United Kingdom John Ainslie¹

Status of the United Kingdom's nuclear forces

In September 2010, the UK government announced that it had "not more than 225" Trident nuclear warheads and that this would be reduced to "not more than 180" by the mid 2020s. 2 120 of these warheads were "operationally available" as of January 2015. 3

The UK Trident warhead contains a mixture of UK and US elements. The high explosive in the warhead is British.⁴ Three key components are supplied from the US.⁵ They are parts of the US W76 warhead. In 1978 and 1979 the UK conducted nuclear tests to develop a small high-yield warhead design.⁶ The UK then received information on the W76 design from the US in August 1980.⁷ The final design probably combines US and UK features. The yield is likely to be similar to the W76, i.e. around 100 kilotons. A lower-yield variant of this warhead has also been produced. ⁸ The number of lower-yield warheads is not known, but these are likely to constitute only a small proportion of the stockpile

Delivery systems

The UK's only delivery system is the US-built Trident D5 missile. There are four Vanguard class submarines. Normally three of these are armed with Trident missiles and the fourth is in refit.⁹ Each armed submarine carries 40 nuclear warheads. ¹⁰ These are deployed on eight missiles.

Fissile materials

Calder Hall and Chapelcross power stations produced over 1 tonne of weapons grade plutonium for the Trident programme between 1985 and 1995.¹¹ When the UK ceased production in 1995, the stockpile of military plutonium was 3.5 tonnes. In 1999 the MoD placed 0.3 tonnes of weapons grade plutonium under international safeguards, leaving 3.2 tonnes not subject to these safeguards.¹²

In 2002 the UK had a stockpile of 21.64 tonnes of highly enriched uranium (HEU). ¹³ Some of this has come from the US. The UK produced between four and five tonnes of HEU at Capenhurst between 1954 and 1962. ¹⁴ This implies that the UK procured an additional 21–22 tonnes of HEU from the US between 1964 and 2002. ¹⁵ A large proportion of the HEU stock will be in the form of submarine reactor fuel.

Infrastructure

Nuclear warheads are developed and manufactured at the Atomic Weapons Establishment (AWE) sites of Aldermaston and Burghfield in Berkshire. The work at Aldermaston includes the production of plutonium, HEU, and Berylium components and research into warhead design. Warheads are assembled and disassembled at Burghfield.

Vanguard class submarines operate from HM Clyde Naval Base, 25 miles from Glasgow, Scotland's largest city. The base includes a submarine facility, Faslane, and a nuclear weapons depot, Coulport. Submarines are built at Barrow in Furness. The fuel cores for naval reactors are manufactured by Rolls Royce in Derby. There is normally one Vanguard class submarine in refit at Devonport dockyard.

Rolls Royce operates a prototype submarine reactor at HMS Vulcan, Dounreay. It is planning to close down this reactor in 2015. ¹⁶ In 2012 a fuel core problem was identified in the prototype reactor.

The nuclear firing chain is a substantial element of the infrastructure for Trident. ¹⁷ The key facilities are: (1) the Nuclear Operations and Targeting Centre, underneath the MoD Main Building in Whitehall, London; (2) Commander Task Force 345, at the Permanent Joint Headquarters, Northwood, Middlesex; and (3) Corsham Computer Centre, a deep underground bunker in Wiltshire that processes the UK's fire control and targeting software. The primary way to send launch instructions to submarines is through two Very Low Frequency transmitters at Skelton and Anthorn in Cumbria.

The Strategic Weapons System Integrated Project Team (SWS IPT) at Abbey Wood in Bristol manages the Trident programme and the projects to modernise UK nuclear forces.

Modernisation

In December 2006 President Bush wrote to Prime Minister Blair, agreeing to support the British nuclear weapon programme. Bush referred to "the steps outlined in your letter to maintain and modernize the U.K.'s capability in this area for the longer term." 18

Warhead Modification Program (Mk4A)

A significant program is underway to modify the Trident warhead that is currently in service. In 2006 the UK Government said "the existing nuclear warhead design will last into the 2020s." ¹⁹ The December 2014 update to parliament on the future of the nuclear deterrent said "the current warhead ... is planned to remain in service into the 2040s." ²⁰ This indicates that the UK has decided to extend the life of the current warhead by around 20 years. This will require a significant refurbishment project.

The government has been reticent about the existence of the warhead modification programme and has told Members of Parliament that it is not possible to identify how much it costs. However, there are several references to the project in official documents. Annual reports from the Defence Nuclear Environmental and Safety Board in 2006–2008 referred to a "Warhead Modification" program. In 2007 a lists of MOD projects included "Mk4A refurbishment programme". This was later renamed "Nuclear Weapons Mk4A".

