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 FM MOSCOW
 TO FLASH FCO
 TELNO 1176
 OF 141520Z SEPTEMBER 85.

RETRIBUTORY SOVIET EXPULSIONS FROM USSR

1. I WAS SUMMONED AT 141100Z BY THE HEAD OF THE SECOND EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT IN THE SOVIET MFA, SUSLOV. HEMANS ACCOMPANIED ME. SUSLOV READ OUT WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS A "REPRESENTATION" TO ME (COPY BY BAGLM UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION AS FOLLOWS:

"THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR, IN THE MOST SERIOUS MANNER DRAWS THE ATTENTION OF THE BRITISH SIDE TO THE FACT THAT THE STATEMENTS OF ITS OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES ABOUT EFFORTS TO DEVELOP FRUITFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ARE IN CLEAR CONTRADICTION WITH ITS PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES. THE NEW CRUDE AND HOSTILE ACTION CARRIED OUT ON 12 SEPTEMBER IN RELATION TO SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES IN GREAT BRITAIN IS MALICIOUS AND COMPLETELY UNJUSTIFIED AND DIRECTED TOWARDS A SINGLE GOAL - POISONING THE ATMOSPHERE OF SOVIET/BRITISH RELATIONS, ATTEMPTING TO SOW DISTRUST AND HOSTILITY TOWARDS SOVIET PEOPLE AND BLACKENING THE PEACE-LOVING POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

STATING ITS DECISIVE PROTEST IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROVOCATIVE ACT, THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR PLACES THE COMPLETE AND TOTAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES ON THE BRITISH SIDE.

THE SOVIET SIDE HAS ALREADY REPEATEDLY POINTED TO THE UNLAWFUL ACTIVITY OF BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES IN THE USSR, HAS TAKEN CORRESPONDING MEASURES, AND HAS ISSUED WARNINGS. NEVERTHELESS THE FACTS STATE THAT SUCH ACTIVITY CONTINUES. THE SOVIET SIDE HAS UNDENIABLE EVIDENCE OF THE FACT THAT 25 BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES IN THE SOVIET UNION (LIST ATTACHED SEE MIFT) ARE ENGAGED ON ACTIVITIES INCOMPATIBLE WITH THEIR OFFICIAL STATUS. IN THESE CONDITIONS THE SOVIET SIDE HAS NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE BUT TO DEMAND THEIR DEPARTURE FROM THE SOVIET UNION WITHIN THREE WEEKS. EQUALLY WE CANNOT DO OTHER THAN PROTEST AT THE FACT THAT THE BRITISH SPECIAL SERVICES CARRIED OUT THE ILLEGAL REMOVAL FROM THE SOVIET UNION OF A SOVIET CITIZEN, AND THE BRITISH SIDE, REGARDLESS OF OUR REPEATED APPEALS, HAS NOT UP UNTIL NOW GIVEN EXPLANATIONS ABOUT HIS.

THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR IS COUNTING ON THE BRITISH SIDE FINALLY TO PUT A STOP TO UNFRIENDLY ACTIONS IN RELATION TO SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES IN GREAT BRITAIN, AND TO REMOVE THE ARTIFICIAL OBSTACLES CREATED BY IT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF STABLE AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES"

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2. IN REPLY TO WHAT I DESCRIBED AS SUSLOV'S ASTONISHING STATEMENT, I CATEGORICALLY DENIED THAT ANY OF MY STAFF HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN INAPPROPRIATE ACTIVITIES. THE ACCUSATIONS MADE WERE WHOLLY UNWARRENTED. I WISHED TO REGISTER THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE PROTEST AT THIS WHOLLY UNJUSTIFIED AND TOTALLY DISPROPORTIONATE ACTION. ON 12 SEPTEMBER BOTH MR GOODALL IN LONDON AND I IN MOSCOW HAD STRESSED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD ALWAYS TAKE APPROPRIATE STEPS TO PROTECT THE SECURITY OF THE UK. BUT WE WANTED TO DEVELOP A SOUND AND CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. WE HAD GIVEN CONCRETE

