# R2 – PALM CLASSIC – 1NC

## 1

#### Interpretation – Unjust refers to a negative action – it means contrary.

Black Laws ND "What is Unjust?" <https://thelawdictionary.org/unjust/> //Elmer

Contrary to right and justice, or to the enjoyment of his rights by another, or to the standards of conduct furnished by the laws.

#### Violation – The Aff is a positive action – \_\_\_\_\_\_

#### Standards –

#### 1 - Limits – making the topic bi-directional explodes predictability – it means that Aff’s can both increase non-exist property regimes in space AND decrease appropriation by private actors – makes the topic untenable.

#### 2 - Ground – wrecks Neg Generics – we can’t say appropriation good since the 1AC can create new views on Outer Space Property Rights that circumvent our Links since they can say “Global Commons” approach solves.

#### 3 - TVA – just defend that space appropriation is bad and spec.

#### Paradigm:

#### Fairness – Debate is a competitive activity governed by rules. You can’t evaluate who did better debating if the round is structurally skewed, so fairness is a gateway to substantive debate.

#### DTD – Time spent on theory cant be compensated for, the 1nc was already skewed, and its key to deterring abuse.

#### Prefer Competing interps -

#### 1. reasonability is arbitrary and invites judge intervention.

#### 2. it Causes a race to the bottom where debaters push the limit as to how reasonably abusive, they can be.

#### No RVI’s -

#### 1. Chills some debaters from reading theory against abusive postions.

#### 2. incentivizes theory baiting where you can just bait theory to win.

## 2

#### CP Text: The Committee on the Peaceful use of Outer Space should establish an application system for property rights on celestial bodies. Applications and approval of property rights should be granted upon the condition of

#### open disclosure of data gathered in the exploration of a celestial body

#### Applications must be publicly announced

#### Property Rights will be made tradeable between private entities

#### Property Rights will be set to expire on the conclusion of a successful extraction mission

#### Private Entities will only be allowed one property right grant per celestial body and cannot have more than one grant at a time

#### Ban the militarization of outer space

#### The CP establishes international norms for safe extraction of resources on celestial bodies while increasing R&D in outer space.

**Steffen 21** [Olaf Steffen, Olaf is a scientist at the Institute of Composite Structures and Adaptive Sytems at the German Aerospace Center. 12-2-2021, "Explore to Exploit: A Data-Centred Approach to Space Mining Regulation," Institute of Composite Structures and Adaptive Systems, German Aerospace Center, [https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0265964621000515 accessed 12/12/21](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0265964621000515%20accessed%2012/12/21)] Adam

The data gathered in the exploration of a [celestial body](https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/social-sciences/astronomical-systems) is not only of value for space mining companies for informing them whether, where and how to exploit resources from the body in question, but also for science. The irretrievability of information relating to the solar system contained in the body that will be lost during resource exploitation carries a value for humanity and future generations and can thus be assigned the characteristic of a common heritage for all mankind as invoked in the Moon Agreement. This characteristic makes exploration data an exceptional and unique candidate for use in a mechanism for acquiring mining rights because its preservation is of public interest and its disclosure in exchange for exclusive mining rights does not place any additional burden on the mining company. The following principles would form the cornerstones of the proposed regulatory regime and rights acquisition mechanism based on exploration data: Without preconditions, no entity has a right to mine the resources of a celestial body. An international regulatory body administers the existing rights of companies for mining a specific celestial body. Mining rights to such bodies can be applied for from this international regulatory body, with applications made public. The application expires after a pre-set period. Mining rights are granted on the provision and disclosure of exploration data on the celestial body within the pre-set period, proposedly gathered in situ, characterising this body and its resources in a pre-defined manner. The explorer's mining right to the resources of the celestial body is published by the regulatory body in a mining rights grant. The data concerning the celestial body are made public as part of the rights grant within the domain of all participating members of the regulatory regime. The exclusive mining rights to any specific body are tradeable. The scope of the regulatory body with respect to the granting of mining rights is not revenue-oriented. The international regulatory body would thus act as a curator of a rights register and an attached database of exploration data. The concept is superficially comparable to patent law, where exclusive rights are granted following the disclosure of an invention to incentivise the efforts made in the development process. In the following section, the characteristics of such a regulatory regime are further discussed with respect to the formation of [monopolies](https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/social-sciences/monopolies), market dynamics, conflict avoidance, inclusivity towards less developed countries and the viability of implementation. 4.2. Discussion and means of implementation The proposed regulatory mechanism has advantages both from a business/investor and society perspective. First, it prevents already highly capitalised companies from acquiring exploitation rights in bulk to deny competitors those objects that are easiest to exploit or most valuable, which would otherwise be possible in any kind of pay-for-right mechanism and could result in preventing market access to smaller, emerging companies. Thus, early monopoly formation can be avoided. The use of data disclosure for the granting of mining rights ensures the scientific community has access to this invaluable source of information. In this way, space mining prospecting missions can lead to a boost in research on small celestial bodies at a speed unmatchable by pure government/agency funded science probes. This usefulness to the scientific community could lead to sustained partnerships between prospecting companies and scientific institutions and could even provide a source of funding for the companies through R&D grants and public-private partnerships. The results of the exploration efforts contribute to research on the formation of planets and the history of the solar system and provide valuable insight for space defence against asteroids. The transition of exploration from a tailored mission profile with a purpose-built spacecraft to a standard task in space flight would also lead to a cost reduction of the respective exploration spacecraft through [economies of scale](https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/social-sciences/economies-of-scale). This describes the very benefits Elvis [[24](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0265964621000515" \l "bib24)] and Crawford [[25](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0265964621000515" \l "bib25)] imagined as possible effects of a space economy. Thus, there is an immediate return for society from the exploitation rights grant. It also reconciles the adverse interests of space development and [space science](https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/social-sciences/space-sciences) as laid out by Schwartz [[26](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0265964621000515" \l "bib26)]. It ensures that, by exploitation, information contained in celestial bodies is not lost for future generations.The application period should not be set in a manner that creates a situation that can be abused through the potential for stockpiling inventory rights. Rather, it is intended to prevent conflict in the phase before exploration data gathered by a mission, as a prerequisite to the mining rights grant, is available. In other words, only one exploration effort at a time can be permitted for a specific body. The time frame between the application and the granting of mining rights (meaning: availability of the required exploration data set) should be tight and should only consider necessary exploration time on site, transit time and possibly a reasonable launch preparation and data processing markup. These contributors to the application period make it clear that the time frame could be dynamic and individualistic, depending on the exploration target (transit time and duration of exploration) and the technology of the exploration probe (transit time). After the expiration of the application period, applications for the exploration target would again be permissible. To prevent the previously mentioned stockpiling of inventory rights, credible proof of an imminent exploration intention would need to be part of the application process, for example, a fixed launch contract or the advanced build status of the exploration probe. Such a mechanism would not contradict the statement in the OST that outer space shall be free for both exploration and scientific investigation. Applications would not apply to purely scientific exploration. An application would only be necessary as a prerequisite for mining. Even resource prospecting could take place without an application (for whatever reason), with a subsequent application comprising in situ data already gathered. For such cases, the application process would need to provide a short period for objections to enable the secretive explorer to make their efforts public. The publication of the application for the mining rights, which is nothing more than a statement of intention to explore, thus provides a strong measure for avoiding conflict. The transparency of where exploration spacecraft are located and, at a later stage, where mining activities take place, provides additional benefits for the sustainable use of space, trust building and deterrence against malign misuse of mining technology. Involuntary spacecraft collisions of competitors in deep space are prevented by the reduction of exploration efforts at the same destination through the application for mining rights by one applicant at a time. As pointed out by Newman and Williamson [[20](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0265964621000515" \l "bib20)], this is relevant because space debris does not de-orbit in deep space as in the case of LEO. Deep space may be vast, but the velocities involved mean that small debris particles are no less dangerous. Considering NEO mining with fleets of small spacecraft, malfunctions and/or destructive events could create debris clouds crossing Earth's orbit around the sun on a regular basis, presenting another danger to satellites in Earth's own orbit. Thus, by effectively preventing the collision of two spacecraft, one source of debris creation can be mitigated through this regulation mechanism. With respect to Deudney's [[11](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0265964621000515" \l "bib11)] scepticism of asteroid mining and the dual-use character of technology to manipulate orbits of celestial bodies, it has to be stated that this potential is truly inherent to asteroid mining. An asteroid redirect mission for scientific purposes was pursued by NASA [[49](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0265964621000515" \l "bib49)] before reorientation towards a manned lunar mission. In one way or another, each type of asteroid mining will require the delivery of the targeted resource to a destination via a comparable technology as formerly envisioned by NASA, be it as a raw material or a useable resource processed in situ, even if this is not necessarily done through redirecting the whole asteroid and placing it in a lunar orbit. However, to be misused as a weapon, space mined resources would have to surpass a certain mass threshold to survive atmospheric entry at the target. This seems unfeasible for currently discussed mining concepts using small-scale spacecraft as described in this article. Redirecting larger masses or whole asteroids would require far more powerful mining vessels or small amounts of thrust over long periods of time. The continuous, (for a mining activity) untypical change in the orbit of an asteroid would make a redirect attempt with hostile intent easily identifiable, effectively deterring such an activity in the first place by ensuring the identification of the aggressor long before the projectile hits its target. The proposed database would provide a catalogue of asteroids with exploration and mining activities in place that should be tracked more closely because of their interaction with spacecraft. This would, in fact, be necessary per se as a precaution to avoid catastrophic mishaps, such as the accidental change of a NEO's orbit to intercept Earth by changing its mass through mining.

#### Space mining fails now due to profitability and unsafe tech which only the CP solves.

**Steffen 21** [Olaf Steffen, Olaf is a scientist at the Institute of Composite Structures and Adaptive Sytems at the German Aerospace Center. 12-2-2021, "Explore to Exploit: A Data-Centred Approach to Space Mining Regulation," Institute of Composite Structures and Adaptive Systems, German Aerospace Center, [https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0265964621000515 accessed 12/12/21](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0265964621000515%20accessed%2012/12/21)] Adam

* answers timeframe deficits
* creates solvency vs inequality/developing nation affs

The data-driven mechanism also addresses another potential risk of an emerging space-based resource economy: the reinforcing of the incontestable market positions of the market leaders based on an advantage in knowledge unattainable by new competitors. Explorations of celestial bodies will have a likelihood of failing from the perspective of the actual value of the explored object vs. the expected value. In this case, the costs of exploration would be a loss for the company, which could be significant and possibly ruinous considering the budgets needed for contemporary space agency-led exploration missions. Sanchez and McInnes [[5](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0265964621000515" \l "bib5)] explicitly mention the uncertainties in object distribution models used in their asteroid distribution study and for the conclusions drawn concerning reachable object masses with certain delta-v capabilities of spacecraft. With an increasing number of exploration missions led by a company, the data collected may lead to better in-house models and a higher probability of exploring the ‘right’ body for the value/resources aimed at. This may even provide information on the best spacecraft designs for matching the targeted objects’ orbit distribution. This risk is known from the digital platform economy, where the companies that are now leading have an uncatchable advantage in user data compared with market newcomers, translatable to a more refined and comfortable user experience, attracting additional users and thus offering superior services to business customers. This also holds true for space mining companies. Through their lack of legacy mission data, market newcomers would have a higher risk of misallocating exploration missions, making investments in those companies riskier than in established companies. To avoid the preferred investment in a single or a few companies, the risk of the investment in emerging companies is reduced by the proposed mechanism by ensuring the equal access to data for market newcomers and established companies alike. From a prospecting risk perspective, the market entrance of a new company becomes progressively less risky for investors with increasing amounts of publicly available exploration data, promoting progressive and dynamic development.

