

*The Whitmore MW.  
23.*



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

*Prime Minister.*  
This symposium was organised following  
meeting last September about the long-term  
idea that there should be a new Institute or  
Study Group to follow Soviet affairs. It would seem  
that the divisions between academics & civil servants  
amount after all to large.

22 January 1980

*Dear Michael,*

*Print - 22/1*

*M  
H. Whitmore*

Symposium on the USSR in the 80s

You asked for an account of the symposium organised by the Director-General of Intelligence at Ashford from 6-8 December 1979. I enclose a list of the participants and a copy of the programme.

The symposium seems to have been a great success. The interaction of officials and academics was fruitful and there was a broad measure of agreement. Officials picked up a number of useful points from the better informed academics and the latter in turn were complimentary about the official contribution.

The general conclusion of the analytical discussion was that the USSR under new leaders was likely to continue to seek to increase its influence by all means short of war, while avoiding confrontation with the USA. Infiltration was thought likely and military intervention unlikely in Iran and Yugoslavia after Tito. No one seriously doubted that the US deterrent would remain effective, despite Kissinger's 'window' theory about US ICBMs being vulnerable for a short period early in the 1980s.

On the economy, the consensus was that the Soviet leadership will face real problems with their growth rate declining and their energy surplus dwindling and perhaps disappearing by 1985 or 1990: but they are not likely to risk the wholesale reforms of the system which could bring a cure, so that muddling through is going to continue. The Soviet Union, by again depriving the consumer, may again be able to maintain an annual increase of 4-5% in defence expenditure. There were many useful contributions on the defence side, not least the observation that Soviet successes in defence technology result not so much from solving technical problems as from clarifying these problems at the outset through an intense and often surprisingly open debate about the requirements and possible solutions. Mr Mackintosh, the Cabinet Office expert on Soviet personalities, tipped Grigori Romanov, at present Leningrad Party Leader, as the man most likely to emerge from the transitional arrangements which are expected to follow Brezhnev's departure.

In spite of the broad consensus however the academics suggested that officials should look again at the influence of ideology, the effects of subversion, the challenge of dissidents and the reality of Soviet allies in Eastern Europe. They also felt that we perhaps should look carefully at the lack of



safety margin in the unpalatable economic options which are open to the Soviet leaders. We are taking account of these important suggestions.

On the last day the Head of East European and Soviet Department here, Mr Christopher Mallaby, put forward on a personal basis an outline of a policy towards the Soviet Union round which about three-quarters of the participants, including Robert Conquest, and also Philip Windsor, Peter Reddaway and Leonard Schapiro of LSE - were prepared to rally. This was based on five planks: strong Western defences as the basic requirement; a readiness to compete with the Russians in the struggle of ideas; the pursuit of contracts and trade; <sup>contracts</sup> much more effort to anticipate and deter Soviet expansion in developing countries; and the continued pursuit of East-West negotiations in fields important to the West.

The analytical thinking produced by the symposium will be reflected in the work in Whitehall on Soviet aims and capabilities in the 1980s.

I am copying this letter to Brian Norbury in the MOD, and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

*this will  
becoming  
forward next  
month  
Auld*

*7-200  
8/20*

(G G H Walden)