The work is being carried out under the wider "Nuclear Warhead Capability Sustainment Programme". The aims of this programme include delivering and sustaining "the capability to underwrite the UK stockpile now and in the future including *transition to Mk4A*" and developing and delivering "the UK stockpile to the Mk4A warhead (production, skills, science) approved design."²⁴

The Safety Review of the Atomic Weapons Establishment for 2013 refers to "Mk4A assessment" and "Mk4A operations" as key future activities. ²⁵ A 2014 report from the Office of Nuclear Regulation (ONR) said, "The United Kingdom (UK) Ministry of Defence (MoD) and AWE plc have decided to implement the *existing warhead service life modifications*." ²⁶ The first phase of this programme involves adapting warhead surveillance systems at the Burghfield assembly facility. Changes will be made to "procedures, tooling, equipment, commissioning and operator training". ²⁷

The UK warhead modification project is similar to the US Mk4A / W76-1 upgrade. A senior staff engineer at Lockheed Martin in California is responsible for planning, coordinating, and executing the development and production of "UK Trident Mk4A Reentry Systems as part of the UK Trident Weapon System Life Extension program." A common component of the US and UK programmes is a new Mk4A Arming, Fuzing, and Firing (AF&F) system which is manufactured in the US.

The original US W76-0/Mk4 warhead was designed for deployment on the relatively inaccurate C4 missile against a limited range of types of targets.²⁹ The Mk4A AF&F was developed so that warheads on D5 missiles would be effective against hardened targets.³⁰ The draft military characteristics for Mk4A include "near surface burst," which was not an option for Mk4.³¹ A 1994 report indicated that the proposed D5/Mk4A combination would be effective against a wide range of targets, including SS-11 missile silos.³²

The UK Trident warhead includes a Gas Transfer System (GTS). The GTS stores tritium and injects it into the plutonium pit. The GTS in UK warheads are manufactured in the US. The UK modification programme will almost certainly include replacing the GTS with a new design, Acom II, which is part of the US W76-1 upgrade. The new GTS is likely to improve the performance of the warhead. 33

A significant component of the US W76-1 upgrade is the refurbishment of the fusion part of the nuclear warhead, the secondary. A declassified Sandia National Laboratory report, written in 2001, shows that there are several problems, including corrosion, with the W76 secondary. Aldermaston has worked closely with the US laboratories on research into Uranium corrosion, the problem which lies behind the upgrade to the secondary. It is likely that the secondary and radiation case of the UK warhead will be refurbished in order to extend their life into the 2040s.

In March 2011 Sandia National Laboratory announced that it had conducted "the first W76-1 United Kingdom trials test" at their Weapons Evaluation and Test Laboratory (WETL) and that this had "provided qualification data critical to the UK implementation of the W76-1." One of the centrifuges in WETL simulates the ballistic trajectory of the W76/Mk4 submarine-launched reentry-vehicle.

New warhead

The modified warhead would only be in service for the initial part of the projected life of the new successor submarine. On 29 June 2007 David Gould, the senior official responsible for defence procurement, told an Industry Day meeting that their plan was "to replace the entire Vanguard Class submarine system. *Including the warhead and missile.*" 37

The 2014 update to parliament on the future nuclear deterrent said "a decision on whether to replace the existing warhead will not be required until the next Parliament." This places the decision between 2015 and 2020. A more precise date was given in 2010 by the Defence Minister Liam Fox, who said "We don't have to think about new warheads until 2019." The 2014 update says that it would take 17 years to develop a new warhead. This suggests that a new warhead could be in service in 2036.

The Nuclear Warhead Capability Sustainment Programme provides the extensive range of facilities which would be required to design and build a new warhead. One of the aims of the programme is "to have the capability required for a future warhead if required." ⁴⁰ It also sustains the expertise needed. In 2006 Clive Marsh, Chief Scientist at AWE, said that most of their research and development work at the establishment focused on design capabilities, including the potential to develop a successor, as distinct from supporting the current warhead. ⁴¹

There are a number of signs which indicate that AWE is not just sustaining generic capabilities for warhead development, but that it is developing designs as options for a successor warhead. The MoD set up a Warhead Pre-Concepts Working Group. ⁴² AWE is the Coordinating Design Organisation for "potential successor warhead candidates". ⁴³ There is a directorate within AWE responsible for work on the Successor, separate from other directorates which deal with Trident and Capability. ⁴⁴

Owen Price, a senior official at AWE, said the Establishment has been increasing the range of tasks that it can carry out, in order to improve its ability to design and build a new warhead. He highlighted systems engineering and warhead integration as two critical capabilities AWE will need to develop for a successor warhead programme. He

Three areas where AWE is working on new designs are AF&F, Gas Transfer Systems, and Neutron Generators.