The long lead times of asteroid mining ventures coincide with a long time frame for an ROI. The exclusive mining rights granted after the exploration phase give investors security half-way into their space mining endeavours. The proposed tradability of the rights offers an early chance of gaining investment proceeds. It also offers the possibility of new business models: the classical asteroid mining system concept, as shown by Andrews et al. [[43](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0265964621000515" \l "bib43)], for example, covers exploration, exploitation and resource transfer. This maximises the investment needed to develop the technologies required for the entire process chain. Giving exploration a value could lead to a division of labour. Dedicated prospecting companies could emerge, providing mining companies with the data and mining rights to a body with the specific resource profile they are seeking. In this way, the investment needed for a successful mining endeavour is divided between different specialised companies. This considerably reduces the risk for investors as well as the investment needed for a company to meet their business goals, which are now aimed at just a particular part of the overall space mining endeavour. Third-party applications for mining rights should be possible to allow a mining company to subcontract to exploration companies. Such a regulatory mechanism design would also be more easily inclusive of less developed countries. They could simply contract exploration missions made affordable through economies of scale to become part of the emerging space mining economy as holders of tradeable mining rights. Through a wise selection of such missions’ targets, they could gain powerful positions of influence.

#### Commercial mining solves extinction from scarcity, climate, terror, war, and disease.

Pelton 17—(Director Emeritus of the Space and Advanced Communications Research Institute at George Washington University, PHD in IR from Georgetown).. Pelton, Joseph N. 2017. The New Gold Rush: The Riches of Space Beckon! Springer. Accessed 8/30/19.

Are We Humans Doomed to Extinction? What will we do when Earth’s resources are used up by humanity? The world is now hugely over populated, with billions and billions crammed into our overcrowded cities. By 2050, we may be 9 billion strong, and by 2100 well over 11 billion people on Planet Earth. Some at the United Nations say we might even be an amazing 12 billion crawling around this small globe. And over 80 % of us will be living in congested cities. These cities will be ever more vulnerable to terrorist attack, natural disaster, and other plights that come with overcrowding and a dearth of jobs that will be fueled by rapid automation and the rise of artifi cial intelligence across the global economy. We are already rapidly running out of water and minerals. Climate change is threatening our very existence. Political leaders and even the Pope have cautioned us against inaction. Perhaps the naysayers are right. All humanity is at tremendous risk. Is there no hope for the future? This book is about hope. We think that there is literally heavenly hope for humanity. But we are not talking here about divine intervention. We are envisioning a new space economy that recognizes that there is more water in the skies that all our oceans. Th ere is a new wealth of natural resources and clean energy in the reaches of outer space—more than most of us could ever dream possible. There are those that say why waste money on outer space when we have severe problems here at home? Going into space is not a waste of money. It is our future. It is our hope for new jobs and resources. The great challenge of our times is to reverse public thinking to see space not as a resource drain but as the doorway to opportunity. The new space frontier can literally open up a “gold rush in the skies.” In brief, we think there is new hope for humanity. We see a new a pathway to the future via new ventures in space. For too long, space programs have been seen as a money pit. In the process, we have overlooked the great abundance available to us in the skies above. It is important to recognize there is already the beginning of a new gold rush in space—a pathway to astral abundance. “New Space” is a term increasingly used to describe radical new commercial space initiatives—many of which have come from Silicon Valley and often with backing from the group of entrepreneurs known popularly as the “space billionaires.” New space is revolutionizing the space industry with lower cost space transportation and space systems that represent significant cost savings and new technological breakthroughs. “New Commercial Space” and the “New Space Economy” represent more than a new way of looking at outer space. These new pathways to the stars could prove vital to human survival. If one does not believe in spending money to probe the mysteries of the universe then perhaps we can try what might be called “calibrated greed” on for size. One only needs to go to a cubesat workshop, or to Silicon Valley or one of many conferences like the “Disrupt Space” event in Bremen, Germany, held in April 2016 to recognize that entrepreneurial New Space initiatives are changing everything [ 1 ]. In fact, the very nature and dimensions of what outer space activities are today have changed forever. It is no longer your grandfather’s concept of outer space that was once dominated by the big national space agencies. The entrepreneurs are taking over. The hopeful statements in this book and the hard economic and technical data that backs them up are more than a minority opinion. It is a topic of growing interest at the World Economic Forum, where business and political heavyweights meet in Davos, Switzerland, to discuss how to stimulate new patterns of global economic growth. It is even the growing view of a group that call themselves “space ethicists.” Here is how Christopher J. Newman, at the University of Sunderland in the United Kingdom has put it: Space ethicists have offered the view that space exploration is not only desirable; it is a duty that we, as a species, must undertake in order to secure the survival of humanity over the longer term. Expanding both the resource base and, eventually, the habitats available for humanity means that any expenditure on space exploration, far from being viewed as frivolous, can legitimately be rationalized as an ethical investment choice. (Newman) On the other hand there are space ethicists and space exobiologists who argue that humans have created ecological ruin on the planet—and now space debris is starting to pollute space. Th ese countervailing thoughts by the “no growth” camp of space ethicists say we have no right to colonize other planets or to mine the Moon and asteroids—or at least no right to do so until we can prove we can sustain life here on Earth for the longer term. However, for most who are planning for the new space economy the opinion of space philosophers doesn’t really fl oat their boat. Legislators, bankers, and aspiring space entrepreneurs are far more interested in the views of the super-rich capitalists called the space billionaires. A number of these billionaires and space executives have already put some very serious money into enterprises intent on creating a new pathway to the stars. No less than five billionaires with established space ventures—Elon Musk, Paul Allen, Jeff Bezos, Sir Richard Branson, and Robert Bigelow—have invested millions if not billions of dollars into commercializing space. They are developing new technologies and establishing space enterprises that can bring the wealth of outer space down to Earth. This is not a pipe dream, but will increasingly be the economic reality of the 2020s. These wealthy space entrepreneurs see major new economic opportunities. To them space represents the last great frontier for enterprising pioneers. Th us they see an ever-expanding space frontier that offers opportunities in low-cost space transportation, satellite solar power satellites to produce clean energy 24h a day, space mining, space manufacturing and production, and eventually space habitats and colonies as a trajectory to a better human future. Some even more visionary thinkers envision the possibility of terraforming Mars, or creating new structures in space to protect our planet from cosmic hazards and even raising Earth’s orbit to escape the rising heat levels of the Sun in millennia to come. Some, of course, will say this is sci-fi hogwash. It can’t be done. We say that this is what people would have said in 1900 about airplanes, rocket ships, cell phones and nuclear devices. The skeptics laughed at Columbus and his plan to sail across the oceans to discover new worlds. When Thomas Jefferson bought the Louisiana Purchase from France or Seward bought Alaska, there were plenty of naysayers that said such investment in the unknown was an extravagant waste of money. A healthy skepticism is useful and can play a role in economic and business success. Before one dismisses the idea of an impending major new space economy and a new gold rush, it might useful to see what has already transpired in space development in just the past five decades. The world’s first geosynchronous communications satellite had a throughput capability of about 500 kb / s. In contrast, today’s state of the art Viasat 2 —a half century later— has an impressive throughput of some 140 Gb/s. Th is means that the relative throughput is nearly 300,000 greater, while its lifetime is some ten times longer (Figs. 1.1 and 1.2 ). Each new generation of communications satellite has had more power, better antenna systems, improved pointing and stabilization, and an extended lifetime. And the capabilities represented by remote sensing satellites , meteorological satellites , and navigation and timing satellites have also expanded their capabilities and performance in an impressive manner. When satellite applications first started, the market was measured in millions of dollars. Today commercial satellite services exceed a quarter of a billion dollars. Vital services such as the Internet, aircraft traffi c control and management, international banking, search and rescue and much, much more depend on application satellites. Th ose that would doubt the importance of satellites to the global economy might wish to view on You Tube the video “If Th ere Were a Day Without Satellites?” [ 2 ]. Let’s check in on what some of those very rich and smart guys think about the new space economy and its potential. (We are sorry to say that so far there are no female space billionaires, but surely this, too, will come someday soon.) Of course this twenty-fi rst century breakthrough that we call the New Space economy will not come just from new space commerce. It will also come from the amazing new technologies here on Earth. Vital new terrestrial technologies will accompany this cosmic journey into tomorrow. Information technology, robotics, artificial intelligence and commercial space travel systems have now set us on a course to allow us humans to harvest the amazing riches in the skies—new natural resources, new energy, and even totally new ways of looking at the purpose of human existence. If we pursue this course steadfastly, it can be the beginning of a New Space renaissance. But if we don’t seek to realize our ultimate destiny in space, Homo sapiens can end up in the dustbin of history—just like literally millions of already failed species. In each and every one of the five mass extinction events that have occurred over the last 1.5 billion years on Earth, some 50–80 % of all species have gone the way of the T. Rex, the woolly mammoth, and the Dodo bird along with extinct ferns, grasses and cacti. On the other hand, the best days of the human race could be just beginning. If we are smart about how we go about discovering and using these riches in the skies and applying the best of our new technologies, it could be the start of a new beginning for humanity. Konstantin Tsiokovsky, the Russian astronautics pioneer, who fi rst conceived of practical designs for spaceships, famously said: “A planet is the cradle of mankind, but one cannot live in a cradle forever.” Well before Tsiokovsky another genius, Leonardo da Vinci, said, quite poetically: “Once you have tasted flight, you will forever walk the earth with your eyes turned skyward, for there you have been, and there you will always long to return.” The founder of the X-Prize and of Planetary Resources, Inc., Dr. Peter Diamandis, has much more brashly said much the same thing in quite diff erent words when he said: “The meek shall inherit the Earth. The rest of us will go to Mars.” The New Space Billionaires Peter Diamandis is not alone in his thinking. From the list of “visionaries” quoted earlier, Elon Musk, the founder of SpaceX; Sir Richard Branson, the founder of Virgin Galactic; and Paul Allen, the co-founder of Microsoft and the man who financed SpaceShipOne, the world’s first successful spaceplane have all said the future will include a vibrant new space economy. Th ey, and others, have said that we can, we should and we soon shall go into space and realize the bounty that it can offer to us. Th e New Space enterprise is today indeed being led by those so-called space billionaires , who have an exciting vision of the future. They and others in the commercial space economy believe that the exploitation of outer space may open up a new golden age of astral abundance. They see outer space as a new frontier that can be a great source of new materials, energy and various forms of new wealth that might even save us from excesses of the past. Th is gold rush in the skies represents a new beginning. We are not talking about expensive new space ventures funded by NASA or other space agencies in Europe, Japan, China or India. No, these eff orts which we and others call New Space are today being forged by imaginative and resourceful commercial entrepreneurs. Th ese twenty-fi rst century visionaries have the fortitude and zeal to look to the abundance above. New breakthroughs in technology and New Space enterprises may be able to create an “astral life raft” for humanity. Just as Columbus and the Vikings had the imaginative drive that led them to discover the riches of a new world, we now have a cadre of space billionaires that are now leading us into this New Space era of tomorrow. These bold leaders, such as Paul Allen and Sir Richard Branson, plus other space entrepreneurs including Jeff Bezos of Amazon and Blue Origin, and Robert Bigelow, Chairman of Budget Suites and Bigelow Aerospace, not only dream of their future in the space industry but also have billions of dollars in assets. These are the bright stars of an entirely new industry that are leading us into the age of New Space commerce. These space billionaires, each in their own way, are proponents of a new age of astral abundance. Each of them is launching new commercial space industries. They are literally transforming our vision of tomorrow. These new types of entrepreneurial aerospace companies—the New Space enterprises—give new hope and new promise of transforming our world as we know it today. The New Space Frontier What happens in space in the next few decades, plus corresponding new information technologies and advanced robotics, will change our world forever. These changes will redefi ne wealth, change our views of work and employment and upend almost everything we think we know about economics, wealth, jobs, and politics. Th ese changes are about truly disruptive technologies of the most fundamental kinds. If you thought the Internet, smart phones, and spandex were disruptive technologies, just hang on. You have not seen anything yet. In short, if you want to understand a transition more fundamental than the changes brought to the twentieth century world by computers, communications and the Internet, then read this book. There are truly riches in the skies. Near-Earth asteroids largely composed of platinum and rare earth metals have an incredible value. Helium-3 isotopes accessible in outer space could provide clean and abundant energy. There is far more water in outer space than is in our oceans. In the pages that follow we will explain the potential for a cosmic shift in our global economy, our ecology, and our commercial and legal systems. These can take place by the end of this century. And if these changes do not take place we will be in trouble. Our conventional petro-chemical energy systems will fail us economically and eventually blanket us with a hydrocarbon haze of smog that will threaten our health and our very survival. Our rare precious metals that we need for modern electronic appliances will skyrocket in price, and the struggle between “haves” and “have nots” will grow increasingly ugly. A lack of affordable and readily available water, natural resources, food, health care and medical supplies, plus systematic threats to urban security and systemic warfare are the alternatives to astral abundance. The choices between astral abundance and a downward spiral in global standards of living are stark. Within the next few decades these problems will be increasingly real. By then the world may almost be begging for new, out of- the-box thinking. International peace and security will be an indispensable prerequisite for exploitation of astral abundance, as will good government for all. No one nation can be rich and secure when everyone else is poor and insecure. In short, global space security and strategic space defense, mediated by global space agreements, are part of this new pathway to the future.

