

CONFIDENTIAL
FM MOSCOW
TO FLASH FCO
TELNO 832
OF 202138Z MAY 89

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MY 2 IPTS: MEETING WITH KOVALEV

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE FULL ACCOUNT OF MY MEETING WITH KOVALEV, WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY USPENSKY (HEAD OF SECOND EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT).
2. KOVALEV READ THE SPEAKING NOTE IN MIPT. I SAID I WOULD NOT COMMENT ON HIS ASSERTION THAT WE DID NOT HAVE FACTS TO SUPPORT OUR ACTION. HE KNEW BETTER THAN I THAT OUR ACTION WAS JUSTIFIED. SIR J FRETWELL HAD TOLD ZAMYATIN THAT WE WOULD VIEW ANY SOVIET RETALIATION MOST SERIOUSLY. I QUOTED THE PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH OF FRETWELL'S SPEAKING NOTE. I SAID THAT I WOULD NOT EXPAND ON THIS POINT, BUT WOULD ADD SOME PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS.
3. I AGREED WITH KOVALEV THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WAS A CAPITAL WHICH SHOULD BE PRESERVED. HE WOULD KNOW FROM THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER TO MR GORBACHEV THAT SHE AND THE GOVERNMENT SHARED THIS VIEW. ALTHOUGH THE MATTER IN QUESTION WAS A NARROW ASPECT OF OUR RELATIONS, IT HAD BEEN AND REMAINED A CONSIDERABLE BURDEN ON THE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WE WERE SEEKING TO DEVELOP. WE HAD SPOKEN TO THE RUSSIANS ON MANY OCCASIONS AT DIFFERENT LEVELS ABOUT THE DESIRABILITY OF DOING SOMETHING ABOUT THIS. WE HAD MADE CLEAR THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD NOT AND COULD NOT CHANGE ITS POLICY OF PRESERVING NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE FACE OF A CONTINUING CAMPAIGN TO INTRODUCE INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS INTO BRITAIN. BUT WE HAD BEEN FACED WITH A SITUATION IN WHICH, TO QUOTE THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER, THE SOVIET INTELLIGENCE SERVICES HAD STEP BY STEP RECONSTRUCTED THEIR STAFF IN LONDON. WE HAD HAD NO ALTERNATIVE OTHER THAN TO DO WHAT WE HAD DONE.
4. I SAID THAT THE ONLY WAY OF REMOVING THIS BURDEN WOULD BE A CHANGE IN THE POLICY OF THOSE AGENCIES. THE CONTINUATION OF THEIR POLICY PRESEVED PRECISELY THAT 'ENEMY IMAGE' OF THE SOVIET UNION WHICH IN SO MANY OTHER WAYS WAS BEING DISSOLVED. OUR ACTION SHOULD HAVE COME AS NO SURPRISE, AS OUR POLICY HAD BEEN CONSTANTLY REITERATED.
5. I COMMENTED THAT THE VERY WIDE RANGE OF ACTIVITIES STEMMING FROM THE EXPANDING RELATIONSHIP REQUIRED THE PRESENCE IN BOTH COUNTRIES OF OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES ENGAGED IN LEGITIMATE BUSINESS. I REJECTED THE DESCRIPTION IN KOVALEV'S DEMARCH OF THE BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES NAMED. THESE WERE INNOCENT PEOPLE. BY RETALIATING AGAINST THEM THE SOVIET UNION GAVE FURTHER SIGN THAT IT

HAD NOT YET TAKEN ALL THE STEPS NECESSARY TO REMOVE ITS NEGATIVE IMAGE. THIS WAS NOT IN THE INTERESTS OF THE USSR, ANY MORE THAN OF THE UK.