The UK is developing an AF&F for a successor warhead. This is a joint AWE, US Air Force, and US Navy initiative. The goal is "the development of a joint arming, fuzing, and firing system for application to the Air Force Mk12A, the Navy Mk5 and a UK re-entry system." 47 This is related to UK successor warhead designs of a specific size.48 A joint working group of US Navy, US Air Force, and British engineers leads the work.⁴⁹ AWE is producing Demonstrators to test new AF&F concepts in laboratory conditions and in a relevant environment. 50 They are developing electronics, 51 circuit boards, 52 High Integrity Software and Hardware, 53 firing sets, 54 and capacitors 55 for AF&Fs. The engineers designing these components are expected to spend some of their time working in the US.56 Likewise, their American counterparts at Sandia National Laboratory have been told they will be collaborating with AWE.57

AWE is developing new GTS for a successor warhead. They are working on "designs of hydrogen storage and delivery systems for possible future warheads". 58 The establishment has recruited staff to design new GTS and to test the new models in the UK and US. 59 Researchers are developing new pressure vessels and joining technologies. 60 AWE is working with two American laboratories, Sandia and Los Alamos, to design "long-life GTS". 61 The laboratories have shared their advanced designs for GTS valves.

AWE recruited engineers and scientists, between 2006 and 2011, to develop new neutron generators and their components. ⁶² In 2008 the Establishment was developing "novel neutron tube" designs for neutron generators in collaboration with the US. ⁶³

Missile system life extension

The US Strategic Systems Program (SSP) is extending the life of the D5 Trident weapon system. They are updating all the Trident subsystems: launcher, navigation, fire control, guidance, missile, and re-entry. All of these modernization measures apply to the system deployed on British submarines. In December 2006, US President Bush wrote to Prime Minister Blair, saying, We will work to ensure that the necessary components of the overall system are made available to the United Kingdom to support life-extended D5 missiles. One US contract in November 2014 refers to the "UK VANGUARD Class SSBN Work Planning Document for Trident II SWS Modernization". 66

The US Navy plans to carry out the first operational test of the Life Extended missile (D5 LE) in October 2018.⁶⁷ A graph in the 2006 report on the future of the UK nuclear deterrent suggests that the Trident D5 LE missile will enter service with the Royal Navy around 2020.

A key part of the D5LE program is the development, by Charles Stark Draper Laboratory, of a new guidance system, Mk6LE.⁶⁸ Draper is replacing the gyroscope, accelerometer, and stellar camera in the guidance module.⁶⁹ Mk6LE will be more flexible and easier to upgrade than the current Mk6 unit.⁷⁰ The new guidance system will be able to "support new missions".⁷¹ It will "allow for mission adaptability".⁷² Draper has, over several decades, improved the performance of missile guidance systems. The effect has been to make each new generation of ballistic missiles more accurate than the last. Its development of the Mk6LE is a continuation of this trend.⁷³ The combination of new hardware and software in this advanced guidance system will improve the capability of the D5 missile.

The Mk98 Fire Control System (FCS) controls the launch of Trident missiles. In 2002/03 the US supplied an upgraded Mod 5 FCS to the UK Trident fleet. This meant that the missiles could be more rapidly retargeted. The FCS was further modified to Mod 7 in 2011. General Dynamics Advanced Information Systems (GDAIS) are now designing the next upgrade, Mod 9.77 This will operate alongside the new Mk6LE missile guidance system.

The navigation system provides information on the exact position of the submarine and is critical for the performance of Trident. The US Strategic Systems Program is upgrading the Electro Static Gyro Navigation (ESGN) system on British and American Trident submarines. ⁷⁹

The Reentry Bodies on a Trident missile are spun off the Post Boost Control Vehicle by a Release Assembly. Lockheed Martin has developed a new Alternate Release Assembly (ARA). Tests on the ARA were carried out in 2011 and 2012. A 2014 contract for components of the Trident missile system includes the provision of "hardware to support the United Kingdom's ARA system". ⁸⁰ This indicates that the new ARA will be introduced onto Trident missiles in service with the Royal Navy over the next few years.

New missile

The intention is that the UK successor submarine will remain in service until the 2060s and the US Ohio replacement will be operational until the 2080s. The Life Extension programme for D5 will only sustain this missile until the early 2040s. D5 will not be available for most of the intended lives of the new submarines. The UK government has acknowledged that "investment in a replacement ballistic missile would eventually be needed."81 Rear Admiral Benedict, head of the US Strategic Systems Program, has said "This is not a decision we can postpone

through 2020-2030 – this is a near-term decision that will affect sustainment and recapitalization." 82

Successor submarine

Approval for initial work on a new nuclear-armed submarine was given in 2007. The "Main Gate" decision, to proceed further with the project and to place the main construction contracts, is due to be made in early 2016.

£4,181 million is being spent on the new submarines prior to the Main Gate decision. This initial expenditure is on design work, development of a new reactor, and the purchase of "long lead" items for the first two submarines.