#### Unregulated mining of asteroids triggers space conflicts.

Thompson 16 [Clive, Writer for Wired, “Space Mining Could Set Off a Star War”, *Wired*, 01/14/2016, <https://www.wired.com/2016/01/clive-thompson-11/>]

SPACE IS LOUSY with profits. Consider the asteroid Ryugu: It’s made of so many tons of nickel, iron, cobalt, and water, it’s worth an estimated $95 billion. Venture into deeper space and there’s even richer plunder—like Davida, an asteroid that the wanna-be space mining company Planetary Resources values at more than $100 trillion. That’s more than five times the GDP of the US. These jaw-dropping payloads are why extraterrestrial mining is becoming an increasingly serious endeavor. Companies like Planetary Resources, backed by the likes of Googlers Larry Page and Eric Schmidt, are already launching satellites to scan for the most promising asteroids. Space experts say some firm could be ready to launch a mission within 10 years. But are they allowed to? Of course, anyone can reach an asteroid—NASA already has. But can you own one? Let’s start with existing space law. The big one on the books is the 1967 Outer Space Treaty. Ratified by 103 countries, including the spacefaring ones, it prohibits anyone from “appropriating” territory in space. (There’s an even more restrictive 1979 Moon Treaty as well, but the spacegoing countries haven’t signed, so it’s probably less relevant.) The upshot, most space-law scholars agree, is that nobody can claim a celestial body for their own. But what about just extracting resources and bringing them home? The issue hasn’t been litigated, but extraction is probably legally OK. Indeed, there’s precedent: The US brought 842 pounds of rocks back from the moon, and they’re designated as property of the US. No other country has disputed that ownership; in fact, the US and USSR traded moon rocks and regolith. “Russia has even sold some commercially,” says James Dunstan, a spacelaw expert with the Mobius Legal Group. The big wrinkle may not be whether it’s legal to mine an asteroid but how to figure out who has permission and who owns what claims. The US has no agency or process to issue licenses for space mining. “The politics can’t be known, but there will be politics,” says Joanne Gabrynowicz, a spacelaw expert at the University of Mississippi. Licenses give clarity not only to would-be miners but also to investors and governments starting their own operations. “If you don’t have that license, the investors are taking a big chance,” she says. The US is now drawing up a law. Problem is, it’s unilateral and incomplete. The Commercial Space Launch Competitiveness Act of 2015 says citizens can “possess, own, transport, use, and sell” an asteroid resource once they obtain it. But the bill doesn’t establish an agency or process for issuing licenses. Worse, it says your ownership claim begins as soon as you detect the existence of metals on an asteroid. You don’t even have to plant a flag. But what if China and Russia have different ideas—and different laws for their own citizens? Commercial activity in distant space could easily cause seething international strife here on our home planet. Luckily, there are precedents for working together. When satellites became big business in the 1960s, the major industrialized countries decided to use a multistate body—the International Telecommunication Union—to approve the orbits. It’s almost like domain-name registration. Fully 193 countries abide by these rules. Something similar could work for asteroid mining: an international body with local laws written in sync. Or, says Dunstan, countries could adopt bilateral agreements to recognize each other’s legislation and then build treaties. There’s a chance the spacefaring nations could get this right. I hope they do. Otherwise it’ll be Star Wars for real—with trillions in nickel and cobalt in the balance.

#### That goes nuclear.

Grego 18 [Laura, Senior Scientist in the Global Security Program at the Union of Concerned Scientists, Postdoctoral Researcher at the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics, PhD in Experimental Physics at the California Institute of Technology, Space and Crisis Stability, Union of Concerned Scientists, 3-19-18, <https://www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/7804-grego-space-and-crisis-stabilitypdf>]

Why space is a particular problem for crisis stability For a number of reasons, space poses particular challenges in preventing a crisis from starting or from being managed well. Some of these are to do with the physical nature of space, such as the short timelines and difficulty of attribution inherent in space operations. Some are due to the way space is used, such as the entanglement of strategic and tactical missions and the prevalence of dual-use technologies. Some are due to the history of space, such the absence of a shared understanding of appropriate behaviors and consequences, and a dearth of stabilizing personal and institutional relationships. While some of these have terrestrial equivalents, taken together, they present a special challenge. The vulnerability of satellites and first strike incentives Satellites are inherently fragile and difficult to protect; in the language of strategic planners, space is an “offense-dominant” regime. This can lead to a number of pressures to strike first that don‘t exist for other, better-protected domains. Satellites travel on predictable orbits, and many pass repeatedly over all of the earth‘s nations. Low-earth orbiting satellites are reachable by missiles much less capable than those needed to launch satellites into orbit, as well as by directed energy which can interfere with sensors or with communications channels. Because launch mass is at a premium, satellite armor is impractical. Maneuvers on orbit need costly amounts of fuel, which has to be brought along on launch, limiting satellites‘ ability to move away from threats. And so, these very valuable satellites are also inherently vulnerable and may present as attractive targets. Thus, an actor with substantial dependence on space has an incentive to strike first if hostilities look probable, to ensure these valuable assets are not lost. Even if both (or all) sides in a conflict prefer not to engage in war, this weakness may provide an incentive to approach it closely anyway. A RAND Corporation monograph commissioned by the Air Force15 described the issue this way: First-strike stability is a concept that Glenn Kent and David Thaler developed in 1989 to examine the structural dynamics of mutual deterrence between two or more nuclear states.16 It is similar to crisis stability, which Charles Glaser described as ―a measure of the countries‘ incentives not to preempt in a crisis, that is, not to attack first in order to beat the attack of the enemy,‖17 except that it does not delve into the psychological factors present in specific crises. Rather, first strike stability focuses on each side‘s force posture and the balance of capabilities and vulnerabilities that could make a crisis unstable should a confrontation occur. For example, in the case of the United States, the fact that conventional weapons are so heavily dependent on vulnerable satellites may create incentives for the US to strike first terrestrially in the lead up to a confrontation, before its space-derived advantages are eroded by anti-satellite attacks.18 Indeed, any actor for which satellites or space-based weapons are an important part of its military posture, whether for support missions or on-orbit weapons, will feel “use it or lose it” pressure because of the inherent vulnerability of satellites. Short timelines and difficulty of attribution The compressed timelines characteristic of crises combine with these “use it or lose it” pressures to shrink timelines. This dynamic couples dangerously with the inherent difficulty of determining the causes of satellite degradation, whether malicious or from natural causes, in a timely way. Space is a difficult environment in which to operate. Satellites orbit amidst increasing amounts of debris. A collision with a debris object the size of a marble could be catastrophic for a satellite, but objects of that size cannot be reliably tracked. So a failure due to a collision with a small piece of untracked debris may be left open to other interpretations. Satellite electronics are also subject to high levels of damaging radiation. Because of their remoteness, satellites as a rule cannot be repaired or maintained. While on-board diagnostics and space surveillance can help the user understand what went wrong, it is difficult to have a complete picture on short timescales. Satellite failure on-orbit is a regular occurrence19 (indeed, many satellites are kept in service long past their intended lifetimes). In the past, when fewer actors had access to satellite-disrupting technologies, satellite failures were usually ascribed to “natural” causes. But increasingly, even during times of peace operators may assume malicious intent. More to the point, in a crisis when the costs of inaction may be perceived to be costly, there is an incentive to choose the worst-case interpretation of events even if the information is incomplete or inconclusive. Entanglement of strategic and tactical missions During the Cold War, nuclear and conventional arms were well separated, and escalation pathways were relatively clear. While space-based assets performed critical strategic missions, including early warning of ballistic missile launch and secure communications in a crisis, there was a relatively clear sense that these targets were off limits, as attacks could undermine nuclear deterrence. In the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, the US and Soviet Union pledged not to interfere with each other‘s ―national technical means‖ of verifying compliance with the agreement, yet another recognition that attacking strategically important satellites could be destabilizing.20 There was also restraint in building the hardware that could hold these assets at risk. However, where the lines between strategic satellite missions and other missions are blurred, these norms can be weakened. For example, the satellites that provide early warning of ballistic missile launch are associated with nuclear deterrent posture, but also are critical sensors for missile defenses. Strategic surveillance and missile warning satellites also support efforts to locate and destroy mobile conventional missile launchers. Interfering with an early warning sensor satellite might be intended to dissuade an adversary from using nuclear weapons first by degrading their missile defenses and thus hindering their first-strike posture. However, for a state that uses early warning satellites to enable a “hair trigger” or launch-on-attack posture, the interference with such a satellite might instead be interpreted as a precursor to a nuclear attack. It may accelerate the use of nuclear weapons rather than inhibit it. Misperception and dual-use technologies Some space technologies and activities can be used both for relatively benign purposes but also for hostile ones. It may be difficult for an actor to understand the intent behind the development, testing, use, and stockpiling of these technologies, and see threats where there are none. (Or miss a threat until it is too late.) This may start a cycle of action and reaction based on misperception. For example, relatively low-mass satellites can now maneuver autonomously and closely approach other satellites without their cooperation; this may be for peaceful purposes such as satellite maintenance or the building of complex space structures, or for more controversial reasons such as intelligence-gathering or anti-satellite attacks. Ground-based lasers can be used to dazzle the sensors of an adversary‘s remote sensing satellites, and with sufficient power, they may damage those sensors. The power needed to dazzle a satellite is low, achievable with commercially available lasers coupled to a mirror which can track the satellite. Laser ranging networks use low-powered lasers to track satellites and to monitor precisely the Earth‘s shape and gravitational field, and use similar technologies. 21 Higher-powered lasers coupled with satellite-tracking optics have fewer legitimate uses. Because midcourse missile defense systems are intended to destroy long-range ballistic missile warheads, which travel at speeds and altitudes comparable to those of satellites, such defense systems also have inherent ASAT capabilities. In fact, while the technologies being developed for long-range missile defenses might not prove very effective against ballistic missiles—for example, because of the countermeasure problems associated with midcourse missile defense— they could be far more effective against satellites. This capacity is not just theoretical. In 2007, China demonstrated a direct-ascent anti-satellite capability which could be used both in an ASAT and missile defense role, and in 2009, the United States used a ship-based missile defense interceptor to destroy a satellite, as well. US plans indicated a projected inventory of missile defense interceptors with capability to reach all low earth orbiting satellites in the dozens in the 2020s, and in the hundreds by 2030.22 Discrimination The consequences of interfering with a satellite may be vastly different depending on who is affected and how, and whether the satellite represents a legitimate military objective. However, it will not always be clear who the owners and operators of a satellite are, and users of a satellite‘s services may be numerous and not public. Registration of satellites is incomplete23 and current ownership is not necessarily updated in a readily available repository. The identification of a satellite as military or civilian may be deliberately obscured. Or its value as a military asset may change over time; for example, the share of capacity of a commercial satellite used by military customers may wax and wane. A potential adversary‘s satellite may have different or additional missions that are more vital to that adversary than an outsider may perceive. An ASAT attack that creates persistent debris could result in significant collateral damage to a wide range of other actors; unlike terrestrial attacks, these consequences are not limited geographically, and could harm other users unpredictably. In 2015, the Pentagon‘s annual wargame, or simulated conflict, involving space assets focused on a future regional conflict. The official report out24 warned that it was hard to keep the conflict contained geographically when using anti-satellite weapons: As the wargame unfolded, a regional crisis quickly escalated, partly because of the interconnectedness of a multi-domain fight involving a capable adversary. The wargame participants emphasized the challenges in containing horizontal escalation once space control capabilities are employed to achieve limited national objectives. Lack of shared understanding of consequences/proportionality States have fairly similar understandings of the implications of military actions on the ground, in the air, and at sea, built over decades of experience. The United States and the Soviet Union/Russia have built some shared understanding of each other‘s strategic thinking on nuclear weapons, though this is less true for other states with nuclear weapons. But in the context of nuclear weapons, there is an arguable understanding about the crisis escalation based on the type of weapon (strategic or tactical) and the target (counterforce—against other nuclear targets, or countervalue—against civilian targets). Because of a lack of experience in hostilities that target space-based capabilities, it is not entirely clear what the proper response to a space activity is and where the escalation thresholds or “red lines” lie. Exacerbating this is the asymmetry in space investments; not all actors will assign the same value to a given target or same escalatory nature to different weapons.

