



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

www.gov.uk/number10

From Alex Ellis

8th July 2020

Integrated Review

Dear Chairs,

The Prime Minister thanks you for your letter regarding the Integrated Review (IR) of 30 June, and has asked me to reply on his behalf.

The Prime Minister has directed that the IR take the opportunity presented by the UK's departure from the European Union to reassess our priorities, define the Government's ambition for the UK's role in the world, and establish how the UK will be a burden-sharing and problem-solving nation. This has involved going back to first principles on the UK's foreign policy and national security objectives.

Our first step in the IR process has been to create a policy framework that, once agreed by Ministers, would then set the direction for the rest of the review—that is, the development of detailed policy options and, ultimately, decisions on capabilities and on changes to our system, to support our aims. Prior to the pause necessitated by COVID-19 (C-19) in April, the Government had undertaken much of the analysis required to create the policy framework. This involved: detailed horizon-scanning, covering future trends, opportunities, risks and threats; evidence-gathering and policy analysis; and engagement, all undertaken within a structured cross-Whitehall process.

During the pause, the Government retained a small team in the Cabinet Office and No. 10 to continue this work and to evaluate the course and consequences of C-19. As we return to the policy baseline, we have amended our approach to the IR in order to meet the Government's additional and pressing objective of setting a strong direction for recovery from C-19, at home and overseas. In doing so, the Government has undertaken new horizon-scanning and fresh analysis of key policy areas in a cross-Whitehall process, to further strengthen the evidence base. Our work in this phase has focused particularly on those policy areas that have been especially impacted by C-19. These include:

- intensified geopolitical competition;
- the effect of this competition on our ability to work with others in tackling global issues of strategic importance to the UK, such as global health; and
- domestic and international resilience, such as the security of international supply chains in strategic sectors.

The IR is also now drawing in elements of work initially begun in response to C-19, such as that led by the Department for International Trade on supply chains and that by DFID on providing

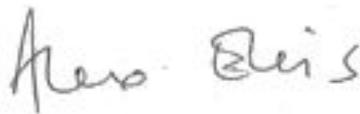
support to vulnerable countries, demonstrating how the cross-government process is bringing in departments and agencies where they are relevant to UK national security.

As stated previously, the IR will remain closely aligned with the Spending Review, to ensure that departments are equipped with the resources they need to enact the review's conclusions, including the new international department, the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office. An announcement on the Spending Review will be made in due course.

Finally, we are working to publish a dedicated page on GOV.UK with up-to-date information on the IR, adding to that previously published via press release and correspondence with Committees. The Government has been conducting targeted engagement via departments and from the centre. Following the review's recent recommencement, we have stepped up our efforts, using a range of mechanisms to engage proactively with stakeholders with an interest in our nation's security and prosperity. These include working with our extensive network overseas, a series of online meetings and workshops, and peer review, working within the constraints created by C-19. We will continue to use these mechanisms, and will expand our engagement as the IR develops.

As was the case before the review was paused due to C-19, the Government is keen to engage with your Committees, to discuss in more detail the progress made so far and to hear your insights and views on policy priorities and debates. I would once again like to offer an informal briefing before the Summer Recess and will work with your staff to arrange this at your convenience.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Alex Ellis". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

Alex Ellis
Deputy National Security Adviser - Integrated Review



Defence Committee
Foreign Affairs Committee
International Development Committee
Joint Committee on the National Security Strategy
Committee Office · House of Commons · London SW1A 0AA

Rt Hon. Boris Johnson MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London
SW1A 2AA

Copied to Angus Brendan MacNeil MP
Chair of the International Trade Committee

30 June 2020

Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy

Dear Prime Minister,

When in April you announced that the Integrated Review was paused, our Committees continued to gather evidence and prepare recommendations on this important process, or initiated inquiries specifically to feed into scrutiny of the Review. We have now received notification, on 24 June, that work on the Integrated Review has recommenced. You have emphasised the significance of the Review and it is clear from our evidence that there is great public interest in it. But there is also clearly growing frustration with how little information about the Review is publicly available. And, while you have said that allies and experts beyond Whitehall would be consulted, the Government is yet to explain who can contribute or how.