The successor submarine will be powered by a new reactor, PWR3. The design of the new plant is heavily dependent on "a high level of technology transfer from the US".83 A review of the PWR3 design was due at the end of 2014. This was expected to mark the design freeze of the reactor plant.84 The first PWR3 reactor is due to be built by Rolls Royce by 2023.85 The design has a passive cooling system. This is the most significant change in reactor design that the MOD has ever made. The MOD failed to anticipate how difficult it would be to recruit a sufficient number of qualified engineers to design and produce the new reactor. As a result, the estimated cost of developing the new reactor increased by £151 million in 2014.86 A contract has been placed for the design and production of a new fuel core, core J, for the reactor in the first successor submarine.

The US Navy was working with the Royal Navy in a joint research programme, from FY2010 to FY2014, to reduce the electromagnetic signatures of the UK Successor and US Ohio Replacement submarines.⁸⁷ This, along with the reduced noise-signature of the PWR3 reactor, will mean that the new submarines will be more difficult to detect than current vessels. This is an enhancement of capability.

In October 2014 General Dynamics Electric Boat was awarded a contract for \$59 million to build 12 missile tubes for the first successor class submarine. Until then the UK government had stressed that its intention was to reduce the number of operational missiles carried on each submarine to eight. It had not always made it clear that the new submarines might have an additional four empty missile tubes. For example on 19 October 2010 John Duncan, the British ambassador for multilateral arms control and disarmament, told the UN General Assembly's First Committee that Britain would "configure the next generation of submarines with only eight operational missile tubes." 88

By building the submarines with four extra missile tubes, the UK is leaving open the possibility that a future government could increase the firepower of the nuclear fleet by 50%. The approach taken today may echo that adopted in the 1980s, when the government decided that

Trident submarines would only need to carry 12 missiles when they entered service but ordered that Vanguard class submarines should be built with 16 launch tubes in case a future government wanted to add more missiles later.⁸⁹

The missile tubes are part of the Common Missile Compartment (CMC), which is being developed in the US for both US and UK submarines. Some of the work in the US on CMC is specifically for the UK successor submarine.⁹⁰

The decision on whether three or four submarines will be built will be taken in 2016. The government's planning assumption is that there will be four. This is reflected in the missile tube order. The US Navy issued a press release indicating that General Dynamics expect to build a total of 48 missile tubes for 4 UK submarines. Tubes for the later submarines may be included as options in the contract.

The first successor submarine is due to enter service in 2028. The Audit Office report says that the new submarines are expected to have a 25 year life with the option of at least a five year extension. However this probably understates the projected life of the new vessels. One advantage of the PWR3 reactor is that it would enable the successor submarine to remain in service for longer than the current Vanguard class. A presentation from Babcock Marine says that the new submarines will be in service until 2067.93

Infrastructure

Atomic Weapons Establishment

The Atomic Weapons Establishment (AWE) designs and manufactures the UK's nuclear weapons at Aldermaston and Burghfield in Berkshire. The government has a large programme to rebuild or refurbish most of the facilities at these sites. This work is part of the Nuclear Warhead Capability Sustainment Program which began in 2005 and is due to continue until 2025. The budget for this program is £21,884 million.⁹⁴ Over 40 % of the expenditure is for capital projects.⁹⁵ In 2007 Nick Bennet, Director of Strategic Technologies in the MoD, said that the NWCSP included "some 100 facility schemes focused at AWE over the next 20 years." ⁹⁶

The UK government has tried to separate this project from the Trident replacement programme. For example, in November 2005 the MoD told the House of Commons Defence Committee, "This additional investment at AWE is required to sustain the existing warhead stockpile in-service irrespective of decisions on any successor warhead." 97

Owen Price of AWE has questioned whether the rebuilding work can really be separated from the design and production of a new warhead. He noted that "in the absence of this funding, it might be reasonable to assume that intellectual and infrastructure capabilities future options would have been more limited or less credible." ⁹⁸

In 2002 AWE was considering whether to build a new warhead assembly/disassembly facility at Aldermaston rather than Burghfield. One reason it did not locate the building at Aldermaston was that "there might not be sufficient room at Aldermaston to accommodate facilities for a successor programme as well as Trident." This suggests that at least some of the new facilities are specifically required for a new warhead.

The plutonium pits for warheads are manufactured in building A90 at Aldermaston. This is being refurbished at a cost of £272 million. A90 is a replica of facility PF-4 at Los Alamos Nuclear Laboratory in the United States. There is close liaison with the US site over manufacturing techniques and upgrading work.

