#### LINK FILTER – The affirmative does not stop the commercialization of space. Barring appropriation only limits the ownership of real property, use is still allowed. 100% of aff harms result from use, like the claiming of resources in space, not ownership of real estate.

#### *The aff doesn’t have a single piece of solvency or link evidence that is actually about appropriation, or even says the word appropriation, so you should give it ZERO WEIGHT. Go ahead, control F the doc. The only instances of the word “appropriation” occur in a definition that* ALIGNS WITH OURS

Švec et al 20 [Martin Švec, Petr Boháček, and Nikola Schmidt, “Utilization of Natural Resources in Outer Space: Social License to Operate as an Alternative Source of Both Legality and Legitimacy,” Oil Gas Energy Law J, 2020. <https://planetary-defense.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/ov18-1-article17-notitle.pdf>] CT

2.2.1. Is the Utilization of Space Resources Implicitly Prohibited by the OST?

When the OST was drafted, exploitation of space resources was not considered feasible. Thus, the treaty does not contain any specific reference to space resource activities. However, silence of the OST does not necessarily imply unlawfulness of these activities. On the contrary, the freedom of exploration, use and access is one of the most fundamental principles of international space law. Art I of the OST reads: “Outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, shall be free for exploration and use by all States without discrimination of any kind, on a basis of equality and in accordance with international law, and there shall be free access to all areas of celestial bodies.“25 It is worth mentioning that France already in 1966, during the negotiations of the OST, emphasised that it is important to know exactly what is meant by the term ‘use’, and whether it is an equivalent to the term ‘exploitation’. 26 While there is a general consensus on the interpretation of the term “exploration” as referring to discovery activities of the space environment for scientific reasons, a large disagreement exists concerning the term ‘use’.27 In this context the Board of Directors of the International Institute of Space Law (IISL) hold that there is no international agreement whether the right of “free use” includes the right to take and consume nonrenewable natural resources, including minerals and water on celestial bodies.28 The authors of this article are of the opinion that the term “use” seems to be broad enough to encompass the exploitation of natural resources. Pursuant to the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, a treaty shall be interpreted in good faith in accordance with the ordinary meaning to be given to the terms of the treaty in their context and in the light of its object and purpose. First, the term “use” usually refers to both the non-economic and economic utilization and, thus, the use of outer space for economic ends can include exploitation with the objective of making economic profit.29 Second, the OST’s preamble reveals that the treaty does not aim to restrict the use of outer space, but rather to promote free exploration and use of outer space and the opposite interpretation would lead to an unnecessary impediment to the development of the uses of outer space.30 What is more, these conclusions may also be derived from the Moon Agreement. Although this agreement has been ratified only by 18 states, it may help understand the meaning of the international space law principles enshrined in the OST. The preamble of the Moon Agreement refers to the “benefits which may be derived from the exploitation of the natural resources of the moon and other celestial bodies,” and art 11 envisages the establishment of an international regime to govern the exploitation of natural resources of the Moon. In addition, Hobe argues, that specific uses are only excluded if they are explicitly excluded in other provisions of the OST, such as prohibition of certain military activities.31

2.2.2. Does the Utilization of Space Resources Contradict the Principle of NonAppropriation?

The principle of non-appropriation is one of the most fundamental rules regulating the exploration and use of outer space. Art II of the OST reads as follows: “Outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, is not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation, or by any other means.” As a consequence, outer space is generally understood as a res communis omnium, 32 in its legal characterisation similar to the law governing the high seas or the deep seabed. An analysis of these already existing regimes based on the non-appropriation principle reveals that an exploitation of natural resources is perfectly compatible with the principle of nonappropriation.33 Additionally, even the Moon Agreement suggests that the exploitation of the natural resources of the moon does not constitute a means of appropriation. In particular, art 11 of the Moon Agreement reiterates that outer space is not subject to national appropriation and it explicitly envisages the establishment of an international legal regime to govern the exploitation of space resources.34

#### The question of the resolution is not whether private activity in space is unjust, but rather GIVEN the reality of private use, whether private ownership of real estate in space ought to be allowed, or not. All of their advantages should be filtered by whether it proves that the private use of space without property rights is better than the use of space with property rights.

## CP

#### *CP: States ought to ban the appropriation of outer space by private entities except for natural persons, and states ought to recognize the right to property for natural persons in space.*

#### The individual right to property is a basic human right that should be extended to space.

Faires 19 [Wes Faires, “The role of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in supporting space property rights,” The Space Review, August 5, 2019. <https://www.thespacereview.com/article/3771/1>] CT

A long-discussed issue has been the absence of provisions pertaining to private entities under the 1967 Outer Space Treaty. Interpretations in favor of private property rights hold that the purpose of Article II’s ban on “national appropriation” was to place a limitation on member nations’ attempts to exercise territorial and political sovereignty over any part of outer space: to restrict territorial disputes between countries from extending beyond Earth. Without an explicit prohibition of private property rights in the treaty, their development with respect to private entities is unencumbered. Opposition has fluctuated from the position that the prohibition of national appropriation in Article II served to exclude development of property rights for private citizens: without a national entity with the ability to “confer” or pass down property rights to “sub-national” citizens, forward progress is rendered impossible. There were later attempts to classify private citizens as “nationals” in order to apply to them the prohibition of ‘national appropriation’. The 1979 Moon Agreement places an explicit ban on property for a host of entities, including “natural persons,” until such time as an international regime can be formulated. Two nations, the United States and Luxembourg, have enacted legislation favorable to property and mineral rights regarding space resources. This was met with opposition from some in the international community, who called into question whether such unilateral acts were in and of themselves a violation of the non-appropriation principle of the 1967 Outer Space Treaty. Perhaps in the future, the concept of “property rights” will have evolved beyond the terrestrial concepts of ownership, sovereignty, and territorial acquisition, under a new treaty framework structured by private entities, developed outside the auspices of any nation-state or supranational regime. Until such time, what is needed is a base-level favorable affirmation of private property rights in outer space, one that serves as a foundation for their evolution beyond national borders and which is accepted across the board. To this end, the solution to 50 years of ambiguity regarding private property rights under the under the current UN Outer Space Treaty framework is found within the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Article 17: (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property. -UN General Assembly. "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." United Nations, 217 (III) A,1948, Paris, Art. 17 The commercial space sector would welcome language favorable to private property rights in space, with specific emphasis on the re-affirmation of Article 17 as it pertains to property rights for private entities. Beyond Article 17, utilization of the UDHR as a default mechanism in situations where legislation is not yet developed can yield an immediate benefit for humanity. On the national level, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be seamlessly integrated into national space policy. Adoption of the UDHR into space policy by state parties to the Outer Space Treaty is essentially a reaffirmation of one of the fundamental principles of the United Nations, and can take place without litigation or implementation of new national legislation, and with no accusation of violation of “national appropriation.” In the international arena, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be seamlessly into to conducting legislative proceedings pertaining to outer space, given that: The overarching thematic priority for UNISPACE + 50 and beyond is “Sustainable Development in Space.” A critical aspect of this calls for ensuring the principles of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development are upheld. The 2030 Agenda is grounded in, and re-affirms, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (A/RES/70/1 para. 10, para. 19). The task at hand is to compel the United Nations Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (UNCOPUOS) to commit to upholding the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Solidarity on such a core foundational UN principle as the UDHR solidifies reflection of Agenda 2030. I propose that UN Secretariat take this opportunity to move forward with Sustainable Development, and lead the way in incorporation the Universal Declaration of Human Rights into international space policy. It is time to recognize property rights as the universally declared human right that it is: “Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.” The definition of property and scope of the UDHR was not limited to any one definition or territory. The UDHR was intended from the outset to be universal: “It is not a treaty; it is not an international agreement […] It is a Declaration of basic principles of human rights and freedoms, to be stamped with the approval of the General Assembly by formal vote of its members, and to serve as a common standard of achievement for all peoples of all nations.” -Eleanor Roosevelt, “On the Adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights” December 9, 1948 Here in its 70th year of adoption, acceptance of the UDHR into space policy by the international community would be both timely and logical. It reaffirms adherence to a fundamental United Nations cornerstone, and provides an opportunity to strengthen the commitment to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. At a time when feasibility of extraction of minerals from celestial bodies is fast approaching, it is our responsibility to ensure that the transition occurs free of any terrestrial shackles. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights offers an acceptable foundational framework from which property rights can evolve off-planet, that can be embraced by the private sector, adopted across national levels, and upheld in the international arena

#### The CP protects individual property rights while solving case since the aff still applies to corporations.

#### No perms: The CP would expand the rights of individuals in space, from the mere right to use, to the full bundle of rights protected by private property.

