

People **not** Trident

The economic case
against Trident replacement

Jobs not Trident

NHS not Trident

Homes not Trident

Education not Trident

Climate not Trident

Wellbeing not Trident

Aid not Trident



CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Britain cannot afford to waste £205 billion on Trident

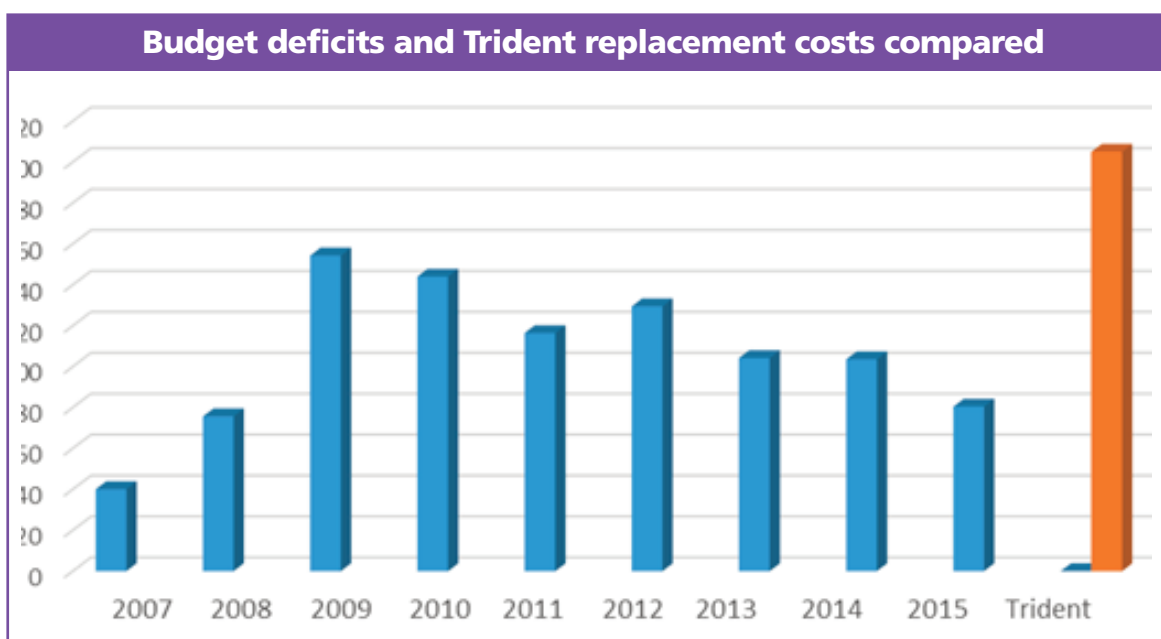
Britain's economy is yet to recover from an economic slump that was longer than the Great Depression of the 1930s, followed by the slowest recovery on record. Economic uncertainty following the referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union is exacerbating the situation. In response, the government has introduced the deepest ever cuts in its spending with almost no department spared. Spending on housing, health, education and welfare has been cut. Pay and pensions, public sector jobs, even support for people with disabilities have all been hit.

The one important exception is the government's commitment to the replacement of the Trident nuclear weapons system, despite its enormous cost. New submarines procurement, missile leasing costs, extension of the current warheads' lives, servicing and decommissioning: taking all these costs into account, replacing Trident will cost £205 billion.

The nuclear weapons system itself has no useful function and does not address the threats we face today. And unlike spending on houses or schools for example, spending on a replacement for Trident has no ultimate economic benefit.

The level of waste involved is truly colossal. The chart below shows the total cost of replacing Trident compared to the annual government budget deficits of recent years.

In the most recent financial year, the underlying deficit was £80bn.¹ Yet the government wants to spend more than double this on replacing Trident.



The stated aim of the Tory government was to eliminate that deficit. The deficit has come down, but much more slowly than was promised. An awful lot of pain and misery has been inflicted simply in order to reduce the deficit by £75bn over six years. More than half the deficit remains and it may rise once more. The programme of cuts will roll forward for years to come.

Yet the government seems willing to commit £205bn of public money to the hugely wasteful Trident replacement programme.

£205 billion wasted

The costs of Trident replacement are incurred over a prolonged period. But this simply means that the costs are accumulated. It does not alter the fact that the total costs are incurred. In addition, the longer the period for borrowing to fund Trident, the greater will be the accumulated interest on it, which itself requires further borrowing, further interest payments and so on.

