RAINBOW WARRIOR

- 1. The following notes contain facts and impressions of the two French agents, Captain Dominique PRIEUR (alias Sophie TURENGE) and Major Alain MAFART (alias Alain TURENGE), who were charged with participating in the bombing of the Rainbow Warrior in Auckland on 10 July 1985.
- 2. The coverage extends from 12 July 1985, the date on which the two were first detained in New Zealand, up to their move to Mt Eden Prison shortly before the preliminary hearing of their case on 4 November 1985. It thus includes the initial period in the Auckland motel when the couple were under house arrest and followed them through their detention, after formal arrest, in various New Zealand prisons. While sources did not uncover any gems of intelligence, the story as it unfolded provided useful corroborative evidence; this was particularly so in the first few weeks before formal admission of identity of the two agents.
- 3. From the outset information clearly suggested a degree of professionalism and knowledge of tradecraft which could be expected of highly-trained personnel. For example, the two walked up and down the street outside the motel at different times in earnest conversation during this period of stay and prior to their formal arrest by the Police.
- 4. A number of points of interest emerged. Perhaps the most notable was the lack of any damage control arrangements. Having had their passports taken for checking and been subjected to lengthy questioning by the NZ police, the two apparently decided to ring Paris to put them in the picture. Alain thus suggests to "Sophie" that they should phone the "cartel" and asks her for the number which she gives him from memory and which turns out to be the famous number (DGSE) on which information was later denied by the French authorities. Alain quite heatedly gives Paris a factual account of the circumstances of their detention, explaining the whole thing as the most incredible combination of circumstances. He said they have their air tickets but the Police are reluctant to let them leave. He learns that "they" (i.e. those in Paris) have acquired a lawyer for them. On one of the several calls to the same number, "Sophie" pleads for some action "perhaps someone could



intervene on our behalf?" She also reports on what money is still available to Alain and herself. As in the calls over succeeding weeks, care is taken to preserve anonymity as far as possible at the Paris end (though some Christian names are used). The chief person called is referred to and addressed as "TONTON", possibly an alias for the DGSE and/or its Head or possibly any CO in given circumstances. The professional nature of the exchanges is supported by "TONTON"'s asking Alain about the possibility of their calls being monitored.

- 5. The whole content and flavour of the communications left little doubt that the apprehended couple were at the receiving end of powerful and probably influential sponsorship.
- 6. Our initial view that Alain tended to defer to "Sophie" in these early stages and that "Sophie" was therefore likely to be the more senior, became tempered by later events. The likely explanation now seems that Alain, perhaps aware of "Sophie"'s strengths and weaknesses, was simply anxious that she be accorded the immediate and clear support he felt she needed in their particular predicament and was taking the steps necessary to ensure that.
- 7. Calls from overseas began in August to Mt Eden gaol. With one exception, they were official in tone. Most were to "Sophie" who was much easier to reach than Alain; she had only 12 or 13 co-detainees whereas Alain had some 200.
- The majority of calls to "Sophie" were initiated by a male with a mature voice who identified himself as "John DUPONT" (almost certainly an alias) calling from first "Geneva" and later "Paris". The initial calls were made on 13, 14 and 15 August and seem likely to have been motivated by concern for "Sophie" and her morale prior to and after the first Court appearance of Sophie and Alain on 14 August. From the tone of the conversations, it seemed almost certain the caller was a superior officer of "Sophie" for whom she felt a considerable degree of warmth and to whom she clearly deferred. The first call was short, its apparent purpose mainly to instruct her to "change nothing" until she received further instructions "coming indisputably" from him. A morale-boosting call from the same origin on the following morning, i.e. the day of the Court appearance, carried a little softer tone and a minute or two of conversation with a male, described as a "good friend", later to be identified as "Sophie's" real husband. The third in the series was post-Court appearance and seemed designed simply to keep "Sophie's" spirits up.
- 9. The following week, the senior officer shared two calls with Sophie's "good friend" and on 23 August, she received the first call to come solely from the latter (at this stage being identified by us as her real-life husband). In retrospect, it can be seen that "Sophie's" spiritual minders considered the importance of maintaining her morale outweighed any risk there may have been in allowing contact with her real husband, and this during the period of French denials and well before the TRICOT report identified the agents. A carefully calculated risk, no doubt.