Reinstein 99 ]Ezra J. Reinstein, “Owning Outer Space,” 20 Nw. J. Int'l L. & Bus. 59 (1999-2000). <https://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1500&context=njilb>] CT

IV. PROPOSAL: APPROPRJATIVE OWNERSHIP OF REAL PROPERTY

The ideal legal regime should create maximum incentives for efficient development of space, in recognition of the fact that the potential wealth in space will not drop into our laps. But as much as commercial development of space would benefit all mankind, it is just as important that the development be controlled. We must learn from mistakes of the past. Any legal regime should guard against inefficient exploitation, waste, and environmental despoliation. Furthermore, space should not become the next Wild West. Destruction and sabotage must be discouraged. My proposal, which will be developed throughout this essay, is to maximize incentives by giving developers comprehensive property rights. Humanity's welfare demands that we alter the current law to allow real estate ownership -- not just usufructary rights -- to those who would best develop land in space.7 The potential wealth of outer space, in the form of minerals, energy, living space, etc., doesn't do us any good unless we are able to harness it. And, as Jeffrey Kargel, a planetary scientist at the U.S. Geological Survey, has written, "if you want to cross the bridge into the 21st century of space [development], then space must pay its way and give private investors a handsome early return on investment.' 75 What do we mean by "ownership?" Property is commonly recognized as being a "bundle" of disparate rights regulating relations between people with respect to things. The bundle of rights can be unpacked. It includes: the right to possess, the right to use, the right to exclude, and the right to transfer.76 These rights are not on/off affairs; they can each be limited or expanded along a continuum. I use the term "ownership" to describe a state of affairs wherein a person has all four of these rights to their maximum extent with respect to a piece of property. Current space law ostensibly respects the right to use real property in space and to collect and own its fruits. Historically, this has been known as the usufructary right.77 But the current law doesn't even provide this right freely; it seems to be limited by several clauses of the Outer Space Treaty (e.g. use "for the benefit...of all countries").78 Nor does the OST recognize the right to exclude, as is evidenced by article I's prohibition on appropriating what it recognizes as being "the province of all mankind," the guarantee in the same article of "free access to all areas of celestial bodies," and article XII's requirement that "[a]ll stations [and] installations...shall be open to representatives of other States Parties to the Treaty on a basis of reciprocity." Likewise, as illuminated in the SpaceCorp hypothetical, the prohibition on appropriation seems to negate a long-term right of possession. Without the right to exclude or pos- sess, of course, a legal system need not provide the right to transfer real estate. Anyone else may simply help themselves. In sum, the OST demands that "[n]o State can obtain such possessions as will entitle it to claim ownership or sovereignty over them... There can be no exclusive appro- priation of [celestial bodies] and any part thereof as a result of their 'use'..." 79 Under current law, space cannot be owned. A new law of space real property must enliven and support all four rights that comprise ownership. First, there must be a right to permanent possession: barring some ex- traordinary circumstance or the enforcement of a judgment, no one should face dispossession of his real estate on Earth or in space. This rule supplies a needed measure of certainty, in two ways: (1) it's a definite rule and almost any such rule is better than the fogginess of the current regime, and (2) it moves the presumption away from public conversion of private lands, and therefore makes it clear that the OST's statement, that space development must be "for the benefit...of all countries," is a moral exhortation and not a loophole through which the United Nations can dispossess a private party of his site. Second, I suggest that the right to use be unlimited, except by environmental regulations and the developer's domestic law. This rule is a recognition that humanity's fortune is best enhanced not by a centralized command-and-control system, but by private development making market-driven decisions. Like the right to perpetual possession, the third right -- the right to exclude -- creates the certainty vital to an optimal investment environment. As noted, the current system precludes such a right, for it would certainly run afoul of the prohibition on appropriation and the requirement that there be "free access to all areas of celestial bodies. 80 Without the right to exclude, however, pioneer investors would be at the mercy of free riders. After investing countless hours in (or paying someone else for) a survey of the real estate, after setting up a mining colony at great expense, the pioneer would have no recourse if another party took advantage of the pioneer's research and began a copycat mine on the very same site. So the right to exclude must form a part of the new legal system. Finally, the right to transfer must accompany the rights of exclusion and perpetual possession. The Coase Theorem of economics tells us that, in a legal environment supportive of bargaining, property rights will be allocated to the party who values them most, i.e. the most efficient user of the property.81 When transaction costs are high enough to prevent bargaining, property rights only end up in the most productively efficient hands if the law happens to initially assign them that way.82 Without any right to transfer, transaction costs are infinite, and no bargaining can occur. In order to avoid the inevitably inefficient solutions of a command-and-control regime of property usage, the right to transfer -- alienability -- must be a part of our system.83 All these rights together -- possession, use, exclusion, and transfer -- make up ownership. And it is ownership that the modem law of space real property needs.

## Net Benefit

#### Space settlement is coming now and prevents inevitable extinction. Future settlers need protections and the rule of law.

Gesl 18 [Paul M. Gesl (Maj, USAF JD), “PREPARING FOR THE NEXT SPACE RACE: Legislation and Policy Recommendations for Space Colonies,” A Research Report Submitted to the Faculty In Partial Fulfillment of the Graduation Requirements for the Degree of MASTER OF OPERATIONAL ARTS AND SCIENCES (April 2018). <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/AD1053024.pdf>] CT

Why the United States Needs to Think About Space Colonization Now

The United States’ space policies under the previous two Presidential administrations have not matched the ambition of the commercial sector. The author has criticized the National Space Policies of both President Obama and George W. Bush as being too “Earth-Centric.”6 Based on the current state of technologies, it is easy to dismiss space colonization as, at best, a problem to worry about tomorrow and, at worst, mere science fiction. This is irresponsible. Reaching space is difficult. Colonizing it will be even more difficult; however, we cannot overlook it as a likely possibility. NASA viewed space colonization as an endeavor within humanity’s reach in the 1970s.7 Now it is beginning to take shape as a reality. In 2015 at the Pioneering Space National Summit, policy makers, industry leaders and advocates agreed that “The long term goal of the human spaceflight and exploration program of the United States is to expand permanent human presence beyond low-Earth orbit in a way that will enable human settlement and a thriving space economy. This will be best achieved through public-private partnerships and international collaboration (emphasis in original).”8 Additionally, there have been several attempts in Congress to pursue space settlement.9 Private industry appears to be taking the lead in this race. Elon Musk, the CEO of SpaceX intends to establish a colony of a million settlers on the surface of Mars.10 SpaceX is targeting the first manned missions to make this a reality to launch in 2024.11 Mr. Musk envisions the full colonization to take 40-100 years.12 Even if this timeline misses its ambitious deadline by a decade, humanity will be a multi-planetary species in many readers’ lifetimes. It is important to note that Mr. Musk recently stated that SpaceX is “building the first Mars, or interplanetary ship, and I think we’ll be able to do short trips, flights by first half of next year.”13 Even though he joked that the company might miss their timeline, his comments highlight that colonization is an issue that is fast approaching.14 Another factor to consider is that a legal framework needs to be developed before a Martian colony is at its full capacity. Mr. Musk envisions using SpaceX’s BFR to send approximately 100 people per flight to Mars.15 Additionally, SpaceX appears to be planning for humans living on the lunar surface in their Moon Base Alpha.16 SpaceX is not alone in their ambitions. United Launch Alliance (ULA) published their plans to expand the population of humans living and working in space. Their Cis-lunar 1,000 framework is a 30-year plan to develop the cis-lunar economy and grow the population of humans living and working in space from six to 1,000.17 Space colonization is more important to our species than the economic benefits of a space economy and the conquests of exploration. The current world population is 7.4 billion people.18 According to the World Wildlife Foundation and the Global Footprint Network, “the equivalent of 1.7 planets would be needed to produce enough natural resources to match our consumption rates and a growing population.”19 The problem will likely grow worse as the population of the planet continues to grow. According to the United Nations, the Earth’s population will grow to over 11 billion people by 2100.20 Based partially on this, “Prof [Stephen] Hawking said it was only a matter of time before the Earth as we know it is destroyed by an asteroid strike, soaring temperatures or over-population.”21 Hawking further stated that, “When we have reached similar crisis in or (sic.) history there has usually been somewhere else to colonise (sic.). Columbus did it in 1492 when he discovered the new world. But now there is no new world. No Eutopia (sic.) around the corner. We are running out of space and the only places to go are other worlds.”22 The late Professor Hawking is not alone in his view, the National Space Society observed the benefits of expanding into space. “Outer space holds virtually limitless amounts of energy and raw materials, which can be harvested for use both on Earth and in space. Quality of life can be improved directly by utilization of these resources and also indirectly moving hazardous and polluting industries and/or their waste products off planet Earth.”23 These are just several of the many compelling reasons to colonize space advocated by groups such as the National Space Society and the Space Frontier Foundation.24 ULA appears to be taking steps to meet their ambitions for the future. ULA announced the first step towards making their Cis-lunar 1,000 vision a reality. In October 2017, they announced a partnership with Bigelow Aerospace to launch a habitat to low lunar orbit.25 The launch is expected to be completed before the end 2022.26 Some feel that colonization is going to happen, no matter what governments do.27 If colonization is going to happen, then it is in the United States’ best interest to develop a legal framework that supports the efforts and protects our citizens who will travel to and live in these habitats. This is important for several reasons. First, private corporations appear to have an interest in colonizing space, so it is in humanity’s future whether the government is involved nor not. However, governments can take actions that will accelerate things.28 Second, it is in the best interest of the United States’ economy to support commercial companies that are expanding into space. Third, if the United States does not create a favorable legal framework for space colonization, someone else will. Finally, as humanity expands away from the surface of the Earth, it is important to create a free society based on the principles of the Rule of Law rather than some other form of government, or an anarchistic company town.

#### Space settlement with private appropriation is better than settlement without appropriation.

### 1 Tyranny

#### Absent legally enforced personal rights, like property, space settlements are likely to be dominated by tyrannical governments or corporations. Turns case.

Cockell 08 [Charles S. Cockell (Center for Earth, Planetary, Space and Astronomical Research – Open University, Milton Keynes), “AN ESSAY ON EXTRATERRESTRIAL LIBERTY,” JBIS, VOL. 61, pp. 255-275, 2008. <https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Charles-Cockell/publication/258317782_An_Essay_on_Extraterrestrial_Liberty/links/0c96053053a02cfb24000000/An-Essay-on-Extraterrestrial-Liberty.pdf>] CT

6. EXTRATERRESTRIAL LIBERTY

For Berlin [20], ‘negative’ liberty meant the pursuit of individual liberty by removing those mechanisms that exert control over one’s actions. Western liberal democracies pursue, for the most part, philosophies of negative liberty, by attempting to reduce the role of government in individual lives. A restricted sphere of negative liberty is created by tyrannies, in which encroachment into the lives of individuals reduces the number and scope of activities in which people consider themselves free, or at least able to make decisions that can be implemented independently of the State. Of course, by retreating into a core set of activities in which one is completely free, one is in the process of relinquishing liberty, as the scope of free actions is voluntarily reduced. This is in itself a form of slavery. Societies where the scope of negative liberty is reduced can be described as more enslaved, even if the people there may not describe themselves as such, because they have in fact escaped State slavery by retreating from those very activities in which control is exerted.