Trident replacement is extremely controversial, which is well understood by the Ministry of Defence (MoD) and government ministers. Therefore identifying the actual and itemised costs for the programme is made difficult by officials and our elected representatives. Despite the fact that this is public money, secrecy, not transparency, is the norm.

The costs of replacing Trident	
Manufacturing four successor submarines	£31 billion ²
Contingency fund	£10 billion ³
Missile extension programme	£350 million ⁴
Replacement warheads	£4 billion ⁵
Infrastructure capital costs	£4 billion ⁶
In service costs	£142 billion ⁷
Conventional military forces directly assigned to support Trident	£1 billion ⁸
Decommissioning	£13 billion ⁹
TOTAL	£205 billion

It is quite possible that these are underestimates. Typically most large projects experience cost over-runs. After a certain point in the project, the level of costs already incurred is so large that any new or unforeseen technical or other difficulties have to be met with increased expenditure. Contractors cannot be fired and replaced. This may not happen in the case of Trident replacement, but this risk serves to underline that these are conservative estimates. The MoD typically delivers major projects around 40% over budget.

What could be done with £205bn?

The beneficial effect of spending £205bn collectively is great and enduring. Each chapter in this report is focused on a key area of spending that would benefit the whole of society. In truth, £205bn is such a large sum that many of these claims on additional spending could be funded simultaneously if Britain abandoned its development of weapons of mass destruction.

There are two distinct ways in which the economy and society as a whole can benefit from the redirection of investment. The first way is directly, through the tangible change in the physical infrastructure. The second way is less tangible, through an improvement in the capacity of the economy which can benefit us all.

The clearest example of the former is by redirecting the investment towards housing. A useful example of the latter is by redirecting investment towards education.

Investment in housing

It is an undisputed fact that there is a housing shortage in Britain, although there are very sharp disagreements about the causes and remedies for that. The pace of new homebuilding remains close to all-time lows and continues to lag far behind the increase in the number of new homes that are needed (the rate of 'household formation'). This means that the shortage is increasing.

The consequences of this are plain. House prices and rents are soaring, too many people have no alternative but to live in substandard or overcrowded accommodation and a quarter of a million construction workers have lost their jobs since the end of 2008.¹⁰

The cost of building new houses varies throughout Britain, but the average cost is around £150,000.¹¹ This means that from just half of the resources that are set to be wasted on Trident replacement, the government (in partnership with local authorities, housing associations and others) could build over 650,000 new houses.

This would make a significant dent in the structural housing shortage and so help rein in house price inflation and halt the upward spiral in rents. It would also re-employ a quarter of a million construction workers, as well as ancillary jobs, architects, surveyors and engineers. The investment would also boost employment and growth in the sectors which supply the construction industry.

The beneficial effects on growth, jobs and on society as a whole would be tremendous. Crucially, there would also be a net benefit to government finances. The real cost to government of house building is naturally much lower than for any private firm (or even local authority). This is because only central government benefits from the tax revenue incurred in construction, primarily the income tax of those employed in the sector. As a result the net cost to government from constructing exactly the same property as a developer is much lower. The beneficial effects of reduced government outlays should also be factored in. These would include lower unemployment benefits and other social security payments or tax credits as people go back to work. The public sector would also have a new asset, the housing.

According to the UK Treasury the combined effect of these factors, higher tax revenues and lower outlays arising from economic growth, means that from every additional £1 in economic activity, the government benefits by 75p.¹² As a result, the net cost of construction for the government, after both tax revenues and lower outlays are taken into account, is just one-quarter of the gross cost, just £38,000.

As a result the government can build hundreds of thousands of homes which will have easily affordable rents. An affordable rent on a £150,000 house (which the developer will want to sell for £190,000 on average to make a profit) might be around £450 per month. This totals £5,400 per year.

Yet we have already noted that the government's borrowing costs are less than 2%, which would be £760 annually in interest payable on the net cost of building the new house. This is far less than the £5,400 in rental income. The government would be making a surplus on its investment in housing, which it could then use to build more houses, or be used in some other way to improve the economy and society.

None of this is true in relation to a Trident replacement system. Just as there is no useful purpose to a nuclear weapons system, so too there is no economic benefit either. The amount of money that must be invested for each job provided is astronomical and does not make economic sense.

In some ways, investment in housing is the easiest way to demonstrate the effectiveness of real productive investment by the government versus the unproductive and potentially catastrophic waste on nuclear weapons. But simply because housing is a tangible asset and has an obvious monetary return (rent), that does not mean that there is not a similar benefit from other less tangible areas for investment.