#### Nuke war causes extinction AND outweighs other existential risks.

PND 16. internally citing Zbigniew Brzezinski, Council of Foreign Relations and former national security adviser to President Carter, Toon and Robock’s 2012 study on nuclear winter in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Gareth Evans’ International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament Report, Congressional EMP studies, studies on nuclear winter by Seth Baum of the Global Catastrophic Risk Institute and Martin Hellman of Stanford University, and U.S. and Russian former Defense Secretaries and former heads of nuclear missile forces, brief submitted to the United Nations General Assembly, Open-Ended Working Group on nuclear risks. A/AC.286/NGO/13. 05-03-2016. <http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/images/documents/Disarmament-fora/OEWG/2016/Documents/NGO13.pdf> //Re-cut by Elmer

Consequences human survival 12. Even if the 'other' side does NOT launch in response the smoke from 'their' burning cities (incinerated by 'us') will still make 'our' country (and the rest of the world) uninhabitable, potentially inducing global famine lasting up to decades. Toon and Robock note in ‘Self Assured Destruction’, in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists 68/5, 2012, that: 13. “A nuclear war between Russia and the United States, even after the arsenal reductions planned under New START, could produce a nuclear winter. Hence, an attack by either side could be suicidal, resulting in self assured destruction. Even a 'small' nuclear war between India and Pakistan, with each country detonating 50 Hiroshima-size atom bombs--only about 0.03 percent of the global nuclear arsenal's explosive power--as air bursts in urban areas, could produce so much smoke that temperatures would fall below those of the Little Ice Age of the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries, shortening the growing season around the world and threatening the global food supply. Furthermore, there would be massive ozone depletion, allowing more ultraviolet radiation to reach Earth's surface. Recent studies predict that agricultural production in parts of the United States and China would decline by about **20 percent** for four years, and by 10 percent for a decade.” 14. A conflagration involving USA/NATO forces and those of Russian federation would most likely cause the deaths of most/nearly all/all humans (and severely impact/extinguish other species) as well as destroying the delicate interwoven techno-structure on which latter-day 'civilization' has come to depend. Temperatures would drop to below those of the last ice-age for up to 30 years as a result of the lofting of up to 180 million tonnes of very black soot into the stratosphere where it would remain for decades. 15. Though human ingenuity and resilience shouldn't be underestimated, human survival itself is arguably problematic, to put it mildly, under a 2000+ warhead USA/Russian federation scenario. 16. The Joint Statement on Catastrophic Humanitarian Consequences signed October 2013 by 146 governments mentioned 'Human Survival' no less than 5 times. The most recent (December 2014) one gives it a highly prominent place. Gareth Evans’ ICNND (International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament) Report made it clear that it saw the threat posed by nuclear weapons use as one that at least threatens what we now call 'civilization' and that potentially threatens human survival with an immediacy that even climate change does not, though we can see the results of climate change here and now and of course the immediate post-nuclear results for Hiroshima and Nagasaki as well.

#### Normal means has the plan implemented through COPUOS.

Halstead 10—(B.S., Psychology, The University of Alabama; J.D., The University of Alabama School of Law; LL.M., Institute of Air and Space Law, McGill University; Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Air Force Judge Advocate General's Corps). C. Brandon Halstead. 2010. "Prometheus Unbound - Proposal for a New Legal Paradigm for Air Law and Space Law: Orbit Law," Journal of Space Law 36, no. 1, 143-206

The debate on how to distinguish airspace from outer space is as old as the space age itself. The problems emerging from space exploration first entered the agenda of the United Nations in 1957, and were later placed on the agenda before the General Assembly through the establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) in 1958.' Although this Committee initially focused on the debate of disarmament, its status was later made permanent in 1961 while its charter was expanded to include examination of all issues relating to the field of exploration and use of outer space by governmental and non-governmental organizations.16 In 1962 the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee and Legal Sub-Committee began their true substantive work and became the main center of international cooperation and coordination for exploration of peaceful uses of outer space." Successive sessions focused on general and specific issues of space law, including the establishment of a frontier between outer space and atmospheric space18.

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## 3

#### US wins space race now due to private competition – its key to space dominance– the plan nukes the US’s silver bullet against Chinese aggression.

Weichert 21 – former Congressional staff member who holds a Master of Arts in Statecraft & National Security Affairs from the Institute of World Politics in Washington, D.C. He is the founder of The Weichert Report: An Online Journal of Geopolitics [Brandon, “The Future of Space Exploration Depends on the Private Sector,” 7/5/2021, https://www.nationalreview.com/2021/07/the-future-of-space-exploration-depends-on-the-private-sector/#slide-1]

Jeff Bezos is not engaging in such risky behavior simply because he’s an adrenaline junky. No, he’s launching himself into orbit because his Blue Origins is in a titanic struggle with Elon Musk’s SpaceX — and Bezos’s firm is losing.

Whatever happens, the American people will benefit from the competition that is shaping up between America’s space entrepreneurs. This has always been how innovation occurs: through the dynamic, often cutthroat competition between actors in the private sector. While money is their ultimate prize, fame and fortune are also alluring temptations to make men like Musk and Bezos risk much of their wealth to change the world.

The private space race among these entrepreneurs is part of a far more important marathon between Red China and the United States. Whichever nation wins the new space race will determine the future of the earth below.

Consider this: Since winning its initial contracts to launch sensitive U.S. military satellites into orbit, SpaceX has lowered the cost of military satellite launches on taxpayers by “over a million dollars less” than what bigger defense contractors can do. Elon Musk is convinced that he can bring these costs down even more, thanks to his reusable Falcon 9 rocket.

The competition between the private space start-ups is fierce — just as the competition between Edison and Westinghouse was — but the upshot is ultimately greater innovation and lower costs for you and me. In fact, Elon Musk insists that if NASA gives SpaceX the contract for building the Human Landing System for the Artemis mission, NASA would return astronauts to the lunar surface by 2024 — four years before NASA believes it will do so. (Incidentally, 2024 is also when China anticipates having a functional base on the moon’s southern pole.)

Whereas China has an all-of-society approach to its space race with the United States, Washington has yet to fully galvanize the country in the way that John F. Kennedy rallied America to wage — and win — the space race in the Cold War. America’s private sector, therefore, is the silver bullet against China’s quest for total space dominance. If left unrestricted by meddlesome Washington bureaucrats, these companies will ensure that the United States retains its overall competitive advantage over China — and all other challengers, for that matter.

Indeed, the next four years could prove decisive in who will be victorious.

Enter the newly minted NASA director, Bill Nelson, whose station at the agency has effectively poured cold water on the private sector’s ambitious space plans. “Space is not going to be the Wild West for billionaires or anyone else looking to blast off,” Nelson admonished an inquiring reporter.

Why not?

America’s actions during its western expansion created a dynamic and advanced nation that was well-positioned to dominate the world for the next century. Should we not attempt to emulate this in order to remain dominant in the next century?

More important, this is precisely how China treats space: as a new Wild West . . . but one in which Beijing’s forces will dominate. China takes a leap-without-looking approach to space development — everything that can be done to further its grand ambition of becoming the world’s most dominant power by 2049 will be done. Meanwhile, the Biden administration wants to prevent America’s greatest strength, the free market, from helping to beat its foremost geopolitical competitor.