The crucial point is that the sphere within which negative liberty is possible is necessarily constrained by the environmental conditions under which one exists. The more extreme the environmental conditions, the fewer social activities can occur without collective oversight. More saliently, the people themselves may actually request such oversight, to protect their safety from others who would abuse it, with the resulting dangers. Some of these systems of monitoring can be found in societies on Earth. We cannot drive automobiles without safety checks. Our water must be passed through treatment works— life support systems if you will—that ensure that what we are drinking is safe. Indeed, even in some of the most mature terrestrial democracies, a remarkable quantity of basic consumables and resources come to us through systems of compliance overseen by the State. This is a form of control that most people accept because we consider it in our interest. We do not usually see such invasions of our liberty as tyranny, but rather as benevolent actions by the State to ensure our safekeeping. But they are incursions nevertheless, and while democracy is functioning such oversights need not necessarily concern us; or at least they do not worry most of the public, who are more concerned with having fresh water than more abstract thoughts about the allowable extent to which the State should have influence over their water quality.

In extraterrestrial environments, spacesuits, water quality, food production, habitat pressurisation and so on and so forth will be subject to regulation by corporations or the State. As on Earth, perhaps many of these incursions will be regarded as acts of beneficence by the State in the interests of safety, and will be willingly accepted. But one fact is undeniable: the extent of negative liberty must be less in extraterrestrial environments than on Earth, and quite significantly less. Even the air will be subject to quality controls and checks. Forms and permissions will be associated with the very act of breathing. No philosophy of advancing the domain of negative liberty, no clever sophistry, can change this truth, which is brought into being by basic survival needs.

An undeniable effect will be to expand the opportunities for tyranny. Where the mechanisms for central control are necessarily enlarged in their scope and diversity, a greater number of levers exist, and enable individuals and organisations to exert control and assume power. A reduction in negative liberty does not necessarily imply greater tyranny, but it certainly makes it possible. In extraterrestrial environments, where centralised interventions must be frequent, how much weaker is freedom and how much easier is tyranny to enforce? We cannot know the answers until we undertake the experiment, but we can be fairly sure that the qualitative answer must be ‘more easily’.

More insidiously, the restriction of the borders of negative liberty, caused by the apparent need to protect individuals from the irresponsible actions of others, can itself be perpetuated as a form of liberty. The use of alcohol in extraterrestrial environments is one example. On Earth, the excessive use of alcohol may result in broken windows and arrests, but once the windows are repaired little damage has been done to society as a whole. Hence, although there is a negative social collective impact of excessive alcohol use, the prohibition of alcohol consumption of any kind is generally regarded as an infringement of civil liberties that the public will not tolerate. This is why, of course, attempts to do exactly this in the past have been met by black marketeering. But in extraterrestrial environments, a broken window may imply depressurisation, and the instant death of many individuals. The potential impact on society of the irresponsible and thoughtless actions of individuals is greater, and it might seem justifiable to restrict greatly, or even prohibit, the civil liberty of alcohol use, in the interests of collective safety.

This principle can be applied to many diverse social interactions that could be construed as threatening people, and the prevention of which can be advanced as the protection of individual and social freedom through the process of restricting negative liberty.

Liberty encompasses the freedom that individuals have to actively pursue their own objectives (‘positive liberty’ sensu Berlin). An obvious mechanism by which this becomes practical is the creation of social mechanisms and institutions through which the ‘active’ pursuit of this ‘positive’ sense of liberty is made possible, for example the welfare State. Organisations established to act as conduits for the free expression of different points of view, or to act as means to achieve practical objectives, are not always liberal. Even in some of the most developed democracies, societies and organisations may become dominated by elite closed circles of people, and media channels may be influenced by moguls who use outlets to perpetuate specific corporate views. What prevents these incursions into the structures of liberty from descending into wholesale tyranny? In reality, very little. The subversion of democratic States, or States on the verge of democracy, into societies more reminiscent of dictatorships has many historical precedents. The principal mechanisms that allow individual freedom to triumph over the slide towards tyranny include the legally agreed freedoms that individuals have to establish competition against dominating organisations, and the culture that ensures that the freedom to create organisations is not then abused to destroy the very democratic organisations that guarantee that freedom.

In a society in which the freedom to organise and assemble institutions is protected by law, those organisations that distort and alter their environments, or the information they propagate, are likely to be usurped by institutions that reflect a different style of thinking, by the process of individual choice. However, these alternative visions can only be effective, and one can only assert them over the prevailing opinions with confidence, when one has sufficient information to be confident of their likely veracity. On Earth, to express many ideas and counter-opinions one does not need supreme confidence in the truth. If one’s opinion turns out to be in error one gives up, accepts the viewpoint of the adversary and continues one’s life. These opportunities to challenge, however, are central to the power of the individual to confront institutions.

But there is one social situation in which the individual’s power is markedly reduced, even rendered completely ineffective against a collective body. Health and safety is one of the most effective levers of social influence and justified coercion, because it invokes the protection of people confronted with life and death situations. Consider, for example, an oxygen supply system on the Moon. The authority that runs such a system might seek control over a political dissenter by threatening to move him or her and their family to a new zone of habitation, on the grounds that the oxygen supply to their habitat is faulty. By doing this, they will remind these individuals who is in control of their survival, and coerce them through fear into mitigating their dissent, thereby creating a more malleable individual and reducing the challenge to collective authority.

Governing organisations have access to a vast realm of information that no single individual can hope to have [21]. They know, for example, about the oxygen demand, its rate of supply, the pipes that supply it, the maintenance history of the oxygen producing machines, and so on and so forth. For an individual to declare that the intention of the authority to move them to another habitat is for controlling political purposes, he or she must also have access to all such information, which they can then use to demonstrate that there is no safety concern. If they do not have access to this information, then it becomes a simple task for the authorities to portray them as dishonourable individuals inveighing against the hard work of other individuals who are working to secure their individual safety and the security of society [22]. They can be then be ostracised, and their general behaviour will be treated as disingenuous. However, to have access to all the information to convincingly uphold a complaint is never possible, because an individual can never know whether they are missing a single crucial fact that makes all the difference to their safety. Even armed with what they perceive to be all the information available, the individual is faced with a choice between allowing an incursion on their home and liberty, or taking the risk that their presumption of having full information is correct. Faced with such a choice, the individual is likely to opt for the former in the interests of caution, particularly in an environment where the other choice may imply death from a failed oxygen system. In the extreme case, this first course of action would be further reinforced in a particularly coercive, venal society where the individual might even be convinced of the capability of the authorities to engineer the failure of their oxygen system and their death, in order to crush dissent, even if their complaint was in fact justified.

The end point of this process, when applied across many activities in life, is a colony of automatons performing tasks for an extraterrestrial authority, with their freedom reduced to a withered core of activities in the most private confines of their habitats. Extraterrestrial environments make such an endpoint not merely a possible outcome, but a likely one.

This attack on liberty is made possible because the pursuit of individual safety can be made an unchallengeable requirement of a ‘free’ society [23]. Freedom from instantaneous death caused by the external environment is the common freedom on which all individuals should converge, and any social structure or plan that brings people closer to that reality must surely be praiseworthy? The removal of other freedoms to achieve the safety of society is excusable. From this position, the environment can itself become the instrument of positive liberty. In this way, and in a rather unique way, encroachment on freedom of thought and movement, in the interests of ensuring the protection of the freedom of the individual against the lethality of the environment, can be transformed into a justifiable and universalisable doctrine of control [24].

Unfortunately this approach receives succour from every major tradition of social philosophy that we know on Earth. From Grotius to J.S. Mill, the right to self-preservation has been considered the core of individual liberties [25], a point beyond which no State may go, and which every individual has the right to take it upon him or herself to secure—indeed, such a notion has even been referred to as a ‘natural law’ [26]. Even Hobbes’ view of the necessity of sovereign control [27] turns on the right of each individual in a fight to preserve themselves. It is possible to spend much of one’s life on Earth without undue concern for self-preservation. Apart from those unfortunate individuals who confront a burglar or gang, most people will not actually come face to face with the need to infringe others’ rights to self-preservation. Fortunately, although the right to self-preservation is theoretically an unchallengeable right of all people, it remains, in a civil society, one sufficiently protected by the laws, and by regulations against various street crimes that might infringe self-preservation.

If, as has been traditional on the Earth, the right to selfpreservation is also held to be a basic right of all people in extraterrestrial environments, then the keys to despotism are handed over to those in control of society. Self-preservation is threatened on a day-to-day basis by the lethality of the environment. In such an environment, each individual does indeed represent a much greater threat to every other individual than on the Earth, because unpredictable and criminal actions against the infrastructure represent a continuously present and potentially catastrophic threat to self-preservation. The authorities therefore have the excuse to implement draconian systems of control to protect the right of every individual to self-preservation. Worse than this, however, the people will voluntarily, in exercising their right to selfpreservation, and to protect themselves, accept more farreaching control over the lives of others [28]. Where death is a more likely outcome of criminal action, the Hobbesian State of nature, and the tendency to vigorously guard against it, becomes a more tangible reality [29].

#### A lack of property rights enables tyranny in space by creating a monopoly on power and stifling individual expression.

Cockell 10 [Charles S. Cockell (Center for Earth, Planetary, Space and Astronomical Research – Open University, Milton Keynes), “Essay on the Causes and Consequences of Extraterrestrial Tyranny,” Journal of the British Interplanetary Society, Vol.63, pp. 15-37, January 2010. <https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Charles-Cockell/publication/258402359_Essay_on_the_Causes_and_Consequences_of_Extraterrestrial_Tyranny/links/00b495305364b3f6e8000000/Essay-on-the-Causes-and-Consequences-of-Extraterrestrial-Tyranny.pdf>] CT

Perhaps the most important economic argument is that a centrally-planned system of production is likely to become autarkic, bearing in mind the political problems outlined earlier. In principle, there is no reason why a centrally-planned system of manufacture should not trade its products with other entities, but in reality if there is no profit motive for the organisation to do so, it will not achieve the same level of inducement to put the effort into overcoming the difficult obstacles of interplanetary trade if it is only charged with fabricating enough of a product to satisfy domestic demand. The problem of autarky is just one of the many problems associated with the system, which ultimately lends itself to political tyranny.