Investment in education

On the face of it, investment in education is hard to compare with investing in housing. Yet the benefits to the economy, to society as a whole and to government finances are no less real.

The government's own Public Expenditure Statistical Analysis states the proportion of GDP devoted to education will fall by one sixth between 2010 and 2020.¹³ This fall of 1.3% of GDP is equivalent to an annual decline of spending on education equivalent to around £14bn in today's terms.

This will have a real material impact on the long-run growth rate of the economy. So as well as blighting the lives of our youth and having a negative impact on the education of millions, it will also damage the prosperity of the overwhelming majority in society.

In a modern economy, developing the technical and communication skills of the workforce is decisive for economic development. A low-skill workforce is destined to be a low-paid one. There is also a huge negative cost that arises from declining education. This contributes to unemployment, homelessness, poorer health and a range of social ills that all incur a cost.

But the benefits of investment in education can also be quantified, particularly in relation to government finances. This varies by country and is examined in the work of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation (OECD) and their regular publication 'Education at a Glance'.¹⁴ This shows that for every £1 invested in higher education by the British government, the return on it is £5 over the working life of the graduate. This arises in the form of both higher tax revenues (mainly but not solely income tax) and lower outlays (including much less likelihood of unemployment). As the OECD itself has said, investment in education boost jobs and tax revenues.¹⁵

Therefore, the government could invest £14bn in education and see a fivefold return on that investment. None of these types of benefits arise from the enormous sums that are earmarked for Trident's replacement and this investment in education would be about one-quarter of its total cost.

Jobs

One argument used by those who support Trident replacement is the claimed impact on jobs. Unfortunately, the number of jobs that directly depend on Trident are frequently wildly exaggerated. CND has calculated that approximately 11,520 civilian jobs are directly dependent on Trident.¹⁶ Guaranteeing people's livelihoods matters but when you consider that every one of these workers could be given a cheque for £1 million for a cost of £11.5 billion, a little more than one-twentieth of the entire cost of replacing Trident, it's time to think again.

This is hugely wasteful. It works out as over £17 million investment per worker. To take one obvious counter-example, the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills estimates that the output multiplier for investing in science-related projects ranges from between 1.67 to 2.98, depending on the project, with huge societal benefits in addition.¹⁷ This means every £1 investment by government in this area produces output of between £1.67 and £2.98. The employment effects are equally large. This provides vastly more and better-paid

jobs than Trident could, in an area where the British economy needs to catch up. Science is a far more useful sector for government investment and generates far more and higher-paid jobs at all levels.

Conclusion

Funds redirected towards hard assets such as housing and to areas which improve productivity and living standards such as education or scientific research and development have a very substantial benefit to all our lives.

CND and the Nuclear Education Trust have previously shown that the knock-on effects from the expenditure on Trident are low and that equally high-skilled jobs could be created in other sectors, for a fraction of the cost.¹⁸

The same applies in a host of other areas, from health to jobs, to the challenge of climate change, to providing a decent retirement and supporting real international development through aid. Experts and campaigners in these fields will detail their proposals in the chapters of this report.

Investment in these areas all have costs. But it is foolish to talk about costs without talking about benefits. Investing in housing or education, or any of these areas will have large benefits for society as whole. Trident has none. The money saved by abandoning it is enormous, enough to wipe out the government budget deficit for one year. Redirecting it towards investment makes sense. Spending £205 billion on nuclear weapons is madness.

¹ These data are for underlying deficit. In line with Office for National Accounts practice they exclude two important accounting items; changes to the treatment of the Royal Mail Pension Fund and the impact of the purchase of UK government securities by the Bank of England

² 'National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015: A Secure and Prosperous United Kingdom', HM Government, November 2015
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/555607/2015_Strategic_Defence_and_Security_Review.pdf (page 37)

³ Ibid

⁴ As stated by the government in 'The Future of the United Kingdom's Nuclear Deterrent', 2006,
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/27378/DefenceWhitePaper2006_Cm6994.pdf
Confirmed by the secretary of State for Defence in November 2015 and taking into account inflation
<http://www.theyworkforyou.com/wrans/?id=2015-11-13.16101.h&s=missile+extension#g16101.r0>

⁵ 'The Future of the United Kingdom's Nuclear Deterrent', 2006,
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/27378/DefenceWhitePaper2006_Cm6994.pdf

⁶ Ibid

⁷ As calculated by Crispin Blunt MP, Chair of Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee
<http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-defence-trident-exclusive-idUKKCNOSJOER20151025>

