



The Jimmy Reid  
Foundation



# TRIDENT AND ITS SUCCESSOR PROGRAMME

the case for non-renewal,  
employment diversification  
and contributing to peace

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## DEDICATION

In recent times, two giants of Scottish CND and the wider peace movement in Scotland have sadly passed away. Dr Alan Mackinnon, former chair of Scottish CND, died in September 2015 and John Ainslie who was co-ordinator of Scottish CND died in October 2016. In light of this, we wish to dedicate this report to their memory and legacy. Indeed, both Alan and John contributed to previous reports and pamphlets on defence diversification issues – which this report draws upon - and we hope this report will build upon the work they undertook. This would be the most fitting tribute to them.

Cover illustration by Nadia Lucchesi (nadia.shemail@gmail.com)

## THE JIMMY REID FOUNDATION

The Jimmy Reid Foundation is a left-wing think tank and advocacy group operating in Scotland. It was established in memory of Jimmy Reid, a well-known union activist, by the editorial board of the Scottish Left Review magazine (which itself was Jimmy Reid's last major political project). The Foundation was officially launched on the first anniversary of Reid's death on 10 August 2011, with its activities focusing primarily upon the publication and dissemination of policy reports and an annual lecture (of which Alex Salmond, Len McCluskey, Nicola Sturgeon and Jeremy Corbyn have been the first to deliver). Its director is Professor Gregor Gall and the chair of its project board is Bob Thomson. Among its major recent publications have been those on transport infrastructure, the fiscal settlement, economic and industrial democracy, and human rights. Forthcoming papers are on public sector reform, and workplace democracy. For these and further information on the Foundation, please visit <http://reidfoundation.org/> or contact Professor Gall (g.gall@bradford.ac.uk).

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There are three main arguments against renewal:

### • THE MORAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL CASE AGAINST RENEWAL

- There are moral, philosophical, religious, democratic and legal reasons to oppose Trident renewal.
- Public and political opinion in Scotland has consistently opposed Trident and its renewal. So there is a live issue of the democratic will here.
- The International Court of Justice has ruled against the use and ownership of nuclear weapons, saying 'the existence of nuclear weapons as a class of weapons threatens the whole of civilization'.
- Nuclear weapons are 'inherently indiscriminate' and the prospect of catastrophic loss of life, military and non-military, can never satisfy the just war principles of discrimination and proportionality.
- Britain is not a nuclear superpower but stands against the 139 nations pledged to enter into negotiations to ban nuclear weapons under international law. This majority is also the moral majority.

### • THE ECONOMIC CASE FOR NON-RENEWAL

- Only 600 civilian jobs are dependent on the existing Trident system at Her Majesty's Naval Base (HMNB) Clyde (Faslane and Coulport): 520 on missiles and the equivalent of 80 on maintenance. The other 3,721 jobs at HMNB Clyde work on other submarines and surface ships and are not at risk.
- The Trident Successor programme will not lead to any new jobs but merely maintain 11,520 across the UK at a cost of £205bn to the UK taxpayer or almost £18m per job. The massive devaluation of Sterling since June 2016 substantiates the £205bn estimate and suggests this could increase further as a large proportion of Trident expenditure goes to foreign companies.
- Employment has been falling at HMNB and generally in defence in Scotland due to cuts to fund Trident and the Successor programme. The facts are that expenditure on Trident and the Successor Programme are costing defence jobs throughout Britain.
- The very high cost per Trident job is wasteful of skill and other resources; offers little to the Scottish and UK economies in the way of economic activity and multiplier effects; and threatens to lead to ever-increasing costs of procurement. Engineering skills are needed elsewhere in the economy, and diversion of these to Trident is socially unacceptable.
- Trident and Successor does not represent investment into manufacturing but provides benefits to banks, multinational enterprises and arms suppliers.
- Austerity cuts have led to over 30,000 job losses in local government in Scotland with more forecast, damaging the delivery of vital public services. The transfer of a modest amount of Trident monies would easily reverse these cuts.

### • THE DEFENCE CASE FOR NON-RENEWAL

- There is no military necessity for renewal of Trident say former senior members of the Armed Forces, with resources consequently being diverted from essential defence needs.
- Decades of poor defence procurement management, inflation and devaluation mean CND's £205bn estimate is highly plausible.
- Renewal benefits arms manufacturers, banks and foreign multinational companies. The losers are defence workers and taxpayers as skilled workers suffer lay-offs from non-Trident work or are encouraged to commute across the country to find temporary work.

**The report also examined the impact of non-renewal in economic, social and military terms. It found that:**

- Continuing decline in the armed forces and defence expenditure has already resulted in many job losses on the Clyde and other defence centres.
- Trident and the Successor programme increasingly dominate the defence budget leading to cuts in jobs and equipment elsewhere. There are major employment consequences for Clyde shipbuilding in a decreasing defence budget if Trident is not cancelled with, for example, fewer orders of new Type-26 frigates.

- The Successor programme means importing technologies and weapons, not producing and servicing them domestically, so that multiplier effects are reduced and so fewer jobs, supplies and incomes are retained within Scotland and the UK.
- Reliance on US and European suppliers destroys employment, innovation and enterprise here, leaving a lasting legacy of missed potential.

**The report examined the impact of job loss as a result of non-renewal, finding that:**

- There will be work for the next 12-15 years for those civilians directly employed at the bases if there was no new investment in Successor. By then, half of these existing workers will have reached retirement age so, with redeployment and voluntary exit from the sector, the problem of redundancy will have become largely 'redundant'.
- The wider defence sector in Scotland is suffering cuts and redundancies, along with poor procurement from Trident and Successor contracts. Rather than this being its anchor, it is a drain on the defence and public sector budgets.
- Scotland is not threatened with a loss of 'vital jobs, skills and the high value terms' if Successor was abandoned. Scotland has been and will continue to face skill shortages in sectors where growth and development would be enhanced by recruitment of workers on Trident-related and Successor programmes.

**Finally, the report assessed the case for diversification in terms of skill redeployment and benefits, finding that**

- The Scottish Government should establish a 'Scottish Defence Diversification Agency', as proposed by the STUC, whose main focus will be planning and resourcing the diversification of jobs away from defence projects, such as Trident, and promoting the greening of the Scottish economy.
- The aims and objectives of such an agency would be consistent with the economic development strategies, aspirations and assets of West Dunbartonshire and Argyll and Bute, the areas with most to gain from non-renewal of Trident.
- Scotland can, therefore, adopt a just transition away from an unjust war machine.
- The skilled workers will be able to fill skill gaps in other sectors such as alternative energy production.

## INTRODUCTION

We were commissioned by the Jimmy Reid Foundation in June 2016 to prepare a report on the case against renewing the Trident programme in terms of examining the following:

- The moral and philosophical case against renewal
- The economic case for non-renewal
- The defence case for non-renewal
- The case for diversification in terms of skill redeployment and benefits
- An examination of impact of non-renewal in economic, social and military terms
- An examination the impact of job loss as a result of non-renewal

We were approached by the Foundation as, between us, we have prepared similar reports in previous years<sup>1</sup> and have built up an expertise in these areas.

## METHODOLOGY

It was apparent in the debate in the House of Commons in July 2016 on the 'UK's nuclear deterrent' as well as in evidence submitted to support that debate<sup>2</sup> by the UK Government, CND, a number of think tanks and other expert groups that a wealth of research and analysis had been undertaken already on the effects of renewing Trident. Further, if it was possible to uncover more statistical data to deepen the analysis by area and sector, then this parliamentary debate revealed that it was unlikely that this would be available at reasonable cost or at sufficiently fine detail to warrant freedom of information requests. Thus, access to these recent secondary sources and material were considered sufficient for this report to be written with a high degree of confidence that the analysis constructed and conclusions drawn would be well-informed, comprehensive and coherent.