6. I NOTED THAT KOVALEV HAD SAID THAT THE SOVIET SIDE DID NOT INTEND TO PUBLICISE THE EXCHANGE. PUBLICITY WAS INEVITABLE AS PEOPLE PREPARED TO LEAVE, ESPECIALLY AS SOME WERE JOURNALISTS. BUT WE WOULD SEEK TO AVOID GENERATING COMMENT. I CONCLUDED THAT I WOULD REPORT TO YOU. I HAD TO RESERVE YOUR POSITION ON ALL ASPECTS OF THE QUESTION. YOU WOULD OF COURSE MAKE UP YOUR OWN MIND ON WHAT HAD BEEN SAID TO ME.

7. KOVALEV REPLIED THAT THE SOVIET SPEAKING NOTE HAD ESSENTIALLY COVERED ALL THE POINTS I HAD MADE. HE REJECTED MY REFERENCE TO THE GUILT OF THE SOVIET EXPELLEES, AND WHAT I HAD SAID ABOUT REINFORCING THE 'ENEMY IMAGE.' WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL ABOUT SPEAKING IN SUCH TERMS. HE EMPHASISED THE IMPORTANCE OF PRESERVING CONFIDENCE.

8. I CONCLUDED THE CONVERSATION BY SAYING THAT IT WOULD BE FRUITLESS FOR US TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF EVIDENCE ANY FURTHER. WE MUST LEAVE THIS TO THOSE WHO WERE IN A POSITION TO JUDGE.

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OF 201958Z MAY 89

MY IPT EXPULSIONS: FOR RESIDENT CLERK
FOLLOWING IS OUR TRANSLATION OF KOVALEV'S SPEAKING NOTE
BEGINS
THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT PROTESTS STRONGLY AT THE UNFRIENDLY AND
PROVOCATIVE ACTION TAKEN BY THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES AGAINST A NUMBER
OF OFFICIALS OF SOVIET ORGANISATIONS (UCHREZH DENIA) IN LONDON. THE
SOVIET AUTHORITIES CATEGORICALLY REJECT THE GROUNDLESS ACCUSATIONS
AGAINST THE SOVIET OFFICIALS, WHOSE ACTIVITIES FULLY ACCORD WITH THE
PROVISIONS OF THE VIENNA CONVENTION ON DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, AND WITH
THE GENERALLY ACCEPTED NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR. THE BRITISH
AUTHORITIES HAVE ADDUCED NO FACTS TO THE CONTRARY.
THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE STEP TAKEN BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
CONTRADICTS THE CHARACTER AND LEVEL OF OUR RELATIONS. MUCH HAS BEEN
DONE IN THE RECENT PERIOD TO STRENGTHEN THE COMMON MOVEMENT OF OUR
TWO COUNTRIES TOWARDS COOPERATION AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. THIS IS
A MOST VALUABLE POLITICAL CAPITAL FOR BOTH STATES. THE SOVIET
LEADERSHIP (RUKOVODSTVO) CONSIDERS THAT THE HIGH LEVEL OF
ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS BEEN ACHIEVED SHOULD BE
PRESERVED. UNFORTUNATELY THE ACTION WHICH HAS BEEN TAKEN BY THE
BRITISH SIDE CLEARLY ACTS IN THE OPPOSITE SENSE.
WHEREAS THE ACCUSATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE AGAINST A NUMBER OF
SOVIET OFFICIALS IN LONDON ARE ENTIRELY INVENTED, THE SOVIET
AUTHORITIES HAVE FIRM EVIDENCE THAT CERTAIN OFFICIALS (SOTRUDNIKI) OF
BRITISH ORGANISATIONS AND REPRESENTATIONS (UCHREZH DENIA I
PREDSTAVITELSTVA) IN MOSCOW WHO HAVE BEEN WORKING ILLEGALLY IN THE
INTERESTS OF BRITISH INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.
FOR THESE REASONS, 11 BRITISH OFFICIALS ARE TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION
WITHIN 2 WEEKS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR PARTICIPATION IN
IMPERMISSIBLE ACTIVITIES ON THE TERRITORY OF OUR COUNTRY. AT THE
SAME TIME, THREE BRITISH CITIZENS FORMERLY WORKING IN MOSCOW ARE
DECLARED PERSONA NON GRATA (SEE THE ATTACHED LIST). IN ADDITION,
HENCEFORWARD, ON A BASIS OF RECIPROCITY, A QUOTA IS ESTABLISHED FOR
THE PERSONNEL OF THE BRITISH ORGANISATIONS AND REPRESENTATIONS IN
MOSCOW, INCLUDING THE SOVIET CITIZENS WORKING THERE, EQUAL TO THE
PRESENT NUMERICAL QUOTA OF PERSONNEL IN SOVIET INSTITUTIONS IN
BRITAIN - IE 205 (TWO HUNDRED AND FIVE).
IT IS REQUESTED THAT THE CONTENTS OF THIS COMMUNICATION SHOULD BE