⁸ Based on the government's estimate in HC Deb 8 March 2007, c2130W, taking into account inflation
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200607/cmhansrd/cm070308/text/70308w0007.htm>

⁹ Based on the government's 2006 estimate for decommissioning Polaris, our previous nuclear weapons system, taking into account inflation:
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200506/cmhansrd/vo060724/text/60724w1879.htm>

¹⁰ Data from Office for National Statistics, February 2014 <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/lms/labour-market-statistics/february-2014/dataset--labour-market-statistics.html>

¹¹ 'Self-build: Should people build their own homes?'. BBC News, 19 July 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-14125196>

¹² Treasury, Public Finances and the Cycle, Treasury Economic Working Paper No.5, November 2008 http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/d/pbr08_publicfinances_444.pdf

¹³ HM Treasury, PESA,
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/220597/pesa_2011_complete.pdf and
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/539465/PESA_2016_Publication.pdf

¹⁴ Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, Education at a Glance 2013,
[http://www.oecd.org/edu/eag2013%20\(eng\)--FINAL%2020%20June%202013.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/edu/eag2013%20(eng)--FINAL%2020%20June%202013.pdf) Tables. A7. 4a&b.

¹⁵ OECD, press release Education at a Glance 2010 <http://www.oecd.org/education/skills-beyond-school/educationataglance2010oecdindicators.htm>

¹⁶ 'Trident and jobs: the employment implications of cancelling Trident replacement', June 2016,
http://cnduk.org/images/stories/Trident_and_Jobs_2016.pdf

¹⁷ 'Rates of return to investment in science and innovation', A report prepared for the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills', July 2014, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/333006/bis-14-990-rates-of-return-to-investment-in-science-and-innovation-revised-final-report.pdf

¹⁸ 'Trident Alternatives review and the Future of Barrow', Nuclear Education Trust, December 2012,
http://www.nucleareducationtrust.org/images/stories/grant_reports/VOLUME_1.pdf

Jobs not Trident

- Create millions of jobs
- Invest in infrastructure including housing, energy, transport and flood defences

Britain's economy, not yet recovered after the recession, has been further hit with the political uncertainty created by the referendum result to leave the European Union. Stable unemployment figures are hiding the reality of people under-working in part-time jobs and on zero-hours contracts. A paper by Compass outlined how £55 billion investment in green and social infrastructure spending could generate up to one million jobs,¹ a number which overwhelms the 11,500 jobs which replacing Trident at a cost of £205 billion would guarantee.

Investing in flood defences, low energy transport, energy efficiency and housing would not only provide jobs and increase tax revenue for the government, but would also contribute to a long-term economic recovery and a better future for the country.

Compass is a progressive pressure group which describes itself as a 'home for those who want to build and be a part of a Good Society'. It explains the difference that £205 billion could make to our society.

“Our economy may be growing but we're still a long way from ensuring the economy works for everybody. If billions were invested in sustainable economic infrastructure rather than replacing Trident we could transform our economy and equip it for the future. A quarter of the amount which would be spent on new nuclear weapons (£55bn) could create a million local full-time jobs and create an extra £18 billion of tax revenue.³ This investment could hugely benefit society; we could bring millions of households out of fuel poverty by retrofitting homes and installing renewable energy. We could invest in flood defences to protect our homes from increasingly extreme weather. We could begin to build the hundreds of thousands of homes we need to ensure affordable accommodation for everyone. We could also start to invest properly in our social infrastructure; our ageing society means that we need a national care service to allow all to live in dignity in old age.”

latest statistics show 1.63 million people are looking for work;² funds urgently need to be invested in training schemes, apprenticeships and support for the unemployed to get back to work.

There are many government programmes which have been launched to deal with long-term unemployment. But not enough is invested in ensuring there is sustainable work for everyone. The

Youth Employment UK is a campaign and membership body dedicated to tackling youth unemployment. It lobbies and campaigns for a Youth Friendly UK. It explains here how £205 billion could be invested in tackling youth unemployment.

“Youth unemployment has been rising since 2005. The emotional damage caused is staggering, with young people who experience long-term unemployment at a high risk of experiencing long-term mental health problems.

Youth Employment UK CIC is dedicated to tackling youth unemployment and we recommend the government invest financial support to systemically reduce youth unemployment. Secondary schools should be provided with a ring-fenced budget of a minimum of £50,000 each to ensure a quality careers and employability education for all students. Small businesses should be offered grants of £5156 for the first year of taking on an apprentice, as in Wales. Full benefits and travel costs could be provided to young people undertaking traineeships or free public transport could be provided. University fees for degree subjects linked to skill shortages should be lowered.