10. The call from "Sophie's" superior on 27 August contained tone and content which left no doubt she was under orders. The "report" (TRICOT) was out, and was "in accordance with the truth"; $^{\rm S9(2)(h)}$

Dominique had to be content with her superior's additional comment that she had simply to make her statement, and then say (or do) nothing more. (All this <u>double entente</u> was a reference to the statement concerning the agents' identity, made in the event by counsel on their behalf, at the 30 August hearing.)

- 11. The final call from her superior officer was made on 3 September; it was much more relaxed in tone and dealt largely with administrative matters (such as mail channels, newspaper subscriptions, etc). It also included an assurance that her "friend" would ring fairly freely henceforth. Thus began the regular exchanges between Dominique and her family.
- 12. In the months of September and October, there were also calls between Alain and his family and friends, though briefer and less frequent than were his colleague's exchanges. They were thus rather less revealing in respect of character, personality, etc, though adequate to make reasonably accurate judgements.
- 13. The two subjects will be treated separately.

Alain MAFART

13. So far as is known, Alain (unlike Dominique) initiated no calls outside New Zealand. Those received were from persons who described themselves as, and were believed to be, his \$9(2)(a)

other persons who described themselves as "cousins" or "friends" contacted Alain independently of family though one or two also spoke in the course of family calls. Some of the alleged "cousins" were without doubt close friends and probably working colleagues, possibly from the CINC in Aspretto. One call from a "Sonia CHRISTIANY (phon)" sounded as if from an interested lady friend; it aroused no obvious spark in Alain and in the event, the call was lost at an early stage.

Content:

14. The impression gained of Alain is of a good-natured, robust character, unperturbed by misadventure of any kind. He seemed genuinely pleased to hear from his family. It appeared there was natural anxiety for health and welfare in both directions, but Alain would not be the sort to maintain close family contact. Rather more emotional attachment



was revealed in the conversations with his "cousins", undoubtedly his "copains" who have shared some of his experiences over the years, almost certainly military officers and probably also DGSE.

- 15. In general, there was not a great deal of substance in the calls to Alain, the purpose of which seemed to be to reassure family as to Alain's well being and to enable his 'buddies' to express their solidarity and understanding. Alain's \$9(2)(a) discussed Alain's health and conditions in NZ, personal and family affairs (clothes, money, etc); with his "cousins", Alain talked at length about the health, assignments, travel, etc of various persons (almost certainly colleagues), all in complete obliquity. Alain showed great sensitivity to tradecraft, prefacing many of his calls with a warning about probable monitoring of the conversation which "can be used against me". The "cousins" shared many a ribald joke and story of past events with Alain and a generous number of references and jokes were included at NZ's expense, some, though not by any means all, goodnatured in tone.
- 16. \$\frac{\sq(2)(a)}{2}\$ came through clearly in a late October conversation which consisted largely of the latter's gleeful quotes from "Le Figaro" asserting shortcomings in the Socialist Government's handling of the RW affair JOXE's alleged inculpation of the DGSE, the allegation that FABIUS had lied, etc. Alain, wary as ever, took care to make no meaningful response.
- 17. The one theme which came through consistently was the fairness of conditions under which Alain was held in NZ. Alain once said these had improved after the unfavourable statement (56(a)

 on radio in Paris by lawyer DeROUIN about the end of August. But even before this, he was patently conscious of his good fortune in being detained in a country like NZ; in a simple written reference to the favourable conditions, he said "cf Midnight Express".
- 18. It could be noted at this point that one of the various "cousins" who spoke to Alain through October, in mentioning the cost of the calls to NZ, made reference to the generosity of "Tonton" (cf earlier refs to Tonton in calls to Paris made 12/13 July from the Auckland motel), thus reinforcing the impression never dispelled that the DGSE were picking up the tab for the various phone calls to the two agents. "It's Tonton who's paying, Tonton who is rich. Aren't we lucky to have an uncle like that?" said one of Alain's friends. In Dominique's case, despite the frequent calls by Joel, often very long indeed, it is known that no toll account had been received by him up to late October 1985.

