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MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

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PERMANENT UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE

SIR FRANK COOPER GCB CMG

PUS/82/42

Prime Minister.

To see.

tbl

12.1.82

C A Whitmore Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

12 January 1982

Jim Cove.

At lunch today, the Prime Minister spoke to me about Michael Howard. By the short arm of coincidence, when I arrived back here later this afternoon, a letter from him was awaiting me apologising for not coming in to see me as he had planned last week. He said the weather was so bad that he decided to get on with writing his book on Clausewitz - so that answers that question.

- .. 2. You might also like to be aware of the enclosed letter from Michael Carver which was also waiting for me and the project, as you will see, also seems to involve Michael Howard, as I gather he has accepted the invitation.

Yours etc

FRANK COOPER

22/1/1

From: Field Marshal Lord Carver

24/1/1



Wood End House,
Wickham,
Fareham,
Hants PO17 6JZ

Sir Frank Cooper, GCB, CMG.
Permanent Under-Secretary,
Ministry of Defence.

12 January 1982

A EUROPEAN SECURITY STUDY

My dear Frank,

As you will know, there is a considerable interest in what are called 'alternative strategies'. The ideas being mooted vary from totally unrealistic ones, involving abolition, not only of nuclear weapons, but also of conventional armed forces of the current pattern, to sensible concepts of how to improve the capability of conventional forces without involving unrealistic demands on manpower and money. The motive behind all of them is to reduce NATO's reliance on the early use of nuclear weapons.

I have agreed to be a member of the Steering Group of an American sponsored project, which seems to me to be the most responsible of these. Its moving spirit is Professor Carroll Wilson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who was formerly executive officer to Dr Vannevar Bush, for many years head of the U.S. Research and Development Board.

The project is appointing a Director of Studies, who will probably be a retired US officer, with a permanent staff, who, under the general direction of the Steering Group, will produce a number of papers. They will work at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Their papers will be considered at a series of 'workshops', with the aim of producing a final report in January 1984.

The study is restricted to NATO's Central Region, and does not therefore involve maritime warfare.

It is hoped to raise the necessary funds from a number of American foundations and individual sources.

A perusal of the premises on which the studies will be based (Annex A) and of the list of current and prospective members of the Steering Group (Annex B) will, I hope, persuade you that this is a thoroughly responsible and worthwhile project.

I would be grateful if you and your subordinates would be prepared to help this project when it gets under way. I would stress that I am not asking for any financial support.

I have sent identical letters to Terry Lewin, Mike Beetham and Dwin Bramall.

*Yours ever,
Miles*

A EUROPEAN SECURITY STUDY (1970)

SOME PREMISES

The proposed study of improved conventional forces rests on a series of premises such as the following:

1. That the scale, diversity, and destructive power of individual nuclear weapons and national arsenals, especially of the USA and the USSR, are not yet adequately comprehended by the public or by national leadership.
2. That the strategic consequences of Soviet nuclear capability changing from inability to strike the USA in the 1950's to full parity in numbers and types of nuclear weapons and delivery systems - plus superiority in theatre nuclear weapons in Europe in 1981 - have not yet been adequately assessed.
3. That the reliance in NATO strategy on early use of tactical nuclear weapons to repel a Soviet invasion represents the most serious risk of nuclear weapons use either initiated by NATO or preemptively by the Soviets.
4. That use of such tactical nuclear weapons could certainly escalate to use of theatre nuclear weapons and then to a strategic exchange causing tremendous destruction of Europe, North America and the USSR and leaving survivors in chaos.
5. That potentials exist which have not been adequately exploited to substantially strengthen NATO defenses against conventional mechanized forces.
6. That stronger NATO conventional strength would be a significant deterrent to a Soviet attack and could provide a relatively more useable war-fighting force capable of exacting a heavy toll of an attacker's forces in the event of an attack.
7. That a study of such potentials with special attention to scenarios for such strategies on the Central Front should be undertaken.

8. That such a study can be validly done without disclosure of classified information and therefore can be published in order to encourage wide public discussion.
9. That channels of communication can be established for informal consultation with appropriate branches of the armed forces of several NATO countries as well as with NATO and SHAPE.
10. That qualified individuals can be enlisted to take part in such a project in various roles.
11. That upon completion of such a study there is likely to be sufficient interest in some NATO countries in improved strategies to justify the time and effort involved in making such a study.