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON

ASHFORD SYMPOSIUM: GUEST LISTMOD

Sir Arthur Hockaday KCB CMG	Second Permanent Under Secretary of State
Sir John Aiken KCB	Director General of Intelligence
Vice Admiral S F Berthon	Deputy Chief of Defence Staff (Operational Requirements)
Vice Admiral R W Halliday DSC.	Deputy Chief of Defence Staff(Intelligence)
Mr J Jones CMG	Security Service
Rear Admiral D Reffell	Assistant Chief of Naval Staff (Policy)
Rear Admiral M La T Wemyss	Assistant Chief of Naval Staff(Operations)
Major General M H Sinnatt	Director of Combat Development (Army)
Air Vice-Marshal N S Howlett	Director of Management and Support Intelligence
Air Vice-Marshal H Reed-Purvis OBE	Director General of Security (RAF)
Mr John Culshaw	Assistant Chief Scientific Adviser (Studies)
Dr F A Johnson	Director of Scientific and Technical Intelligence
Mr W Rudkin	Director of Economic Intelligence
Mr J N H Blelloch	Assistant Under Secretary of State (Defence Staff)
Mr L E Jeanes	Chief of Public Relations
Mr K W B Gooderham	Head of Defence Intelligence Staff (Central Staff)
Mr Murray Stewart	Defence Policy Staff
Commodore R J F Turner	Commodore (Intelligence)
Brigadier J N S Arthur	Brigadier General Staff (Intelligence)
Air Commodore R G Ashford	Air Commodore (Intelligence)
Air Commodore P S Collins	Director of Forward Policy
Air Commodore J B Fitzpatrick	Director of Operations (Strike)
Group Captain R A Mason	Director Defence Studies, Bracknell
Mrs J P Hamilton-Eddy	Defence Intelligence (Research Group)

FCO

Sir Curtis Keeble KCMG	HM Ambassador, Moscow
Mr J Bullard CMG	Deputy Under-Secretary of State FCO
Mr C L G Mallaby	
Mr D J Moss	
Mr I Roberts	

CABINET OFFICE

Sir Brooks Richards KCMG DSC	Co-ordinator
Mr P Maxey	Head of Assessments Staff
Miss C Pestell	Assessments Staff
Mr J M Mackintosh	Assessments Staff

GCHQ

Mr D Nicoll	Director of Requirements
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ACADEMICS

Professor P Nailor	Dept of History and International Affairs, RN College, Greenwich
Professor L B Schapiro	London School of Economics and Political Science
Dr R Amann	Centre for Russian & East European Studies, University of Birmingham
Mr G R Conquest OBE	
Mr M H A Edmonds	Department of Politics, University of Lancaster
Dr P Hanson	Centre for Russian & East European Studies, University of Birmingham
Mr P Reddaway	London School of Economics
Dr Susan Richards	St Anthony's College, Oxford
Dr R J Vincent	Department of International Relations, University of Keele
Mr P Windsor	London School of Economics
Colonel J R Alford	Deputy Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies

USA

Lieutenant General E F Tighe	Director of Defence Intelligence Agency
Mr R Huffstutler	Director of Office of Strategic Research

ASHFORD

Brigadier M J D Perrett-Young	Director, Intelligence Corps
Colonel B A H Parritt CBE	Chief Instructor SSI.

DGI SYMPOSIUM: 6 - 8 DECEMBER 1979

Aim: Soviet Defence and Overseas Policy 1980 - 1990s.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>ITEM</u>		<u>SPEAKER</u>	<u>CHAIRMAN</u>
Thur. 6/12	1	1600 Assemble 1700 Introduction Tour d'Horizon	DGI	DGI
		1715 (a) Soviet Defence & Overseas Policy	Mr Maxey	
		1745 (b) The military component.	BGS (Int)	
		1945 Reception Drinks		
		2015 Informal Dinner		
Fri 7/13		0800 Breakfast		
	II	0900 The Soviet Leadership	Mr M Mackintosh	2nd PUS
		1030 Coffee		
	III	1100 Economic Constraints	Dr Hanson	Hd of DIS(CS)
		1230 Break		
		1300 Lunch		
	IV	1400 Advances in Soviet Science & Technology	DSTI	DCDS(I)
		1530 Tea		
	V	1600 National Constraints	Mr Reddaway	DEI
		1930 Dinner (Black Tie)		
Sat 8/12		0800 Breakfast		
	VI	0900 International Constraints	Mr Mallaby	Prof. Nailor
		1020 Coffee		
	VII	1100 Future Soviet Policy: Two views: one Hawkish, one Doveish.	Dr Windsor Mr Conquest	DGI
		Debate		
	VIII	1230 Sum up	DGI	
		1300 Lunch		
		1400 Disperse		

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22 JAN 1960

