

## Scotland United Against Trident

The past 2 years have shown growing opposition to Trident replacement in Scotland. Opinion polls show 3 out of 4 Scots are opposed. The trade unions and Churches have been actively campaigning on the issue together. A majority of Scots MPs voted against it in the UK parliament. In June the Scottish Parliament voted overwhelmingly by 71 votes to 16 against Trident replacement. And in 2007 *Scotland's for Peace* organised 3,000 strong anti-Trident demonstrations in Glasgow and Edinburgh. In October 2007 the Scottish Government set up a working group 'Scotland Without Nuclear Weapons' with representatives from the wider peace movement. The group is considering issues such as the impact of Trident on jobs, the legality of Trident, safety and environmental issues around the transport and deployment of nuclear weapons, and the impact that a Scotland without nuclear weapons could have on the international community.

On 25 October 2008, *Scotland's for Peace* is planning a major event in George Square, Glasgow, entitled 'A People's Budget for Peace'. It will contrast the £20bn being spent on Trident and overseas war over the next 5 years at a time when ordinary people are being hit by escalating prices for food, fuel, housing and an economy sliding into recession. The event will bring together people and organisations who will present alternative plans for spending some of the money on human need - affordable housing, education, health, tackling climate change and alleviating poverty at home and abroad.



## Where Does the Money Come From?

The government has put the annual cost of Trident replacement at £1bn<sup>(3)</sup>. The 2006 White Paper stated that this would not be at the expense of the existing MoD budget. The 2007 Comprehensive Spending Review stated that 'the MoD is renewing Britain's nuclear deterrent while ensuring that this does not come at the expense of the conventional capability of the armed forces (7.83) and 'the additional resources being made available to Defence will fund all the additional activity necessary to implement these decisions' (D8).

If the £1bn a year is not coming out of the MoD budget, then these 'additional resources' must be coming at the expense of other public spending. There is good reason to believe that the tight settlement for the Scottish Government and Scotland's local authorities means that jobs and services are already being sacrificed across Scotland to pay the increased cost of renewing Trident.

(1) White Paper *The Future of the United Kingdom's Nuclear Deterrent*, December 2006.

## Parliament Can Still Cancel Trident

In March 2007 Parliament voted to endorse the replacement of Britain's Trident submarine fleet. This was only the first step - not parliament's final word. Parliament will have two opportunities to revisit the issue. The first is the 'Initial Gate' in 2009. Des Browne has promised to report to Parliament at this point. MPs should take this opportunity to fully scrutinise this massive, unnecessary and dangerous project and to halt it. The second point is the 'Main gate' which will be between 2012 and 2014. This is when the largest contracts will be awarded and real money committed. At the time of the March 2007 debate, Foreign Secretary Margaret Beckett asserted: 'Today's decision does not mean that we are committing ourselves irreversibly to maintaining a nuclear deterrent for the next 50 years...that would be absurd, unnecessary and incompatible with the nuclear proliferation treaty'.

## Trident & Jobs

Des Browne, in reply to a Parliamentary Question on 25 March 2007, said 859 civilian jobs at Faslane were dependent on Trident.

The first of the current Trident submarines is not due to be withdrawn from service until 2022 at the earliest. The remaining three will be withdrawn over the following three years. In the meantime the number of new Astute Class submarines based at Faslane will build up from one in 2009 to a minimum of six by 2018-19. These are nuclear propelled attack submarines requiring a comparable level of servicing to Trident.

In the short term the number of jobs at Faslane servicing submarines is likely to increase substantially. If the Trident submarines were to be phased out early to co-incide with the phasing in of the new Astute Class submarines, then there would be very few job losses indeed and most of these would be security staff. And even these jobs would not go for 14 years.

With a planned programme of defence diversification which was adequately funded, involving the local community, trade unions and the workforce, we could ensure that the majority of displaced workers were absorbed into comparable jobs in the nearby economy. Indeed, in the event of cancelling Trident, Scotland's share of the resources which could be released would be £153m a year for maintenance and £85m a year for procurement. More than enough to boost jobs and services in health, education and welfare as well kick start a new renewable energy industry in Scotland.

# TRIDENT - IT'S TIME TO CHANGE COURSE

Scottish CND briefing on new developments in the anti-Trident campaign



## Escalating Costs of Trident



In June 2008 the truth about the escalating costs of Trident became clear. In 2008/09 we will be spending £2 billion a year - almost twice as much as 5 years ago<sup>(1)</sup>. And this at a time when food and fuel prices are going through the roof and Britain's economy is slowly sinking into recession. Scotland's share of that money (£170m) would support at least 5,000 jobs in the public sector. Most Scots want that money to be spent on affordable housing, health, education and tackling climate change, not weapons of mass destruction that we don't need.

