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MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1

Telephone 01-980 7022 ~~XXXX~~ 218 2111/3

MO 9/13

8th August 1984

Prime Minister

Agree:

Yes (i) Mr. Pattie and Sir J. Graham to attend NATO seminar?

Henry David,

FOREIGN POLICY SEMINAR

Yes (ii) Clive Whitmore to attend small states as well as NATO

Charles Powell wrote to me on 6th August about participants at the NATO strategy element of the Foreign Policy Seminar and he also copied to me his letter of 2nd August to Colin Budd about participation in the discussion on "Conflict of Principles". The Defence Secretary has now seen these suggested lists of invitees and has asked me to raise two points:

*CDP.
28/8*

a. He hopes that Mr Pattie, might be included in those participating in the NATO Strategy Seminar. This topic is of course central to our work here and to the interests of both our Ministers of State: moreover, Mr Pattie has taken a particular interest in the question of emerging technologies the implications of which will be an important element in the discussion.

b. He has noted that Sir Clive Whitmore has been invited to the NATO element but he is not at present on the list for the other seminar. He believes it would be helpful if he were present throughout the discussion like Sir Edwin Bramall, Sir Antony Acland, Sir Percy Craddock and Mr Cartledge. Perhaps this was an oversight?

I am copying this letter to Peter Ricketts (FCO).

*Yours etc,
Richard Mottram*

(R C MOTTRAM)

D Barclay Esq

For POI Strategy Pt 2

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From the Private Secretary

29 August 1984

Foreign Policy Seminar

Thank you for your letter of 8 August which I have seen on return from holiday. The Prime Minister agrees that Mr Pattie and Sir John Graham should be included in the NATO Strategy Seminar and that Sir Clive Whitmore should attend the "Conflict of Principles" Seminar as well as that on NATO strategy.

I am sending copies of this letter to Peter Ricketts (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and to Stewart Eldon (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

C D Powell

Richard Mottram, Esq.,
Ministry of Defence

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(CANADY)

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

6 August, 1984

FOREIGN POLICY SEMINAR: NATO STRATEGY

Thank you for your letter of 1 August enclosing a short paper to serve as a framework for discussion at the Prime Minister's seminar on NATO strategy.

BA The Prime Minister was grateful for the paper but thinks that further work could with advantage be done on it between now and early September to make it rather more stylish and thought provoking. I shall be grateful if this can be put in hand, in time for a revised version to be circulated to non-official participants in early September.

You also suggested a number of names to receive invitations to the seminar. The Prime Minister has decided to invite the following:-

Professor Lawrence Freedman
Professor Hermann Bondi
Sir Arthur Hockaday
Dr. Robert O'Neill
Admiral Eberle
Professor Peter Nailor
Sir Clive Rose
Professor Laurence Martin
Lord Cameron

The Prime Minister has in mind to invite the following official participants the Defence Secretary, Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Stanley, Mr. Luce, CDS, Sir Clive Whitmore, Sir Antony Acland, Mr. Cartledge and Sir Percy Cradock.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Colin Budd (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

(C.D. Powell)

R. Mottram, Esq.,
Ministry of Defence.

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CCMOD

From the Private Secretary

2 August 1984

FOREIGN POLICY: POSSIBLE CONFLICT OF PRINCIPLES

Thank you for your letter of 30 July enclosing a draft paper for the proposed seminar at Chequers on this subject, together with a list of experts who might be invited.

The Prime Minister has not yet had time to read the paper but will do so during her holiday.

The Prime Minister has considered the proposed arrangements for this seminar and that on NATO Strategy. She has confirmed her intention to hold both on the same day. I attach a proposed programme which sets out how she envisages discussion will be organised. This is intended to allow time both for discussion with outside experts and consideration of policy implications by official participants alone. It is a tight fit and quite a day for those who will take part in both seminars.

I also attach a list of outside experts whom she wishes to be invited, together with reserves, and suggested official participants. The Prime Minister is keen to keep this latter category to a minimum.

The Prime Minister agrees that it would be useful for a second and confidential paper to be prepared covering the

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points set out in your letter. It should not attempt to draw any hard and fast conclusions for future policy since these will be for discussion by the official participants in the seminar, but it might suggest some guidelines. I should be grateful to receive this, if at all possible, by the time of the Prime Minister's departure for South East Asia (14 September).