Dominique PRIEUR

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Reaction to the Developing Situation:

- 24. Dominique's first reaction to her apprehension, with Alain, by the New Zealand Police, was probably shock and dismay, and probably also a slight sense of indignation that such things could happen to French military officers (ranking officers, moreover, as was later to emerge).
- 25. One senses through the earliest period a feeling of confidence on Dominique's part that there are people of power in Paris capable of putting all this misunderstanding to rights and ensuring their return home. Such feelings slowly disappeared as time went on and events unfolded and doubts about the future here future began to creep in.

In large part, Dominique's reelings, or course, reflected the general turn of events on the wider French, and international, scene.



- 26. Joel echoed Dominique's doubts. He would tell her the encouraging things to boost her morale but for his part, seemed busy at the Paris end seeking the people he thought could best help, like Dominique's "big boss" (probably DGSE), in a continuing endeavour to ensure her plight was kept in the forefront of their minds.
- 27. As the political situation in France developed, the feeling of vulnerability sensed by each from quite early days became more pronounced. The assurances given to both along the line, assessed as being from high level in the DGSE, had a more and more hollow ring and the two became more vocal in their uncertainty, Joel railing openly against the Socialist leaders and Dominique expressing her solidarity with and faith in the army (implicitly as the one unchanging element, implicitly also casting doubts on the reliability of her DGSE bosses).
- 28. As the French press tossed angrily at the bones uncovered each day, revealing ever greater shortcomings in the Socialist administration and as events moved relentlessly towards the admission of French guilt, Dominique and Joel became increasingly emotional. Fuel to the fire was added by the pitiless exposure of their personal lives by some elements of the French press.
- 29. The nadir was reached in a call on 28 September. HERNU had resigned, LACOSTE been sacked and French guilt admitted by Prime Minister FABIUS. General IMBOT had been appointed and made his now famous "cutting out rotten branches" statement. A new defence lawyer had been appointed by incoming Defence Minister QUILES. All these developments sapped any vestige of confidence Dominique may have had in the politicians or the DGSE (she referred to the way in which the few official moves so far had been "bungled") and reinforced her feeling of solidarity with the military, "the only solid thing left". She was determined to act without the help of the 'powers that be', on her own account, if the crunch came. She had ways of getting in touch with the Press, she said, and wouldn't be "left in it". \$9(2)(a)
- 30. The beginning of October with the political storm abating and assurances \$9(2)(h)

that the two agents in NZ would not be dropped under any circumstances, even a change of government, saw some relief from the tension and panic that Dominique and Joel had felt and led eventually to a more considered attitude to the sorry situation. The fact that the preliminary hearing on 4 November was now only weeks away probably helped. The prospect of a visit to NZ by Joel was also close to becoming a reality.

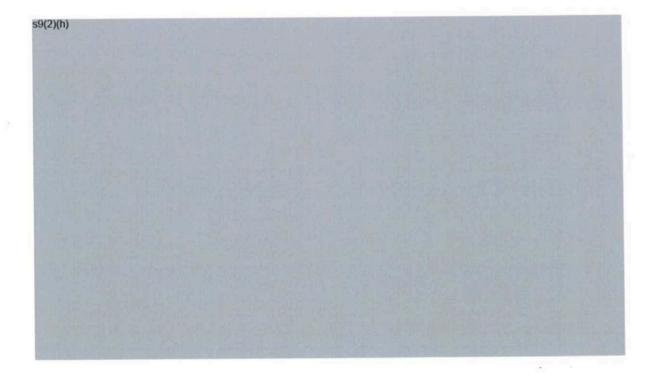
31. Through all these developments Dominique, the military officer through and through and proud of the fact, drew much comfort and strength from the mail received from France (at one point in bundles of 200 letters),