However, we did also approach the main defence unions (GMB, Unite and PCS) in order to ascertain their views on the wider impact of the expenditure on the Trident renewal programme. Following several requests, the GMB responded in the form of forwarding on a report by the Fraser of Allander Institute on shipbuilding and other reports and press releases were accessed online. The Unite the Union was contacted by the authors of the report to provide its view on a number of salient matters contained within the report (such as the impact on the availability of resources in various sectors of the economy as a result of the renewal of Trident). Unfortunately, due to time constraints, it was not able to furnish this information in time. Unite did, however, forward its most recent general statement (of July 2016) on the issue on Trident and job preservation in the defence sector and it is replicated in full as an appendix to this report. The PCS responded by confirming that its union policy was in principle to oppose nuclear weapons.

This report, therefore, takes the form of a synthesis of recent reports and assessments to provide an analysis based upon the best available intelligence from UK Government and complementary reputable sources.



Courtesy SCND: The Mushroom Cloud Remains a Potent Image of Nuclear Devastation

## THE MORAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL CASE AGAINST RENEWAL

The renewal of the Trident missile system raises not just questions of cost and political legitimacy but fundamentally and, perhaps, more importantly of all the issue of the ethics of nuclear weapons. In his statement to the International Court of Justice in 1995, the then Foreign Minister of Australia Gareth Evans said:

*The fact remains that the existence of nuclear weapons as a class of weapons threatens the whole of civilization. This is not the case with respect to any class or classes of conventional weapons. It cannot be consistent with humanity to permit the existence of a weapon which threatens the very survival of humanity. The threat of global annihilation engendered by the existence of such weapons, and the fear that this has engendered amongst the entire post-war generation, is itself an evil, as much as nuclear war itself. If not always at the forefront of our everyday thinking, the shadow of the mushroom cloud remains on all our minds. It has pervaded our thoughts about the future, about our children, about human nature. And it has pervaded the thoughts of our children themselves, who are deeply anxious about their future in a world where nuclear weapons remain.<sup>3</sup>*

For many citizens, and organisations such as CND, Ploughshares, Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace, the existence of nuclear weapons of mass destruction is morally and philosophically abhorrent. They view such weapons as simply 'wrong' and with no place in a civilized society. Beyond such absolute views, arguments can be viewed from a number of perspectives.

An obvious starting point is to consider nuclear weapons in relation to 'Just War Theory'. Concepts of what constitutes a just war (*Bellum Justum*) have developed over the past two thousand years, through to the establishment of the modern nation state today. It is argued that this perspective captures a moral consensus in the West and as such is worthy of consideration.<sup>4</sup> There are two main criteria to considering whether a war is 'just': *Jus ad Bellum* – the right to go to war, and *Jus in Bello* – the right conduct in war.

It would be hoped that a nuclear attack using Trident meets the first principle of *Jus ad Bellum* in that it would be a weapon of the 'last resort' in terms of conflict. However, in the



case of Trident based at Faslane, the question of whether it meets the principle of 'declared by legitimate authority' - a political authority within a political system that allows distinctions of justice<sup>5</sup> - is moot. In relation to *Jus in Bello*, the ability of a nuclear attack to meet the principles of a just war is much more questionable. Firstly, the consideration of how war is undertaken concerns 'proportionality', i.e., that the quantity of force employed or threatened must always be morally proportionate to the threat. Given that nuclear weapons pose a significant threat to the future of humanity then it would be difficult, but not impossible, to argue the case for proportionality. What does seem impossible to justify is the principle of 'discrimination'. This element of *Bellum Justum* argues that force should never be applied in such a way as to make non-combatants and innocent persons the intentional objects of attack. The one example of open nuclear attack, that of the USA with the support of the UK against Japan on 6 and 9 August 1945, led to the death of an estimated 246,000 people, the majority of whom were non-military citizens.<sup>6</sup> Nuclear weapons are 'inherently indiscriminate'.<sup>7</sup> The prospect of such catastrophic loss of life, military and non-military, can never satisfy the just war principles of discrimination and proportionality.

The principles of just war are also demonstrated through their interpretation in international humanitarian law. In evaluating a nuclear conflict against the rules of international humanitarian law, it is clear that these rules would be violated. Nuclear weapons will lead to 'indiscriminate attack'; will cause 'unnecessary suffering or superfluous injury'; will impact on the 'principle of neutrality' will not be judged as 'proportional'; and will cause 'harm to the environment'.<sup>8</sup> Despite this, in a separate opinion, Judge Fleischhauer suggested that, if the use of nuclear weapons is denied as a last option in self-defence, then this would give priority to international humanitarian law over the right to self-defence, which he argued cannot be acceptable because all legal systems allow the right of self-defence.<sup>9</sup>

The debate over self-defence leads to the third perspective on the ethics of nuclear weapons, that of, deterrence. Deterrence is the rationale used by those states which hold nuclear weapons in order to justify their arsenal. Those who support deterrence argue that nuclear weapons are not instruments for waging war but, instead, have value in their political instrumentalism.<sup>10</sup> In such a view, nuclear weapons would prevent war by depriving it of any possible rationale. Nuclear deterrence has traditionally been associated with the neo-realist view that a world with more nuclear actors, and ideally a world composed only by nuclear actors, is the prerequisite to a lasting peace founded on the fear of nuclear war.<sup>11</sup>

Huth outlines that a threat is considered credible if the defending state possesses both the military capabilities to inflict substantial costs on an attacking state in an armed conflict, and if the attacking state believes that the defending state is resolved to use its available military forces.<sup>12</sup> Some would argue that while this appears logical, if arcane, it is essentially a high-risk strategy and one of moral absurdity:

*Just as we would never try to prevent traffic accidents by tying babies to the front bumpers of cars, or try to prevent chronic clan violence by permitting adult sharpshooters to aim rifles at each other's children, critics argued that we ought never to coerce rival governments by threatening to annihilate their cities.*<sup>13</sup>

*Moral arguments aside, it simply cannot be in the interests of any state to adopt a strategy which threatens the end of strategy or a policy which if enacted would negate policy itself.*<sup>14</sup>

While deterrence theory had some credence during the Cold War period, commentators now illustrate how changes in the political and military environments make it less relevant:

*[Does] it provide any possible security against accidental or unauthorized launches, computer error, irrational rogue actions, terrorist attack, criminal syndicate utilization of weapons and other irrational and unpredictable, but likely, scenarios?*<sup>15</sup>

It has been pointed out that nuclear escalation continues and, although the traditional adversaries of the Cold War era still exist, 'new cards' are now held by countries such as Pakistan, North Korea and Iran.<sup>16</sup>

While the West may rail at the prospect of such 'unstable' countries having nuclear power capability, this highlights the hypocrisy of such double standards. While the Treaty of Non-Nuclear Proliferation has, at its heart, the principle of disarmament, it has been described as a conspiracy of the nuclear 'haves' to keep the nuclear 'have nots' in their place. The Canberra Commission<sup>17</sup> noted that states with nuclear weapons insist that these weapons provide unique security benefits and yet reserve uniquely to themselves the right.

