

ability to distinguish between actual warheads and decoys and other countermeasures. This would require space based systems and a high-resolution phased-array X-band radar.

The pyramid will be able to simultaneously track many items very accurately, not including low altitude (short-range) or cruise missiles. It will also continue another of its roles – to log and track space-based objects.



Fylingdales, North Yorkshire

Photo: Ian Prichard

What is Menwith Hill's role?

Although it has received less attention than Fylingdales, Menwith Hill communications base will also play a crucial role. The UK Government has said that the United States must seek its approval before using any information passed through Menwith Hill for missile defence purposes, and that no such request has been received so far.

Menwith Hill electronic monitoring station is located in the Yorkshire Dales and has been used by the UK and US as a 'communications relay centre' since the 1950s. In 1966 the US National Security Agency took control of the site and began installing satellite communication dishes in 1974, currently housed in around 30 'golf balls'. Its activities are secret and not subject to parliamentary oversight. In 1997 the government announced that Menwith Hill would become the European Ground Relay Station for the Space-Based Infra Red System (SBIRS).

SBIRS-High will be able to detect ballistic missiles soon after launch and provide initial trajectory information. SBIRS-Low will be able to detect and track ballistic missiles much later in their trajectory. SBIRS has recently been renamed the Space Surveillance and Tracking System.

The first two satellite dishes for the European Ground Relay Station have been built. Planning permission from Harrogate Borough Council was deemed unnecessary. Between 1 January and 31 October 2003, 15 Notices of Proposed Development were submitted to Harrogate Council, six for extensions to existing facilities and nine for the construction of new facilities.

Menwith Hill, North Yorkshire
Photo: Craig Stennet, courtesy CAAB

design: rumsey ink.

How great is the ballistic missile threat today?

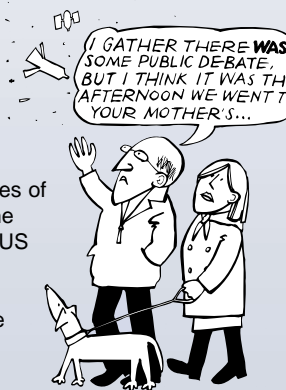
Missile proliferation is on the increase and could endanger large parts of Europe and the US in the future, but it is only one of many potential threats – and one that is less immediate than others.

In fact, while there are growing numbers of shorter-range cruise missiles and shoulder fired surface-to-air missiles in the world, the number of long-range ballistic missiles is decreasing from Cold War levels. Outside Russia and China, and possibly North Korea, it is doubtful that any nation possesses long-range missiles that can reach Europe or the US from its territory.

Alternatives to Missile Defence

Multilateral action remains central to curbing ballistic missile proliferation, and to checking the spread of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. The Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation agreed in November 2002 establishes international norms against proliferation and modest confidence building measures. But more concerted action is needed to turn this Code into a set of legally binding obligations and to provide real enticements to states to abandon ballistic missile development.

Innovative thinking on this issue is also crucial. Policies of 'constructive engagement' by Britain and the EU in the case of Iran and Libya, stand in stark contrast to the US and British policy of military intervention in Iraq. Strengthened international treaties and effective diplomacy could render missile defence an expensive irrelevance.



Stay informed - Get involved in the debate.

- ✓ Sign on for monthly e-mail updates on missile defence developments on the BASIC website home page (<http://www.basicint.org/nuclear/NMD/email.htm>).
- ✓ Regularly visit the web sites of the Foreign Office (<http://www.fco.gov.uk>); Ministry of Defence (<http://www.mod.uk>); Department of Defense (<http://www.defenselink.mil/news>) and Missile Defense Agency (<http://www.acq.osd.mil/bmdo/bmdolink/html/nmd.html>).
- ✓ Request free copies of this leaflet for inclusion with letters to politicians, officials and journalists and to circulate to interested groups and individuals.
- ✓ Personally engage your elected representatives at all levels of government in the debate about the advisability of moving forward on deployment of missile defence systems.
- ✓ Contact the UK Missile Defence Working Group (<http://www.mdwg.org.uk>) or the Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space (<http://www.space4peace.org>) for national/international campaigning information.
- ✓ Contact Yorkshire CND (<http://www.cndyorks.gn.apc.org>), the Campaign for the Accountability of American Bases (<http://www.cndyorks.gn.apc.org/caab>) and Fylingdales Action Network (<http://www.fylingdalesactionnetwork.org>) for regional campaigning information.