The centrally-planned economy is unlikely, despite best efforts, to truly produce what people want and, like centrallyplanned states on the Earth, it cannot predict fashions and desires in the future that will necessarily make its economic output limited and dull compared to private entities, which are constantly striving to try to sell consumers new items. The worst effect of the strictly controlled economy will be the stifling of individual creativity, the opportunity to combine to produce, and the emergence of the political culture that results from the need to generate all the functionaries and state officials, with their attendant powers, that will be required to do the planning in the first place.

The logic of a centrally-planned economy, and the attraction of this in the face of the possible failure of entities producing things so basic as oxygen, should be resisted even though it may lead to a less ordered and structured economic network [53]. The role of the state in this schemata should be to ensure that sufficient entities exist (and more so for redundancy) to produce what is needed and to encourage a vigorous growth in these industries. It should only intervene to exert wholesale control over the means of production when a failure in some entity, or entities, threatens lives.

Rejecting a centrally-planned economy would imply competing means of production, which itself almost certainly implies the presence of a system of private property. The public ownership of all goods might appear superficially to be a security against the possibility of people going short of vital goods. In the early stages of the establishment of settlements, it might well be the case that public ownership of certain commodities such as water and some food provisions will be required to ensure that they are distributed fairly to all occupants. However, for all the reasons just adumbrated, some incentive for production must exist independently of the people running the settlement. Quite apart from this, the problem in a highly isolated group is that complete control of all property by a single authority opens the door to political tyranny.

An attraction of a Marxian society might be the economic equality that would result from the previously discussed mechanisms. Central planning, in particular, would obviate the chances of single, private entities accumulating a vast proportion of the wealth and individuals associated with these organisations becoming their own economic tyrants. There is merit in this view, and achieving equality would certainly prevent this outcome. Yet, regulations on monopolies and other tax mechanisms could be used to some degree to prevent excessive and despotic accumulations of wealth.

Aside from the most severe cases, there are rational motives for allowing inequality. The environment of outer space is lethal, difficult to work in and a costly place in which to establish enterprises. To rely on the establishment of large networks of human settlements throughout the Solar System, solely on the back of state enterprise and centrally-directed orders, is likely to be folly. There is good reason to question what motives privately-funded people, let alone state organisations, would have for exploring the far reaches of space anyway. So, every incentive must be found to drive groups to establish enterprises for resources, tourism or whatever else is deemed necessary in order to expand.

A Marxian system of equality in outer space, even if this could be achieved through some type of agreed social order, will erode the incentive to establish new enterprises from which trade can flow. Arguments that the driven will explore and settle space to expand the reach of humanity, to make it a multiplanet species and to advance science, independent of any economic incentive, are likely to be as ineffective as they were in stimulating productivity in the communist states of the Earth. People are motivated by these laudable and altruistic arguments, but the impulsion to work to secure the common good is not common and it is probably not sufficiently universal to be sure of achieving the results required in outer space.

The sense of community, which is perceived to be another golden egg of the Marxian vision, depends of course on what sense of community we are talking about. As I have elaborated elsewhere, the sense of community in a centrally-organised society driven to complete equality is likely - and very rapidly in the environment of outer space - to turn into a highly autarchic control structure in which there is certainly an evident community, but where the freedom of the individual is all but destroyed [54]. The society of contented slaves is most likely to emerge in an environment where continuously lethal external conditions give every excuse for control structures to expand into lives with ever more vigour by the process of the tendency of humans to expand their power bases.

The maturation of tyranny will be facilitated because the Marxian vision is a single doctrine vision. How exactly this vision will manifest in the environment of space is unpredictable, but any single doctrine society that seeks to protect centrally planned objectives can never tolerate dissenters. It has been recognised for a long time that it is in the nature of singledoctrine societies to remove countervailing views, either through political dictates, peer pressure or the generation of terror and it follows that, eo ipso, few lesser arguments need be entertained against the Marxian vision of an extraterrestrial society. The ease with which the deadly environment can be turned into the common enemy and used to justify the protection and advancement of a single and inflexible political and economic vision makes any social order that promulgates one — and only one — path to social success dangerous. The details of those parts of a Marxian plan that can succeed and those that cannot, therefore, whither into insignificance in the face of the need to encourage a plurality of ideas about how extraterrestrial society should be ordered.

#### State control of space property undermines liberty. Denying ownership in the name of preserving the common heritage of humankind is a form of tyranny.

Cockell 09 [Charles S. Cockell (Center for Earth, Planetary, Space and Astronomical Research – Open University, Milton Keynes), ““LIBERTY AND THE LIMITS TO THE EXTRATERRESTRIAL STATE”,” JBIS, VOL. 62, pp. 139-157, 2009. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Charles-Cockell/publication/259104003\_Liberty\_and\_the\_Limits\_to\_the\_Extraterrestrial\_State/links/0f3175305397610c17000000/Liberty-and-the-Limits-to-the-Extraterrestrial-State.pdf] CT

8. PRIVATE LAND AND PROPERTY

The acquisition of private property and land becomes a threat much more real to others who lack that property in an environment where the conditions are lethal. However, the usurpation of property and land by the state can no more be tolerated in an extraterrestrial environment than on the Earth if the conditions for liberty are to be nurtured. Thus a paradox faces the extraterrestrial state which revolves around the question of when it is legitimate to seize property in the interests of livelihood and when it is not [42].

It is worth stating again the famous words of William Pitt, ‘necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom’ [43]. The simple answer to problem of property is that it should rarely be right for the state to expropriate property since it must set itself the prior objective of resolving any situation that threatens the lives of people before it resorts to seizing property [44].

One cannot imagine war in space, at least in the foreseeable future, although the long-term future may hold a different story. The most common excuse for the expropriation of private property is therefore absent and the only situation in which such extremes can be envisaged is when a body of people are threatened with death in the extraterrestrial environment and no recourse other than the acquisition of others’ property can resolve the situation. An imaginary debacle involving a failed oxygen supply system in which segments of oxygen systems, owned privately by others, must be commandeered to avert an impending disaster in another segment of habitats, might be envisaged. But as with the systematic state claim to private property on the Earth, such situations must be overseen by deep political discussion and misgiving.

The lethal conditions in space do not prevent corporations and other suppliers of commodities from selling their wares to individuals in a traditional type of transaction whereby the property is then within the private domain of the buyer; and a great deal of suspicion and analysis should attend the excuse that the lethal conditions require public ownership of this and that commodity. In situations where early public ownership of resources seems likely, such as food production systems, the state, and the people, must seize upon all means possible to expand the rate of production and accessibility of the resource so that corporate or private ownership and competition becomes possible. Thus, the same principle that applies to the oxygen industry discussed earlier underpins the very notions of private property in space.

We cannot apply exactly the same view to land, where some type of public ownership may be desirable in certain spaces [45], but apart from these rare preserves, land could be available for private transaction both so that private industries can acquire natural resources and use them to better the economic field of play of the extraterrestrial settlements; and so that individuals can themselves seek space and resources independently of others. The transactions by which this land is traded may be by the same regulations as in many nations on the Earth: sold and bought by developers at prices that appeal to those who believe that they can do something useful with the land.

A more obvious question pertains to land that is not already under ownership – how is extraterrestrial land to be claimed in the first place? This is a matter that has occupied a great many people, and despite all the complexities and arguments about planetary protection, UN legalities and so on and so forth, a simple Lockean response to this question [46] seems the most practical way to deal with the problem – any person or individual who can find a use for land and do something productive with it should be able to claim it. Only this policy will maximise the chances that individuals and corporations will risk themselves in the lethal conditions of space to create enterprises beneficially using the land and expanding the human presence in space. The legal condition would be that these people must do something productive with the land, rather than merely claim it in absentia, hence preventing vast tracts of land sitting unused, but claimed by absentee landlords waving pieces of paper with descriptions of their landholdings, a problem that has already manifested itself in the public sale of land throughout the Solar System as gift items.

In this scheme of land the role of the state would be to collate claims on land and verify that productive activity is occurring on it, and to arbitrate and set the general laws that would apply to all subsequent transactions of land, which might be accomplished by estate agents or realtors no differently to the processes that occur on the Earth. On Earth today, this vision of extraterrestrial land is rejected by some people, but the reason seems to be a product of envy – a distaste that land will be claimed by rich corporations or nations that have the spacefaring capacity and denied to those that do not. But what is the point of denying land to those who could do something useful with it to placate those who would prefer to see nothing done with it at all, simply to satisfy their desire to level the whole of humanity to the lowest economic denominator? Land in outer space, barring that of potential biological interest and placed within the remit of planetary protection concerns, and accepting some minor regulations regarding pollution and waste in all other lands, should be free for any person or group to exploit and develop. The control of land by international or national regulations to hinder its free use – and the restriction in its use under the spurious claim that it is the common heritage of all humankind – is a form of tyranny [47]. There is no meaningful argument that can sustain the claim that land is the province or heritage of all humankind. Indeed, from a general point of view there seems to be considerably more greed and hubris bound up in the idea that everything in the Universe belongs to humankind compared with the claim that a few patches of land here and there, an infinitesimally small percentage of the material Universe, should be able to be claimed by corporations or individuals from planet Earth who can find something useful to do with it.

### 2 Conflicts and Predation

#### A future in space is literally unthinkable without private property rights. No one could be secure in their possessions.