EVIDENCE OF THIS DESIRE IN PROPOSING NEW ARRANGEMENTS FOR CEILINGS. I WAS PROFOUNDLY DISAPPOINTED AND SHOCKED BY THE SOVIET RESPONSE TO MEASURES WHICH HAD BEEN ESSENTIAL TO PROTECT OUR SECURITY. THE SOVIET RESPONSE WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE TWO SIDES TO REALIZE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR BETTER RELATIONS. SO LONG AS THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT SENT OFFICIALS TO LONDON WHOSE REAL FUNCTION WERE OTHER THAN THOSE DECLARED AND AUTHORISED THEIR INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES, IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT PERIODICALLY THEY WOULD BE DISCOVERED, AS THE RESULT OF DETECTION OR DEFECTION. WHEN THIS HAPPENED, THE PEOPLE CONCERNED WOULD BE ASKED TO LEAVE. OUR NATIONAL SECURITY DEMANDED THIS THESE EPISODES NEVERTHELESS DID NOT PRECLUDE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP IN OTHER DIMENSIONS. BUT GIVEN THE IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR RELATIONS OF THE PRESENT SOVIET ACTION, I WISHED TO STRESS THAT THE ONLY WAY TO PREVENT RECURRENT DAMAGE TO THEM WAS FOR THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO STOP PVAUTHORISING THE PRESENCE IN THE UK OF INTELLIGENCE AGENTS.

I WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE SOVIET RESPONSE WAS ETHICALLY ASYMMETRICAL. DR SUSLOV AND I BOTH KNEW THAT THE 25 SOVIET OFFICIALS EXPELLED FROM LONDON HAD FUNCTIONS OTHER THAN THOSE DECLARED. EQUALLY, WE BOTH KNEW THAT THE 25 BRITISH CITIZENS NOW EXPELLED HAD NO FUNCTIONS OTHER THAN THEIR DECLARED AND RIGHTFUL ONES. THERE WAS THUS A TOTAL DISPARITY.

3. I CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT I WOULD BE RECOMMENDING TO MY GOVERNMENT THAT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOVIET ACTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS SHOULD BE URGENTLY CONSIDERED AND THAT THIS STUDY WOULD INEVITABLY INCLUDE ALL ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS INCLUDING THOSE COVERED IN THE STATEMENT MADE TO THE SOVIET CHARGE IN LONDON ON 12 SEPTEMBER. I REPEATED THAT THE SOVIET ACTION WAS WHOLLY UNJUSTIFIED AND UNACCEPTABLE AND THAT I WISHED TO RECORD THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE PROTEST.

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4.- WHILE MY REMARKS WERE BEING TRANSLATED I WAS ABLE TO DIGEST THE LIST OF NAMES. HAVING DONE SO, I ADDED THAT HAVING NOTED THE LIST INCLUDED BUSINESSMEN AND JOURNALISTS, THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATIVES, I WISHED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE DENIAL I HAD ISSUED ON BEHALF OF MY STAFF COVERING THEIR ALLEGED INVOLVEMENT IN INAPPROPRIATE ACTIVITIES APPLIED EQUALLY AND WITH FULL STRENGTH TO THOSE OTHERS ON THE LIST. SO DID MY STRONG PROTEST. TO TAKE SUCH ACTION AGAINST NON-GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATIVES, AND IN PARTICULAR THE PRESS, WAS NOT ONLY TOTALLY UNJUSTIFIED BUT WHOLLY CONTRARY TO PROPOSITIONS BY THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES OF A DESIRE FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS. THIS ACTION COULD ONLY IMPEDÉ SUCH RELATIONS AND OBSTRUCT THE DEVELOPMENT OF BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES.

