugitives, and the movement of activists across borders to provide refuge for them. The group has also offered training in clandestine activities, established covert communication systems, and procured arms and medical aid as well as financial support for those it assisted.

~~(S//NF//INTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ The Curiel Apparat can boast of an impressive record. The organization has set up a number of front groups through which it has assisted over 70 dissident and revolutionary movements in Latin America, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. During more than 15 years of clandestine activity, the organization has been able to maintain a reasonable level of internal discipline. It has also managed to avoid

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

JAPANESE RED ARMY MEMBERS ASSISTED BY THE CUIEL APPARAT



YAMAMOTO MARIKO

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018



TAKAHASHI TAKETOMO



YAMADA YOSHIAKI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

prejudicing its position with the French police, thereby retaining freedom of action to operate from within France.

~~(S//NFINTTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ The group has weathered a number of difficult situations. These include the loss of a generous stipend that the Apparat had been receiving from Algeria before the fall of President Ben Bella in 1965, the installation of listening devices at the site of Aide et Amitie's proposed congress in 1971, the departure of a number of communist militants in the mid-1970s over policy questions, and the exposure of some of the group's activities in a French weekly magazine, "Le Point."

~~(S//NFINTTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ The article -- based on interrogation of a Curriel associate by South African authorities -- stated that Henri Curriel was the head of Solidarite and his group aided terrorists from a number of countries through the Apparat's headquarters in Paris. The article alleged that Curriel conducted his financial transactions through a French bank that worked in collusion with the Bank of Moscow. The "Le Point" expose speculated that the Soviet intelligence service was using Curriel and his collaborators to collect information on terrorist groups: Their formation, goals, and sources of financial support.

~~(S//NFINTTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ The article also asserted that KGB agents stationed in Paris actually provided intelligence information to terrorists, including Carlos and Japanese Red Army members, through the Curriel Apparat. In addition, the French press last September reported that a cache of arms and forged papers had been discovered in a Parisian suburb. Curriel himself admitted at a meeting of Aide et Amitie late that month that some of the arms may have belonged to the group.

~~(S//NFINTTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ The nature of Apparat's current relationship with the USSR is not clear. According to one source, who was a member of the Curriel Apparat and in contact with a KGB case officer in the 1960s, the officer evinced considerable

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

interest in the Apparat when he first learned of the source's involvement but soon "gave up the idea." The KGB officer instructed the source to cease gradually his association with the Apparat since neither of them would ever "know anything really precise about the Curiel organization and that it served no purpose . . ." for the source to get "too close to them." The source opined that the KGB case officer appeared to have specific instructions about becoming involved with or collecting against the Curiel Apparat. These statements contradict the assertions made in "Le Point" about direct KGB involvement in the Apparat and suggest that any KGB relationship with the group was highly covert and probably conducted personally with Henri Curiel.

~~(S//NFINTTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ Although the magazine's allegations concerning Curiel's relationship with the KGB cannot be authenticated, his connection with international terrorists has been documented. The organization's involvement with Takahashi Taketomo, the chief of the JRA's European operation, revealed the Apparat's method of support to terrorists. The link between both groups became apparent on 26 Jul 74 when Japanese national Yamada Yoshiaki was arrested by French police for possessing four altered passports and \$10,000 in counterfeit money. Interrogation of Yamada and examination of coded notes found in his possession permitted French authorities to compromise a number of JRA members. The activists in turn revealed that their organization had operatives in Paris and Sweden to conduct attacks against Japanese diplomats and overseas business establishments.

~~(S//NFINTTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ One of the JRA members arrested was Takahashi Taketomo. He admitted that in June 1974 he had obtained two pistols and three grenades from Antonio Carvalho, a Brazilian who acted as an intermediary for Andre Haberman, a Curiel Apparat member. Haberman was also arrested by French police, who found in his photography studio numerous wood and metallic stamps that were used to produce false passports. In addition, Takahashi informed French authorities that Haberman had been introduced to JRA member Yamamoto Mariko so that he could train her to alter and falsify documents.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

COLLABORATED WITH THE CUIEL APPARAT IN SOUTH AFRICAN OPERATIONS.



BREYTEN BREYTENBACH
SOUTH AFRICAN WRITER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018



OLIVER TAMBO
ACTING PRESIDENT OF
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

~~(S//NF//NF//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ Takahashi's connection with the Curiel Apparat has also revealed some of the group's operational involvements. He first collaborated with the Apparat in 1972, when he undertook a number of trips to the Middle East to consult with members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Takahashi asked for a mobile radio transmitter with a range of up to 200 kilometers for the PFLP. Curiel turned down the request because the PFLP was opposed to convocation of a Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East that Moscow supported. Takahashi's association with the Apparat, however, was considered an important asset because through him Curiel had contact with important anti-US organizations in Japan.