Wasser & Jones 08 [Alan Wasser & Douglas Jobes, “Space Settlements, Property Rights, and International Law: Could a Lunar Settlement Claim the Lunar Real Estate It Needs to Survive,” 73 J. Air L. & Com. 37 (2008). <https://scholar.smu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1159&context=jalc>] CT

XV. REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM 137

The falsehood of the proposition that the Outer Space Treaty prohibits ownership of private property on the Moon13 can be further demonstrated by carrying it to its logical conclusion. Imagine the Moon has been settled for a century. Hundreds of thousands of people live there. Ships to and from various parts of the Earth and Mars come and go from the main Lunar space port every hour. Will those hundreds of thousands of Lunar citizens still do without any private property rights because of the two-centuryold Outer Space Treaty? Will no one own the land where they or their grandfathers-built their homes and factories? Will no one ever own the land where that space port's giant terminal buildings stand? Even if that restrictive view of the Outer Space Treaty were to prevail, sooner or later, and probably as soon as possible, Lunar colonists would most certainly decide to scrap it and start claiming ownership of the land they occupy." 9 Whether or not the settlement is recognized as a government, it will certainly acquire many of the attributes of a government, like deciding which of its citizens owns what. At that point, the governments of the Earth will have to decide what to do. Go to war against the Lunar colonists over it? Of course not. They will spend endless hours in legal wrangling about it, but in the end, they will have no choice but to acquiesce to some sort of reasonable Lunar property regime. The U.S., and every other nation on Earth, will eventually have to agree to accept and/or recognize the settlement's claims.

#### Property rights in space solve predation and prevent conflict.

Thomas 05 [Jonathan Thomas, “Privatization of Space Ventures: Proposing a Proven Regulatory Theory for Future Extraterrestral Appropriation,” 1 BYU Int'l L. & Mgmt. R. 191 (2005). https://digitalcommons.law.byu.edu/ilmr/vol1/iss1/7]CT

The current corpus juris spatialis based on res communis has received wide criticism by legal commentators, in part because of the practical limitations of its idealistic principles in application. For example, one commentator addressing the potential problems of future colonization of celestial bodies argued that the prohibition against private and national appropriation may cause deleterious effects when colonizers build settlements. Although these colonizers may occupy the property, they will have no legal control of their communities and could be uprooted for the purposes of putting that property to a better use for the benefit of common heritage. This risk may serve as a strong disincentive to the preservation of sectarian colonization in a res communis society.

Other commentators argue that the current corpus juris spatialis based on the idealistic res communis principle has actually slowed the development of outer space exploration because privately and publicly funded organizations cannot appropriate outer space.61 Under the corpus juris spatialis, there exists no probability or possibility of return on investments, which results in insufficient monetary incentive for businesses or private persons. Even with the daunting needs created by increasing population and consumption, and decreasing resources on earth, many states may not even attempt to exploit extraterrestrial resources because the current corpus juris spatialis does not guarantee that their own citizens will benefit from the investments made with their tax dollars. A future lack of resources, combined with a body of law that mandates common ownership of potential resources, may create a black market for extraterrestrial resources, or it may engender armed conflicts over the lack of supplies available to states.63

While there is little past precedent to justify it, and little present sentiment to support it, the current corpus juris spatialis clings to the idea that in the future, humans will be able to share the resources of space in common. One commentator illustrates these idealistic ideas and assumptions:

The articles of the various [outer space J treaties all predicate themselves upon the theory that mankind will work together for the common good with no real advantage to be gained other than the praise of his fellow man. It assumes that people are able to co-operate, and that they will indeed do so whenever dealing with outer space ventures. While the global effort in researching, developing and exploring space for the sheer joy of the information obtained, accomplished in the spirit of teamwork is a noble goal, it is clear that a world full of economic strife is ripe to intervene.64

These assumptions of the Outer Space Treaty and the Moon Treaty are unrealistic at present. Perhaps someday humankind will develop ideal characteristics that the Outer Space Treaty and Moon Treaty would like it to engender. In the meantime, it may be impractical to attempt to solve the dilemma of space appropriation based on characteristics yet to be consistently demonstrated.

Furthermore, res communis principles would become problematic as applied to space law due to the following problems: (1) the application of res communis theory in the Western world has been unsuccessful; and (2) scarcity of resources in res communis society is fatalistic to the society. It could be argued that the success of res communis ideology, albeit on a small scale, indicates that humankind should be able to implement the res communis ideology into corpus juris spatialis. While res communis ideology has seen some success in other societies, it is not prudent to assume that it will enjoy the same successful application in our increasingly capitalistic, modern society. Societies that have successfully implemented res communis ideology have had entirely different goals and values systems than those of the capitalist societies that are now developing the means for further space exploration. 65 While the isolated successes of communal societies in Africa and the Australian Outback are indeed admirable, they are certainly not the pioneers of space exploration and appropriation. Furthermore, it is difficult to posit that capitalistic nations can successfully switch to a res communis ideology. Groups that originated in capitalistic societies and subsequently switched to communal living have ultimately failed and reverted back to the individual ownership system from which they came. 66

The second problem with using res communis as a basis for property endowment in outer space law is the damaging effect of individual appropriation on the community when scarcity arises. Even in a res communis society where the community owns all property, individual members of the community nonetheless use certain parts of that property to the exclusion of the rest of the community. Such individual use and appropriation against the community is seen as permissible under res communis ideology supported by Lockean notions of property endowment; an individual may exclude the community from property if he or she mixes his or her labor with that property. This individual appropriation does not have a damaging impact on the community as long as there IS "'enough and as good left in common for others.71 However, when there IS scarcity, the rights of the community against the individual become increasingly hostile.

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In outer space, scarcity will always be an Issue and thus will limit the utility of res communis based on Lockean principles of property endowment.72 The universe potentially may contain billions of solar systems and planets, but some celestial bodies may prove to be gold mines, while others prove to be "the Sahara."73 More important than the scarcity of limited resources, however, is the scarcity created by human lifespan and technological limitations. The time that space travel presently takes in comparison to the average human life span limits our ability to exploit celestial resources. Furthermore, technological limitations already have created issues of scarcity: such as the increasing problems of satellite positioning and traffic in geostationary orbit.

#### Terrestrial examples prove. Absent enforceable property rights, the poor are subject to deprivation, abuse, predation, and conflict. Turns case since without property rights, the power of the rich to exploit the rest of society increases.

UNDP ’08 - Working Group on Property Rights, 2008, 'Empowering the Poor Through Property Rights', in Making the Law Work for Everyone Volume II, Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, United Nations Development Programme, New York, pp. 63-128 <https://www.mercatus.org/system/files/ch2.pdf> AT

Growing Slums and Legal VoidsAt least a third of the world’s poor live in irregular settlements without coherent legal protection of their assets. Population and urban settlement growth projections predict an aggravation of the problem. The UN Human Settlements Programme holds that over the next 25 years more than 2 billion urban dwellers could be added to the close to 1 billion now living in slums, with some 2.825 billion requiring housing and urban services by 2030. If no action is taken most of this growth will occur outside the legally protected sector.37 The consequences of the exclusion of the poor as a result of rapid urbanisation and modernisation are being acutely manifested around the world. In the final analysis, among all the causal factors for displacement, first and foremost is lack of security of tenure for the poor, who have no enforceable property rights or access to justice.

Dire Consequences and Missed Development Opportunities

Without enforceable property rights, residents of informal settlements are often subject to forceful eviction. They must fend for themselves or pay bribes to local landlords to defend their right to occupy land, protect it from harmful encroachment, and settle disputes. Lack of protection, of tenure and of legal leverage for economic activity, decreases productivity. It leads to social exclusion, reproduced over generations and visible in the spatial segregation of the poor in the urban housing environment. Environmental and behavioural degradation is closely linked to the vicious circles perpetuated by faltering property rights systems which fail the poor and slow down the development of society at large. Residents in extra-legal settlements have no legitimate way to transfer a home to a family member or heir nor to rent or sell to another. Illegal black land markets emerge and abusive practices become prevalent. Due to a lack of property rights guarantee, many assets in developing nations are not fungible. The poor and their potential business partners have no criteria to establish or realise the potential of their assets. There is no clear reciprocity for holding each other accountable and no sufficient basis to protect transactions or to pool assets with others. For the national economy, extra-legality sets off a cycle of disinvestment in housing; it represents a lost opportunity to stimulate productive economic activity.

Rural Poverty and Property Rights

Despite continuing urbanisation, two-thirds of the poor live in rural areas. Ninety-five percent live in China, South Central Asia and Sub Saharan Africa. Together these rural poor account for around half the world’s total poor. Rural Land Relations and Extreme Poverty Insufficient land to live on, and insecure access or rights over land, are well recognised factors in sustaining poverty.38 Rural landlessness is often the best predictor of extreme poverty and hunger. Inadequate rights regarding land often result in entrenched poverty and are significant impediments to rural development and to alleviation of hunger.39 Elimination of the causes of tenure insecurity is thus imperative for fighting poverty.

Rural Land Relations and Armed Conflict

Conflict over rural land ownership and access is almost always near the centre of armed civil conflict.40 With various degrees of prominence, war over land access has been a driver, such as between the land rights of farmers and pastoralists (Burkina Faso), citizens and strangers (Côte d’Ivoire), indigenous and proto-colonial groups (Namibia, Liberia, Mozambique), and ethnic groups (Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, Uganda). Essentially, it is about conflicts of interest — and legal rights — between the rural rich and rural poor. Not surprisingly, attention to the legal rights of the majority of poor is often an early platform of post-conflict reforms, most recently in Sudan and Liberia,41 quite aside from the need to address conflict-induced land losses and occupations.42

#### Two impacts –

#### Democide – Empirically, murder by tyrannical governments is the biggest impact. It outweighs war and cap. There is a direct relationship between the lack of personal freedom and democide.