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BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.
ENDS
RUSSIAN TEXT FOLLOWS BY BAG.

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TO FLASH FCO
TELNO 830
OF 201942Z MAY 89



EXPULSIONS: FOR RESIDENT CLERK

1. I WAS SUMMONED BY FIRST DEPUTY MINISTER KOVALEV AT 1015 PM LOCAL ON SATURDAY 20 MAY.
2. HE INFORMED ME THAT THE FOLLOWING EIGHT MEMBERS OF THIS EMBASSY AND THREE BRITISH CORRESPONDENTS WOULD HAVE TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION WITHIN TWO WEEKS:
MICHAEL ANDERSON, SECOND SECRETARY
CAPT CHRISTOPHER MEYER, NAVAL ATTACHE
ADAM NOBLE, SECOND SECRETARY
HELEN PICKERING, VICE CONSUL
WARRANT OFFICER LAING PURFITT, JUNIOR MEMBER OF DEFENCE STAFF
LT CDR CHRISTOPHER WATSON, ASSISTANT NAVAL ATTACHE
PAUL SHARP, THIRD SECRETARY
MAJOR NIGEL SHAKESPEAR, ASSISTANT MILITARY ATTACHE
IAN GLOVER-JAMES, ITN
ANGUS ROXBURGH, SUNDAY TIMES
JEREMY HARRIS, BBC
3. THE FOLLOWING EX-MEMBERS OF THE EMBASSY WERE DECLARED PNG
- CAPTAIN JOHN DYKES, FORMER NAVAL ATTACHE
- ''RICHARD'' TURNER, FORMER ASSISTANT NAVAL ATTACHE (PRESUMABLY MEANS ROGER TURNER, ANA UNTIL 1988)
- DEREK HARE, FORMER MEMBER OF TECHNICAL STAFF
4. WE ARE INFORMING THOSE CONCERNED IMMEDIATELY, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE THREE JOURNALISTS. EMBASSY STAFF WILL BE TOLD TO KEEP THE NEWS TO THEMSELVES FOR THE TIME BEING.
5. I PROPOSE NOT/NOT TO WAKE THE JOURNALISTS WITH THIS UNPLEASANT NEWS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT, WHICH WOULD IN ANY CASE CAUSE THE STORY TO BREAK BEFORE YOU HAD TIME FOR PREPARATION OR THE FULL FACTS TO HAND. BUT I DO NOT CONSIDER THAT I CAN DELAY INFORMING THEM BEYOND 0800 LOCAL TOMORROW MORNING (210400Z). GRATEFUL FOR CONFIRMATION BY FLASH TELEGRAM THAT YOU AGREE TO THIS.
6. MIFT CONTAINS TEXT OF KAVELEV'S SPEAKING NOTE. FURTHER REPORT AND COMMENT WILL FOLLOW

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THE THREE JOURNALISTS. EMBASSY STAFF WILL BE TOLD TO KEEP THE
NEWS TO THEMSELVES FOR THE TIME BEING.

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