Providing support to young people would see an increase in skills and applicants where the UK economy needs them the most.”

¹ 'Invest to grow – a spending review to get Britain moving', Compass http://www.compassonline.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/C1_Compass_InvestPaperv4.pdf

² Office for National Statistics figures, September 2016, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/bulletins/uklabourmarket/september2016>

³ If we take the IMF lower bound multiplier estimate of (0.9) then this investment would create an extra £90bn of GDP of which around 40% would be taxed. Share of wages is currently around 54% so this extra GDP could create upwards of 2 million median wage (£26k) jobs.

NHS not Trident

- Employ 150,000 new nurses and build 120 state of the art hospitals
- Guarantee NHS dental care for everyone
- More cancer research funding

We all rely on the NHS but this invaluable public service is under threat from the government's cuts. NHS managers in England are secretly planning £20 billion worth of cuts by 2020, according to an investigation by *The Guardian* newspaper and campaigning organisation 38 degrees.¹ If Trident was scrapped and its replacement cancelled, at least £2.4 billion a year could be invested in our public health service instead. £205 billion would go a long way to improve our NHS as it would pay for building 120 new state-of-the-art hospitals² and employing 150,000 new nurses for the next 30 years.³

The government spent £2.8 billion on dental health in 2014,⁴ but this was only enough for just under half the population to be seen by a dentist. A small amount of Trident's cost would ensure everyone had access to an NHS dentist.

The number of older people in Britain is increasing and the challenge is to help them to live an active life. The average cost of installing basic adaptations such as monitors and facilities for virtual consultations is £6,000 per home.⁵ A fraction of £205 billion could enable thousands to live independently for longer.

352,000 people were diagnosed with cancer in the United Kingdom in 2013. While survival rates continue to improve, cancer remains the main cause of premature death in the UK. More funding for research would make an incredible difference. The National Cancer Research Institute, of which the Department for Health is a member, spent £498 million on research in 2014,⁶ a fifth of what the Ministry of Defence spent on Trident.

Keep our NHS Public, a grassroots campaign against the privatisation of the NHS, explains what £205bn could pay for.

“ We could have a well-researched programme designed to prevent disease and enhance good health, which would significantly increase life expectancy amongst the poorest, narrowing the current shocking gap of nearly 20 years between rich and poor. We would have enough left to pay off Private Finance Initiative debts, which would reduce local hospital closures, enabling elderly and vulnerable people to be cared for in hospitals close to their homes.

Currently, members of staff are burning out because they are working too many shifts or because their jobs are threatened. £205 billion would pay for enough staff to ensure a high quality health service. ”

Medact is a British charity which campaigns on global health, working on issues related to conflict, poverty and the environment. It explains here how scrapping Trident could improve our NHS.

“ In the coming years, the provision of health and social care in the UK faces serious threats. Continued funding cuts from central government in the context of chronic underinvestment is probably the greatest threat of all. If expenditure is to stay much the same as today, it is estimated that there will be a funding gap in the NHS of up to £30bn by 2020.⁷ By 2050 – when the Trident replacement will be coming to the end of its life – the funding gap could be well in excess of the estimated £205bn costs.

If Trident is scrapped and those funds reallocated to the health budget, pressure on the NHS and social care would no doubt be lightened – and the suffering of those denied proper access to health and social care would be alleviated. ”

¹ 'NHS plans closures and radical cuts to combat growing deficit in health budget', 26 August 2016, *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/aug/26/nhs-plans-radical-cuts-to-fight-growing-deficit-in-health-budget>

² Based on the £545 million cost of the Queen Elizabeth Hospital (QEH) in Birmingham

³ Based on starting wage of £21,909 for nurses <https://www.healthcareers.nhs.uk/about/careers-nhs/nhs-pay-and-benefits/agenda-change-pay-rates>

⁴ Office of National Statistics figures, <http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/healthandsocialcare/healthcaresystem/bulletins/ukhealthaccounts2014#healthcare-expenditure-by-function>

⁵ 'Technology and Older People Evidence Review', ageUK http://www.ageuk.org.uk/Documents/EN-GB/For-professionals/Research/Evidence_Review_Technology.pdf?dtrk=true

⁶ 'National Cancer Research Institute Annual Review and Indicative Accounts for 2015/16', <http://www.ncri.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/2016-Annual-Review-and-Indicative-Accounts-2015-6.pdf>

⁷ Health and Social Priorities for the Government, Nuffield Trust

Homes not Trident

- Build three million affordable homes
- Support all homeless people
- Provide emergency short-term shelter for all those in need

With house prices continuing to rise, many families and young people across the country are unable to buy their own home, with the number of people still living with their parents into their thirties staggeringly high. Homeownership is falling for the first time in a hundred years. A lot of this problem is caused by the shortage of affordable homes in the UK.