You have agreed that transparency is vital. We therefore ask you to:

1. Add to and update the single page, now four months old, that explains the Integrated Review to the public on the Government's website.
2. Explain, in a public statement about consultation for the Review, who will be able to provide evidence and what format that evidence will take.
3. Explain what work on the Review has been completed, and what is still to come.
4. Explain how long the Review is expected to last. The Government has said that it hopes the Review will conclude in "Autumn". Which month in Autumn? What is the basis of your timetable, and your confidence that it will hold?
5. Explain the detailed Terms of Reference for the Review, and the thematic areas that it is considering. Very little is publicly known about this most fundamental aspect of the Review.
6. Explain the intended end product of the Review, and whether it will be made public.
7. Explain why the Department for International Trade was excluded from the Review.

Finally, one of the few public details of the Review was that it would consider machinery-of-Government reforms. Can you explain why the merger of DFID and the FCO, the most major

of such reforms, was decided and announced before the Review's conclusion? You said in the House on 16 June that "massive consultation over a long period" had occurred before the merger was announced. Who was consulted, and through what process?

Transparency about the process of the Review, and inclusive and diverse consultation, will be a firm foundation for future policy. Their absence would risk disappointment with the Review's conclusions, and doubt about how they were reached.

We would be grateful for a response by 10 July.



Rt Hon. Tobias Ellwood MP
Chair of the Defence Committee



Tom Tugendhat MP
Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee



Sarah Champion MP
**Chair of the International
Development Committee**



Rt Hon. Margaret Beckett MP
**Chair of the Joint Committee on the
National Security Strategy**



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From Alex Ellis

24th June 2020

Update on the Integrated Review

Dear Mr Reid,

The Government paused its Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy in early April due to the pressing need to focus on COVID-19. I am writing to inform you that the Prime Minister has directed that we formally recommence the review, building on the work already undertaken.

The Government's aim continues to be for an ambitious Integrated Review that is guided by the UK's foreign policy and national security objectives over the next decade. The original goal of the review remains to take the unique opportunity presented to us by our departure from the EU to; reassess our priorities; define the Government's ambition for the UK's role in the world at a time when the global landscape is already changing dramatically; and set out how the UK will be a problem-solving and burden-sharing nation. To this we now add the need to set a strong direction for recovery from COVID-19, at home and overseas, so that together we can "build back better".

Securing our domestic interests and our global influence continues to be essential - ensuring our international action is connected to our domestic objectives, including C-19 recovery. The review will also continue to assess the capabilities and systems reforms that will be needed to support our aims, in addition to seizing the opportunities offered by uniting development and diplomacy under the new Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office.

We will be engaging with experts beyond Whitehall and wider stakeholders with an interest in our nation's security and prosperity. This includes our allies and partners, building on our discussions with them on C-19 response and recovery. In this way we will ensure that some of the best minds in the UK and beyond are feeding into the review's conclusions and challenging traditional Whitehall assumptions and thinking.

We have been following your inquiries with interest during the pause and we look forward to engaging with your Committee's work.

Yours sincerely,

Alex Ellis
Deputy National Security Adviser - Integrated Review



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From Alex Ellis

09 April 2020

Dear Mr Shaw,

Further to his letter dated 24 March, the Prime Minister has directed that work on the Integrated Review should now be formally paused across Whitehall. This is due to the pressing need to focus on COVID-19, which will, of course, have significant international implications. We wanted to inform the Committee of this decision, and as such I would be grateful if you would convey this information to the Chair and Members of the Foreign Affairs Committee. A WMS will be laid before Parliament after the Easter Recess to provide formal notification in the usual way.

This pause on the Integrated Review will mean that the consultation and engagement that we had planned with external stakeholders and Parliament, including private briefings, will be placed on hold until the Review is resumed. Similarly, the Government will respond to the Committee's calls for written evidence once the Integrated Review resumes. We cannot say yet when that will happen, but the Government will of course keep Parliament updated.

We are retaining a small core capacity to think about the long-term effect of COVID-19 and issues expected to be covered in the Integrated Review. This team will be very limited in size and function, but its tasks will include following the progress of the Committee's inquiry and to be ready for resumption, including re-engaging with the Committee when appropriate.

We welcome the Committee's interest in the Integrated Review, and look forward to engaging again on it in due course.

Yours sincerely,

Alex Ellis
Deputy National Security Adviser



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THE PRIME MINISTER

24 March 2020

Dear Tom, Tobias and Sarah,

Thank you for your letter of 10 March.