So, while the nuclear superpowers continue to increase their nuclear arsenals and other states develop nuclear weapon capabilities, in 2014 139 nations supported a pledge to enter into negotiations to ban nuclear weapons under international law,<sup>18</sup> this being an example of where the majority is also the moral majority. Consistent with international opinion, the Scottish Parliament and most political parties in Scotland, with the exception of the Tories, oppose Trident which is based near our most heavily populated area. Polls have consistently shown the majority of Scots oppose Trident. There is then a fundamental issue of democracy here.

## THE ECONOMIC CASE FOR NON-RENEWAL

### How many jobs?

Despite the claims that thousands, if not tens of thousands, of jobs being dependent on Trident and on its Successor, the reality is that in Scotland the Clyde submarine naval base (HMNB Clyde) - incorporating both Faslane, where the Trident submarines are based, and Coulport, where the warheads are stored – employs but 520 civilians directly on Trident missiles.<sup>19</sup> This level of dependence has not been denied since, and reflects both the exaggeration by those in favour of maintaining of Trident and the long term decline in civilian jobs at the base.<sup>20</sup>

**Table 1: Jobs dependent on Trident**

Component/number of jobs	
Manufacturing of submarines and components (mostly Barrow-in-Furness, some at Rosyth and Derby)	6,000 <sup>a</sup>
Building, maintaining and decommissioning warheads (AWE Aldermaston and AWE Burghfield)	4,000 <sup>b</sup>
Clyde Naval base	520 <sup>c</sup>
Submarine deep maintenance and decommissioning (Devonport Dockyard)	1,000 <sup>d</sup>
Total	11,520

Source: *Trident & Jobs. The Employment Implications of Cancelling Trident Replacement* <sup>21</sup>

Note: See endnote 21 for breakdown of sources (i.e., a, b, c and d).

The suggestion by Derek Torrie of Unite the Union in the *Scottish Left Review*<sup>22</sup> that we<sup>23</sup> and others are confused over what these 520 do or represent has been addressed in previous reports by applying the contractors' own estimates of work undertaken.<sup>24</sup> While some of the other 3,271 civilian workers at HMNB Clyde are involved in delivering work packages such as maintenance packages on a range of vessels related to Trident and its carrying submarines, most are also involved in other work too. To make this clearer, a presentation from Babcock on Resources and Infrastructure at HMNB Clyde has been used to offer estimates of the number of people who are employed in the Fleet Maintenance programme for Trident submarines, broken down into skills areas and job families.<sup>25</sup> Applying Babcock's own figures, based on such information as the breakdown of the hours required to carry out maintenance packages on a range of vessels, the STUC/SCND showed that about 82 full-time job equivalents were dependent on Trident submarine maintenance. In the company's own presentation, it was also demonstrated that the skill groups involved in maintenance packages on Trident are the same as for other nuclear-powered submarines. And furthermore, most of the skill groups required for Trident are also needed for work on surface ships at Faslane, albeit in smaller numbers. With the UK Government progressing to make HMNB Clyde the base for all of the submarine fleet, the dependence on Trident missiles and submarines therefore is put into context even more with this analysis:



*'The Submarine Service today, tomorrow and towards 2030' as it works towards making HM Naval Base Clyde being the Royal Navy's Single Integrated Submarine Operating Base by 2020.*

*The Base will become Home of the UK Submarine Service with the last two Trafalgar class boats moving from Devonport to the Clyde by 2019, the final four Astute class will join their three sister boats there by the mid-2020s and the Successor class of deterrent submarines expected in service from the early 2030s.*<sup>26</sup>

The figures calculated by STUC/SCND<sup>27</sup> directly challenge the Ministry of Defence's estimates of over 30,000 across the UK. The discrepancy arises because CND argue that this figure includes armed services personnel and an estimate of ancillary and related jobs all of which could easily be redeployed if the government of the day chose to do so. For example, if the government decided to follow a non-nuclear defence policy then opportunities would arise within other sections of the armed forces. Many of the ancillary and related jobs would be maintained for decommissioning nuclear weapons and monitoring potential nuclear activity by other nations assuming the UK would want to play its part in international disarmament and non-proliferation efforts.

According to the latest figures calculated by CND the cost of Trident replacement is £205bn:

**Table 2: Cost of Trident replacement**

Manufacturing four Successor submarines	£31 billion
Contingency fund	£10 million
Missile life extension programme	£350 million
Replacement warheads	£4 billion
Infrastructure capital costs	£4 billion
In-service costs	£142 billion
Conventional military forces directly assigned to support Trident	£1 billion
Decommissioning	£13 billion
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>£205 billion</b>

This means that the cost to preserve the 11,520 jobs<sup>28</sup> - provided from MoD reports, House of Commons Library and FOIs - is estimated to be £205bn. The current average full-time wage in the UK is £25,700 in the production industries, and with the cost of pensions, national insurance etcetera, this rises to approximately £34,400. CND estimate that it would be possible to employ 11,520 workers at this average cost of £34,400 for under £400m per annum, and that the £205bn allocated to Trident replacement would sustain these jobs for 500 years. At these levels of cost per job, of some £18m each, which very significantly exceed the relatively expensive Regional Growth Fund by a factor of 20,<sup>29</sup> diverting investment from Trident replacement to other sectors will boost economic output and employment. This argument is further enhanced by the fact that both employment and output multipliers (the increase in final income arising from any new injection of spending) within the defence sector have been calculated to be, at best, average<sup>30</sup> and, hence, if the investment was directed to sectors with above average multiplier impacts then the economic impact would be even more significant in terms of output and employment.

As demonstrated in *Trident & Jobs*, the report published in 2014 jointly by the STUC and SCND,<sup>31</sup> defence jobs generally have been falling drastically during the current Trident programme. Indeed, Jackson Cullinane, the Political Officer for Unite Scotland, argued:

*Over that period, 40,000 (35 per cent) of defence jobs have been lost, including 100 at Coulport, when overhaul responsibilities shifted to the US, and 250 at Faslane, principally as a consequence of Babcock privatisation. The clear message is that Trident and expenditure on nuclear weapons is costing, and will continue to cost, jobs in the defence sector.*<sup>32</sup>

**Cost per Trident job?**

As reported above from work by Michael Burke, a former senior Citibank economist, to employ the estimated 11,520 workers directly dependent on Trident at an average annual salary of £34,400 would cost less than £400m a year. In the words of *Scotsman* columnist:

*The estimated budget for Successor's lifetime would provide continuous employment for over half a millennium. As things stand, the economic returns simply do not add up.*<sup>33</sup>

The report on the impact of MoD spending on the Scottish economy offers estimates of the specific income and employment multiplier effects from spending on Trident in Scotland.<sup>34</sup> These multipliers are consistent with estimates derived from those at the UK





level and, as shown by Oxford Economics, they are significantly lower than could be attained by investing in a range of alternatives (including Scotland's food and drink sector, in higher social security payments or lower taxes).<sup>35</sup> The notion that Trident and the MoD spending in Scotland is in some way value-for-money and an effective and efficient way of creating jobs and incomes is, therefore, highly dubious. We have considerable opportunities to generate employment, wages and profits far more economically than through defence spending of this kind represented by Trident.

Further, the assumption in the research, commissioned by the GMB union, that wages of naval personnel are spent in Scotland in the same way as other household incomes has also been questioned in previous studies with many living not only off-base but also <sup>36</sup>outwith Scotland so that their household expenditure has a high degree of leakage from the Scottish economy. As well as many being at sea and so not resident to be able to spend locally, many have families outside Scotland and their salaries are directed there for consumption.