“Almost one in ten people say they have been homeless in their lives, with a fifth of these people saying it happened in the last five years.² 117 families in Britain become homeless every day.”

The government should be investing in building new homes. This investment would also provide an economic stimulus to the construction sector and provide jobs. Shelter estimates that an additional £3 billion a year is needed to build 50,000 new, genuinely affordable homes if we are serious about solving the housing shortage.¹ £205 billion spent over 30 years would build 3 million homes.

The economic crisis and the government's welfare reforms have seen the number of homeless people rising. In London, between 2013 and 2014, the number of people sleeping rough increased by 37%.⁴ Homelessness can be particularly dangerous for women – 28% have formed an unwanted sexual partnership and 20% have engaged in sex work to get a roof over their heads.⁵

The government spent £20 million on a Homelessness Transition Fund between 2012 and 2014, which offered advice to 14,000 people on accommodation, jobs and health.⁶ Almost 30,000 people at risk of homelessness were supported before they slept on the streets. A small share of £205 billion would mean that assistance and support could be offered to all homeless people in the UK permanently.

The real answer to tackling homelessness is to build more affordable and social housing. But in the meantime, there should be sufficient emergency accommodation for those who need it. £100 provides safe housing for a homeless family for two weeks. Thousands and thousands of families could be sheltered for short term periods using a small proportion of the Trident replacement budget.

¹ 'Until there's a home for everyone, Obstacles and opportunities, Solving England's housing shortage', Shelter http://england.shelter.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/751942/Obstacles_and_opportunities_-_Shelter_2014.pdf

² Heriot Watt University and the University of York (2012) The Homelessness Monitor, Crisis and JRF

³ Information from Shelter's website <http://www.shelter.org.uk/>

⁴ 'Three years of transition: The Homeless Transition Fund 2011 to 2014', <http://www.homeless.org.uk/sites/default/files/site-attachments/Three%20Years%20of%20Transition%20-%20summary%20evaluation%20report.pdf>

⁵ Reeve, K. (2011) The hidden truth about homelessness: experiences of single homelessness in England, Crisis UK

⁶ Information from Homelessness Transition Fund website http://homeless.org.uk/fund#.Uw4d5eN_spk

Education not Trident

- Reinstating EMA
- Covering tuition fees for 7.5 million undergraduates
- Paying for early childhood education
- Building thousands of new primary schools

Investing in our young people and the next generation's future should be a top priority for any government. Instead, the government is reducing the education budget, forcing schools and colleges to cut courses. Tuition fees have already trebled with further increases to come. Class sizes are growing while teachers' pay has gone down in real terms. Students are protesting and teachers are striking. As well as the importance of offering young people the means to a brighter future, investing in education is key to economic growth and prosperity. It is ludicrous that we can spend £205 billion on nuclear weapons but not on schools and students.

The average cost of building a primary school in England is £3.7 million.¹ The money spent on replacing Trident could build thousands more schools and refurbish current ones, ensuring all children

The National Union of Teachers (NUT) is a trade union for school teachers. It is affiliated to CND and has supported anti-Trident protests in the past. NUT General Secretary Kevin Courtney explains why his union supports cancelling the planned Trident replacement and re-investing the £205 billion cost in education.

“High quality, publicly funded early childhood education (ECE) is of great value to all children and should be available to all. It provides a sound basis for future development not just in terms of academic study but also all aspects of social and emotional development. Quality education is a human right and a public good.

In order for ECE to be accessible to the largest possible number of children, it needs to be organised within the framework of a free publicly-funded education service. Currently receiving early childhood education is a postcode lottery. It is estimated that to provide universal ECE would cost just over £15.4 billion a year, meaning that scrapping Trident would pay for thirteen years of early education, a far better investment in our country's future.”

The National Union of Students (NUS) represents more than seven million students. They explain why the government should reconsider its spending commitments.

“The National Union of Students believes that education is a public good, not a commodity to be bought and sold. The government should be focusing on ensuring that everyone has fair and equal access to education, regardless of their background. The current system leaves students with mountains of debt, leaves colleges without the funding necessary to provide the education and training people need, and forces the poorest to pay the most just to maintain their cost of living whilst studying.