Highly enriched uranium (HEU) components are currently produced in building A45. In 2011 AWE were planning to spend £32 million on an upgrade to this facility. In August 2012 corrosion was found in structural steelwork in the building and it was closed pending repairs which are due to be completed in May 2015.¹⁰⁰

A new Enriched Uranium Facility (EUF) is under construction. The new complex, Project Pegasus, will manufacture, process, and store HEU components for warheads. It is critical for the UK's capacity to build new warheads. One of its aims is to "undertake the specialised chemical and metallurgical operations needed to manufacture enriched uranium components for successor warheads to Trident, should they be built." 101

AWE has liaised with its US counterparts over the development of the equivalent American plant, the Uranium Processing Facility. The US plant will manufacture and assemble the fusion stage and the radiation case of warheads. The EUF will probably produce the same components. It will also carry out the initial fabrication of fuel rods for nuclear-powered submarines.¹⁰²

The EUF was due to be completed in 2018. The start of the project was delayed due to concerns from the Office of Nuclear Regulation. In 2014 the MOD was reviewing the project after concerns that the cost, thought to be around £634 million, was spiralling out of control.¹⁰³

Trident nuclear warheads are currently assembled and disassembled in a complex at AWE Burghfield which has four "Gravel Gertie" assembly bays. A new facility, with a similar production capacity, is under construction at a cost of around £700 million. This has four assembly chambers each of which is surrounded by double walls. The new building, Project Mensa, is due to be completed in 2015. A High Explosives Fabrication Facility (Circinus) and a substantial office complex (Gemini) have also been completed at Aldermaston. One new component manufacturing facility (Leo) at Burghfield became operational in 2011 and a second (Phoenix) was due to be been completed in 2014.

A new laser facility, Orion, became fully operational in April 2013. Although the Orion laser is available for academic research, 85% of the facilities' time is allocated to support for the nuclear weapons' programme. 104 The laser conducts high energy density physics experiments to support AWE's warhead certification programme. 105 High Energy Density Physics research at Aldermaston is "typically in support of secondary physics". 106 Orion will be able to simulate, for a fraction of a second, the intense heat and extreme pressures that are experienced during the fusion stage of a thermonuclear explosion. 107 Under an agreement signed in 2014 the UK and France will share use of Orion and the new French Megajoule laser which is under construction. 108

A Technology Development Centre is under construction, adjacent to the existing hydrodynamic test facilities at Aldermaston. The new centre will provide "a capability for undertaking research and development into x-ray and other diagnostic techniques in support of future hydrodynamic experiments to be undertaken within the Epuré facility located in Valduc." ¹⁰⁹ The key equipment in the centre will be an Inductive Voltage Adder (IVA) x-ray machine. Components of the IVA have been built in the US and will be assembled in the new centre at Aldermaston. ¹¹⁰ Epuré is due to be operational for British purposes in 2016, using a French x-ray machine. Aldermaston will develop a second x-ray machine for Epuré by 2019 and a third by 2022.

AWE operates several of the most powerful supercomputers in the UK. In 2010 AWE ordered Blackthorn and Willow computers which have a combined performance of 721 Teraflops (trillion calculations per second). There was a further jump in AWE's computing power in January 2014 when three SGI ICE X computers were installed. These will have a combined performance of 1.8 Petaflops (thousand trillion calculations per second). AWE's supercomputers are used to "simulate and understand the science of nuclear explosions." The move to Petaflop computing will enhance the UK's ability to modernise existing warheads and to design new ones.

Other infrastructure

The 2006 White Paper said that the government expected to spend £2–3 billion, at 2006 prices, on infrastructure over the life of the successor submarine. The 2010 defence review indicated that the government "agreed to defer and potentially to remove over £1 billion of future spending on infrastructure over the next 10 years. The postponement was for a period of ten years. The submarine infrastructure facilities at Faslane, Coulport, and Devonport each have a projected lifespan of 40 years. The MoD plans to extend the life of these facilities to keep them operational until 2040. The submarine infrastructure until the 2060s are not clear.

The construction of new facilities at Barrow, where the successor submarine will be built, was brought forward in 2014. This has increased by around £300 million, the

amount which is due to be spent before the Main Gate decision.

The UK government is spending £1,255 million on the Core Production Capability project. Rolls Royce is building a new facility to develop and build the fuel cores for submarine reactors at Raynesway in Derby. The project is to be completed by 2022. This project is critical for the successor submarine programme. Core J1, the fuel core for the first successor submarine, is also funded under this project.

There were initial proposals to modernize the Nuclear Command and Control system or "Nuclear Firing Chain". In November 2010 the Defence Minister announced that these plans had been postponed for ten years and might be cancelled.¹¹⁹

Timelines

Upgrade of nuclear warhead to Mk4A – 2015-2025
Decision on new warhead – 2019
New warhead in service – 2036
D5 LE missile in service with Royal Navy – 2020
New missile in service – 2040
Main gate decision on successor submarine – 2016
First successor submarine in service – 2028
End of life of successor submarine – 2067
Completion of Nuclear Warhead Capability Sustainment
Program at AWE – 2025
Completion of Core Producion Capability – 2022
Faslane shiplift, Coulport Explosive Handling Jetty and
Devonport Dry Dock – Life extended until 2040