~~(S//NF//NF//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ Last summer, Curiel's enthusiasm concerning his group's collaboration with Takahashi was dampened by the latter's arrest in Sweden. The Aide et Amitie group had arranged for one of its members to meet Takahashi in West Germany to escort him to Sweden by way of Denmark.^o The arrangement had to be canceled when the Aide member found she was under surveillance and had to undergo careful questioning at the German border. Takahashi's transfer to Sweden had to be rescheduled while Aide et Amitie tried to provide him with a new set of false documents.

~~(S//NF//NF//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ Takahashi came under surveillance when he entered Sweden on 10 Apr 77, and he was arrested near Stockholm in a safe-house used by Swedish ultra-leftists. Consequently, during a 6 August meeting of the Aide et Amitie Direction Committee, Curiel and his associates were concerned that Takahashi may have been carrying a list of his Curiel Apparat contacts in Europe at the time of his arrest.

~~(S//NF//NF//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ Last year, the Curiel Apparat was also involved in arranging training for a group of dissident Peruvian monks and for a Mexican leftist group, in providing document support and other assistance to Zairian exiles of the Peoples Revolutionary Party, and in conducting probable training in the use of arms and explosives for

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date:

APR 19 2018

the Uruguayan Tupamaros. In addition, the group publicized and circulated anti-regime documents for the El Salvador Revolutionary Party, assisted in training Indonesian dissidents, and provided various types of assistance to leftwing extremists from Chile, Peru, Brazil, Venezuela, and Colombia.

~~(S//WNINTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ As part of the Atlas Project, the Apparat has also collaborated extensively with the African National Congress (ANC), a black dissident organization opposed to the apartheid regime in South Africa. Since at least December 1970, the organization has trained ANC members in France and has secured financial aid for the African group to defray costs of fabricating false documents and providing other forms of support. By February 1975, Oliver Tambo, acting president of the ANC, arranged for his organization to pay the Curiel Apparat \$2,400 per month for various services.

~~(S//WNINTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ The Apparat also launched a program to establish a white underground network to promote clandestine activities in South Africa. Henri Curiel's prime collaborator in this operation was Breyten Breytenbach, a white South African poet well known for his anti-apartheid views. He was awarded the Afrikaans Prize in 1964 but was not allowed to return to his country to receive it because his wife is a South Vietnamese. From 1973 to 1974, Breytenbach organized communications channels to South Africa by coopting both European and African travelers and by sending European activists into the country. The Curiel Apparat dispatched Andre Haberman to South Africa to produce documents for exiles returning to the country.

~~(S//WNINTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ On 8 Aug 75, Breytenbach went back to South Africa to recruit members for Atlas among whites living in Johannesburg and Cape Town. However, he was arrested on the 19th at Jan Smuts Airport; he had been under surveillance following his meeting with a South African suspected of subversion. Following his arrest, the ANC denounced Breytenbach to avoid being implicated in any of his activities. Since the loss of Breytenbach, most of the Apparat's support to the anti-apartheid program has been channeled through the ANC.

12 May 78

DIA Intelligence Appraisal

Page 8

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

~~(S//WNINTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ In the 1960s, the Curriel Apparat became involved in the Quebec Separatist Movement through the efforts of Jacques Dofny, a teacher at the University of Montreal. Dofny, a socialist, was arrested along with Henri Curriel in Paris in October 1960 and deported to Belgium. Subsequently, he emigrated to Canada where he joined the Front de Liberation Quebecoise (FLQ) and was soon an active figure in the "Parti Pris," an FLQ faction that advocated a Marxist Quebec. Jacques Dofny maintained close contact with Henri Curriel, who lauded Dofny in November 1975, stating that the Apparat was in contact with a permanent representative of the "Parti Pris" in Paris.

~~(S//WNINTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT//ORCON)~~ Henri Curriel had also acted in the role of a political intermediary during a meeting in late October. It was attended by a leading official of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and four Israeli representatives: Meier Pail, Dr Yaakov Arnon, General Matityahv Peled, and Uri Avnieri. According to Curriel, the participants agreed to recruit Israelis and Palestinians for an elite organization that would promote peace in the Middle East. Curriel's view on Middle East peace efforts was consistent with Moscow's position, which advocated Soviet participation at a Geneva conference.

~~(S//WNINTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT//ORCON)~~ Henri Curriel also reportedly met with PLO representatives in France in late February 1977 to discuss strategy concerning future negotiations with the Israelis. Although Curriel's involvement in these meetings was not significant enough to establish him as an agent of influence for the Soviets, his role does raise some questions concerning the extent of Soviet guidance and assistance he had received:

OUTLOOK

~~(S//WNINTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ Because of the increasing investigative interest and adverse publicity that Aide et Amitie had been attracting, Henri Curriel privately stated that he did not in-

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

tend to fight to maintain the organization at all costs. Despite his satisfaction with the organization's achievements on both the ideological and practical levels, Curiel had indicated that it may have become necessary for the Apparat to change its front groups. Had he lived, Curiel would probably have been the dominant personality in any new cover organization.