5. IN REPLY, SUSLOV SAID THAT HE HAD NOT HAD IT IN MIND TO LAUNCH A DISCUSSION ON THIS TOPIC AS THE STATEMENT WAS CLEAR AND EACH WORD HAD BEEN CAREFULLY WEIGHED AND WAS JUSTIFIED. HOWEVER MY "EMOTIONAL" STATEMENT CAUSED HIM TO MAKE TWO OBSERVATIONS:

(A) I SHOULD CAREFULLY STUDY THE MFA STATEMENT

(B) HE REPEATED THAT ACCUSATIONS AGAINST SOVIET OFFICIALS WERE ABSOLUTELY UNFOUNDED. AS FAR AS CONCERNED THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BRITISH SIDE WHOM I HAD SO STAUNCHLY DEFENDED, HE WISHED TO REFER TO THE FOLLOWING. HE THEN OPENED A SECOND FOLDER IN WHICH WAS A TYPED PREPARED STATEMENT, WHICH HE MADE NO ATTEMPT TO HAND TO ME. HE READ IT OUT. OUR SUMMARY IS AS FOLLOWS. BEGINS

THE DECISION OF THE SOVIET SIDE IN RELATION TO THE EXCLUSION OF BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT ADEQUATELY REFLECT SOVIET CONCERN AT THE BLATENT ACTIVITIES OF BRITISH INTELLIGENCE ON THE TERRITORY OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE EVIDENCE AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES SHOWS THAT THE ACT OF BRINGING GORDIEYEVSKY OUT OF THE SOVIET UNION HAD CLEARLY BEEN PLANNED BEFOREHAND. THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES KNOW OF THE ROLE ASSIGNED IN THIS TO FIRST SECRETARIES GIBBS AND ASQUITH. THEY HAD PREPARED THE ACTION AND CAMOUFLAGED IT BY A TRIP TO FINLAND IN CARS EQUIPPED WITH DIPLOMATIC NUMBER PLATES. THEY HAD CARRIED OUT THIS ACTION IMMEDIATELY AFTER AN OFFICIAL RECEPTION AT THE BRITISH RESIDENCE ON 19 JULY. THEIR ACTION COULD ONLY BE DESCRIBED AS POLITICAL BANDITRY AND FLAGRANT MISUSE OF DIPLOMATIC PRIVILEGE. ENDS.

6. SUSLOV WENT ON TO SAY THAT IT WAS OF COURSE FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE WHAT IF ANY FURTHER ACTION TO TAKE. HE WISHED HOWEVER TO UNDERLINE ONCE AGAIN THAT THERE WERE DEEP

CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN BRITISH OFFICIAL STATEMENTS AND BRITISH OFFICIAL'S PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES. THE SOVIET

POSITION AS FAR AS RELATIONS IN FUTURE WAS CONCERNED WAS SET OUT IN THE STATEMENT. THE SOVIET UNION WAS READY FOR FRUITFUL RELATIONS BUT ONLY IF THE UK WAS SIMILARLY PREPARED.

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7. TO THIS FURTHER STATEMENT I REPLIED THAT I THOUGHT THAT EVEN IN HIS FIRST STATEMENT SUSLOV HAD DONE ENOUGH DAMAGE TO THE PROSPECTS FOR ANGLO / SOVIET RELATIONS AND CAST SUFFICIENT DOUBT ON THE SINCERITY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S PROFESSED DESIRE TO SEE THEM IMPROVE. HE HAD NOW ADDED AN ALLEGATION OF SUCH A PREPOSTEROUS NATURE THAT IT COULD ONLY MAKE THE DAMAGE WORSE. THE ALLEGATION WAS AN ABSURD PROVOCATION.

8. AS I ROSE TO LEAVE SUSLOV SAID THAT WE SHOULD NOW HAVE TO SEE WHAT FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS THERE MIGHT BE. I DID NOT REPLY.

. SEE MY TWO IFTS.

CARTLEDGE

LIMITED.

HD/SCU D

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PS

PS / PUS

MR. DEREK THOMAS

MR. GOODALL

MR. JENKINS

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MR WALLACE, PUS.

MR POWELL PS/ NO 10 DOWNING
ST.

PS/ SIR R ARMSTRONG, CABINET
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