Economics

Production of the successor submarine is estimated to cost around £25 billion. ¹²⁰ In 2007 the running costs of the new system were projected to be £1.5 billion. ¹²¹ On this basis, the total operating costs for the planned 39-year lifespan would be £59 billion. A large part of the £21 billion Nuclear Warhead Capability Sustainment Program should also be considered as part of the true costs of Trident replacement. The total through-life costs of Trident replacement are likely to be in the region of £100 billion. Former Defence Minister, Nick Harvey, suggested that this was a minimum amount, saying, "I would have thought that £100 billion is the very least it would cost. I would take a private guess that the quantum would in fact be well in excess of that figure." ¹²²

There have been substantial reductions in some areas of the UK's defence budget, including army personnel. In December 2013 the Chief of Defence Staff, General Nick Houghton, argued that the MoD would have to live with future cuts. He said it should move away from spending huge amounts on "exquisite technology" for large-scale conflict and focus instead on maintaining adequate levels

of personnel and developing new equipment that is appropriate to current and future threats. 123

A further round of budget cuts is expected between 2015 and 2020. In December 2014 the Institute of Fiscal Studies (IFS) argued that cuts of 22% overall might be required. Some areas of funding (health, education, and overseas aid) are protected. As a result the IFS calculated that 41% cuts might be required in non-protected departments, such as defence. 124 There is serious concern within the UK military about the impact of further cuts in personnel, which may be introduced in order to pay for the equipment budget, including nuclear procurement. 125 Labour MP Roger Godsiff has argued against Trident replacement on these grounds. In January 2015 he told the House of Commons, "In a choice between spending money on conventional weapons and improving our internal security or committing £100 billion to a mythical so-called independent deterrent, I know which I would choose." 126

The key UK-based companies in the Trident programme include BAE Systems, Babcock Marine, Rolls Royce, and Serco. BAE Systems operates the submarine construction yard at Barrow in Furness. Babcock Marine runs Devonport dockyard, which refits nuclear submarines, and support facilities at the Clyde Naval Base. Rolls Royce designs, manufactures, and supports the nuclear reactors on British submarines. Serco has a one-third share in AWE Management Limited (AWEML), which operates the UK nuclear warhead development and manufacturing facilities. BAE Systems, Babcock Marine, and Rolls Royce are the three main contractors for the successor submarine. They are also the three Tier 1 suppliers in the wider Submarine Enterprise Performance Program (SEPP). 127

US arms giant Lockheed Martin plays a leading role in the UK nuclear weapons' programme. It is the lead contractor for the Trident missile system. The company also has a one-third share in AWEML. Lockheed Martin UK maintains components of the Trident missile system at the Clyde Naval Base. AWEML, Lockheed Martin UK, and Babcock Marine are partners in ABL Alliance, a joint venture that is responsible for nuclear warhead and Strategic Weapon System activities at the Clyde Naval Base. Lockheed Martin manages Sandia National Laboratory, the US facility which designs and produces non-nuclear components of the UK Trident warhead. The Managing Director and the Production Director at AWEML are both US citizens and former employees of Lockheed Martin.

Other US-based companies involved in the UK Trident programme include Jacob's Engineering, General Dynamics, and Electric Boat. Jacob's Engineering has a one-third share in AWEML. General Dynamics produces support systems for Trident, including the Fire Control System. Electric Boat is assisting BAE Systems with the successor submarine.

International law and doctrine

In his submission to the 2012 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Preparatory Committee Peter Duncan, the UK ambassador said that the UK did not support a treaty banning nuclear weapons. He said that the recent focus on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons stemmed from frustration with the pace of disarmament and he added "we share that frustration". 128 However, in setting out the case for Trident replacement, the previous UK government argued that the NPT does not set a timetable for nuclear disarmament and does not specifically prohibit the updating of nuclear capabilities. 129 By pursuing an extensive program of modernisation the UK is obstructing progress towards disarmament. It can hardly claim that it truly shares the exasperation of states which do not possess nuclear weapons.

The UK's modernisation plans are closely bound up with its special nuclear relationship with the US.¹³⁰ The transfer of nuclear weapon design information, warhead components, and fissile material from the US to the UK is contrary to the spirit of the NPT and sets an example that is inconsistent with the purpose of the Treaty.

In 2010 H.E. Judge Mohammed Bedjaoui, former President of the International Court of Justice, was asked for his view on the legality of a nuclear weapon system that deploys over 100 warheads, each with a yield of 100 kilotons (like the UK Trident force). He concluded:

Even in an extreme circumstance of self-defence, in which the very survival of a State would be at stake, the use of a 100 kt nuclear warhead (regardless of whether it was targeted to land accurately on or above a military target) would always fail the tests of controllability, discrimination, civilian immunity, and neutral rights and would thus be unlawful....