I hope that Richard Mottram, to whom I am copying this letter and enclosures, will be able to let me have the further paper on NATO Strategy, together with a list of possible participants in that seminar, by the end of this week. We can then start on issuing invitations. I do not, however, propose to circulate the paper on Possible Conflict of Principles to non-official participants until rather nearer the time.

C D POWELL

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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DRAFT PROGRAMME FOR SEMINARS AT CHEQUERS ON 1 OCTOBER

0930 - 1215	Full Seminar on NATO Strategy
1230 - 1400	Continue discussion over lunch
1400	Unofficial participants depart
1400 - 1530	Consider policy implications with official participants
1530 - 1630	Break
1630 - 1845	Full Seminar on Conflict of Principles
1900 - 2030	Continue discussion over dinner
2045	Unofficial participants depart
2100 - 2200	Consider policy implications with officials

OUTSIDE EXPERTS ON INTERVENTION

Derek Bowett Professor of International Law, Cambridge
Rosalyn Higgins Professor of International Law, LSE
Dr. Elihu Lauterpacht Reader in International Law, Cambridge
Sir Ian Sinclair Former FCO Legal Adviser
Col. Jonathan Alford Deputy Director, IISS
Hedley Bull Professor of International Relations, Oxford
Peter Calvocoressi Author and former Reader in International Relations, Sussex
Admiral Sir James Eberle Director, RIIA
Michael Howard Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford
Elie Kadourie Professor of Politics, London
Sir Anthony Parsons Research Fellow, Centre for Gulf Studies, Exeter
Hugh Thomas * * * * * Centre for Policy Studies

Reserves

Dr. Anthony Kenny Master of Balliol
Peter Nailor Professor of History, RNC Greenwich
Dr. Roger Scruton Reader in Philosophy, Birkbeck College, London
Dr. John Vincent Lecturer in International Relations, Keele
Ben Whitaker Director, Minority Rights Group
Bernard Williams Provost, King's College, Cambridge
James Mayall Senior Lecturer, International Relations, LSE

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Official Participants

Sir G. Howe
Mr. Heseltine
Lady Young
Mr. Stanley
Sir A. Acland
Sir P. Cradock
Mr. Cartledge
CDS

*Mr Hind - pm only
Sir C Whitmore - all day
Mr Pettie - a.m. only
Sir J Graham - am only*

Sir R. Murray

alt



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1

Telephone 01-~~230 7922~~ 218 2111/3

MO 9/13

1st August 1984

New Charter,

FOREIGN POLICY: NATO STRATEGY

In your letter of 19th June to Peter Ricketts, you asked for a short paper to serve as a framework for discussion at a seminar on NATO strategy to be held by the Prime Minister at Chequers.

I attach a short paper prepared by officials here which addresses the issues referred to in your letter and, as you requested, poses questions as much as attempting to answer them. Also enclosed is a copy of the text of the key NATO document on the meaning of flexible response (MC14/3) which the Prime Minister might find of interest but which, because of its classification, we would not propose to circulate to the outside participants at the seminar itself. The Defence Secretary has already separately forwarded to the Prime Minister a more extensive and wider ranging paper by the Chiefs of Staff which addresses these issues.

The Defence Secretary will wish himself to give further thought to these problems in the Autumn in the run-up to the publication of next year's Statement on the Defence Estimates in which he would intend to include a full discussion of the basis of our present defence policy and its continuing relevance for the future. Given the Prime Minister's wish to have papers for the Chequers seminar before the Summer break, I am, as we discussed, forwarding the attachments to you now: the Defence Secretary may wish to add to them in due course prior to the seminar itself.

You also asked for advice about outside experts who might participate in this session. We and the FCO would suggest the following:

Professor Michael Howard Regius Professor of Modern History and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford and leading authority on military history and strategy;

Charles Powell Esq



Professor Lawrence Freedman Professor of War Studies,
King's College, London and perhaps Britain's foremost
authority on nuclear strategy;

Professor Sir Hermann Bondi Chairman of the Natural
Environment Research Council, Master of Churchill College,
Cambridge and a former Chief Scientific Adviser, MOD;

Sir Arthur Hockaday 2nd PUS, MOD 1973-76. As Assistant
Secretary General of Defence Planning and Policy, NATO in
the mid 60s, Sir Arthur played a central role in the
preparation of MC 14/3, the basic flexible response document;

Dr Robert O'Neill Director, International Institute for
Strategic Studies.

I am copying this letter and the attachments to Len Appleyard (FCO).

Yours etc.

Richard Mottram

(R C MOTTRAM)
Private Secretary

F P Strategy Pt 2



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