Nelson’s comments are fundamentally at odds with America’s spirit and animating principles. Whatever one’s opinion about Bezos or Musk, the fact is that their private space companies are inspiring greater innovation today in the space sector after years of its being left in the sclerotic hands of the U.S. government.

Sensing that the federal government’s dominance of U.S. space policy is waning, the Biden administration would rather cede the strategic high ground of space to China than let wildcatting innovators do the hard work. Today, the Federal Aviation Authority (FAA) and NASA are contriving new ways for strangling the budding private space sector, just as it is taking flight.

Risk aversion is not how one innovates. Risk is what led Americans to the moon just 66 years after the Wright brothers flew their first airplane. A willingness for risk doesn’t exist today in the federal government — which is why the feds shouldn’t be running space policy.

#### And, space dominance key to global peace – nuclear and conventional deterrence is collapsing, which will provoke civilization-ending revisionist aggression from Russia and China.

Dr. Robert Zubrin 19, Masters in Aeronautics and Astronautics and Ph.D. in Nuclear Engineering from the University of Washington, President of Pioneer Energy, Founder and President of the Mars Society, Senior Fellow with the Center for Security Policy, The Case for Space: How the Revolution in Spaceflight Opens Up a Future of Limitless Possibility, p. Google Books

The United States needs a new national security policy. For the first time in more than 60 years, we face the real possibility of a large-scale conventional war, and we are woefully unprepared.

Eastern and Central Europe is now so weakly defended as to virtually invite invasion. The United States is not about to go to nuclear war to defend any foreign country. So deterrence is dead, and, with the German army cut from 12 divisions to three, the British gone from the continent, and American forces down to a 30,000-troop tankless remnant, the only serious and committed ground force that stands between Russia and the Rhine is the Polish army. It’s not enough. Meanwhile, in Asia, the powerful growth of the Chinese economy promises that nation eventual overwhelming numerical force superiority in the region.

How can we restore the balance, creating a sufficiently powerful conventional force to deter aggression? It won’t be by matching potential adversaries tank for tank, division for division, replacement for replacement. Rather, the United States must seek to totally outgun them by obtaining a radical technological advantage. This can be done by achieving space supremacy.

To grasp the importance of space power, some historical perspective is required. Wars are fought for control of territory. Yet for thousands of years, victory on land has frequently been determined by dominance at sea. In the 20th century, victory on both land and sea almost invariably went to the power that controlled the air. In the 21st century, victory on land, sea or in the air will go to the power that controls space.

The critical military importance of space has been obscured by the fact that in the period since the United States has had space assets, all of our wars have been fought against minor powers that we could have defeated without them. Desert Storm has been called the first space war, because the allied forces made extensive use of GPS navigation satellites. However, if they had no such technology at their disposal, the end result would have been just the same. This has given some the impression that space forces are just a frill to real military power — a useful and convenient frill perhaps, but a frill nevertheless.

But consider how history might have changed had the Axis of World War II possessed reconnaissance satellites — merely one of many of today’s space-based assets — without the Allies having a matching capability. In that case, the Battle of the Atlantic would have gone to the U-boats, as they would have had infallible intelligence on the location of every convoy. Cut off from oil and other supplies, Britain would have fallen. On the Eastern front, every Soviet tank concentration would have been spotted in advance and wiped out by German air power, as would any surviving British ships or tanks in the Mediterranean and North Africa. In the Pacific, the battle of Midway would have gone very much the other way, as the Japanese would not have wasted their first deadly airstrike on the unsinkable island, but sunk the American carriers instead. With these gone, the remaining cruisers and destroyers in Adm. Frank Jack Fletcher’s fleet would have lacked air cover, and every one of them would have been hunted down and sunk by unopposed and omniscient Japanese air power. With the same certain fate awaiting any American ships that dared venture forth from the West Coast, Hawaii, Australia and New Zealand would then have fallen, and eventually China and India as well. With a monopoly of just one element of space power, the Axis would have won the war.

But modern space power involves far more than just reconnaissance satellites. The use of space-based GPS can endow munitions with 100 times greater accuracy, while space-based communications provide an unmatched capability of command and control of forces. Knock out the enemy’s reconnaissance satellites and he is effectively blind. Knock out his comsats and he is deaf. Knock out his navsats and he loses his aim. In any serious future conventional conflict, even between opponents as mismatched as Japan was against the United States — or Poland (with 1,000 tanks) is currently against Russia (with 12,000) — it is space power that will prove decisive.

Not only Europe, but the defense of the entire free world hangs upon this matter. For the past 70 years, U.S. Navy carrier task forces have controlled the world’s oceans, first making and then keeping the Pax Americana, which has done so much to secure and advance the human condition over the postwar period. But should there ever be another major conflict, an adversary possessing the ability to locate and target those carriers from space would be able to wipe them out with the push of a button. For this reason, it is imperative that the United States possess space capabilities that are so robust as to not only assure our own ability to operate in and through space, but also be able to comprehensively deny it to others.

*Space superiority* means having better space assets than an opponent. Space supremacy means being able to assert a complete monopoly of such capabilities. The latter is what we must have. If the United States can gain space supremacy, then the capability of any American ally can be multiplied by orders of magnitude, and with the support of the similarly multiplied striking power of our own land- and sea-based air and missile forces be made so formidable as to render any conventional attack unthinkable. On the other hand, should we fail to do so, we will remain so vulnerable as to increasingly invite aggression by ever-more-emboldened revanchist powers.

#### Commercial space growth is key to US space superiority.

Dr. Thomas Cooley 19, Air Force Research Laboratory Colonel Eric Felt, Air Force Research Laboratory and Colonel Steven J Butow, Defense Innovation Unit, 5/30/19, “State of the Space Industrial Base: Threats, Challenges and Actions” https://cdn2.hubspot.net/hubfs/4653168/AFRL\_DIU\_Report\_State\_of\_Space\_Ind\_Base\_30May2019\_Final.pdf

For information gathering, no other domain provides equivalent global access. National, commercial, civil and military information dominance is increasingly dependent on space systems’ capabilities to observe globally from above, using a rapidly expanding range of sensors refreshed at an ever-increasing time rate, pixel resolution and sensitivity. In an ever more interconnected world, there will be a commensurate or even greater expansion of information flows across the terrestrial, maritime, air and cyber domains. However, in these domains the sources will be localized and prone to greater and easier control, interdiction and corruption by adversaries. Space-based sensors will continue to provide platforms for global observation that are more difficult to disrupt, degrade, and deny than similar sensors in other domains. Space will remain the dominant medium for providing precision PNT driven by its global coverage and simplicity of source and applications. The criticality of precision PNT to national infrastructure is evidenced by the continuing proliferation of such space-based systems sponsored by Europe, China, Russia, India, US, Japan, South Korea, and others for civilian, commercial, military and intelligence purposes. Space communication systems provide global and local capabilities that minimizes supporting ground infrastructure and the need to transmit information on the ground or through the air across the territories of rivals or potential adversaries or areas where the rivals or adversaries could interdict or break the communication path. The recent concern regarding Chinese control of the limited number of fiber cable connections is a case in point. In addition, space communication systems can achieve higher latency than ground-based, global, fiber systems and equivalent bandwidth to existing ground communication networks through laser cross-, up- and down-links. The unique advantages of space-based capabilities will continue to create a growing commercial, civil and military, space-ecosystem from low Earth orbit (LEO) to geosynchronous orbit (GEO). The satellite architectures within this ecosystem will depart radically from the historic large-satellite-can-do-it-all approach. This ecosystem will be populated with a vastly increased number of assets supporting commercial, civil and military applications across a wide range of satellite sizes, constellations sizes and orbits. The capabilities of these space system architectures will be tailored around power, aperture, bandwidth, interoperability and other functional specifications to maximize network redundancy, efficiency, and value creation. Within this ecosystem, space broadband communications and internet capabilities will move from a small number of large GEO satellites to a mixed architecture of large GEO satellites and proliferated constellations of large numbers of small satellites at lower orbits. We can also expect first sub-orbital, and orbital space tourism to become a part of this ecosystem. As in other domains, the commercial space industrial base will need to provide end-toend delivery of a significant portion of critical civil and military capabilities, such as communication bandwidth, imagery, launch, debris removal and other commoditized services. There will be an increasingly symbiotic relationship between the economic development of LEO and GEO space and increased military, civil, commercial and intelligence surveillance and reconnaissance of actors and their activities in LEO and GEO space with commercial systems both being assets to be monitored and sources for monitoring information, when appropriate. In the mid- to long-term (5 years and beyond), the development and deployment of systems and capabilities beyond the LEO and GEO ecosystem, will have two drivers: first, by the military’s need to expand the locations and operations of critical assets into cislunar space to limit adversaries’ abilities to detect and attack these assets and to enhance ours and our adversaries’ ability to apply force through, from and in space; and second, it will be driven by the need to establish the required infrastructure and capabilities to return and then establish a permanent U.S. presence on the Moon and beyond. The resulting technology, infrastructure and capabilities will establish the foundations (including supply chain logistics) for the extension throughout the cislunar domain of military power and for the economic exploitation through space manufacturing, space power and resource extraction. The foundation for a sustainable space economy, such as cislunar infrastructure, strategically depends on close collaboration with national commercial capabilities and the maintenance of a strong space industrial base. Such an approach maximizes the U.S. position to lead in the economic exploitation of space.

#### Space leadership is vital to maintaining US hegemony.

Brandon J. **Weichert 17**, (Brandon J. Weichert is a former Congressional staff member who holds a Master of Arts in Statecraft & National Security Affairs from the Institute of World Politics in Washington, D.C. He is the founder of The Weichert Report: An Online Journal of Geopolitics, and is currently completing a book on national security space policy.) The High Ground: The Case for U.S. Space Dominance, Orbis, Volume 61, Issue 2, 2017, Pages 227-237, ISSN 0030-4387, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2017.02.006>. //JQ

The global order is currently disordered. New states with completely different values from the United States are rising to prominence. Many of those states possess strategic cultures opposed to the American hegemony that has defined the post-Cold War order.

Yet, the United States still maintains greater power, wealth, and capabilities than the other states seeking to displace her. For the United States to maintain its hegemonic position, it must also maintain a dominant position in space. As has been noted before, space is the ultimate high ground from which a state can dominate all of the other strategic domains (land, air, sea, and cyberspace). The United States has enjoyed the benefits from dominating this region. Yet, states like China and Russia are moving forward with their own plans not only to deny America access to space, but also to dominate this realm. These states would then benefit from commanding the high ground of space at America’s expense.

Since at least the Nixon Administration, space has come to be viewed in a militarized light. By the end of the Cold War, space had not only been militarized, but many were searching for a way to weaponize it. Just as the drift toward militarization of space was inexorable, so too is the desire for weaponization. As rival states begin to hone their space skills, the United States should seek to obtain the first move advantage by capitalizing on its already sizable lead in space by weaponizing it first. The placing of weapons in orbit would not only increase the costs of attacking existing U.S. space architecture, but it would also lend itself to increasing global stability by raising the costs of aggressive behavior on belligerents. Whatever negatives the weaponization of space may have, nothing is more negative for America than to find itself losing its dominance of space to a state that has placed weapons in orbit first.