The government have continued to make ruthless cuts to the funding of further and higher education, including the scrapping of vital maintenance grants for the poorest students, the decimation of the adult learning budget and plans to raise undergraduate fees with inflation from next year.

£205 billion could pay for the tuition fees for almost 7.5 million undergraduate degrees for home students; that's more than enough to provide a free university degree for every person in the entire North West of England. It could wipe out all existing student loan debt almost three times over. Alternatively it could cover the income of the entire higher education sector for 6 years, or further education for at least two decades.”

receive the attention they deserve in a safe and welcoming environment. Or the money could be spent on reinstating the

Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA) scrapped by the government. The money spent on replacing Trident would easily cover the cost of granting EMA to all 650,000 eligible students. Another alternative would be investment in early years education. All are much more worthwhile than nuclear weapons.

¹ Information from Department of Education's Targeted Basic Need Programme <http://media.education.gov.uk/assets/files/pdf/t/tbn%20information%20note.pdf>

Climate not Trident

- Install solar panels in every home
- Build enough wind turbines to power all households in the UK
- Save £800 on your bills

Climate change is one of the main threats the world faces today. The increase in the Earth's temperature has potentially devastating consequences for our communities. Urgent action is needed by Britain and the international community reduce carbon emissions in order to prevent or at least mitigate dangerous climate change. Investing in energy efficiency measures and developing renewable energy are the best ways to do this. Producing our own energy from solar, wind and hydro sources also increases our energy security and creates jobs for thousands of workers. The UK has more than enough wind and tidal power potential to meet our energy needs, but investment is needed.

Greenpeace is one of the world's best-known non-governmental organisations. Its first campaign was to stop nuclear testing. The organisation explains here what £205 billion should be invested in.

“According to the Energy Bill Revolution campaign, £60 billion spent on super-insulating our housing stock would lift out of fuel poverty 9 out of 10 of the families⁴ who are currently in it, saving them money, reducing carbon emissions and lowering fuel imports. Research by respected consultancy Cambridge Econometrics shows that this would deliver a greater boost to GDP than traditional infrastructure spending such as roads or, probably, defence. A major investment of around £16bn would provide 10% of UK power supply through tidal lagoons, and £24bn would provide around 10GW of offshore wind⁵ wholly-owned by the public. Done in combination with private sector it could deliver even more. In both cases that level of investment would kick start a new low carbon industry where Britain would be leading the world.

The government should cancel the planned Trident replacement and invest £205 billion in a greener future. Nuclear weapons are immoral and an utter waste of money. ”

The average cost of a 1MW capacity wind turbine is just over £1 million.¹ 100,000 wind turbines could be built if just half of the money spent on replacing Trident was invested in renewable energy. This is enough to power all the households in the United Kingdom, as well as generating some excess energy which could be exported for profit.

Alternatively, at an average cost of £5000 to install per household,² solar panels produce clean energy and bring your bills down. £205 billion could pay for every household in Britain to have solar panels fitted. It is estimated that having solar panels fitted saves the average household £800 a year.³

The renewable energy sector could potentially employ highly skilled engineers who would otherwise be working on the Trident replacement. Instead of investing in a weapon of mass destruction, the government could spend the money on developing renewable energy and make Britain a world leader in this new technology.

¹ Information from Wind Energy: The Facts website <http://www.wind-energy-the-facts.org/index-43.html>

² Information from The Eco Experts website <http://www.theecoexperts.co.uk/how-much-do-solar-panels-cost-uk>

³ 'Is it time to put solar panels on your roof? Or tin foil behind your radiators? Energy-saving tricks to beat rising bills', Thisismoney.co.uk 16 October 2013 <http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/bills/article-2461318/ENERGY-BILLS-Is-time-solar-panels-roof.html>

⁴ 'Carbon tax could boost economy and combat fuel poverty, analysis shows', *The Guardian*, 9 November 2012 <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2012/nov/09/carbon-tax-boost-economy-fuel-poverty>

⁵ 'A Study into the Economics of Gas and Offshore Wind', Greenpeace and WWF UK

http://www.camecon.com/Libraries/Downloadable_Files/A_Study_into_the_Economics_of_Gas_and_Offshore_Wind.sflb.ashx

Wellbeing not Trident

- Fund thousands of food banks
- Cheaper bills
- Insulate all homes
- End fuel poverty

Even though Britain is one of the richest countries in the world, many are currently struggling to eat and keep warm. Hundreds of thousands of people now rely on food banks, a damning indictment of the government's priorities. Many experts have warned that food poverty should be seen as a public health emergency. Malnutrition can lead to severe health problems, which costs the National Health Service around £20 billion a year.¹ The government could save billions by tackling preventable diseases caused by food poverty.