Wayman 17 summarizing Rummel [Wayman F.W. (2017) Rummel and Singer, DON and COW. In: Gleditsch N. (eds) R.J. Rummel: An Assessment of His Many Contributions. SpringerBriefs on Pioneers in Science and Practice, vol 37. Springer, Cham. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-54463-2_9>] CT

At Rummel’s website, the dominant theme is that power kills (http://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/). As he began one of his books (Rummel, 1994: 1), ‘Power kills; absolute power kills absolutely. This new Power Principle is the message emerging from my previous work on the causes of war and from this work on genocide and government mass murder … The more power a government has, the more it can act arbitrarily.’

A major supporting idea is the term regime, as operationalized by Rummel (1995) and used as the organizing principle for his datasets on ‘democide—genocide and mass murder’ (Rummel, 1998: 1). This idea of a regime is important to his work because there is a lot of variation from regime to regime in the regime’s amount of power, and also in the number of people the regime kills. And Rummel’s dominant theme is that those two characteristics of a regime (power and deaths) co-vary. In my own ordinary language, a regime is a type of government controlling a state apparatus. As Rummel (1995: 9) says, ‘The changes from the Kaiser monarchy to the Weimar Republic to Hitler’s rule … give us three different German regimes. … I count 432 distinct state regimes during the period from 1900 to 1987’. Hence, there would be the czarist regime in Russia until 1917, and then the communist regime from 1917 to 1991. Between February and October 1917, there should I think be a transition period and transitional regime (under Kerensky). Individual rulers, such as general secretaries Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev, and their governments, do not represent distinct regimes of their own, but instead are all leaders, successively, of different administrations in the communist regime.

To me, Rummel’s (1983) article made the first really convincing case for the inter-liberal or inter-democratic peace. I have since challenged thousands of people, from classrooms to conferences where I am speaking, to name any other proposition in the social sciences that is surprising or counter-intuitive, and that has (according to its advocates at least) no exceptions. No one has ever been able, in my presence, to name such a proposition—other than Rummel’s.

The COW Project generated the data for the bulk of the hypothesis tests in IR for decades (Wayman & Singer, 1990: 247–248). And ‘realist theory informed 90% of the hypotheses tested by IR scholars up to the 1970s’ (Walker, 2013: 148). It was a bit of a shock that an anti-realist hypothesis, the inter-democratic peace, had produced such a paradigm-shattering result. Sadly, I never heard Singer say a good word about Rummel’s studies confirming the inter-democratic peace hypothesis. Rummel had used COW data on wars, plus other people’s data on democracy, Liberalism, and freedom of nations, to contradict one of Singer’s claims (namely, Singer’s contention that the inter-democratic peace was based on too few cases and too flawed in other ways to be taken to be true; Small & Singer, 1976). Deciphering Singer’s true position on this is complicated. When Geller & Singer (1998) produced a literature review of scientific studies of international conflict, while they did caution that the evidence is ‘not indisputable’, they did acknowledge that ‘the evidence in the area of the joint freedom proposition is consistent and cumulative. Democratic dyads are less likely to engage in war than are non-democratic pairs’ (Geller & Singer, 1998: 87–88). But on the other hand, on his own at his weekly COW seminar, Singer was much more skeptical about the inter-democratic peace. So it is not surprising that, four years after Geller & Singer’s assessment, one of Singer’s students, Henderson (2002) wrote a book that constituted an attack on the democratic peace literature. In the opening paragraph, Henderson says, ‘It struck me as strange that one of the doyen of the behavioral revolution would be such an avid critic of what some scholars hail as the closest thing to an empirical law in the field’.

Instead, Singer seemed more interested in the international or interstate system. While Waltz (1979: 94) defined ‘international political structures in terms of states’, Singer spoke of ‘the national state as level of analysis’ (Singer, 1961: 82–89). Thus, whereas Waltz writes of a system whose basic units are sovereign states, Singer ends up with two systems: an inter-state system and an international system. The international system consists of entities that have an international political goal (including … state creation or survival), engage in international political behavior (including inter-state or extra-state conflict, alliances, trade, or international organizations), or engage in political behavior that has international consequences (such as civil wars). The [international] system … includes … terrorist groups (Sarkees & Wayman, 2010: 27).

Nested within this international system is the interstate system, beginning in 1816, distinguished in terms of ‘recurring international interactions between and among the interstate system members’ (Sarkees & Wayman, 2010: 16). Singer’s COW data are organized around a focus on state system membership. Basically, between 1816 and 1919 an entity is a state system member if it has 500,000 people or more and is diplomatically recognized at an adequate level by Britain and France, while after 1919 it is a state if it is a League of Nations or UN member or has 500,000 people and diplomatic recognition by two major powers. (Note that ‘state’ becomes a short-hand for ‘state system member’; Bremer & Ghosn, 2003.)

Much confusion results from the short-hand expressions ‘state’ and ‘system’. ‘Whenever the word “system” was used without a modifier, Singer & Small were referring to the interstate system’ (Sarkees & Wayman, 2010: 16). Likewise, the ‘states’ whose characteristics are listed in the COW datasets are not the population of states, but the population of state system members.

Singer’s most widely-cited explanatory articles on interstate war are probably Deutsch & Singer (1964) and Singer, Bremer & Stuckey (1972). Both operate at the system level of analysis. It may be that Singer’s devotion to the interstate system is part of what made him reluctant to embrace the inter-democratic peace. As he said in another widely-cited article, the international system level of analysis ‘almost inevitably requires that we postulate a high degree of uniformity in the foreign policy codes of our national actors’, and ‘the system-oriented approach tends to produce a sort of “black box” or “billiard ball” concept of national actors’. This is consistent with his foreign policy instincts, which were loath to attribute ‘white hats’ to the ‘free world’ and ‘black hats’ to the Soviet Union, in the assigning of blame for the dangers to world peace in the Cold War era. Singer’s posture was very different from Rummel’s, with Rummel in favor of Reagan’s foreign policy and against détente. In these Cold War contexts, Singer may have been uncomfortable with Rummel’s summary that ‘freedom preserves peace and life’.

Singer wrote ‘it is evident that my research and teaching has unambiguously been problem-driven’, and ‘for reasons that I struggle to articulate, the problem has been, and remains, that of war’ (Singer, 1990: 2). The COW Project was founded by him at the University of Michigan in 1963, the year after the world nearly was destroyed, had the Cuban Missiles Crisis gone badly. International war attracted Singer’s best efforts at finding the ‘causes of war and conditions of peace’ (1990: 3). As he and Small put it, their focus is a ‘preoccupation with the elimination of international war and the possible role of solid explanatory knowledge in that enterprise’ (Small & Singer, 1982: 17). The first COW war handbook, Wages of War (Singer & Small, 1972) was consequently limited to international wars. Karl Deutsch subsequently convinced Singer that there was a need for a comparable list of civil wars. This led to a new handbook, Resort to Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816–1980, presenting a ‘comprehensive list that will enhance … study of civil wars’ (Small & Singer, 1982: 204). The civil war list is accompanied with a cautionary note, ‘International war remains our major concern … A research assault on [explanation of] civil war … is clearly a task better left to others’ (Small & Singer, 1982: 17). Consequently, the COW project had many datasets (such as the Militarized Interstate Dispute dataset) on the correlates of interstate war, but nothing comparable on the civil war data. Nevertheless, the publication of the civil war data was a valuable contribution to studies of civil war, and was also a step toward the full delineation of the totality of modern war. This was followed, in the third COW handbook (Sarkees & Wayman, 2010) with a definition and list of non-state wars, completing the full reckoning of the patterns of war in the past two centuries. Also, the focus of Singer on international war was somewhat vindicated by his co-authored article revealing that, over the time since the Congress of Vienna, inter-state wars had resulted in 32 million battle deaths, intra-state wars only 18 million (Sarkees, Wayman & Singer, 2003).

Critics often ask if the COW project has a state-centric bias. A more subtle and I think effective line of inquiry is to ask why the COW project has emphasized state-system-membership rather than simple sovereignty and independence as the defining characteristic of the state. This can cause confusion. For example, a number of non-state wars, including the main phase of one of the deadliest wars in history, the Taiping Rebellion, have been fought in areas that would be considered to be states by students of comparative politics. This and other related difficulties have led pioneers outside the COW project (Gleditsch, 2004; Fazal, 2007), as well as Singer’s successor at the COW Project (Bremer & Ghosn, 2003) to propose various revisions and expansions of the concept of the state, to go beyond the COW state membership definition. These difficulties and challenges continue to provide important frontiers for research on war and the state in coming years.

In contrast to Singer, Rummel seems to me to have taken a more inductivist, practical approach to states and similar entities. On his website, powerkills.com, one finds a focus on killing, even of one person. The perpetrators are often leaders of totalitarian states, such as Mao, but can also be rebel leaders (the young Mao) or a king (Leopold of Belgium) who controls what some call a colony (the Belgian Congo) but Rummel calls Leopold’s personal property. The unit of analysis becomes the regime and regime-like power-centers such as Leopold’s Congo or Mao’s rebel territory.

Rummel (1986) concluded that ‘War isn’t this century’s biggest killer’. As he said then, ‘About 35,654,000 people have died in this century’s international and domestic wars, revolutions, and violent conflicts. … The number of people killed by totalitarian or extreme authoritarian governments already far exceeds that for all wars, civil and international. Indeed, this number already approximates the number that might be killed in a nuclear war’. He itemized 95 million killed by communist governments, but only ‘831,000 killed by free democratic governments’. Those killed by free democratic governments were always foreigners:

In no case have I found a democratic government carrying out massacres, genocide and mass executions of its own citizens … Absolutist governments (those that Freedom House would classify as not free) are not only many times deadlier than war, but are themselves the major factor causing war and other forms of violent conflict. They are a major cause of militarism. Indeed, absolutism, not war, is mankind’s deadliest scourge of all. In light of all this, the peaceful, nonviolent fostering of civil liberties and political rights must be made mankind’s highest humanitarian goal … because freedom preserves peace and life (Rummel, 1986).