## Relic from the Cold War

Britain's Trident submarine fleet is a relic of a bygone era. It was designed to target or 'deter' an enemy that no longer exists. It is irrelevant to today's world where even the British government accepts that Britain faces no significant threat from any existing nuclear state and accepts that nuclear weapons are useless against the threat of terrorism. Yet Trident replacement would bind us into pos-

(1) Replies to PQs *Hansard*, Des Browne 30 October 2007 and Bob Ainsworth 3 June 2008.  
(2) All the original nuclear states have substantially reduced the reduced the explosive power of their nuclear arsenals.

session of nuclear weapons for the next 50 years. It would undermine the Non-Proliferation Treaty encouraging non-nuclear countries to 'go nuclear'. And, in combination with missile defence, it would be deeply destabilising and threatening to existing nuclear weapon states such as Russia and China, precipitating a new nuclear arms race.

## UK as a Disarmament Laboratory?

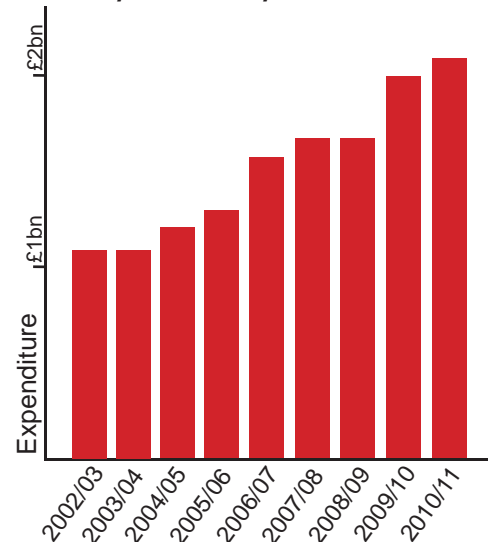
There is a central contradiction that stands at the heart of British government policy on nuclear weapons. The government talks the language of peace and disarmament but spends its money on new weapons of war. At the recent Non-Proliferation Treaty Prepcom in Geneva the British ambassador, John Duncan, spelled out the points previously made by former Foreign Secretary Margaret Beckett and current Defence Secretary Des Browne. Britain, he stated, had reduced the explosive power of its nuclear arsenal by 75%

since the end of the Cold War<sup>(2)</sup>. It had offered to become a nuclear 'disarmament laboratory' and was already working with a number of Norwegian defence laboratories and the NGO Verification Research, Training and Information Centre (VERTIC) towards that aim. Moreover, it was planning to host a technical conference of P5 nuclear laboratories (the five original nuclear powers) on the verification of nuclear disarmament prior to the next NPT review conference in 2010.

All this, of course, is to be welcomed. But does it really represent a change of direction on the part of the Brown government?

The reduction in the total number of nuclear weapons is not a reduction in operative effectiveness. We have got rid of obsolete weapons such as free fall bombs which are highly vulnerable in today's world of sophisticated air defences. The reduction in the number of Trident warheads to no more than 160, while getting rid of spare warheads, has not reduced the number that are deployed at any time. All this is more about good housekeeping than real disarmament. Britain's key strategic system is its four Trident submarines. Between them they carry today the same number of independently targetable warheads - 144 - that they had 10 years ago. That means no

## Nuclear Weapons Expenditure 2002/03 - 2010/11



Source: *Hansard* 3rd June 2008

# Trident - dangerous, expensive, unnecessary and destabilising

reduction in the number of targets that the system could destroy in the event of war.

In comparison with Trident's predecessor (Polaris/Chevaline) it represents a three fold increase in the number of targets it can attack as well as a huge increase in accuracy and range.

## Destabilising

Indeed, with new submarines, a new missile, a new warhead and new strategic doctrines such as pre-emption, Trident becomes more lethal than ever. And in combination with Missile Defence it is transformed into a weapon that is able to deliver an unanswerable first strike against Russia, China or any other adversary. That is what makes Trident replacement and missile defence truly destabilising. We can already see how Russia, China and others are responding to the new perceived threat.

Remember, the UK Trident system is not really independent. The missiles are leased from the United States and serviced at Kings Bay, Georgia. In practice they are part of a pool of US Trident missiles. The warheads are built in the UK according to US designs



Part of the Peace Chain Around Faslane on 14th June 2008

## Secret Plan for a New Trident Warhead

The government is spending a staggering £5 billion on a new building programme at Britain's nuclear bomb factory at Aldermaston. Annual expenditure has risen from £493m in 2005/06 to an estimated £950m for 2010/2011, almost doubling the annual expenditure.

The projects include a new supercomputer, new laser facilities which can simulate nuclear weapon testing and the recruitment of over 1000 new scientists and engineers - a 30% increase in staff numbers. It is inconceivable that all this is just routine upgrading as the government claims. It is to enable the development and production of a new nuclear warhead for Trident.

Indeed, at a briefing for the defence industry on Trident Replacement in June 2007 at which no press were present, David Gould, Chief Operating Officer Defence Equipment and Support, gave the game away. 'This afternoon', he said, 'we are going to outline our plan to maintain the UK's nuclear deterrent. The intention is to replace the entire vanguard Class submarine system. *Including the warhead and missile.*'

But parliament has yet to be informed about these developments and certainly has not endorsed such a decision.