## Declining employment

Even then, the number of jobs claimed to be supported in supplier companies in the GMB study – already lower than these estimates suggest because of the leakages from the Scottish economy - are based on Aerospace, Defence, Marine and Security employment in 2013.<sup>37</sup> The figures applied earlier in the GMB study, however, show that military personnel numbers in Scotland have fallen since then by 1,570, with civilian staff also declining by 220.<sup>38</sup> This reduction of another 1,800 jobs means that Scotland is gaining fewer positions than the employment anticipated in the GMB analysis and so is paying an even higher price for the diversion of defence funding to the Trident Successor programme. As explained below, these job losses are to support employment and profits in the US, big banks and weapons manufacturers whose inefficiencies and delays in delivering defence capabilities raise costs even further.

The Strategic Defence Review has confirmed,<sup>39</sup> along with the case cogently presented by CND,<sup>40</sup> that the whole Trident programme is not only facing escalating costs, lagging years behind in its own timetable, but also much of the hardware and software is reliant on imported technology, intellectual property and products.<sup>41</sup> Cited in *Private Eye*, the *Daily Mail* highlighted recently that: 'Britain's new £31bn Trident submarines will be built with steel coming from FRANCE'.<sup>42</sup> The submarine hulls were designed by US General Dynamic Electric Boat Corp., effectively exporting engineering jobs overseas. As *Private Eye*, CND and others have established, much of the Successor fleet will be dependent on other imported technologies and components. Indeed, following criticism of UK practices by the Defence Nuclear Safety Regulator, the propulsion system will rely on US designs for the nuclear reactors and similar US designed coolant systems for the engines. Much of the submarines' sensor technology and parts will not be British either, with SELEX ES – a largely Italian offshoot of BAE Systems Integrated System Technologies - one of those involved, along with Thales Underwater Systems, a multinational company headquartered in the south of France. The Trident missiles themselves and the 'common missile compartments' are American, the warheads are built and maintained by Lockheed Martin Space Systems, Sunnyvale California. And so on and so forth.<sup>43</sup>

There is, therefore, a draining of resources from the UK economy and budget and also from the potential to apply professional and skilled resources to improving Scotland and Britain's manufacturing and service bases. There are high opportunity costs in importing missiles, intelligence and other scarce skills and resources embodied in weapons systems for these do nothing to secure the regeneration of the economy, the manufacturing base or capacity to compete in the global marketplace.

The number of jobs lost from the public sector in Scotland since the beginning of 2009 is now well over 45,000, with employment down by over 8%.<sup>44</sup> Of these, since the crash 31,000 devolved public sector jobs have been lost, 87% of those in local government with 27 thousand fewer jobs in 2016 than seven years ago (after transfers out to the private sector). It seems reasonable to assume that roughly half of these jobs would have been GMB and Unite members, vastly contrasting with the small number of Scottish jobs and the small number of their members involved in Trident which, as explained elsewhere, are not at immediate risk. If we look at warnings from COSLA and individual local authorities, thousands of jobs are at risk in next year's budgets because of austerity cuts.<sup>45</sup> These losses of reasonably well-paid, unionised jobs were due to the austerity cuts in UK central government departmental budgets and their 'consequential' (in the Barnett formula) for the Scottish budget. They demonstrate starkly that the UK Government has been cutting some areas of public expenditure while protecting defence and this has led to the loss of many quality jobs. Not spending on Trident renewal would release funds for protecting public sector jobs and at much



lower cost to the UK Exchequer. There is, again, a high opportunity cost to supporting and creating Trident-related work, with US and European multinational arms companies, BAE, AWE<sup>46</sup> and the banks<sup>47</sup> the main beneficiaries while the unionised workforce in local government and other areas of the public sector are made redundant, contracted out<sup>48</sup> or suffer worsening terms and conditions.

### Trident shipyard jobs

In the analysis of MoD spending in Scotland for GMB,<sup>50</sup> 'shipbuilding' appears to include non-defence work by companies not contracted by the government to undertake military orders, e.g., building ferries. The impact of defence shipbuilding on the Scottish economy is exaggerated, therefore, and again claims about the significance of defence spending in Scotland should be treated with some caution. In consequence, the benefits of defence spending on manufacturing generally and shipbuilding especially are lower than the estimated 6,000-6,500 jobs, which vary year on year. Further, as is pointed out in the report commissioned by the GMB, the exports from shipbuilders are not available separately from the rest of the transport sector so that their contribution to trade is also substantially less than reported. And, as previously stated, the employment multiplier impacts of other sectors, notably food and drink, offer better effects in terms of spreading into the Scottish economy while civil shipbuilding and related sectors offer opportunities for the 850 skilled professional tradesmen employed directly by BAE in Glasgow. Indeed, engineering skills shortages are being reported in various sectors in Scotland<sup>51</sup> and more broadly in the UK<sup>52</sup> so that opportunities arise for replacement and transferred employment to more productive parts of the economy or, similarly, for recognising that skilled engineers could be released into areas of shortage.

Complementing this argument, Tom McKane, former Director General for Strategy and Director General for Security Policy at the MoD, reported earlier in 2016 of the 'massive' challenge of building Successor Trident submarines and recorded how this has been 'exacerbated' by 'having to recruit, in order to replace the ageing workforce, at the same time as the UK is preparing to place orders for new phase of civil nuclear power stations'.<sup>53</sup> The claim, below, that workers from the Upper Clyde would have to be redeployed to build Successor submarines in Barrow-in-Furness supports the suggestion that these are shortages of some concern and diverting activity away from national infrastructure priorities.



### Managing costs

Defence procurement is notorious for being badly managed and this has become a major feature of the Trident and the Successor Trident programmes.<sup>54</sup> The rigour underpinning *The Trident Shambles* report by John Ainslie of Scottish CND, published in March 2016, is confirmed by its reliance on MoD statistics, reports and official statements,<sup>55</sup> and subsequently supported by the debate in the House of Commons.<sup>56</sup> Numerous sources have, thus, highlighted the

escalating costs of major defence contracts with the close example of the UK's new conventionally-armed Astute subs being 'plagued by design and construction flaws'.<sup>57</sup> As the UK's submarine base relies on two monopoly suppliers, BAE Systems and Rolls Royce, there are further concerns over the capability of the MoD to manage the Successor Trident orders in terms of value for money, delivering on time and budget.<sup>58</sup> All these factors put further and increasing pressures on the defence budget, where the renewal of Trident is fully anticipated to rise to 6% of the total even before these additional costs came into play. With a continuing deficit in public sector finances adding to the already extremely high UK public sector debt, there will be sustained pressures on all departmental budgets, including defence. Undoubted overruns on the Successor programme will mean that further cuts will be necessary elsewhere in defence procurement and ongoing activities - this will lead to further job losses, delays in investments and shortages in equipment at all levels. The impact on defence bases across Scotland, e.g. the threatened closure of Fort George which would see 750 jobs at risk and cost the local economy over £16m,<sup>59</sup> and the postponement of Type 26 frigate orders will lead to inevitable consequences for employment and incomes from the Highlands to the Clyde and further disruption to supply chains. Trident is coming at a high cost to the Scottish economy.