#### Space War – Space tyranny increases tensions and the likelihood of conflict in space, and spreads to earth. Turns case by destroying democratic governance in space and on earth.

Cockell 10 [Charles S. Cockell (Center for Earth, Planetary, Space and Astronomical Research – Open University, Milton Keynes), “Essay on the Causes and Consequences of Extraterrestrial Tyranny,” Journal of the British Interplanetary Society, Vol.63, pp. 15-37, January 2010. <https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Charles-Cockell/publication/258402359_Essay_on_the_Causes_and_Consequences_of_Extraterrestrial_Tyranny/links/00b495305364b3f6e8000000/Essay-on-the-Causes-and-Consequences-of-Extraterrestrial-Tyranny.pdf>] CT

2. THE CONSEQUENCES OF EXTRATERRESTRIAL TYRANNY

The ways in which a generally tyrannous state of mind might consolidate itself within extraterrestrial authorities are as diverse as they are difficult to predict, but an important question to answer is whether, if these types of despotic authorities do emerge, they have any significance beyond the people who are directly affected by them.

The question is important to consider because if it is the case that tyranny will influence citizens beyond the confines of the settlements in which it has taken root, then there are reasons to try to prevent it that run deeper than merely sparing isolated groups of people the barbarism that might result from the behaviour of states that they have allowed to become dictatorial.

Despotism can be infectious and a concern might be that in allowing tyranny to take hold in one outpost it will thereby influence others. An interest in understanding tyranny might be motivated by the desire to prevent the transmission of a social disease through space [8]. This tendency for dictatorship to spread is often the result of the inclination of politicians to copy existing arrangements out of a sense of expediency. Usually, a lack of imagination or simply the desire to opt for a less risky, yet sometimes tyrannical, approach leaves politicians to revert to the status quo. Having said that, it must be recognised that in some cases extremely tyrannical and dynastic authorities may indirectly encourage other settlements or founders of other settlements to take a radically libertarian tangent in order to escape the perceived repression experienced elsewhere.

Outposts may take tyrannical paths if they are run by the coercively inclined who, being surrounded by other tyrannous settlements, use this as an excuse to implement the same types of governance. These authorities can provide a few token freedoms to create the illusion of a society more free than alternatives.

And the infectious nature of tyranny can overwhelm the good-intentioned. Even if an outpost is run by those inclined to liberty, it may be difficult for them to achieve a high degree of freedom if the communities with which they trade, or even those from which they receive vital resources in the same region, are run by despots. This situation amounts to little more than the obvious observation that a large collection of autarchic settlements will tend to drag new settlements into a similar frame of mind.

I think, though, that there is a much more profound implication which is a concern in the much longer term, and that is the influence of extraterrestrial tyranny on terrestrial liberty. If space does become home to a collection of settlements, then there are several ways in which their decline into serfdom might ultimately threaten the conditions for terrestrial liberty. It has long been recognised that outer space is a strategically important position [9]. Anyone situated in the orbits or free spaces beyond the Earth looks down on the Earth-bound population. Like defenders on the top of a hill who stare down at their adversary in the valley below, there is a virtually unchallengeable psychological advantage to being located on the high ground. Strategically, outer space is advantageous because with low energetic requirements to move around the Solar System and acquire its vast resources, energetic and mineral, those who have a commanding, or even just an influential position, in this frontier essentially wield power in the infinite spaces beyond the Earth, which is, within this picture, a tiny isolated rocky surface at the bottom of one particular gravity well.

From this perspective it is not a difficult task to understand the influence of extraterrestrial tyranny on terrestrial liberty. The Earth would labour under the threat and thought of tyrants who stare down from the top of the gravity well. The presence of despotic regimes in outer space will eclipse the Earth with the shadow of autocracy. They have every chance of plunging the Earth into a new type of benighted age. This influence neither requires a large number of these settlements, nor that they even exert a considerable economic leverage on the Earth; it merely requires their presence in space and their opposition to the philosophy of liberty. Their existence will make those on the Earth who defend the arguments of liberty-seeking states feel insecure and vulnerable.

There are more tangible ways in which tyrants might influence the Earth. If they, at the top of the gravity well, develop weapons or even threaten to develop weapons that can be dropped onto the Earth, substantial economic resources might be expended by terrestrial states attempting to contain or prevent malevolent intentions from them. Like a person harassed by flies in the summer heat, they do not need to be large or even to possess the capacity to do much harm; they may be orders of magnitude smaller in resources and numbers of people than the Earth, but their presence might still be a constant source of irritation to earthly states. While they exist, the time and resources applied to them will be a drain on terrestrial libertarian states. Their access to the infinite resources of space and their ability to secrete away weapons in the unpoliceable vastness of the interplanetary void will make them a persistent concern to terrestrial nations because their unknown intentions and future potential lead them to sap resolve and draw political and economic attention.

In the much longer term, these tyrants may control the supply of essential materials to Earth. Rare metals, sources of energy and key orbits in space may all eventually fall under their control. Commanding the vast resources and key strategic points of the Solar System, autocractic extraterrestrial states do not need to possess expansive infrastructure to find themselves in a situation where they control important elements in the means of terrestrial supply.

All of these factors conspire to allow extraterrestrial communities to exert a disproportionate effect on the Earth compared to their size and populace. It is not an over-dramatisation to conclude that if liberty should be extinguished in space then its future on the Earth will be in doubt. Pope Gregory VII’s invocation to ‘Let the terrestrial kingdom serve – or be the slave – of the celestial’ [10] may thus come to be realised literally.

The consequences of extraterrestrial tyranny are, therefore, of the most profound scope. Examining the conditions for its emergence and persistence beyond the Earth is not merely an intellectual enquiry of interest to political philosophers and scientists, nor are its consequences necessarily confined to those unfortunate enough to find themselves under the aegis of its practitioners. A successful diminution of the conditions that allow extraterrestrial despotism to take hold may ultimately turn out to be essential for ensuring the continuity of human freedom itself

#### Space conflicts go nuclear- both fast and probable. (That’s their Grego card)

Grego 15 [Laura Grego, an expert in space weapons and security; ballistic missile proliferation, and ballistic missile defense, "Preventing Space War", Union of Concerned Scientists, 07-05-2015 <https://allthingsnuclear.org/lgrego/preventing-space-war>] JDN

So says a very good New York Times editorial “Preventing a Space War” this week. Sounds right, if X-Wing fighters come to mind when you think space conflict. But in reality conflict in space is both more likely than one would think and less likely to be so photogenic. Space as a locus of conflict The Pentagon has known that space could be a flash point at least since the late 1990s when it began including satellites and space weapons in earnest as part of its wargames. The early games revealed some surprises. For example, attacking an adversary’s ground-based anti-satellite weapons before they were used could be the “trip wire” that starts a war: in the one of the first war games, an attack on an enemy’s ground-based lasers was meant to defuse a potential conflict and protect space assets, but instead was interpreted as an act of war and initiated hostilities. The games also revealed that disrupting space-based communication and information flow or “~~blinding~~” could rapidly escalate a war, eventually leading to nuclear weapon exchange. The war games have continued over the years with increased sophistication, but continue to find that conflicts can rapidly escalate and become global when space weapons are involved, and that even minor opponents can create big problems. The report back from the 2012 game, which included NATO partners, said these insights have become “virtually axiomatic.” Participants in the most recent Schriever war games found that when space weapons were introduced in a regional crisis, it escalated quickly and was difficult to stop from spreading. The compressed timelines, the global as well as dual-use nature of space assets, the difficulty of attribution and seeing what is happening, and the inherent vulnerability of satellites all contribute to this problem. Satellite vulnerability & solutions Satellites are valuable but, at least on an individual basis, physically vulnerable. Vulnerable in that they are relatively fragile, as launch mass is at a premium and so protective armor is too expensive, and a large number of low-earth-orbiting satellites are no farther from the earth’s surface than the distance from Boston to Washington, DC.

#### DA Despite resistance, the CCP regime is stable now – but challenges to legitimacy cause lashout

Ball, MA in IR, 20

(Joshua, University of St. Andrews, <https://globalsecurityreview.com/degree-chinas-internal-stability-depend-economic-growth/>, April 10) BW

For decades, Western academics, policymakers, and analysts assumed that China’s embrace of capitalist economic policies would set the stage for democratic reform. Almost three decades later, however, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) remains firmly in power under the increasingly autocratic leadership of General Secretary Xi Jinping. While the CCP-controlled government faces a range of threats from groups within its borders, the idea of a downturn in the Chinese economy remains a very legitimate threat. The Chinese government has radically modernized its economic policies over the past three decades, completely reversing their initial Marxist or Maoist aversion to providing monetary compensation for labor. These reforms are responsible for the significant growth of the Chinese middle class, which has the potential to be the most influential group in China when looked at in regards to socio-economic status. As a result, the considerably large middle class has come to perceive the CCP as being responsible for their rising levels of prosperity. China has undoubtedly experienced the effects of the 2008-2009 global economic crisis; it indeed fared much better than the majority of the world. However, China still faces many hurdles to overcome. Rising Debt and Escalating Unemployment for Chinese College Graduates It is becoming increasingly difficult in China for college graduates to find jobs, the volume of China’s exports is dropping, and tens of millions of workers are out of work. The possibility of a financial crisis in China could challenge Beijing’s ability to hold up its side of the deal with the population. Since the inception of Jiang Zemin’s ‘Three Represents,’ meant to attract private entrepreneurs to party membership, the middle and upper classes have seen the party as being responsible for their economic well-being. The government provides an environment for a healthy, regulated economy, to encourage the creation of private wealth and property, and in return has its rule legitimized by its people. Arguably, while it is individuals are responsible for the creation of personal wealth, the party made it possible. If the government or party cannot guarantee jobs to the people, there remains the little reason for the people to tolerate the strict control that the party maintains over the state. If the CCP-controlled government cannot sustain economic growth, it could be perceived by members of the growing middle class as violating the social contract that has existed between China’s citizens and the country’s ruling party elite. The CCP could face a challenge to its legitimacy if and when the time comes that it is unable to guarantee a healthy economy, prompting potential discontent from the middle class. Beijing has a track record of effectively suppressing unrest The Chinese government has become particularly adept at maintaining or regaining control over its people via means of physical repression, censorship, and through the creation of an environment where fear of speaking out is a legitimate means of control. Indeed, the likelihood of an economic downturn eliminating the CCP’s influence is minimal. Rising social discontent isn’t likely to be enough to force the party itself from power, but it might be sufficient to tempt some members of the elite to take advantage of the situation to their political benefit, thus leading to internal instability within the party and damaging its credibility. While the CCP has an extraordinary ability to suppress dissent, many argue that it can only contain such dissent for so long. However, due to the rapid proliferation of advanced technologies including surveillance, censorship, and controlled access to information, the Chinese authorities are empowered as never before, to monitor, identify, and censor those whose activities are a perceived threat to the party. Nevertheless, a sustained economic downturn poses a threat to the CCP’s legitimacy. Continued civil unrest on the part of groups desiring independence from CCP rule as a result of religious suppression and ethnic inequality illustrate not-insignificant threats to the party’s ability to maintain total control over the Chinese state. Regardless, the most significant threat to the power monopoly held by the CCP is a pronounced economic downturn.