much of it from military personnel. The knowledge that she was "not alone" was an important factor in sustaining her morale. The other positive factor of note was the widely-publicised support of former Prime Minister Edgar FAURE who claimed kinship with Dominique through a shared place of origin. Dominique referred often to FAURE's influence and international starding and what this might mean in terms of practical assistance if necessary.

Relationship with the DGSE:

- it is known that Dominique was a star member of the Service Action. The initial calls to Paris after house arrest and those in August conveying instructions without doubt involved senior officials of the DGSE; unfortunately how senior is not known nor is it possible to identify those involved and thus make any assessment relating to levels at which the operation was approved or controlled. It can be said, however, that Dominique was on familiar terms with those officials. She cared about them as friends, and enquired for her "buddies" (no doubt in the Service) but maintained a healthyrespect, in military fashion, when circumstances called for it.
- 33. Despite his recent move to the DGSE from the Fire Service (Sapeurs-Pompiers), Joel appeared to have ready access to the Service at all levels. He talked of having an interview with Dominique's "big boss" to seek assurances that Dominique's case would be pursued as a priority; when angered by press accusations that Dominique had "cracked", he was in General IMBOT's office at 10.00 am on the latter's first morning en poste; and before the end of September he had been called before what he described as the "three principals" (IMBOT + two nfi) several times to receive assurances that Dominique's return was of the highest priority.





s9(2)(h)

Conditions of Imprisonment:

37. Because of the extent of French press coverage of this aspect s6(a)

it should be recorded that Dominique at no stage complained of her conditions. On the contrary, she described these as good right from the start and kept insisting on the point. She was particularly complimentary in speaking of her wardens; their friendliness and company she greatly appreciated. She said she never detected among them any hostily towards her or to France.

Dominique referred at times to what she saw as shortcomings in the system, e.g. the diet, and to physical restrictions - the lack of space and freedom (especially trying for this outdoors girl) but always in minor key. Certainly by the time Dominique was installed at "Château Dominique" at Ardmore, she felt she was being treated as Queen of the May. As a sidelight, before the 4 November hearing, Dominique mentioned seeing in her dossier references to various personal likes and dislikes on which she had been questioned by some of her wardens, and her realisation that the latter had informed on her (to the Police). It is significant that at this, Dominique appeared to feel more sorrow than anger.

38. Alain at no stage complained of his conditions, even in the crowded Mt Eden Prison. When asked specifically, he said the conditions had improved \$9(2)(a) (Alain was moved from Mt Eden to Paremoremo at about this time.)

French Embassy Contact:

- 39. There are few references only to French diplomatic representatives in NZ. The earliest was at the beginning of September when Dominique's "senior officer", discussing means of ensuring that mail reached the agents as early as possible, said "they" were setting up an arrangement whereby this should pass through the Embassy (not, to our knowledge, followed up).
- 40. At about the time the matter of access to the prisoners became the subject of press comment in NZ, around the second week in September, Dominique received a visit from the Vice Consul. She commented to Joel "they're diplomats not a word out of place." In the weeks that followed, Dominique referred to receiving flowers from the Ambassador and to at least one visit from the Ambassador and his wife which lasted 1½ hours. They found her a regular chatter-box, but it was such a relief for Dominique to be able to speak French, she said.