### Potential exports constrained by Successor Trident

One outcome of these knock-on effects of privileging Trident and the Successor programme is to raise questions over the potential for sales of conventional arms. There are opportunities, therefore, for jobs to be sustained over a longer period by seeking export markets for Type 26 frigates. For example, BAE Systems has recently signed a contract with the Australian Government to further refine its design of the Type 26 Frigate, following the RAND think-tank report

proposing that the Australian Navy pursue such an option to secure the 'least design and cost risk'<sup>60</sup>. The employment following such orders would be on the Upper Clyde utilising the skills and experience of the workforce there and so provide 'support for the vital jobs, skills and the high value terms and conditions [GMB] members hold'<sup>61</sup>. This is in contrast to the GMB's call for these workers to 'transfer to other locations to work on the [Trident] Successor programme'.<sup>62</sup> These opportunities for sustained long-term contracts on the Clyde, with the workforce able to work locally, could be put in jeopardy if they are required to travel away to Barrow-in-Furness, for example, to build the Successor Trident submarines as proposed by the GMB.

### Summary on the economic case for non-renewal

Pursuing the few very expensive jobs involved in renewal of Trident is wasteful of skill and other resources, offers little to the Scottish and UK economies in the way of economic activity and multiplier effects, and threatens to lead to ever-increasing costs of procurement which will not represent investment into manufacturing but rather provide benefits to banks, multinational enterprises and arms suppliers.

### THE DEFENCE CASE FOR NON-RENEWAL

As well as the moral and philosophical reasons against renewing Trident, defence analysts such as Field Marshal Bramall (who served as Chief of the General Staff 1979 to 1982, and as Chief of the Defence Staff 1982 to 1985) have brought their expertise to bear to argue for not investing in the Successor programme on military grounds and because of the impact on conventional forces:

*Against the background of there being no military necessity, this country can certainly not afford, in times of ongoing financial stringency, the very large (and ever rising) extra expenditure which would be required to set up and sustain an ever ready virtually invulnerable replacement for TRIDENT. This financial problem has been given added poignancy by the Treasury laying it down that such extra expenditure must come from within the limits presently set for the planned defence budget.*<sup>63</sup>

The political nature of much support for Trident and its renewal can be seen when the former Chairman of the Defence Committee, Lord Arbuthnot, and the former Defence Secretary, Lord Browne of Ladyton have both changed their minds and now oppose renewal.<sup>64</sup> These former MoD personnel have suggested there is a direct relationship with the escalating costs of Trident, soon to be exaggerated with the Successor Programme, destroying jobs elsewhere in the defence sector in Scotland and more broadly in the UK. Employment is being lost to protect a few and decreasing number of Trident jobs, but more importantly to generate profits for US and UK multinational companies.

Patrick Cordingley, a retired major general and now of The Oxford Research Group, argues that Trident renewal should be delayed and that, at a time of austerity especially, Trident should not be ring-fenced within the defence budget.<sup>65</sup> The Research Group proposes a more rigorous value-for-money exercise is needed, with the value of Successor Trident robustly tested against new ships, planes, tanks and infantry.<sup>66</sup> Reinforcing these arguments in June 2016, Admiral Lord West, First Sea Lord between 2007 and 2010, told the House of Commons Defence Committee that the MoD had effectively 'run out of money' and the order for Type 26 frigates was inevitably going to be delayed. He continued:

*... and that is bloody dangerous because whenever you do that you end up costing more money and we did that in the early 1990s for the astute class subs... It has taken almost 20 years to get submarine building back on track properly and has cost an extra three-quarters-of-a-billion more than if we had got on with it then.*<sup>67</sup>

The propensity of the Trident programme and now the Successor programme to absorb increasing levels of expenditure, and so to put the defence budget as a whole under increasing pressure, has been raised by a wide range of commentators including the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) think tank. RUSI has predicted that by the early 2020s, the replacement of the nuclear deterrent will account for some 35% of the defence equipment budget.<sup>68</sup> Significantly, with much of the procurement in US Dollars, recent and further depreciation of Sterling against the US Dollar (by about 20%) has become particularly important for raising the costs of renewing Trident.<sup>69</sup>

As Tim Street of the Oxford Research Group has reported, quoting Professor Keith Hartley: 'future cost escalation' for the programme is 'a certainty',<sup>70</sup> and there is overwhelming evidence that modern military procurement is heavily prone to a failure to control increasing costs. Thus, he argues:

*For example, as Margaret Hodge MP, former chair of the Commons Public Accounts Committee highlighted in 2013, between 2000 and 2012 the cost of the MoD's sixty-nine largest projects 'ballooned by £11bn' with 'independent analysis in 2009' finding that 'final project costs were typically 40% higher than the ministry's initial forecasts'.*<sup>71</sup>

Crispin Blunt, Conservative chair of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee and a former army officer, has spoken against replacing Trident: 'The price required, both from the UK taxpayer and our conventional forces, is now too high to be rational or sensible.'<sup>72</sup>

Despite the Trident renewal debate in the House of Commons mentioning jobs on over 60 occasions, just days later the MoD was drawn into admitting that: the new fleet of Type 26 frigates, which they described as 'global combat ships' designed to play crucial roles, had been 'delayed indefinitely'.<sup>73</sup> This threat to ensuring conventional defence forces would be up to strength in the future came on top of the revelations of major mechanical difficulties with the Type 23 frigates, shortages of funds for building the new fleet, and of massive cost overruns described above. Although the original promise made at the time of the independence referendum was to build thirteen combat ships, at BAE's Govan and Scotstoun yards on the River Clyde in Glasgow, following the SDR<sup>74</sup> there were further delays, apparently due to lack of funds. As was debated in Westminster on 18 October 2016, there was a clear defence case made for an early start to the contract:<sup>75</sup> Peter Roberts, a senior research fellow at the Royal United Service Institute, said the Government was talking about: 'a level of Russian submarine activity that we have not seen since the 1980s... That poses a significant threat for the UK'.<sup>76</sup>

Brendan O'Hara MP, Shadow SNP Westminster Group Leader (Defence) then argued in that debate that, 'if the delay is not on the grounds of national security, and it is not a strategic decision, it can only be based on cost'.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps, Lord West of Spithead, the former First Sea Lord, was absolutely right when he said that: 'there is not enough money in the MOD' to start construction. He said that before Brexit, and he could say it with bells on now'.<sup>78</sup> Chris Stephens MP also highlighted that Lord West had suggested to the Defence Committee that 'the defence budget for shipbuilding was spent. In answer to a question from my hon. Friend Douglas Chapman, he said:

*Shall I tell you what the problem is? Notwithstanding having said how much extra money there is for defence, in the near years there is not. There is almost no extra money available this year, and we are really strapped next year. The Government aren't coming clean about that. I think if they did, people would understand.*<sup>79</sup>

In answer to further questions, he outlined that delays can be costly in the long run. In response to the Chair of the Committee, he said:

*Every delay costs you money. These delays all cost money. You need a steady drumbeat of orders to keep high-tech industries going. Our complex surface warship building industry, like the submarine one, needs a steady drumbeat of orders.*<sup>80</sup>

Recently, the Defence Secretary announced that the work on building eight Type 26 frigates would commence in summer 2017.<sup>81</sup> However, this was not on the scale originally promised or with the same support infrastructure, namely, dedicated frigate workshop facility.

Other cuts are having to be made in the defence budget to accommodate Trident and its replacement with the effect being that 56 military bases across 91 sites to be closed across the UK in the next few years as part of austerity cuts that will see 18,000 civilians lose their jobs. 'The announcement removes any form of job security for thousands of our members' said PCS.<sup>82</sup> For the single case of Fort George in the Highlands, local agencies have estimated that this could result in the loss of some 700 jobs and cost the economy in the area approximately £20m.<sup>83</sup>

In summary, the MoD has provided ample evidence to suggest that the estimate by CND of a final cost of £205bn for the renewal of Trident, ultimately, will not be an exaggeration; and such an inflation in costs will be to the benefit of arms manufacturers and banks<sup>84</sup> and to the disadvantage of defence workers and taxpayers as increased costs accrue to the financiers and companies, not to skilled workers suffering lay-offs from non-Trident work whom are then encouraged to commute across the country to find temporary work. Other defence contracts, bases and jobs have suffered to privilege the Trident and Successor programmes. Critically, orders for new Type 26 frigates and a brand new frigate factory have been scaled back and abandoned, respectively, while thousands more will be losing their secure jobs across Scotland.