I strongly agree on the importance of transparency as we carry out the Integrated Review, in which your Committees will play an important role.

Since you wrote, as you will understand, we have diverted resources from across government and the Civil Service to work on COVID-19, scaling back efforts on the Integrated Review. So it would be premature for me to answer your questions at this stage.

The Government will keep Parliament updated as appropriate, and I will write further in response to your questions once it is clearer how and when we will be able to resume full work on the Review. In the meantime, I thank you for your understanding.

Mr Tom Tugendhat MP, The Right Honourable Tobias Ellwood MP and
Ms Sarah Champion MP



Foreign Affairs Committee
Defence Committee
International Development Committee

Committee Office House of Commons London SW1A 0AA

Rt Hon Boris Johnson MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London
SW1A 2AA

10 March 2020

Dear Prime Minister

Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy

Thank you for your letter of 28 February, in which you set out your initial thinking on the Review. One factor that will affect the credibility of the Review's conclusions is the degree of transparency about its process. In that light, we ask for your response to these points.

1. Are contributors responding to specific Terms of Reference, with financial parameters, for the Review and, if so, will the Government make these Terms of Reference and any financial parameters public?
2. What strategic issues in security, defence, development, and foreign policy does the Government expect to evaluate in this Review? Why has it chosen to evaluate them in a Review of this format?
3. On which "existing Government work", and what documents, does the Review build?
4. Why is International Trade not included within the remit of the Review?
5. What will be the end product of the Review? Will this be made public?
6. Will the National Security Strategy, and the National Security Risk Assessment, be updated?
7. Does the Review have a timeline? What are its stages, and how will these be sequenced? When is the Review scheduled to conclude?
8. How will Departments and external experts contribute (through written submissions, or orally)? Will these contributions be made public? Will the names of contributing organisations and individuals be made public?
9. How will the Cabinet Secretariat team, and No10 taskforce that you describe, divide the work on the Review and coordinate with each other? Who is the Minister responsible for the Review?
10. Will the Government provide Parliament with regular updates on the progress of the Review? When, and how, will it do so?

We would be grateful if you could reply with this information by 24 March.

Tom Tugendhat MP
Chair of the
Foreign Affairs Committee

Rt. Hon Tobias Ellwood MP
Chair of the
Defence Committee

Sarah Champion MP
Chair of the International
Development Committee



10 DOWNING STREET
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28 February 2020

THE PRIME MINISTER

Dear Tom, Tobias & Sarah,

Thank you for your letter of 11 February on the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy.

The Government has set in train the biggest Review of our foreign, defence, security and development policy since the end of the Cold War. We need to grasp the opportunities of the next decade and deliver upon the Government's priorities. This is a defining moment in how the UK relates to the rest of the world and we want to take this unique opportunity to reassess our priorities and our approach to delivering them.

The Integrated Review will:

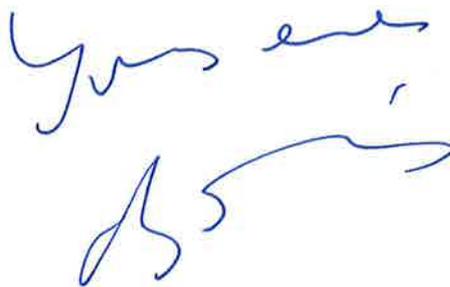
- i) define the Government's ambition for the UK's role in the world and the long-term strategic aims for our national security and foreign policy;
- ii) set out the way in which the UK will be a problem-solving and burden-sharing nation, examining how we work more effectively with our allies;
- iii) determine the capabilities we need for the next decade and beyond to pursue our objectives and address the risks and threats we face;
- iv) identify the necessary reforms to Government systems and structures to achieve these goals; and
- v) outline a clear approach to implementation over the next decade and set out how we will evaluate delivery of our aims.

The Review will be underpinned by the commitments the Government has already made to continue to exceed the NATO target of spending 2% of GDP on Defence, to commit 0.7% of GNI to international development and to maintain the nuclear deterrent.

A cross-Whitehall team in the Cabinet Secretariat, under the authority of the Cabinet Secretary, and a small taskforce in No10 will report to me and the National Security Council. The Review will build on existing Government work on these issues. Relevant departments across Whitehall are already fully involved in the Review. The Review will be closely aligned with this year's Comprehensive Spending Review but will also look beyond it. Implementation, evaluation and adaptation will be essential to ensure that the Review is lasting and useful.