Foodbank use is at a record high with over one million people in the UK given emergency supplies in 2015/2016.² Most of these food banks rely on donations. A small proportion of the cost of replacing Trident could run thousands of food banks in the UK.

The increasing number of people in poverty follows drastic cuts in the government's welfare payments. The changes in repayable crisis loans (CLs), increased conditionality on benefit payments and reassessments are just some of the measures which have affected low-income families. The 'bedroom tax' and the introduction of universal credit affected many more. There are 2.75 million children growing up in poverty today,³ including in households where adults are working. Too many people are trapped in part-time work or earning the minimum wage, which is not high enough. The cost of living is rising far higher than wages and welfare payments.

The cold weather killed 43,900 people in the UK last winter.⁴ Thousands more suffer in cold homes as they can't afford to turn on the heating. And yet the government is reducing its spending on fuel poverty when investment in home energy efficiency is desperately needed. The campaigning group Energy Bill Revolution is calling for home energy efficiency to be made a UK national infrastructure priority.⁵ £205 billion would pay to adapt every home in the UK to be highly energy efficient, meaning they would be warmer and would need less heating.

This investment would also create jobs as well as ending fuel poverty, bring down energy bills and reduce carbon emissions.

“The cold weather killed 43,900 people in the UK last winter. Thousands more suffer in cold homes as they can't afford to turn on the heating. And yet the government is reducing its spending on fuel poverty when investment in home energy efficiency is desperately needed.”

¹ 'The cost of malnutrition in England and potential cost savings from nutritional interventions', BAPEN, November 2015, <http://www.bapen.org.uk/pdfs/economic-report-short.pdf>

² Information from the trussell trust website <https://www.trusselltrust.org/news-and-blog/latest-stats/>

³ 'Households below average income: an analysis of the income distribution 1994/95 to 2014/15', Department for Work and Pensions <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/households-below-average-income-199495-to-201415>

⁴ Information from the Office of National Statistics <http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/deaths/bulletins/excesswintermortalityinenglandandwales/201415provisionaland201314final>

⁵ Information from Energy Bill Revolution website <http://www.energybillrevolution.org/whats-the-campaign/>

Aid not Trident

- Provide safe water for all
- Help Syrian refugees
- Support reconstruction efforts post natural disasters

International aid funding saves and transforms lives. Money is invested to provide communities in the developing world with the basic essentials such as clean water, food and education. Funds are also used to improve the economy in many places, by providing financial capital for new businesses and skills training. Improving a country's economy can have benefits for the wider region and the international community, as trading partnerships develop. The aid is also spent on resolving conflict, creating a safer world for everyone.

£205 billion would save lives if invested in improved hygiene conditions, food supplies, hospitals, immunisations and schools. The list of how we could help those in need across the globe is in stark contrast to the damage we would cause should a nuclear bomb be detonated.

“The Syrian migration crisis is severe and worsening. Conflict in the country has caused four million refugees to leave, most of which live in over-subscribed camps with not enough food and water. The UK government has pledged £2 billion of aid, but this is not enough money to deal with the human lives torn apart by the situation.”

650 million people in the world don't have access to safe water, an issue killing 900 children a day.¹ Many more suffer from diseases as a result of drinking or cleaning themselves with dirty water. Others walk for miles every day just to pick up water for themselves and their families. This can often prevent them from getting an education or a job. Water Aid spent £50 million on delivering water and sanitation measures to two million

people in 2015.² £205 billion would provide everyone in the world with access to water.

Delivering a World Food Bank programme in Uganda cost the British government £20 million, the same sum that the government currently spends on Trident in three days. Britain donated £39 million towards reconstruction efforts following the tsunami in Indonesia in 2004 and £24 million on a Children and AIDS initiative in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Increasing the funds available for projects such as these would improve the lives of countless people.

¹ Information from Water Aid website <http://www.wateraid.org/what-we-do/the-crisis>

² Global Annual Report 2014-15, Water Aid, <http://www.wateraid.org/who-we-are/annual-reports>

CND would like to thank the following organisations for their contributions to this report.
Please do get in touch with them if you would like more information on the great work that they do.

Compass

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