## **EXAMINATION OF THE IMPACT OF NON-RENEWAL IN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND MILITARY TERMS**

Much of the research carried out into challenging the Westminster government arguments for Trident replacement has been undertaken by CND mostly based on official data from the MoD, previous reports which have applied these data and information available from the Strategic Defence Review,<sup>85</sup> and other MoD papers.<sup>86</sup> The latest CND report, *Trident and Jobs: The Employment Implications of Cancelling the Trident Replacement*, was published in June 2016. The title is significant because it highlights the main argument – concerning maintenance of jobs – put forward by the unions which support Trident replacement such as the GMB. A typical comment from the GMB, through its GMB Scotland Organiser, Gary Cook, was:

*As we have seen on the Upper Clyde, given half a chance the Tories will take the work promised to Scotland back to their political base and there is no shortage of areas in the south that are crying out for work of this value.*

*So without any support for the vital jobs, skills and the high value terms and conditions our members hold, Scotland is in real danger of wishing away the economic and employment benefits of renewal.*

*Our economy is flirting dangerously with recession, we are struggling to achieve any sort of meaningful growth and we are hemorrhaging industrial jobs hand over fist through the decline of the offshore sector and neglect of our manufacturing base.*

*Scotland is in no position to play fast and loose with thousands of high-value jobs dependent on trident renewal or with the prosperity of the working-class communities delivering this valuable work on the Clyde and in Fife.<sup>87</sup>*

Whilst we recognise the necessity of unions seeking to protect the pay and conditions of their members, there is a danger that the 'jobs at any price' perspective misses a bigger picture. For example, the decline in the armed forces and, hence, defence expenditure already has resulted in many job losses on the Clyde and other defence centres such as Barrow-in-Furness, and yet other sectors with a related skills base have seen an expansion in employment opportunities such as alternative energy systems. If unions had more forcefully engaged in a diversification strategy, away from employment in the armaments industry and into expanding sectors then employment and unionised jobs would have followed. The estimate by CND of a final cost of £205bn for the renewal of Trident ultimately will not be an exaggeration; and such an inflation in costs will be to the benefit of arms manufacturers and banks<sup>88</sup> and to the disadvantage of defence workers and taxpayers as increased costs accrue to the financiers and companies, not to skilled workers suffering lay-offs from non-Trident work and encouragement to commute across the country to find temporary work.<sup>89</sup>

The accelerating dominance of maintaining an independent deterrent with a replacement Trident inevitably means that other areas of the defence sector have been, and will continue to be, threatened with cuts in jobs and orders. The *Financial Times* and others have noted the consequences for Clyde shipbuilding of privileging of Trident in a decreasing defence budget,<sup>90</sup> and 'it is clear that there will be major employment consequences for Scotland if Trident is not cancelled'<sup>91</sup> with fewer orders of new Type-26 frigates. Failure to appreciate this by Trident promoters is exacerbated by their lack of understanding of the implications of importing technologies and weapons compared with producing and servicing them domestically. Buying from abroad necessarily means potential multiplier effects are reduced and so fewer jobs, supplies and incomes are retained within Scotland and the UK – reliance on US and European suppliers destroys employment, innovation and enterprise here, leaving a lasting legacy of foregone potential.

## **IMPACT OF JOB LOSS AS A RESULT OF NON-RENEWAL**

As argued above and confirmed by the MoD, only 520 civilian jobs are directly dependent on Trident missiles in Scotland, with another 80 full-time equivalent posts involved in occasional maintenance packages. Other defence sector jobs are reliant on conventional forces, including nuclear-powered submarines. Despite the obfuscation in certain quarters on the impacts of non-renewal of Trident, with bundling together in various claims of all defence jobs, all Clyde Naval Submarine Base jobs, all civilian and naval defence jobs, and all shipbuilding jobs - with each case being promoted as the total number of civilian jobs being at risk - the reality is that the redeployment of the current workforce is manageable and needed for the health of the Scottish economy.

While the press release on a recent report on the defence sector in Scotland<sup>92</sup> made extravagant claims on the threat to thousands of positions across the country, the reality is that there have been many more losses from austerity cuts to Scotland's budget and delays and diversion of funds from the frigate building programme. It is of some concern, nevertheless, that the UK Government has not published any estimates of the number of civilian jobs that would be dependent on the Successor Programme so that local plans can be made to accommodate these. However, it is clear from previous publications based on UK MoD data<sup>93</sup> that these would be modest and focused on security and personal services. The net demands on Scotland's skilled labour markets would be marginal, and so the need to identify alternatives for staff released if Successor Trident was not to proceed is manageable.

To put the potential loss of Trident related jobs into context, the UK Commission for Employment and Skills (UKCES) has described engineering as 'a much smaller, leaner sector whose products are in demand; but which is suffering from shortages of high-skilled personnel, probably due in no small part to the sector's long-term record of decline in





terms of overall job numbers'<sup>94</sup>. In analysing the specific situation in Scotland, Skills Development Scotland (SDS) has established that:

*Replacement demand (i.e. due to workers moving into retirement) is expected to create a large number of employment opportunities in the future. The majority of these jobs will be in managerial, professional, skilled trades and process, along with plant and machine operative roles.<sup>95</sup>*

With a relatively older workforce, engineering in Scotland faced approximately 11% of the workforce needing to be replaced over the 2010-2016 period, equating to about 15,000 people leaving the sector due to retirement, or a need for 2,500 new skilled people per year. Looking forward, these trends are fully expected to continue, with fewer school-leavers due to demographic

changes and the commitment and long time to develop highly specialised and technical skills means that there will be skill shortages as well as increased competition to source top talent. Skills shortages are reported for: project engineers; design engineers; IT specialists; technicians; welders; composite engineers; CNC machinists; fabricators and for specialist/niche positions (e.g. combustion engineering), and these are forecast to continue over the coming decade according to the Science, Engineering, Manufacturing and Technologies Alliance (SEMTA).<sup>96</sup>

Thus, far from Scotland being threatened with a future loss of 'vital jobs, skills and the high value terms and conditions [of jobs]'<sup>97</sup>, Scotland has faced, and will continue to face, skill shortages in sectors where growth and development would be enhanced by recruitment of Trident-related workers. The engineering and advanced manufacturing sector is being hampered by the struggle to recruit, despite 'the decline of the offshore sector and neglect of our manufacturing base'.<sup>98</sup>

Most of the Trident missile related jobs in Scotland (excluding 107 Lockheed workers for whom data are not available) are located in Argyll and Bute (132) and West Dunbartonshire (178) and so their concerns are important in considering the consequences of not proceeding with the Successor programme. However, the build-up of investment for the location of the Astute class submarines and the basing of the UK's submarine fleet at HMNB Clyde, along with the demands of decommissioning work, should absorb any threatened shortage of work. The 60 engineering and science Lockheed staff are mostly dedicated to working on Trident but have transferable skills which could be redeployed in the labour market and economy fairly readily, as argued above. The 191 Babcock engineering and science workers are less dependent on Trident and again could find comparable work in other naval and civilian facilities. Similarly, logistics staff could secure and do socially useful work elsewhere in the economy; their skills and attributes are in demand and essential in the Scottish economy's future as SEMTA, SDS, UKCES and others have demonstrated.