The Government will consult with experts beyond Whitehall – in the UK and among our allies – in order to ensure the best possible outcome and to build a strong platform for the decade ahead. We will keep Parliament fully informed during the process as we deliver a Review that is in the best interests of the British people across the United Kingdom.

I have laid before Parliament a Written Ministerial Statement on the Integrated Review. The thematic structure, priority policy areas, opportunities for participation and plans for implementation and publication, will be developed over the coming weeks as part of the Review process. The Government will keep Parliament updated on developments and timings throughout the different stages of the Review, and would be happy to join Select Committee evidence sessions. I welcome your interest, and that of your Committees, in this very important task.



Mr Tom Tugendhat MBE MP, Chair-Elect, Foreign Affairs Committee
The Right Honourable Tobias Ellwood MP, Chair Elect, Defence Committee
Ms Sarah Champion MP, Chair-Elect, International Development Committee



Foreign Affairs Committee
Defence Committee
International Development Committee

Committee Office House of Commons London SW1A 0AA

Rt Hon Boris Johnson MP
Prime Minister
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11 February 2020

Integrated Security, Defence and Foreign Policy Review

We write to express our readiness to engage with the Government on the Integrated Security, Defence and Foreign Policy Review. We understand from the Queen's Speech that this is to be the "deepest" such review of UK international policy since the end of the Cold War, reassessing the nation's place in the world and covering all elements "from defence to diplomacy to development".

For us to play our full role, however, it is essential to know the terms on which the Integrated Review is being conducted. We would therefore be grateful if you could reply with the following information **by 25 February**:

Scope and output

- What are the Integrated Review's main objectives? What key questions does the Government want to answer?
- What are the specific Terms of Reference for the Integrated Review?
 - How do these differ from previous reviews of the UK's National Security Strategy and national security capabilities?
 - Will the UK's longstanding commitment to spend 2% of GDP on defence and the legal requirement to spend 0.7% of GNI on aid (Official Development Assistance) also be subject to review as part of this process?
 - What are the priority policy areas and capabilities under review?
 - Has the thematic structure for the Review been agreed as yet? If so, please provide details of the structure.
- On what budgetary basis is the Integrated Review being conducted? How does it relate to the forthcoming Comprehensive Spending Review?
- What form will the public output of the Integrated Review take? For example, does the Government expect to publish an updated version of the *National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review*?

Timing

- On what timescale is the Integrated Review being conducted?
- What are the different stages of this review process, and what is the expected timescale for each?

Leadership and ministerial oversight

- Which Minister has oversight of the Integrated Review process?
- What role will the National Security Council play in guiding the review?
- What is the role of the National Security Adviser in the Integrated Review?
- Why is the review being led from No. 10 rather than from the National Security Secretariat in the Cabinet Office?
- What contributions will the Cabinet Office and other relevant Departments and agencies make to the Integrated Review? How and when will they make these contributions?

External engagement and follow up

- What plans does the Government have for engaging with Parliament and its Select Committees throughout the review process?
- What plans does the Government have for engaging with other important stakeholders, including allies and partners, and industry and expert commentators both in the UK and abroad?
- What plans does the Government have for follow-up once the Integrated Review has been completed and published?

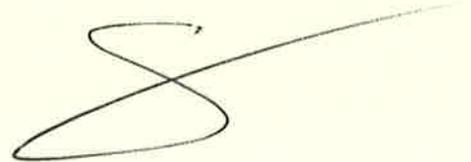
We note that previous Committees felt compelled to criticise the opacity of the 2010, 2015 and 2017 review processes, including the limited efforts on the part of Government to consult externally, including with Parliament and its Select Committees. However, we look forward to working constructively with this Government as it conducts its wide-ranging review of international policy at this historically important moment for the United Kingdom. To start this dialogue, we will be inviting Ministers from our respective Departments to provide oral evidence on the Integrated Review at the earliest opportunity.



Tom Tugendhat MP
Chair-Elect of the
Foreign Affairs Committee



Rt Hon Tobias Ellwood MP
Chair-Elect of the
Defence Committee



Sarah Champion MP
Chair-Elect of the
International Development
Committee