The modernization, updating or renewal of such a nuclear weapon system would also be a material breach of the NPT obligations, particularly the unequivocal undertaking by the nuclear-weapon states to 'accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals leading to nuclear disarmament' and the fundamental Article VI obligation to negotiate in good faith on cessation of the arms race and on nuclear disarmament, with the understanding that these negotiations must be pursued in good faith and brought to conclusion in a timely manner.¹³¹

In November 2006 Phillipe Sands QC and Helen Law gave advice on the legality of the maintenance and replacement of the UK Trident system. They said:

If the position of the UK is that a nuclear deterrent remains necessary whilst there is the unascertainable risk of a future threat developing, this amounts to a de facto acceptance that the UK will never fully disarm. In our opinion, this can only

negate the good faith with which the UK is required to negotiate [to achieve nuclear disarmament under Article VI of the NPT]. 132

The Mk4A warhead modification program and the upgrade of all elements of the Trident system are likely to enhance the targeting capability of Trident. Sands and Law argue that upgrades of this nature would be likely to increase the circumstances in which the UK's nuclear weapons would be used and that this would be contrary to the UK's obligation to pursue a diminishing role for nuclear weapons, as set out at the 2000 NPT Review Conference and reaffirmed at the 2010 NPT Review Conference. Lord Murray, formerly the senior government law officer in Scotland, has said that the deployment of Trident on continuous patrol, in the absence of an imminent danger to Britain, could be seen as "a continuing threat of unrestricted use against others" and therefore contrary to international law. 133 He also has questioned whether the upgrading of Trident can be reconciled with the UK's obligation to pursue negotiations on disarmament in good faith.

Dependence on American support is a significant driver for Britain's modernisation efforts. The Royal Navy is determined to buy the latest American equipment, so it is not left with the costs and problems of sustaining an obsolete system. One of the main goals of AWE's research programme is to retain Britain's unique access to the closely guarded secrets of the US nuclear laboratories. In return for this assistance, the United States expects that the UK would join any nuclear coalition of the willing. The US-UK nuclear exchange is based on the Mutual Defence Agreement, which was renewed for a further ten years in 2014.

The UK's nuclear targeting policy during the Cold War was designed to destroy 50% of the buildings in Moscow and other Soviet cities. The decision to acquire Trident, in 1980, enabled targeting to be more precise, but the focus remained on facilities in and around Moscow. ¹³⁵ In 2012 the Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg implied that UK targeting policy was still focused on the Russian capital. ¹³⁶ A study by Scottish CND, published for the 2013 Oslo Conference on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons, found that an attack with 40 Trident nuclear warheads on targets in and around Moscow would result in 5.4 million short-term fatalities. ¹³⁷

Public discourse

The Conservative Party supports replacing Trident with a new fleet of nuclear submarines armed with ballistic missiles. It argues that Trident and its replacement should be kept on continuous patrol. While the decision on three or four submarines will not be taken until 2016, the planning assumption is that four vessels will be built. Some Conservative MPs argue that the UK should keep nuclear weapons in order to retain its status in the world. Oliver Colville MP said, "I can confirm my commitment to

our retaining our nuclear arsenal because, in my opinion, it is the cornerstone of our membership of NATO and of our seat on the UN Security Council." ¹³⁸ The senior Conservative MP Michael Heseltine gave a further reason for keeping Trident, saying in a BBC debate, "to leave France as the only nuclear power in Europe would be a reckless piece of irresponsibility." ¹³⁹

The Labour Party conducted an extensive review of policies in 2014. Several submissions to the review argued that Trident should be scrapped, but this option was rejected. Others proposed that Trident replacement should be considered in the 2015 Defence Review and this has become party policy. Apart from this, the Labour party position is the same as that of the Conservative party. When the idea of taking Trident off patrol was raised in 2013 it was rejected by Labour's defence spokesperson. The party's position is that it supports continuous patrols unless there is convincing new evidence for abandoning this posture. Vernon Coaker, Labour Defence spokesperson, told the House of Commons on 20 January 2015, "We want a minimum independent credible deterrent, based on continuous-at-sea deterrence." 140

As part of the Coalition government, the Liberal Democrats initiated a review of alternatives to a Trident-type system.

The study was conducted by the Cabinet Office. It reviewed a range of alternative nuclear weapon systems, including submarine-launched cruise missiles and air-launched missiles. It presented a complex range of alternative levels of alert. The review argued that developing anything other than a Trident-type system would take longer and cost more. The report was flawed in a number of ways: it did not consider nuclear disarmament as an option; it assumed that any future force must be armed with weapons with a similar yield to Trident; and in its unclassified form the report failed to define the level of damage that a UK nuclear force would be required to inflict.

Liberal Democrats have changed their policy as a result of this study. The party has joined the Conservatives and Labour in recommending a replacement similar to Trident. The Liberal Democrat MP Alan Reid told the House of Commons, "A submarine system with ballistic missiles remains the most effective and least vulnerable form of deterrent." 142

In February 2015, Centre Forum, a Liberal Democrat think tank, suggested that the UK could acquire 100 UK versions of the US B61-12 bomb and deploy them both on land-based aircraft and on the UK's new aircraft carriers. However, in the light of the Cabinet Office report, this proposal is unlikely to receive much support.