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BRITISH AMERICAN SECURITY INFORMATION COUNCIL

A BASIC guide to MISSILE DEFENCE and the WEAPONISATION OF SPACE



What is Missile Defence?

Since the first V2 rocket attacks on London during World War II, countries have sought a defence against missile attack. New threats are emerging, and some argue the time for integrated missile defence systems has finally come. Others counter that the ballistic missile threat is remote, that the technology is uncertain, and that missile defences will lead to greater international instability.

Most people associate missile defence with President Reagan's highly controversial 'Star Wars' proposals in the 1980s. But for a project of such great technical endeavour and cost (the US has spent over \$120 billion on missile defence since the 1950s), the final structure and scope of US missile defence remains remarkably unclear. This leaflet examines the current US-led debate over missile defence, and the role of British bases in current and future plans.

The Bush Administration proposals

Since it assumed office, the Bush Administration has made missile defence one of its top priorities. It is seeking to accelerate the development and deployment of a range of missile defence systems far more ambitious than the limited land-based interceptor programme envisaged by the Clinton Administration.

US Space Command's mission statement: "Dominating the space dimension of military operations to protect US interests and investment. Integrating Space Forces into warfighting capabilities across the full spectrum of conflict" gives a clear message of intent and "Full Spectrum Dominance" became a graphic catchphrase.



Feb 1997:
US Space Command publishes 'Vision for 2020'.

Mar 1998:
US Space Command publishes its 'Long Range Plan'.

July 1998:
Donald Rumsfeld (left), a long-time proponent of missile defence, chairs a committee that argues for the deployment of missile interceptor systems and space weaponisation.

Jan 2001: Rumsfeld Commission report states: "In the coming period the US will conduct operations to, from, in and through space in support of its national interests both on the earth and in space".

Dec 2001: President Bush announces withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, agreed with the Soviet Union in 1972. Effective six months later, restrictions on the deployment of missile defences are removed.

Jan 2002: Ballistic Missile Defense Organisation is renamed the Missile Defense Agency with Lt. General Ronald Kadish as its Director. Its mission: "To test, develop and deploy layered missile defense systems using interceptors, land, sea, air and space-based sensors and battle management command and control systems for emerging warfighting capabilities". Development activities to focus on intercepting missiles in their boost, midcourse and terminal phases.

Oct 2002: Space Command and Strategic Command merge into Global Operational Command to "streamline the military's strategic decision-making process".

Dec 2002: President Bush orders the Pentagon to bypass the 'test bed' phase and move directly to the operational phase of all missile defence systems in 2004 and 2005 and announces that he will "seek agreement from the UK and Denmark to upgrade early-warning radars on their territory". A strong theme of cooperative working "to protect friends and allies" is introduced.

According to the Department of Defense: "The deployment of missile defenses is an essential element of our overall national security policy to transform US defense and deterrence capabilities to meet emerging and evolving threats." The initial set of capabilities planned for 2004-2005 includes:

■ 20 ground-based interceptors capable of intercepting and destroying intercontinental ballistic missiles during the midcourse phase of flight (6 at Ft. Greely, Alaska and 4 at Vandenberg Air Force Base, California by October 2004);

■ 20 sea-based interceptors employed on existing Aegis ships to intercept short and medium range ballistic missiles in the mid-course phase of flight;

■ Patriot Advanced Capability-3 (PAC-3) systems to intercept short and medium range ballistic missiles; Land, sea and space-based sensors, including existing early warning satellites, an upgraded radar located at Shemya, Alaska, a sea-based X-band radar and other sensors on Aegis ships.