To be passive and allow temporary budgetary constraints to dictate longterm space strategy will damage irrevocably the U.S. position in orbit. Our enemies are aware of our shortsighted preference for space superiority over dominance and are moving toward degrading the American advantage in space.23 Space dominance will not only rebuff rising states from challenging the United States, but it will also lend stability to the world order. This proactive stance was the goal of Ronald Reagan’s Strategic Defense Initiative. It must be the goal of U.S. policymakers today.24

#### US hegemony is key to prevent regional conflicts from going nuclear – China is uniquely destabilizing.

Edelman, PhD, and Roughead et al. 18 (Co-chairs: Eric, USDiplomaticHistory@Yale, FormerUSAmbassador, Gary, FormerUSAdmiral/ChiefOFNavalOperations Fellow@Hoover, Authors: Christine Fox, FormerDeuptySecrataryOfDefense, Kathleen Hicks, PhD PoliSci@MIT, DirectorInternationalSecurity@CSIS, Jack Keane, Retired-4StarGeneral, FormerViceCheifOfStaff-Army, HonPhD PublicService@EasternKentucky, Andrew Krepinevich, PhD Harvard, President@CenterForStrategicAndBidgetaryAssesments, RetiredArmyLt.Col., Jon Kyl, FormerArizonaSenator, JD@UArizona, Thomas Mahnken, PhD InternationalAffairs@JohnsHopkins, ProfStrategicStudies@JohnsHopkins, MA PublicPolicy@Penn, FormerDOD-UndersecrataryOfDefense+CFO, Michael Morell, FormerDirectorOfTheCIA, MA Econ@Gtown, Anne Patterson, FormerUSAmbassador, FormerAssistSecrataryOfState-NearEasternAffairs, Roger Zakheim, MPhil IR@Cambridge, FormerDepAssistSecrataryOfDefense, FormerDeputyStaffDirector-USHouseArmedServicesCommitee) Providing for the Common Defense: The Assessment and Recommendations of the National Defense Strategy Commission, United States Institute of Peace 2018 https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/2018-11/providing-for-the-common-defense.pdf