Based on MoD and private sector companies' own analyses, data from Babcock and others, analyses of their work (and others at the Clyde submarine bases) by the STUC and Scottish CND in 2015, calculated down to the hours expended on different tasks, showed the effort and skills required are very similar between Trident and other nuclear-powered (but not nuclear-armed) submarines and surface ships. So, of those 520 Scottish workers and 80 further full-time job equivalents directly dependent on Trident, almost all have skills in demand locally and elsewhere in defence and the wider economy; with transferable attributes and experiences, they are not dependent on this unique weapons system and the 13,000 figure suggested by Jackie Baillie MSP<sup>99</sup> is, thus, exposed as being without foundation.

There is no promise that the Successor programme will be a generator of new jobs. Instead, perhaps, standstill in the total private sector employment might be anticipated. The question then becomes what happens to those currently employed in the Clyde bases on maintaining submarines with armed nuclear weapons if plans for replacement are not pursued. As the current Trident submarines require servicing and decommissioning over the next few years, there will be a need to continue to employ most of the existing staff anyway. The average age of the workforce is currently over 50 and rising, with increasing proportions reaching 64 over the next decade. By 2028, half of existing workers will have reached retirement age so, with redeployment and voluntary exit from the sector, the problem of redundancy will have become largely 'redundant'.

This review of the actual dependency on Trident and its replacement reveals the numbers of civilians directly employed is small, and there will be work for the next 12-15 years for those still at the bases if there was no investment. There appear to be no grounds for concern, then, for the existing workforce either on the Clyde Submarine bases or in the wider labour market. In fact, the wider defence sector in Scotland is poorly served and supplied by Trident. Rather than this being its anchor, it is a drain on the defence and public sector budgets.

## THE CASE FOR DIVERSIFICATION - SKILL REDEPLOYMENT AND BENEFITS

Against the universal acceptance that defence jobs under the Trident and Successor Trident programmes are expensive – as shown in the Economic Case for Renewal section above, where every civilian worker could be given £18m and still not exhaust its lifetime budget – and offer poorer employment and income multiplier effects, there is an obvious need to consider how more beneficially these funds could be spent. Collective efforts have been made by unions, the STUC, CND and Scottish CND, churches, academics, scientists, and others to explore the potential for diversification within and beyond the defence sector. Primary publications reporting on these exercises are from the STUC, SCND, CND and Nuclear Information.<sup>100</sup> While there are important needs for diversification strategies south of the border, with CND, and publications such as *Unite against Trident: From Weapons of Mass Destruction to jobs in a greener and safer world*,<sup>101</sup> offering coherent programmes exploring the possibilities, here this report focuses on the Scottish economy.

For west central Scotland, there is a question regarding the number of jobs locally and the ongoing need to address where new posts can be created for those entering the labour market. During the debates over the replacement of Poseidon with Trident in the 1980s, the Alternative Employment Study Group (AESG) in 1985 and 1988 undertook detailed work on the supply chains for the bases, on the comparable position of such military complexes in the US, and on possible diversification strategies locally.<sup>102</sup> When diversification of defence and of public expenditure generally was explored in the SCND and STUC reports in 2007 and 2015,<sup>103</sup> supported by many other studies and reports, similar arguments were made and similar conclusions were drawn.

Crucially, before any development could be started in the 1980s in the US, its Department of Defense had to construct credible regeneration plans for any community where a military installation was being proposed – even if its working life was to be half a century or more. Since 1988, the *Base Realignment and Closure Act* has applied and this requires five years advance warning of any closure and the ‘Defense Industry Adjustment’ is tasked to redress the impact of reduced defence orders on manufacturing communities and creating alternative employment locally. These efforts at regeneration have been successful as the case studies in *Trident & Jobs* have shown.<sup>104</sup> Successive UK governments eschewed such socially responsible planning requirements. Nevertheless, the studies by AESG, STUC and SCND have identified better applications for the skills, experiences and expertise of the civilian personnel employed at Faslane and Coulport.<sup>105</sup> Significant levels of cynicism and wilful miscalculation are required to suggest that new jobs cannot be created in science, engineering and technology over the next decade or so to replace any remaining Trident-based employment. Scotland has over 40 years of recognised experience of policies and strategies for economic regeneration, partnership working, development agencies, enterprise zones and enterprise areas.<sup>106</sup>

The proposal for a ‘Scottish Defence Diversification Agency’ was drawn on and informed by participation by the STUC, most unions and local authorities in such strategic economic interventions. The aims and objectives of such an agency are consistent with the economic development strategy for West Dunbartonshire, the wider labour market area and Scotland. In the report proposing such an agency, it is demonstrated that the West Dunbartonshire Economic Development Strategy 2011-16 has identified both tourism and renewables as potential growth areas – see ‘Promoting West Dunbartonshire and Loch Lomond as a key destination for tourism businesses’ and ‘Exploring new sectors such as Renewables to assess their suitability for exploitation from a West Dunbartonshire base’.<sup>107</sup> Other potential growth sectors in the local plan are Professional and Business Services, Creative Industries, Software and IT, Construction, Retail and Care. For the other local economy with a degree of dependence on the Clyde bases, the Argyll and Bute Economic Development Plan 2010 has recognised the ‘wide range of sources of renewable energy that can create jobs and enterprises and attract investment’ and also identified tourism as a key sector, stressing the opportunities for ‘high value tourism based around golf, marine leisure, ancestry and heritage, cultural events and festivals’.<sup>108</sup> Now, while the expansion of jobs and incomes for communities from renewable energy projects have not been at the rates underpinning these local economic development strategies,<sup>109</sup> there have been well-informed proposals for exploiting the next generation of technologies whether in renewables, marine engineering, carbon reduction, and other advanced engineering and manufacturing.<sup>110</sup> Experiences elsewhere have pointed to how high value added food and drink, tourism and service sectors can be developed sustainably and offering reasonable employment opportunities.

The STUC/SCND analysis confirms that renewables and offshore engineering, logistics, creative industries, software and IT and sustainable tourism will all require skills offered by apprentices, graduates and residents of the region. They have offered a plan of how to establish and furnish this agency with a set of objectives and means for achieving a sustainable future for these economies at a fraction of the recurring annual billions of annual expenditure on Trident. Training places, jobs and incomes would be generated to a much greater extent than offered by the Successor programme, as has been shown with the Grissom Air Base and St Louis case studies from the US<sup>111</sup> and the Lucas Aerospace Plan from the UK.<sup>112</sup> ‘Unemployment and economic blight are not the inevitable local consequences of moving from military to civilian use’ as the STUC/SCND conclude in making the argument for a Scottish Defence Diversification Agency. This was as called for at the April 2014 STUC Conference with an agency being established

'whose main focus will be planning and resourcing the diversification of jobs away from defence projects, such as Trident, and promoting the greening of the Scottish economy'.<sup>113</sup>

The establishment of the agency would be consistent with the British TUC's demands for a 'Just Transition' policy:

*a framework for a fair and sustainable shift to a low carbon economy to ensure active involvement of employees and their trade unions in decision making and the implementation of change, green and decent jobs of equivalent pay and conditions and, where necessary, training for new green skills. In this way 'the move to a low carbon economy does not damage livelihoods and working lives but actually enhances them.'*<sup>114</sup>