#### The plan erodes CCP legitimacy. Xi and CCP leadership have made the privatization of space their top priority for military and economic superiority. Marlborough reads yellow:

Patel 21 [(Neel, space reporter for MIT Technology Review, and I also write The Airlock newsletter, your number one source for everything happening off this planet. Before joining, he worked as a freelance science and technology journalist, contributing stories to Popular Science, The Daily Beast, Slate, Wired, the Verge, and elsewhere. Prior to that, he was an associate editor for Inverse, where I grew and led the website’s space coverage.) “China’s surging private space industry is out to challenge the US” MIT Technology Review, 1/21/2021. https://www.technologyreview.com/2021/01/21/1016513/china-private-commercial-space-industry-dominance/] BC

How did China get here—and why?

Until recently, China’s space activity has been overwhelmingly dominated by two state-owned enterprises: the China Aerospace Science & Industry Corporation Limited (CASIC) and the China Aerospace Science and Technology Corporation (CASC). A few private space firms have been allowed to operate in the country for a while: for example, there’s the China Great Wall Industry Corporation Limited (in reality a subsidiary of CASC), which has provided commercial launches since it was established in 1980. But for the most part, China’s commercial space industry has been nonexistent. Satellites were expensive to build and launch, and they were too heavy and large for anything but the biggest rockets to actually deliver to orbit. The costs involved were too much for anything but national budgets to handle.

That all changed this past decade as the costs of making satellites and launching rockets plunged. In 2014, a year after Xi Jinping took over as the new leader of China, the Chinese government decided to treat civil space development as a key area of innovation, as it had already begun doing with AI and solar power. It issued a policy directive called Document 60 that year to enable large private investment in companies interested in participating in the space industry.

“Xi’s goal was that if China has to become a critical player in technology, including in civil space and aerospace, it was critical to develop a space ecosystem that includes the private sector,” says Namrata Goswami, a geopolitics expert based in Montgomery, Alabama, who’s been studying China’s space program for many years. “He was taking a cue from the American private sector to encourage innovation from a talent pool that extended beyond state-funded organizations.”

As a result, there are now 78 commercial space companies operating in China, according to a 2019 report by the Institute for Defense Analyses. More than half have been founded since 2014, and the vast majority focus on satellite manufacturing and launch services.

For example, Galactic Energy, founded in February 2018, is building its Ceres rocket to offer rapid launch service for single payloads, while its Pallas rocket is being built to deploy entire constellations. Rival company i-Space, formed in 2016, became the first commercial Chinese company to make it to space with its Hyperbola-1 in July 2019. It wants to pursue reusable first-stage boosters that can land vertically, like those from SpaceX. So does LinkSpace (founded in 2014), although it also hopes to use rockets to deliver packages from one terrestrial location to another.

Spacety, founded in 2016, wants to turn around customer orders to build and launch its small satellites in just six months. In December it launched a miniaturized version of a satellite that uses 2D radar images to build 3D reconstructions of terrestrial landscapes. Weeks later, it released the first images taken by the satellite, Hisea-1, featuring three-meter resolution. Spacety wants to launch a constellation of these satellites to offer high-quality imaging at low cost.

To a large extent, China is following the same blueprint drawn up by the US: using government contracts and subsidies to give these companies a foot up. US firms like SpaceX benefited greatly from NASA contracts that paid out millions to build and test rockets and space vehicles for delivering cargo to the International Space Station. With that experience under its belt, SpaceX was able to attract more customers with greater confidence.

Venture capital is another tried-and-true route. The IDA report estimates that VC funding for Chinese space companies was up to $516 million in 2018—far shy of the $2.2 billion American companies raised, but nothing to scoff at for an industry that really only began seven years ago. At least 42 companies had no known government funding.

And much of the government support these companies do receive doesn’t have a federal origin, but a provincial one. “[These companies] are drawing high-tech development to these local communities,” says Hines. “And in return, they’re given more autonomy by the local government.” While most have headquarters in Beijing, many keep facilities in Shenzhen, Chongqing, and other areas that might draw talent from local universities.

There’s also one advantage specific to China: manufacturing. “What is the best country to trust for manufacturing needs?” asks James Zheng, the CEO of Spacety’s Luxembourg headquarters. “It’s China. It’s the manufacturing center of the world.” Zheng believes the country is in a better position than any other to take advantage of the space industry’s new need for mass production of satellites and rockets alike.

#### Diversionary conflict – it escalates.

Hassid, PhD, 19

(Jonathan, PoliSci@Berkeley, AssistProfPoliSci@IowaState, A Poor China Might Be More Dangerous Than a Rich China, in Foreign Policy Issues for America, ed. Richard Mansbach DPhil and James McCormick PhD, Routledge)

China has a number of political differences and potential conflicts with the United States, some of which are summarized in Chapter 4. From China’s vast maritime territorial claims, the anomalous status of Taiwan to America’s alliances with Japan and South Korea, its treatment of Tibetans and Islamic minorities like the Uighurs, and its reluctance to implement UN-sponsored sanctions to force North Korea to abandon nuclear weapons, there are many potential flash points in the Sino-U.S. relationship. Many analysts noted that at the 19th Party Congress Xi Jinping promoted a more aggressive and muscular foreign policy, promising that China would become a world superpower by 2050. This fact alone could presage eventual conflict with the current reigning superpower, the United States. Indeed, many in China and across Asia feel that President Trump’s pullout from the U.S.-led Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) have already signaled US retreat from the region, opening the way for a more assertive Chinese foreign policy. Some analysts go further, arguing that China is even now trying to build its own world order and muscle out U.S. trade influence by signing new bilateral trade agreements with historical U.S. allies like Canada. These signs may point to potential conflict in the future. However there is also reason to be hopeful; relations between the two giants were normalized in the 1970s, and thus far China and the United States have avoided serious conflict. In part this has been a result of U.S. policies in the region and because China has been able to increase its global status peacefully. But perhaps the most important reason conflict has been avoided is because Beijing has looked inwardly, concentrating on generating economic growth within its borders rather than making trouble beyond them. President Donald Trump has repeatedly argued that the United States must be more assertive in foreign affairs and in realizing its national interest regardless of the impact on others. His rhetoric has been highly combative. From vowing to declare China a “currency manipulator” on his first day in office – a claim he has since abandoned – to arguing that China has been cheating America in trade deals and denouncing the U.S. trade deficit with China, Trump has appeared to prefer confronting Beijing rather in engaging and cooperating with China. But this appearance of confrontation may belie a different reality. Many have noted that Trump and his family have personal business ties with China, including large investments and numerous pending trademark applications. Actions like Trump’s 2018 public support for state-owned Chinese tech company ZTE – coming just two days after the Chinese government announced a US $500m investment in a Trump-branded property in Indonesiaiii – further suggest to some that Beijing might be directly manipulating the US president to benefit Chinese foreign policy. Combined with the perception, common in Chinese official circles, that the United States under Trump is actually retreating from its commitments in Asia, the result might be additional areas of potential conflict with China and misperception and misunderstanding between the two. What might happen if there were an unintended Sino-American military confrontation in the South China Sea or the Sea of Japan, just as the Chinese economy slumps and triggers spreading labor unrest and disturbances at home? What might happen if Xi Jinping’s goal of having “no poverty in China by 2020” proves impossible, and China’s middle class becomes alienated from the regime and political dissent spreads owing to acute economic and/or environmental distress? Under such circumstances, China’s history suggests that Xi and other leaders might decide a “minor” foreign conflict would be a way to divert the attention of Chinese citizens from their domestic concerns. In China’s past, as we have seen, such “domestically-influenced” conflicts have been contained, but the very success of these previously limited conflicts might make Chinese leaders overconfident about their ability to avoid military escalation. Mistakes are easy to make, especially if the potential foe has a leader who tweets militant threats. If Beijing sought to distract an unhappy population by stirring up Chinese nationalism toward the United States, Taiwan, or Japan regarding maritime territorial claims, for example, and believes the Trump administration will not intervene, the two might careen toward a war that neither wants. An incident caused by a trigger-happy U.S. pilot or Chinese naval officer might escalate into a war that neither Washington nor Beijing sought. In the end, then, it may arguably better for the Trump administration that China continues to flourish economically. A prosperous China means that the United States has a valuable trading partner and – in certain issues – even a strategic partner. An impoverished China, however, might be bad news for everyone.

On Bowman and Thompson – their own ev indicates that militarization is use not appropriation

Navigation satellites ≠ appropriation