French Press:

- 41. The treatment accorded by the French press to Dominique and Joel (fairer game than Alain because of their married situation) has been mentioned above. The two resented and were deeply shocked at the remorseless delving into their private lives and the ruthless tactics as an instance of the latter, their sheer disbelief at the incomprehensible connection made by one paper between Dominique's university thesis a political treatise on Libya and the sinking of a Libyan ship by holing in the port of Genoa some two years previously.
- 42. At about the same time that a call, openly acknowledged as being from a French journal, was made to Alain (politely but very firmly rebuffed), Dominique received what was almost certainly a pretext call also from the press. She was informed that her father was in France (Comment: not his usual place of abode), and wanted to talk to her but that he had slipped out for a beer while the call was being made and had not yet returned. In the interim, the caller posed a series of pertinent questions about Dominique's conditions, her morale, etc. Dominique responded briefly (or not at all) sensing a trap. By the time her patience ran out, her father had not appeared.

Personalities:

- 43. Some of the chief characteristics of Alain and Dominique will be clear from what precedes. To draw the information together, it could be said that:
- a. Alain appeals as essentially a robust character, the sort of guy who gets on well with people (but doesn't collect them), relating especially well to males, and who would inspire tremendous loyalty in colleagues not least by a keen sense of humour and of personal worth and a great generosity of heart.

Another and important side to Alain's character; he is phlegmatic and philosophical, measured, happy to roll with the punches, unfazed by the prospect of some years in confinement with his well-loved guitar and bagpipe as his main companions. Such things, he would say, are part of the ups and downs of life. This feeling that Alain is able to distance himself from the harshness of reality is reinforced by his habit of speaking in aphorisms "we must learn to carry our cross one day, to be ready for the ultimate tests."

With all the above goes a pride in self, even a vanity, for Alain clearly likes to be a snappy dresser, and pride in his country, France.

b. <u>Dominique</u>, like her colleague, reveals many personal strengths. She is determined, persevering, even wilful

and obstinate - qualities which no doubt led to her becoming the first woman appointed to the Service Action of the DGSE. She is essentially happy and funloving by nature, basically an extrovert; thoughtful, loving and caring, emotional, in fact displaying all the normal womanly instincts. She is quick to anger but her fury as quickly subsides; she is capable of depression and even tears from time to time but never for long. The head takes over from the heart. She has a quick mind and a keen interest in reading (especially current affairs) and loves the freedom of the great outdoors. Normally level-headed, Dominique is capable of panicking, though her training could be expected to temper her actions in any critical situation.

Dominique is industrious and a born organiser, never happier than when managing the world $-\frac{59(2)(a)}{}$

France and we must remain worthy of it". She misses Paris desperately. She describes her love for the city as "almost physical".

Humour:

- 44. Both Alain and Dominique had a sense of humour and our coverage revealed a certain amount of sunshine among the clouds. Many of the amusing episodes arose from particular situations too complex to relate. But as a postscript, perhaps one or two of the lighter examples could be recorded.
- 45. The first call to Alain from \$\frac{\sqrt{9}(2)(a)}{2}\$ vas made at a time when the French newspapers were bursting with stories of the Greenpeace affair and of the two agents named in the TRICOT report. With the minutest details about Alain being spread abroad in this manner, it appealed much to his sense of the ridiculous that \$\frac{\sqrt{9}(2)(a)}{2}\$ (who found it difficult to cope with the situation both speaking to Alain and the special demands of an international call) should make a final plea to him that he "let her know as soon as he was coming home"!
- 46. Alain made joking references to his new-found notoriety "you'll have news of me from the Press. I make the front page every day!" To a would-be correspondent who sought his address, Alain suggested they should just put "MAFART, NOUVELLE ZELANDE"; that would get him. One letter so addressed already had!
- 47. Alain liked to "pull the tail" of those who were (he believed) listening to the exchanges. When \$9(2)(a) asked what he was doing, he said was "lying in wait for helicopters to uplift him". This was at a time when the local press was carrying stories of possible raids by French commandos to snatch back the two agents. He was also given





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to adding "that bit's for the monitors!" Alain's friends who seemed equally conscious of monitoring, referred in jocular fashion to such things as the amount of work a long conversation would entail for the translator and the "bonus" they were no doubt ensuring for the latter by their call!

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WELLINGTON - January 1986