Our specific findings are outlined in the text. But at the outset, we wish to underscore the central theme of this report: There is a need for extraordinary urgency in addressing the crisis of national defense. We believe that the NDS is a broadly constructive document that identifies most of the right objectives and challenges. Yet we are deeply concerned that the Department of Defense and the nation as a whole have not yet addressed crucial issues such as force sizing, developing innovative op- erational concepts, readiness, and resources with the degree of urgency, persistence, and analytic depth that an increasingly dangerous world demands. Put bluntly, the American people and their elected representatives must understand that U.S. military superiority is not guaranteed, that many global trends are adverse and threatening, and that the nation has reached a pivotal moment regarding its ability to defend its vital interests and preserve a world in which the United States and other like-minded nations can thrive. The choices we make today and in the immediate future will have profound and potentially lasting consequences for American security and influence. If we do not square up to the challenge now, we will surely regret it.1 Chapter 1 The Purpose of American Military Power and the Crisis of National Defense Any defense strategy must protect the fundamental interests of the United States. Since the inception of the Republic, America’s most vital interests have remained constant. They include the physical security of the United States and its citizens; the promotion of a strong, innovative, and growing U.S. economy; and the protection of the nation’s democratic freedoms and domestic institutions. These interests were enshrined in the Declaration of Independence as “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” and collectively, they represent the pole star toward which any American strategy must be oriented. Since the mid-20th century, there has been a bipartisan consensus that America should take an international leadership role to secure these interests. The events of the 1930s and 1940s showed that the United States could not remain prosperous in a world ravaged by global depression, nor could it remain safe in a world convulsed by instability and war. Moreover, these events illustrated to Americans the danger that their own free institutions might not survive in a world ruled by hostile autocracies. As a result, Americans and their elected leaders concluded that the United States must use its unmatched power to foster a larger global environment in which America could thrive. This endeavor has often been referred to as building the “liberal international order,” but it simply reflects the common-sense idea that America will be most secure, prosperous, and free in a world that is itself secure, prosperous, and free. This straightforward judgment has underpinned the sustained global leadership the United States has exercised since the 1940s. America has anchored an open global economy in which trade and investment flow freely and Americans can see their creative energies rewarded. It has built international institutions that facilitate problem-solving and cooperation on important global issues. It has defended democratic values and human rights abroad in order to enhance U.S. influence and safeguard democratic values and human rights at home. It has sought to uphold favorable balances of power in key regions and concluded military alliances and security partnerships with dozens of like-minded countries— not as a matter of charity, but as a way of deterring aggression and preventing conflicts that could pose a serious threat to U.S. national security and prosperity. These have not been Republican policies or Democratic policies; they have been American policies, meant to create a world conducive to American interests and values. The role of alliances and partnerships deserves special emphasis here. U.S. alliances and partnerships are sometimes mischaracterized as arrangements that squander American resources on behalf of free-riding foreign countries. In reality, U.S. alliances and partnerships have been deeply rooted in American self-interest. They have served as force-multipliers for U.S. influence, by promoting institutionalized cooperation between America and like-minded nations. They have allowed America to call on the aid of its friends in every major conflict it has waged since World War II. They have buttressed the concept of international order that the United States seeks to preserve, by enlisting other nations in the promotion of a world favorable to American interests. They have provided intelligence support, regional expertise, and other critical assistance. In short, alliances and partnerships rooted in shared interests and mutual respect have reduced the price America pays for global leadership and enhanced the advantages America enjoys over any geopolitical rival. And although these alliances and partnerships—like all of America’s postwar policies—have required the persistent use of diplomacy, economic power, and other tools of statecraft, they have ultimately rested on a foundation of military strength. Since World War II, America has had a military second to none. After the Cold War, it possessed military power far greater than that of any rival or group of rivals. This position of unmatched strength has provided for the defense and security of the United States, American citizens overseas, and American allies and partners. It has been crucial to deterring and, if necessary, defeating aggression by hostile powers, whether the Soviet Union and its allies during the Cold War or al-Qaeda and Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) more recently. It has preserved stability in key regions from Europe to East Asia and beyond, and ensured the freedom of the global commons on which U.S. and international prosperity depends. It has prevented America from being coerced or intimidated, or once again finding itself the situation of the early 1940s, when democracy itself was endangered because aggressive authoritarian powers were on the verge of dominating the globe. It has given the United States unrivaled influence on a wide range of global issues. America’s leadership role has never been inexpensive or easy to play, and today many Americans are questioning whether it is worth the cost. But by any reasonable standard, U.S. global engagement has been a great investment. U.S. leadership has prevented a recurrence of the devastating world wars that marked the first half of the 20th century and required repeated U.S. interventions at a cost of hundreds of thousands of American lives. That leadership has also fostered an unprecedented growth in human freedom, with the number of democracies rising from roughly a dozen during World War II to 120 in the early 21st century. And as democracies displaced dictatorships, America itself became more secure and influential. The growth of prosperity has been even more astounding. According to World Bank data, inflation-adjusted U.S. gross domestic product has increased nearly six-fold since 1960. Both U.S. and global per capita income have also increased roughly three-fold (also in inflation-adjusted terms) over the same period. To be clear, the evolution of the economy in recent decades has left too many of our citizens behind, and it is essential that all benefit from our national prosperity. On the whole, however, both the United States and the world are far richer than they would have been absent the open international economy America has fostered. Here, too, American policy has been successful in what it has avoided as well as what it has achieved: the world has not suffered another global depression that would cause rampant poverty, political radicalism, and international aggression, and that would surely lead to catastrophic effects for the United States. Decades of experience have taught that American leadership is not a fool’s errand or a matter of altruism, but a pragmatic approach to advancing American security and wellbeing. There is little reason to think the situation has changed today. The fundamental lesson of the 1930s and 1940s—that no country is an island— remains as relevant as ever. If anything, as the world becomes increasingly interdependent, the security and prosperity of the United States are becoming ever more closely linked to the health of the larger international environment. And although the United States has many powerful allies, none of them can fill the singular role America has played in providing the international peace, stability, and prosperity in which the United States itself has flourished. U.S. leadership of a stable and open international environment remains as profoundly in the country’s own national interests as it was more than seven decades ago. Unfortunately, in recent years changes at home and abroad have eroded American military advantages and threatening U.S. interests. The Changing Strategic Environment After the Cold War, the United States faced a relatively benign security environment. There remained dangerous challenges to U.S. interests and—as shown by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001—the American homeland. Yet tensions between the world’s major powers were historically low, and the actors that threatened the United States, from so-called rogue states to jihadist terror organizations, were compar- atively weak. Today, however, the international landscape is more ominous. The United States confronts the most challenging security environment in decades. Six trends are particularly worthy of note. First, and most important, is the rise of major-power competition and conflict. The world America shaped has brought great security and prosperity to many countries. Yet today, powerful authoritarian rivals— China and Russia—see U.S. leadership as a barrier to their ambitions. These countries seek to overturn existing regional balances of power and re-create spheres of influence in which they can dominate their neighbors’ economic, diplomatic, and security choices. They are also seeking to project power and exert influence beyond their peripheries. They are pursuing their agendas, moreover, through the use of coercion, intimidation, and in some cases outright aggression, all backed by major military buildups that specifically target U.S. military advantages and alliance commitments and relationships. The challenge China presents is particularly daunting. It is natural for China to exert greater influence as its power grows, and the rise of China would present challenges for America and the world even if Beijing pursued its interests through entirely legitimate means. Unfortunately, China is increasingly exerting influence in illegitimate and destabilizing ways. China is using military, paramilitary, and diplomatic measures to coerce U.S. allies and partners from Japan to India; contest international law and freedom of navigation in crucial waterways such as the South China Sea; undermine the U.S. position in East and Southeast Asia; and other- wise seek a position of geopolitical dominance. It is using predatory economic statecraft to weaken its rivals, including the United States, and give it decisive strategic leverage over its neighbors. Meanwhile, China is reaping the fruits of a multi-decade military buildup. Beijing has invested in systems designed to counter American power-projection and thereby prevent the United States from protecting its allies, partners, and economic interests. China is also modernizing its nuclear forces, developing sophisticated power-projection capabilities, and undertaking the most thoroughgoing military reforms since the founding of the People’s Republic. China already presents a severe test of U.S. interests in the Indo-Pacific and beyond and is on a path to become, by mid-century, a military challenger the likes of which America has not encountered since the Cold War-era Soviet Union. Russia, too, is pursuing regional hegemony and global influence in destabilizing ways. Moscow has invaded and dismembered neighboring states, used cyberwarfare and other tactics to attack democratic nations’ political systems, and employed measures from military intimidation to information warfare to undermine and weaken NATO and the European Union. Russia has intervened militarily in Syria to bolster Bashar al-Assad’s brutal regime and restore lost influence in the Middle East, while supporting many other authoritarian governments. Across these in- itiatives, the Putin regime has demonstrated a propensity for risk-taking backed up by enhanced military power. Moscow has developed ad- vanced conventional capabilities meant to prevent America from project- ing power and aiding its allies along Russia’s periphery and to project its own power farther afield. Russia is also conducting a comprehensive nuclear modernization, including sustainment and modernization of a large number of non-strategic nuclear weapons and the development of a ground-launched cruise missile that violates the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty. These developments are accompanied by Russian doctrinal writings that emphasize the prospect of using limited nuclear escalation to control the trajectory of a potential conflict against the United States and NATO. Russia is seeking to create situations of military strength vis-à-vis America and its allies, and despite its limited resource base, it is having considerable success. Second, aggressive regional challengers—notably North Korea and Iran—are expanding their military capabilities consistent with their geopolitical ambitions. The United States and its allies have faced threats from a brutal, erratic, and aggressive North Korea for decades, but never before has Pyongyang possessed such destructive power. North Korea may already have the capability to detonate a nuclear weapon over a major American city; the regime also continues to develop biological, chemical, and conventional capabilities as a way of guaranteeing its sur- vival and coercing adversaries. Today, Kim Jong Un’s military can threaten America more directly than his father or grandfather. He can also exert great pressure on U.S. alliances with South Korea and Japan, sowing doubt about whether America would defend those allies in a cri- sis. This Commission hopes that ongoing negotiations will lead to the complete, verifiable, and irreversible denuclearization of North Korea, but the history of U.S.-North Korean negotiations give little cause for optimism. Even successful negotiations would leave America facing sig- nificant security challenges on the Korean Peninsula and in East Asia, most significantly the robust ballistic missile threat posed to our allies, Japan and the Republic of Korea. The threat from Iran, another longtime U.S. adversary and the world’s foremost state sponsor of terrorism, has also worsened. Iran has skillfully utilized asymmetric tactics including terrorism, the weaponization of sectarianism, support for insurgent groups, and a reliance on proxy and special operations forces to weaken U.S. influence and pursue hegemony in the Middle East. Iranian military capabilities are growing in areas such as unmanned aerial vehicles and explosive boats, advanced naval mines and submarines, more sophisticated cyber forces, and anti-ship and land- attack cruise missiles. Iran is also expanding what is already the largest ballistic missile force in the region. In a conflict with the United States, Iran could use these capabilities to obstruct freedom of navigation in regional waterways, target U.S. military facilities and critical infrastructure in the Persian Gulf, and otherwise inflict substantial costs on America and its partners. The challenges of major power conflict and aggressive regional challengers are linked by a third, which is the growing prevalence of aggression and conflict in the gray zone—the space between war and peace. The means of gray-zone conflict include everything from strong-arm diplomacy and economic coercion, to media manipulation and cyber- attacks, to use of paramilitaries and proxy forces. Singly or in combination, such tactics confound or gradually weaken an adversary’s positions or resolve without provoking a military response. Gray-zone conflict is often shrouded in deception or misinformation, making attribution diffi-ult and discouraging a strong response. Although coercive challenges of this sort are not new, they have become the tool of choice for those who do not wish to confront U.S. military power directly. China’s island-building and maritime coercion in the South China Sea, Iran’s sponsorship of Hezbollah and other militias as tools of influence and subversion in the Middle East, Russia’s use of unacknowledged military and proxy forces in Ukraine, and Moscow’s information warfare campaigns meant to inflame social tensions and in- fluence political processes in the United States and Europe all represent examples of gray-zone aggression today. Because gray-zone challenges combine military and paramilitary measures with economic statecraft, political warfare, information operations, and other tools, they often occur in the “seams” between DOD and other U.S. departments and agencies, making them all the more difficult to address. Fourth, the threat from radical jihadist groups has evolved and intensified. Groups such as ISIS, al-Qaeda, and their affiliates pose ongoing threats to the United States and its allies and partners, from Western Africa to the Philippines. That threat is not new, but it is expanding. There are more jihadists in more countries today than at any time since the birth of the modern jihadist movement in 1979, and there are more groups capable of mounting major attacks. The most sophisticated groups have developed state-like military capabilities, conquered (how- ever briefly) large swaths of territory, shown continued interest in acquiring weapons of mass destruction, and commanded or inspired deadly attacks around the globe. Assisted by poor governance, sectarian con- flict, and regional instability, these groups—or their successors—will threaten U.S. and international security for generations to come. Fifth, and compounding these challenges, the proliferation of advanced technology is eroding U.S. advantages and creating new vulnerabilities. The spread of weapons of mass destruction, ballistic and cruise missiles, precision-strike assets, advanced air defenses, antisatellite and cyberwarfare capabilities, and unmanned systems has given weaker actors the ability to threaten America and its allies in more dangerous ways. In some cases, we are behind, or falling behind, in critical technologies. U.S. competitors are making enormous investments in hypersonic delivery vehicles, artificial intelligence (AI), and other advanced technol- ogies. With respect to hypersonics in particular, the United States finds itself trailing China and perhaps Russia as well. All this raises the possi- bility that America may find itself at a technological disadvantage in future conflicts. Because the American way of war has long relied on technological supremacy, this could have profoundly negative implica- tions for U.S. military effectiveness. The United States thus confronts more numerous—and more severe— threats than at any time in decades. America must address the threats posed by major-power rivals, dangerous regional challengers, and terrorists simultaneously; it must deal with geopolitical conflict, gray-zone aggression, and instability from one end of Eurasia to the other. It must also prepare for the prospect that the U.S. military might be called into action in a country, region, or contingency that is not currently envisioned. The dangers posed by these and other troubling trends have been compounded by a final problem, of America’s own making: budgetary insta- bility and disinvestment in defense. Because of decisions made by both major parties—especially the enactment of the Budget Control Act (BCA) of 2011—constant-dollar defense spending (in estimated 2018 dollars) fell from $794 billion in Fiscal Year (FY) 2010 to $586 billion in FY2015, according to U.S. government statistics. In percentage terms, this constituted the fastest drawdown since the years following the Korean War. Excluding overseas contingency operations accounts— funding for wars in Iraq and Afghanistan—the inflation-adjusted decline was from $612 billion to $541 billion. This defense austerity was exacer- bated by political gridlock, which forced the Pentagon to operate on short-term continuing resolutions, and which triggered the crippling, across-the-board cuts associated with the sequester mechanism in 2013. The effects of these resource challenges have been devastating. By 2017, all of the military services were at or near post-World War II lows in terms of end-strength, and all were confronting severe readiness crises and enormous deferred modernization costs (see Figure 1). A series of temporary budget increases provided for by the Bipartisan Budget Acts of 2013, 2015, and 2018 provided welcome but insufficient relief. As the world has become more threatening, America has weakened its own defense. The Crisis of American Military Power and Its Consequences Collectively, these trends add up to a perilous situation. In 2010, the Quadrennial Defense Review Independent Panel warned of a coming “train wreck” if America did not retain adequate military capabilities in an increasingly competitive world. In 2014, the National Defense Panel warned that the U.S. military had become “inadequate given the future strategic and operational environment.” In 2018, this Commission believes that America has reached the point of a full-blown national security crisis. The U.S. military remains the strongest in the world, but the number and geographic diversity of security challenges, the technical so- phistication of U.S. rivals and adversaries, and other factors mean that America’s military capabilities are insufficient to address the growing dangers the country faces. America is courting unacceptable risk to its own national security, and to the stability and prosperity of the global en- vironment from which it has benefitted so much. Across multiple regions, adverse military trends and gray-zone aggres- sion are undermining U.S. influence and damaging U.S. interests. In the Western Pacific, the regional military balance has shifted dramatically because of China’s ongoing buildup and coercive activities. In Eastern Europe, Russian military modernization has left U.S. and NATO forces with severe vulnerabilities on the alliance’s eastern frontier. In the Mid- dle East, Tehran’s arsenal of asymmetric and anti-access/area denial ca- pabilities, along with its network of proxy forces, can create significant challenges for U.S. forces and influence, as Russia’s renewed regional military presence further inhibits American freedom of action. Looking beyond these regions, U.S. competitors and adversaries—particularly Russia and China—are increasingly contesting American control of the maritime, space, and cyber commons and improving their ability to strike the U.S. homeland (see Figure 2). The consequences of these shifts are profound. Because the military balance casts its shadow over international diplomacy, the erosion of U.S. military advantage is weakening the norms and principles for which America has traditionally stood. It is no coincidence that threats to freedom of navigation in the South China Sea—through which one-third of global shipping transits—have increased as the military balance has dete- riorated. Similarly, the credibility of American alliances—the bedrock of geopolitical stability in key areas—will be weakened as allies question whether the United States can defend them; American rivals and adversaries will be emboldened to push harder. From the Taiwan Strait to the Baltic region, peace and deterrence have long rested on the perception that the United States can decisively defeat military challenges. As that perception fades, deterrence weakens and war becomes more likely. Should war occur, American forces will face harder fights and greater losses than at any time in decades. It is worth recalling that during the Falklands War, a decidedly inferior opponent—Argentina—crippled and sank a major British warship by striking it with a single guided missile. The amount of destruction a major state adversary could inflict on U.S. forces today might be orders of magnitude higher. A war on the Korean Peninsula, for instance, would expose U.S. and allied citizens and forces in the region to intense conventional warfare and likely chemical and biological warfare. There would be a real possibility of North Korean nuclear strikes against allied countries in Northeast Asia and perhaps even against U.S. territory. If the United States had to fight Russia in a Baltic contingency or China in a war over Taiwan (see Vignette 1), Americans could face a decisive military defeat. These two nations possess precision-strike capabilities, integrated air defenses, cruise and ballistic missiles, advanced cyberwarfare and anti-satellite capabilities, significant air and naval forces, and nuclear weapons—a suite of advanced capabilities heretofore possessed only by the United States. The U.S. military would face daunting challenges in establishing air superiority or sea control and retaking territory lost early in a conflict. Against an enemy equipped with ad- vanced anti-access/area denial capabilities, attrition of U.S. capital assets—ships, planes, tanks—could be enormous. The prolonged, delib- erate buildup of overwhelming force in theater that has traditionally been the hallmark of American expeditionary warfare would be vastly more difficult and costly, if it were possible at all. Put bluntly, the U.S. military could lose the next state-versus-state war it fights.