Work will also continue on airborne laser systems, boost-phase and mid-course 'hit-to-kill' interceptors and space-based weaponry.

Congress approved a \$9.1 billion budget for missile defence for 2004. The Bush Administration has allocated \$25 billion over three years (2002-4), and the Pentagon now estimates that missile defence expenditure will exceed \$50 billion in the next five years.

The Blair Government response

The Blair Government has still not established a clear position on missile defence. Having been ultra cautious in its early public announcements, Whitehall has drifted towards supporting the US administration and the use of British bases, but no final decision on Britain's wider role in missile defence has been made.

Aug 2000: House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee Report on Weapons of Mass Destruction is guardedly critical of the stated justifications for a US missile defence system.

June 2001: Foreign Secretary Jack Straw (right) issues a Parliamentary Labour Party briefing giving a clear directive to his party and reflecting support for the Bush Administration's position on missile defence.

Feb 2002: In a speech on the future of arms control and non-proliferation, Jack Straw categorises his approach to missile defence as "new thinking" on international security. Describes the 1972 ABM Treaty as "a product of its time" and implies that it is no longer relevant in a post-Cold War world.

Summer 2002: US officials visit London as part of a European confidence-building tour "to set out possible approaches to missile defence and to repeat US willingness to offer protection to friends and allies".



Nov 2002: In a speech to the Foreign Policy Centre, Defence Secretary Geoff Hoon says "The US programme on missile defence is gathering momentum in a vast enterprise involving cutting edge technologies which will require a massive effort over the coming years."

9 Dec 2002: Hoon informs the House of Commons that the MoD is about to circulate a public discussion paper and invite written comments. Later it becomes clear that this is an open-ended exercise with no commitment to respond to submissions. The use of the word 'consultation' is actively discouraged.

17 Dec 2002: Request from the US Administration to upgrade Fylingdales.

15 Jan 2003: Hoon effectively forecloses discussion by announcing that it is in the UK's interests to agree to the request.

29 Jan 2003: The House of Commons Defence Committee completes a rapidly convened and hastily concluded inquiry by stating "the UK should agree to the upgrade of a US early warning radar on British soil for use in the US missile defence system", but questions whether it will work and "strongly regretted the way in which the issue had been handled by the Government".

5 Feb 2003: Parliamentary statement formally confirms the British Government's decision to accede to the request.

12 June 2003: Hoon tells the House of Commons that he and US Defense Secretary Rumsfeld have signed a Framework Memorandum of Understanding on missile defence "to prepare the way for fair opportunities to be given to UK industries to participate in the US programmes".

What is Fylingdales' role?

Fylingdales is a radar facility in the North Yorkshire Moors National Park directly connected to UK and US command, control, communications and intelligence systems. It sends information to the Missile Warning cell at High Wycombe and North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) inside Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado (and on to National Command HQ, Strategic Air Command).

Fylingdales has been home to a US Ballistic Missile Early Warning System since the 1960s. Similar radars are based at Thule in Greenland and Clear in Alaska. Their original role was to search for intercontinental ballistic missiles launched from the Soviet Union.

Between 1989 and 1992, a 40 metre high pyramid containing a Phased Array Radar replaced three giant 'golf balls'. 2,500 aerials on each of its three faces combine to form a radar beam that can be swept continuously through 360 degrees to detect objects up to 3,000 miles away.

An upgraded Fylingdales will be able to provide details of what targets have been hit, to monitor trajectories of surveillance satellites and incoming ballistic missiles and aid prioritising of which satellites and missiles to destroy.

Boeing has been awarded the \$111 million contract for the upgrade to Fylingdales, starting in March 2004 and due to be completed by September 2005. Planning authorisation from the North Yorks Moors National Parks Authority was deemed unnecessary as few external modifications will be made.

The upgrade work will include new computers, graphic displays, communication equipment and enhanced radar. This will allow the locating, tracking and classification of small objects near the horizon but will only provide a limited