~~(S//NFINTTEL//NOFORN//NOCONTRACT)~~ Other members of the Apparat's inner circle may attempt to fulfill the role that Curiel had reserved for himself. None of his associates, however, have his experience, revolutionary credentials, capabilities, or connections. Curiel's successor will probably not radically alter the group's policies in the near term. The Apparat is expected to remain strongly anti-Western and dedicated to the pursuit of its revolutionary Marxist ideals. However, in the absence of Curiel's dynamic personality and leadership, the group will be vulnerable to fragmentation as a result of internal disputes. Consequently, many of its functions may eventually be assumed by regionally oriented networks, such as the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta that focuses its operations in Latin America. Whatever changes occur to the group, the Apparat is almost certain to develop a new front organization to replace the publicized Aide et Amitie. ~~(KODS 2 Declassify upon notification by the originator)~~

PREPARED BY:



DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date:

APR 19 2018

DIA FOIA 5 U.S.C. §552(b)(3); 10 U.S.C. §424 + FOIA 5 U.S.C. §552(b)(6)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA



Honorable William P. Clark
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20508

Dear Bill:

I understand that Al Haig will recommend to the President that he raise with President Mitterrand ~~our concern with the lenient~~ French policy toward terrorism during their meeting on (12) March, 1982. At the operational level, the French have increased the security of US personnel since the assassination of LTC Ray on (18) January. The Mitterrand government itself, however, holds to the traditional French attitude toward "revolutionary" groups, which has made Paris a hospitable place for groups or representatives engaged in international terrorism. There is reason to believe that the French may be moving from a policy of tolerance to one of support.

President Mitterrand is the key to changing a posture which we find both repugnant and dangerous to US interests. I wish to reinforce strongly the importance of raising this issue with the French President.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

~~Declassify on 18 March 1988~~

~~SECRET~~

Sec Def Cont No 18748

OSD Control Number 18748 53/360

Signed 3/11 11 MAR 1982

SOM _____

Pack _____

No Pack

Signers

Pass Copies To:

Information Copies To:

ES USDCP
ISA

Special Instructions:

Pls deliver on 1000 num.

18748

[Signature] 3/11
DO Initials Date

Page determined to be Unclassified
Reviewed Chief, RDD, WHS
IAW EO 13526, Section 3.5
Date: APR 19 2018

w

~~SECRET~~

10 MAR 1982 13 50

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301



INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY AFFAIRS

10 MAR 1982

In reply refer to:

I-20924/82

JOHN H. STANFORD

COLONEL, USA

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

SUBJECT: Meeting Between Presidents Reagan and Mitterrand (U) --
ACTION MEMORANDUM

(S) President Mitterrand will meet with President Reagan on 12 March 1982. Secretary of State will recommend that the issue of the lenient French policy toward terrorism be raised during the meeting because Mitterrand is the key to changing French terrorism policy. Secretary of State also plans to discuss the issue with the Foreign Minister on 12 March following the meeting between the Presidents. A State Briefing Paper on this issue is at Tab B. This paper is consistent with our views, as far as it goes. It does not point out that our intelligence indicates the French government may shift, as a matter of policy, from tolerating terrorist groups in-country, to actively supporting them in the furtherance of French interests and the ideological predilections of individuals within the French government, such as Regis Debray--and without, such as Mrs. Mitterrand.

(S) Because of the sensitivity of this issue, there may be some reluctance to address the issue with Mitterrand. However, it is critical that Mitterrand understands the importance we attach to this issue.

(U) RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the letter at Tab A.

cc: USD/P

Noel C. Koch
Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary
International Security Affairs

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

~~Classified by Director, DDP
Declassify on 10 March 1988~~

~~SECRET~~

Sec Def Cont Nr. X-18748

USD Hearing U

~~SECRET~~

10 MAR 1982 13 50

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301



INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY AFFAIRS

10 MAR 1982

In reply refer to:
I-20924/82

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

SUBJECT: Meeting Between Presidents Reagan and Mitterrand (U) --
ACTION MEMORANDUM

(S) President Mitterrand will meet with President Reagan on 12 March 1982. Secretary of State will recommend that the issue of the lenient French policy toward terrorism be raised during the meeting because Mitterrand is the key to changing French terrorism policy. Secretary of State also plans to discuss the issue with the Foreign Minister on 12 March following the meeting between the Presidents. A State Briefing Paper on this issue is at Tab B. This paper is consistent with our views, as far as it goes. It does not point out that our intelligence indicates the French government may shift, as a matter of policy, from tolerating terrorist groups in-country, to actively supporting them in the furtherance of French interests and the ideological predilections of individuals within the French government, such as Regis Debray--and without, such as Mrs. Mitterrand.

(S) Because of the sensitivity of this issue, there may be some reluctance to address the issue with Mitterrand. However, it is critical that Mitterrand understands the importance we attach to this issue.

(U) RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Noel C. Koch
Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary
International Security Affairs

cc: USD/P

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 19 2018

~~Classified by Director, P&D
Declassify on 10 March 1988~~

~~SECRET~~

SU ADVANCE Reading UY

18748