This agency would need to be established and funded by the Scottish Government, independent of the MoD and its agencies. Under Scottish Government strategic control, it:

*could not only intervene in a planned and targeted way to shift employment away from defence dependency to socially useful employment, but could also go a long way to help meet the Scottish Government's own ambitious plans for carbon reduction and greening the Scottish economy.*<sup>115</sup>

And this would be consistent with a democratising of the Scottish economy. The Lucas Plan, proposals by and with workers and unions at VSEL Barrow, Vesta wind turbines and, of course, UCS, have offered lessons in what might be done to create alternative economic futures.<sup>116</sup> The skills and attributes of those on the Trident and Successor programmes can be applied for the benefit of society in productive ways and be informed by Jimmy Reid's own words from his inaugural address as Rector of Glasgow University:

*The whole process is towards the centralisation and concentration of power in fewer and fewer hands. The facts are there for all who want to see. Giant monopoly companies and consortia dominate almost every branch of our economy. The men who wield effective control within these giants exercise a power over their fellow men which is frightening and is a negation of democracy.*

*Government by the people for the people becomes meaningless unless it includes major economic decision making by the people for the people. This is not simply an economic matter. In essence it is an ethical and moral question for whoever takes the important economic decisions in society ipso facto determines the social priorities of that society.*<sup>117</sup>





## Appendix 1: Unite Executive Council Statement on Trident, 17 July 2016

Unite forms part of the broad labour movement, both in Britain and Ireland, and internationally. The core values of that movement have always included working for world peace and disarmament, 'beating swords into ploughshares'. As the anniversary of the Battle of the Somme this month reminds us, ordinary working people have always borne the cost, human and material, of wars and of the arms race.

Unite is however a trade union, and as such the first claim on its priorities is always the protection and advancement of its members' interests at work. This includes of course the preservation of our members' jobs in a fast-changing and unstable economic environment, and the protection of the communities in which they live. Unite does not and never will advocate or support any course of public policy which will put at risk those jobs or communities. This is part of the basic promise of trade unions to its members, and it applies to all Unite members without exception or discrimination, including those employed in the defence manufacturing sector.

Both these principles inform our position on the issue of the decision to order a successor to the Vanguard submarines for the Trident nuclear weapons system, shortly to be determined by the UK parliament. This presents particularly sharp difficulties for Unite, and Labour more generally, in significant part because of the failure of successive governments of both parties to grapple with the issue of defence diversification in the post-Cold War world. It is only our members in the sector who have devoted significant time and energy to promote diversification initiatives.

We condemn the last Labour government for having wound up the Defence Diversification Agency, and the subsequent Tory or Tory-led administrations for their inertia on the issue. This has already meant thousands of skilled jobs have disappeared across the sector, a situation exacerbated by the government's failure to prioritise placing orders with British manufacturers (as opposed to American), as highlighted in Unite's submission to the Labour Party review on nuclear weapons. Unite will continue to 'defend our spend' and press for the UK's defence budget to be spent in domestic factories sustaining jobs at home.

We welcome the Labour party Defence Review as a vital and serious contribution to UK defence strategy and, in particular, the renewed focus Jeremy Corbyn has placed on defence diversification, in the context of the priority he rightly places on world disarmament. Whatever decision is taken on Trident, defence diversification must be an urgent priority for the next Labour government and Unite will campaign to ensure that it is. Nevertheless, it is a fact that defence diversification is not going to be taken seriously by the present government, and we cannot ask our members in the affected industries to buy a pig in a poke. The possibility of new jobs of similar quality tomorrow will not support workers and their families and communities today.

Unite recognises the strength of arguments against Trident from a financial point of view, and from the perspective of an assessment of the actual contemporary threats to British security, such as terrorism. We also of course accept the compelling moral argument against the use of nuclear weapons which needs little elaboration as well as the UK's commitment to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. But neither is there a moral case for a trade union accepting the obliteration of thousands of its members' jobs and the communities in which they live being turned into ghost towns. The consequences would reverberate throughout the manufacturing sector across the country.

For Unite to support such a proposal would also inevitably divide our union at a time when its unity and strength has never been more important in both the industrial and political fields. Conference recognises that such unity cannot be overstated as it will deliver for all our members in each of our sectors, and any fracturing of that unity will be deeply detrimental.

Unite remains opposed in principle to the possession or deployment of nuclear weapons (including Trident) but our first duty remains to our members. Therefore until there is a government in office ready, willing and able to give cast-iron guarantees on the security of the skilled work and all the employment involved, our priority must be to defend and secure our members' employment. Unite commits to campaigning to secure a serious government approach to defence diversification, enabling Britain to play its part in nuclear disarmament and urges the Labour party to give the highest priority to this aspect in its considerations.

### References

<sup>1</sup> These include *Glasgow City Council Housing Stock Transfer*, report to Unison, 1999, <http://www.unison-scotland.org.uk/response/ghousing.html>; *Polaris and Trident: the Myths and Realities of Employment*, as part of the Alternative Employment Study Group, 1985; *Future Imperfect: Trident and the Clyde*, as part of the Alternative Employment Study Group, 1988; *Cancelling Trident*, as part of the group commissioned by the Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Scottish Trades Union Congress, 1985, <http://www.stuc.org.uk/files/STUC%20-%20CND%20Trident%20Report%202007/STUC-CND%20Trident%20Report.pdf>; Commissioned Memorandum, *Appendix 1, The Drinks Industry in Scotland: Issues and Concerns*, Scottish Affairs Committee, House of Commons, UK Parliament, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200001/cmselect/cmselect/114/ap/11402.htm>, 2001.

<sup>2</sup> UK's Nuclear Deterrent, *Hansard*, 18 July 2016, Volume 613, Columns 559-650, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2016-07-18/debates/1607181800001/UKSNuclearDeterrent>

<sup>3</sup> International Court of Justice (1996) *Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons*, General List no 95, International Court of Justice, The Hague, <http://www.icj-cij.org/doCKET/index.php?p1=3&p2=4&k=e1&p3=4&case=95>.

<sup>4</sup> Phillip, R. L. (1987) 'Nuclear deterrence and Just War Theory', *Analyse und Kritik*, 9, S, pp142-154, [http://www.analyse-und-kritik.net/1987-1-2/AK\\_Phillips\\_1987.pdf](http://www.analyse-und-kritik.net/1987-1-2/AK_Phillips_1987.pdf)

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# The Jimmy Reid Foundation

The Jimmy Reid Foundation was established in 2011 in memory of Jimmy Reid and to continue the legacy of radical political thinking his life represented. The Foundation is an independent 'think tank' and advocacy group focussed on practical, policy proposals for transforming Scotland which are based on analysis and investigation of the current Scottish and global political, cultural and social situation.

The Foundation was set up to include the full range of progressive politics in Scotland. All the work of The Reid Foundation is based on a series of underpinning principles drawn from Jimmy's own thinking:

- That society should be based on equality and social justice
- That people should have the democratic power to influence their workplace and social institutions
- That quality of life should be at the forefront of political debate and not an afterthought

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It is free to become a Member of the Jimmy Reid Foundation – you can join on our website. Sustaining Members are those who keep the Foundation alive by giving a regular donation. To become a Sustaining Member, complete the form below and return to:

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- That justice can only come from peace and support for human rights
- That ideas, learning, arts and culture have the power to transform society and individuals
- That all these principles are underpinned by the importance of national identity and a vision for Scotland

The Jimmy Reid Foundation relies upon voluntary donations to fund its continuing work. Please fill out the stand order opposite to help us achieve that. Alternatively

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