Sources: Hansard 30 October 2007; Keynote address by David Gould, 29 June 2007, Abbey Wood - released to Scottish CND under freedom of information request.

and crucial parts of the software and the targetting of the warheads is under US control. They are effectively an extension of America's own strategic Submarine based ballistic missile system except that we pay for them. This, in turn, helps to bind Britain to US foreign policy and support for every overseas military adventure.

## Creating Political Will

Britain's offer to become a 'disarmament laboratory' is, on face value, a positive development. It could be helpful in developing the expertise in verification which can build mutual confidence as part of a disarmament process.

But at the moment there is **no disarmament process**. A technical conference involving scientists from the nuclear five (Britain, the United States, France, Russia and China) may help break down barriers. But it is really the heads of state of these countries who need to get together with the those of Israel, Pakistan and India to set in motion a political process leading to global nuclear disarmament. At the moment the political will to do that is lacking.

If, however, the UK government gave a lead it could pressurise an incoming US president to respond. In 2006, 125 countries out of 181 including three nuclear states (China, Pakistan and India) voted in the UN General Assembly for abolition negotiations to start immediately. Russia, France and even Israel could be forced to follow suit.

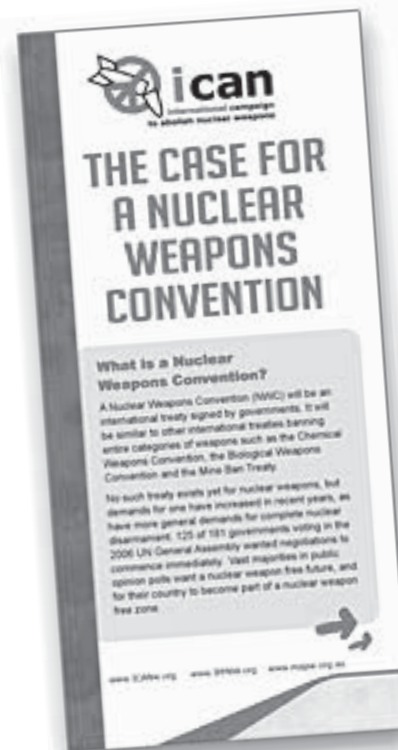
## A Utopian Concept?

Is global nuclear disarmament a utopian concept? You can't un-invent nuclear weapons. But you can make them illegal. This has already been done with landmines, chemical weapons and biological weapons. And Gordon Brown's government has made a positive contribution towards negotiations on banning cluster bombs.

Now the focus must move to nuclear weapons. Worldwide abolition of nuclear weapons is today recognised as an achievable aim by international figures like Kofi Annan, Hans Blix and Mohammed El Baradei and former US

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politicians such as Henry Kissinger, George Schultz, William Perry and Sam Nunn. Now British establishment figures such as Douglas Hurd, Malcolm Rifkind, David Owen and George Robertson have called on the British government to take new initiatives towards a nuclear free world. The international Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) was launched by medical professionals in 60 countries. Its draft treaty on the abolition of nuclear weapons has been lodged with the United Nations while the international peace movement builds the political will to make it a reality. The draft treaty deals in detail with many of the questions that people often ask. How can we be sure that someone is not cheating? What about terrorists? Can we have inspection on demand? Can we protect whistleblowers?



The argument is not about multilateralism versus unilateralism. It is about whether or not the British Government supports real disarmament initiatives when the opportunity is presented. This is the real test of the UK's commitment to Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty under which the nuclear weapons states must "pursue negotiations in good faith...relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament."

We believe this is the way to build real international security - not the illusion of security that comes with missile defence and a new nuclear arms race. And it is also the only way to really tackle the problem of nuclear proliferation and ensure that nuclear weapons never fall into the hands of terrorists. Contrast this with the 'counter proliferation' policies of the Bush administration which actually create nuclear proliferation and spread terrorism.

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Anyway, the US government is not opposed to taking unilateral nuclear disarmament steps when it suits its interests. The decision to secretly withdraw its tactical nuclear weapons from Lakenheath in the UK and probably other parts of Europe was taken without any reciprocal agreement with Russia.

## Twin Track Policy

Scottish CND works with individuals and organisations across Scotland and other parts of Britain to create the broadest possible alliance against the replacement of Trident. We are part of a growing international movement for peace which believes that national and international steps to peace and disarmament are inseparably linked. If the UK government goes ahead with the renewal of Trident, we and future generations could be locked into possession of nuclear weapons for the next 50 years making the process of global nuclear disarmament much more difficult.

In Scotland today most people are opposed to Trident replacement. A clear majority of Scots MPs voted against it in the Westminster Parliament in March 2007 and MPs Nigel Griffiths and Jim Devine resigned their ministerial posts. With the support of the churches, the trade unions, the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Government the anti-Trident movement has critical mass. Now is the time to make it count.