The Liberal Democrats depart from their Conservative and Labour colleagues in arguing that the submarines do not need to maintain a continuous patrol. They also say that fewer than four submarines should be built. Liberal Democrat minister Danny Alexander said that these changes would save £4 billion in the through-life costs of

the system. This implies a total cost of £96 billion rather than £100 billion.

The Liberal Democrat policy of opposing continuous patrols has been attacked by their political opponents. For example, Bob Stewart MP said, "We cannot have a part-time deterrent." 144 All UK operational nuclear weapons are based in Scotland. The Scottish National Party (SNP), which has formed the Scottish Government since May 2007, is strongly opposed to Trident. On 6 August 2014 the Scottish Parliament passed a resolution calling for the "speediest safe withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Scotland" and supporting a global ban on nuclear weapons.



A referendum on Scottish independence was held in September 2014. The future of Trident was a key issue in the referendum campaign. Prior to the vote the Scottish Government said that an independent Scotland would demand that all nuclear weapons were removed within four years and it would introduce a constitutional ban on nuclear weapons. Removing Trident from Scotland would be likely to leave the UK without any nuclear weapons, because of the severe difficulties of relocating Trident. ¹⁴⁵ In 2012 a report by the Scottish Campaign for Nuclear

Disarmament argued that it would be practically possible to remove all nuclear warheads from Scotland in two years and to dismantled them all within four years. 146 45% of the population voted for independence. While this means that Scotland remains within the United Kingdom, the issue is likely to re-emerge in future years.

In December 2014 the SNP joined with Plaid Cymru (the National Party of Wales) and the Green Party in a joint statement which said that, if there was a hung parliament after the May 2015 election, they would only support a UK government that is committed to abandoning the plans for Trident replacement.

UK government's decisions to build or upgrade nuclear weapons have, since the 1960s, have been based on the argument that "now is not the time to disarm". Sir Michael Quinlan, former permanent secretary at the MoD, said that each set of decision-makers, over several decades, produced "a set of rationales to clothe that gut decision." ¹⁴⁷ Former Prime Minister Tony Blair wrote in his biography, "Imagine standing up in the House of Commons and saying I've decided to scrap it. We're not going to say that, are we?" ¹⁴⁸

Supporters of the UK nuclear force argue that even if the UK abandoned nuclear weapons, this would have no effect on other nuclear armed states. 149 Professor Michael Clarke, Director General of the Royal United Services Institute, disagrees. He argues that if Britain were to scrap Trident this would be the most significant nuclear decision the world has ever seen. 150 Professor William Walker points out that such a move would be unique because of Britain's role in the early development of nuclear weapons and its position as one of the three custodians of the NPT. 151 Walker adds that if Britain disarmed this would be far more dramatic than the examples of disarmament we have seen so far. These have been in the peculiar situations of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of apartheid in South Africa. Clarke adds that, even if others don't follow and we end up in an unstable scenario with more nuclear-armed states, Britain would still be better off by not being one of them.

Notes:

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- Statement by Defence Minister Michael Fallon, Hansard, 20 January 2015, http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmhansrd/cm150120/ debtext/150120-0002.htm.
- The UK Trident warhead contains EDC37, a British explosive, rather than the American equivalent, PBX9501.
- The UK has purchased three W76 components—the Arming, Fuzing and Firing System, Gas Transfer System and Neutron Generator—from the US. Hansard, 4 December 2009.
- $6. \qquad \mbox{John Ainslie, "UK nuclear tests 1974-1991," November 2011, http://banthebomb.org/ne/images/stories/pdfs/uktests.pdf } \\$
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- Trident Value for Money C4 Infrastructure, obtained under the Freedom of Information Act by Greenpeace.
- 18. Letter from George W Bush to Tony Blair, 7 December 2006.
- 19. 2006 White Paper on Trident replacement.
- 20. 2014 update to parliament.
- 21. Hansard House of Commons, 26 October 2011, Column 203W,
- Defence Nuclear Environment and Safety Board Assurance reports for 2006, 2007, and 2008.
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- racy to be effective against 27P0. This Measure of Effectiveness for C4/Mk4 was used again in 1994. Joint DoD/DoE Trident Mk4/Mk5 Reentry Body Alternate Warhead Phase 2 Feasibility Study Report, January 1994, p9-14.
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- 32. A redacted chart shows the effectiveness of D5/Mk4A against a range of targets up to VNTK 46L8 (SS-11) with a comment "This represents a set of targets likely to be eligible for the Mk4A", Alternate Warhead Study pp. 9–17.
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 "Our research and development work splits into two main but inter-related
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