Members and Prospective Members of the Steering GroupPresent Members

Professor Robert Bowie	Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution; formerly Dillon Professor of International Affairs and Director, Center for International Affairs at Harvard, Deputy Director (Estimates) Central Intelligence Agency
Professor McGeorge Bundy	Professor of History, New York University; formerly Special Assistant to the President for National Security and President of the Ford Foundation
Field Marshal Lord Carver	Field Marshal (Ret.); formerly Chief of the Imperial Defense Staff
Dr. Alton Frye	Senior Fellow and Washington Director, Council on Foreign Relations; formerly Rand Corporation and Assistant to Senator Brooke
Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster	General, United States Army (Ret.); formerly Commander in Chief, United States Forces and Supreme Allied Commander Europe
Mr. Howard W. Johnson	Chairman of the Corporation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; formerly President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Director of Institute for Defense Analysis, Director of Morgan Guaranty, E. I. du Pont de Nemours Companies
Professor Milton Katz	Henry L. Stimson Professor of Law and Director of International Legal Studies, Emeritus - Harvard University, President of American Academy of Arts and Sciences; United States Special Representative in Europe for the Marshall Plan

Prof. William W. Kaufmann Professor of Political Science,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology;
Consultant to Secretary of Defense,
National Security Council, Office of
Management and Budget; formerly Rand
Corporation

Mr. David Klein Executive Director, American Council
on Germany; formerly Foreign Service
Officer in Moscow, Berlin, Bonn. and
Assistant Director, Arms Control and
Disarmament Agency

Professor Franklin Long Henry Luce Professor on Science and
Society, Cornell University; formerly
Chairman, Chemistry Department,
member of President's Science Advisory
Committee, Director of Arms Control
Association, Co-chairman of American
Pugwash, Director of Exxon Corporation

Mr. William J. Perry Investment Banker - Mathematician;
formerly Director of Electronic
Defense Laboratories GTE, Under-
secretary of Defense for Research
and Engineering, Department of
Defense

Conte Francois de Rose Diplomatist (Ret.); formerly Deputy
Chief of Staff, National Defense,
Ambassador to NATO; Permanent Repre-
sentative to NATO

Prof. Marshall Shulman Professor of Government and Director
of the Russian Institute, Columbia
University; formerly Special Advisor
on Soviet Affairs to Secretary of
State

Gen. Franz-Joseph Shulze General of the German Armed Forces
(Ret.); formerly Commander of Allied
Forces Central Europe (AFCENT)

Prof. Richard H. Ullman Professor of Political and International Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University; formerly Assistant Secretary of Defense, National Security Council, Director of Studies at Council on Foreign Relations

Prof. Carroll L. Wilson Mitsui Professor on Problems of Contemporary Technology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; formerly Director of Workshop on Alternative Energy Strategies (WAES), World Coal Study (WOCOL), Wartime Executive Assistant to Director of Office for Scientific Research and Development and General Manager, United States Atomic Energy Commission

Prospective Members

United Kingdom

Professor Michael Howard Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford University; formerly Professor of War Studies, University of London, Chichele Professor of History of War, Oxford, Coldstream Guards

(Has accepted)

Germany

Mr. Karl Kaiser Director, Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign Affairs and Professor at University of Cologne, Specialist on European Integration, American-European Relations, Nuclear Energy

Mr. Hans Eberhard

Formerly Director of Armaments,
Ministry of Defense

Dr. Rolf Phuls

Formerly Ambassador to NATO

Gen. Johannes Steinhoff

General of the German Air Force
(Ret.); formerly Commander in Chief,
German Air Forces and Chairman, NATO
Military Committee.

France

General G. Méry

General of the French Armed Forces
(Ret.); formerly ~~Commander in Chief,~~
French Armed Forces *Chief of Staff.*



File AH

Deeper

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

13 January 1982

Dear Frank,

Thank you for your letter of 12 January 1982, which I have shown to the Prime Minister.

She was interested to have this information about the activities of both Michael Howard and Mike Carver.

Yours truly,

John

Sir Frank Cooper GCB CMG

AH.