## Case

### kessler

#### Extinction comes first under any framework.

Pummer 15 [Theron, Junior Research Fellow in Philosophy at St. Anne's College, University of Oxford. “Moral Agreement on Saving the World” Practical Ethics, University of Oxford. May 18, 2015] AT

There appears to be lot of disagreement in moral philosophy. Whether these many apparent disagreements are deep and irresolvable, I believe there is at least one thing it is reasonable to agree on right now, whatever general moral view we adopt: that it is very important to reduce the risk that all intelligent beings on this planet are eliminated by an enormous catastrophe, such as a nuclear war. How we might in fact try to reduce such existential risks is discussed elsewhere. My claim here is only that we – whether we’re consequentialists, deontologists, or virtue ethicists – should all agree that we should try to save the world. According to consequentialism, we should maximize the good, where this is taken to be the goodness, from an impartial perspective, of outcomes. Clearly one thing that makes an outcome good is that the people in it are doing well. There is little disagreement here. If the happiness or well-being of possible future people is just as important as that of people who already exist, and if they would have good lives, it is not hard to see how reducing existential risk is easily the most important thing in the whole world. This is for the familiar reason that there are so many people who could exist in the future – there are trillions upon trillions… upon trillions. There are so many possible future people that reducing existential risk is arguably the most important thing in the world, even if the well-being of these possible people were given only 0.001% as much weight as that of existing people. Even on a wholly person-affecting view – according to which there’s nothing (apart from effects on existing people) to be said in favor of creating happy people – the case for reducing existential risk is very strong. As noted in this seminal paper, this case is strengthened by the fact that there’s a good chance that many existing people will, with the aid of life-extension technology, live very long and very high quality lives. You might think what I have just argued applies to consequentialists only. There is a tendency to assume that, if an argument appeals to consequentialist considerations (the goodness of outcomes), it is irrelevant to non-consequentialists. But that is a huge mistake. Non-consequentialism is the view that there’s more that determines rightness than the goodness of consequences or outcomes; it is not the view that the latter don’t matter. Even John Rawls wrote, “All ethical doctrines worth our attention take consequences into account in judging rightness. One which did not would simply be irrational, crazy.” Minimally plausible versions of deontology and virtue ethics must be concerned in part with promoting the good, from an impartial point of view. They’d thus imply very strong reasons to reduce existential risk, at least when this doesn’t significantly involve doing harm to others or damaging one’s character. What’s even more surprising, perhaps, is that even if our own good (or that of those near and dear to us) has much greater weight than goodness from the impartial “point of view of the universe,” indeed even if the latter is entirely morally irrelevant, we may nonetheless have very strong reasons to reduce existential risk. Even egoism, the view that each agent should maximize her own good, might imply strong reasons to reduce existential risk. It will depend, among other things, on what one’s own good consists in. If well-being consisted in pleasure only, it is somewhat harder to argue that egoism would imply strong reasons to reduce existential risk – perhaps we could argue that one would maximize her expected hedonic well-being by funding life extension technology or by having herself cryogenically frozen at the time of her bodily death as well as giving money to reduce existential risk (so that there is a world for her to live in!). I am not sure, however, how strong the reasons to do this would be. But views which imply that, if I don’t care about other people, I have no or very little reason to help them are not even minimally plausible views (in addition to hedonistic egoism, I here have in mind views that imply that one has no reason to perform an act unless one actually desires to do that act). To be minimally plausible, egoism will need to be paired with a more sophisticated account of well-being. To see this, it is enough to consider, as Plato did, the possibility of a ring of invisibility – suppose that, while wearing it, Ayn could derive some pleasure by helping the poor, but instead could derive just a bit more by severely harming them. Hedonistic egoism would absurdly imply she should do the latter. To avoid this implication, egoists would need to build something like the meaningfulness of a life into well-being, in some robust way, where this would to a significant extent be a function of other-regarding concerns (see chapter 12 of this classic intro to ethics). But once these elements are included, we can (roughly, as above) argue that this sort of egoism will imply strong reasons to reduce existential risk. Add to all of this Samuel Scheffler’s recent intriguing arguments (quick podcast version available here) that most of what makes our lives go well would be undermined if there were no future generations of intelligent persons. On his view, my life would contain vastly less well-being if (say) a year after my death the world came to an end. So obviously if Scheffler were right I’d have very strong reason to reduce existential risk. We should also take into account moral uncertainty. What is it reasonable for one to do, when one is uncertain not (only) about the empirical facts, but also about the moral facts? I’ve just argued that there’s agreement among minimally plausible ethical views that we have strong reason to reduce existential risk – not only consequentialists, but also deontologists, virtue ethicists, and sophisticated egoists should agree. But even those (hedonistic egoists) who disagree should have a significant level of confidence that they are mistaken, and that one of the above views is correct. Even if they were 90% sure that their view is the correct one (and 10% sure that one of these other ones is correct), they would have pretty strong reason, from the standpoint of moral uncertainty, to reduce existential risk. Perhaps most disturbingly still, even if we are only 1% sure that the well-being of possible future people matters, it is at least arguable that, from the standpoint of moral uncertainty, reducing existential risk is the most important thing in the world. Again, this is largely for the reason that there are so many people who could exist in the future – there are trillions upon trillions… upon trillions. (For more on this and other related issues, see this excellent dissertation). Of course, it is uncertain whether these untold trillions would, in general, have good lives. It’s possible they’ll be miserable. It is enough for my claim that there is moral agreement in the relevant sense if, at least given certain empirical claims about what future lives would most likely be like, all minimally plausible moral views would converge on the conclusion that we should try to save the world. While there are some non-crazy views that place significantly greater moral weight on avoiding suffering than on promoting happiness, for reasons others have offered (and for independent reasons I won’t get into here unless requested to), they nonetheless seem to be fairly implausible views. And even if things did not go well for our ancestors, I am optimistic that they will overall go fantastically well for our descendants, if we allow them to. I suspect that most of us alive today – at least those of us not suffering from extreme illness or poverty – have lives that are well worth living, and that things will continue to improve. Derek Parfit, whose work has emphasized future generations as well as agreement in ethics, described our situation clearly and accurately: “We live during the hinge of history. Given the scientific and technological discoveries of the last two centuries, the world has never changed as fast. We shall soon have even greater powers to transform, not only our surroundings, but ourselves and our successors. If we act wisely in the next few centuries, humanity will survive its most dangerous and decisive period. Our descendants could, if necessary, go elsewhere, spreading through this galaxy…. Our descendants might, I believe, make the further future very good. But that good future may also depend in part on us. If our selfish recklessness ends human history, we would be acting very wrongly.” (From chapter 36 of On What Matters)

#### Russia and China say no OR the plan gets watered down.

**Bahney and Pearl 19** [Benjamin Bahney and Jonathan Pearl, 3-26-2019, "Why Creating a Space Force Changes Nothing," BENJAMIN BAHNEY and JONATHAN PEARL are Senior Fellows at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory’s Center for Global Security Research and contributing authors to [Cross Domain Deterrence: Strategy in an Era of Complexity](https://archive.md/o/Hlbi1/https:/www.amazon.com/Cross-Domain-Deterrence-Strategy-Era-Complexity/dp/0190908653). Foreign Affairs, [https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/space/2019-03-26/why-creating-space-force-changes-nothing accessed 12/10/21](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/space/2019-03-26/why-creating-space-force-changes-nothing%20accessed%2012/10/21)] Adam

As Russia and China continue to push forward, U.S. policymakers may be tempted to use treaties and diplomacy to head off their efforts entirely. This option, although alluring on paper, is simply not feasible. Existing treaties designed to limit military competition in space have had little success in actually doing so. The 1967 Outer Space Treaty bans parties from placing nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction in space, on the moon, or on other celestial bodies, but it has no formal mechanism for verifying compliance, and places no restrictions on the development or deployment in space of conventional antisatellite weapons. Even if it were possible to convince Moscow and Beijing of the benefits of comprehensive space arms control, existing technology makes it extremely difficult to verify compliance with the necessary treaty provisions—and without comprehensive and reliable verification, treaties are toothless. Moreover, regulating the development and deployment of antisatellite weapons is extremely difficult, both because they include such a broad and diverse range of technologies and because many types of antisatellite weapons can be concealed or explained away as having some other use. Unsurprisingly, Russia and China’s draft Treaty on the Prevention of Placement of Weapons in Space, which they have been pushing for several years now, has an unenforceable definition of what constitutes a “weapon” and does nothing at all to address ground-based antisatellite weapons development.

#### Interdependence checks ASAT attacks.

**Hall 15** [Luke Penn-Hall 15, Analyst at The Cipher Brief, M.A. from the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies, B.A. in International Relations and Religious Studies from Claremont McKenna College, “5 Reasons “Space War” Isn’t As Scary As It Sounds”, The Cipher Brief, 8/18/2015, <https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/5-reasons-%E2%80%9Cspace-war%E2%80%9D-isn%E2%80%99t-scary-it-sounds>] recut Adam

1. An ASAT attack would likely be part of a larger, terrestrial attack. An attack on space assets would be no different than an attack on territory or other assets on earth. This means that no space war would stay limited to space. An ASAT campaign would be part of a larger conventional military conflict that would play out on earth.

2. Every country with ASAT capabilities also needs satellites. While the United States is the most dependent on military satellites, most other countries need satellites to participate in the global economy. All countries that have the technical ability to play in this space – the U.S., Russia, China and India - also have a vested interest in preventing the militarization of space and protecting their own satellites. If any of those countries were to attack U.S. satellites, it would likely hurt them far more than it would hurt the United States.

3. Destruction of satellites could create a damaging chain reaction. Scientists warn that the violent destruction of satellites could result in an effect called an ablation cascade. High-velocity debris from a destroyed satellite could crash into other satellites and create more high-velocity debris. If an ablation cascade were to occur, it could render certain orbital levels completely unusable for centuries.

4. Any country that threatened access to space would threaten the global economy. Even if a full-blown ablation cascade didn’t occur, an ASAT campaign would cause debris, making operating in space more hazardous. The global economy relies on satellites and any disruption of operations would be met with worldwide disapproval and severe economic ramifications.

5. International Prohibits the Use of ASAT Weapons. Several international treaties expressly prohibit signatory nations from attacking other countries’ space assets. It is generally accepted that space should be treated as a global common area, rather than a military domain.

While it remains necessary for military planners to create contingency plans for a, space war it is a highly unlikely scenario. All involved parties are incentivized against attacking. However, if a space war did occur, it would be part of a larger conflict on Earth. Those concerned about the potential for war in space should be more concerned about the potential for war, period.

#### Deterrence solves.

**Evanoff 19** [Kyle Evanoff, Kyle is a research associate in international economics and U.S. foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations “Big Bangs, Red Herrings, and the Dilemmas of Space Security”, Council on Foreign Relations, 6/27/2019, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/big-bangs-red-herrings-and-dilemmas-space-security> accessed 12/11/21] Adam

More important, U.S. policymakers should avoid making decisions on the basis of a possible, though highly improbable, space Pearl Harbor. They should recognize that latent counterspace capabilities—as exemplified in 2008’s Operation Burnt Frost, which saw the United States repurpose a ballistic missile interceptor to destroy a satellite—are more than sufficient to deter adversaries from launching a major surprise attack in almost all scenarios, especially in light of the aforementioned deep interdependence in the space domain. Adding to the deterrence effect are uncertain offensive cyber capabilities. The United States continues to launch incursions into geopolitical competitors’ critical systems, such as the Russian power grid, and has demonstrated a willingness to employ cyberattacks in the wake of offline incidents, as it did after Iran shot down a U.S. drone last week. Unlike in the nuclear arena, where anything short of the prospect of nuclear retaliation holds limited dissuasive power, space deterrence can stem from military capabilities in various domains. For this reason, an attack on a U.S. satellite could elicit any number of responses. The potential for cross-domain retaliation, combined with the high strategic value of space assets, means that any adversary risks extreme escalation in launching a major assault on American space architectures. Again, well-conceived diplomatic efforts are useful in averting such scenarios altogether.

#### **We won’t care about losing a satellite.**

Bleddyn Bowen 18, University of Leicester International Relations Lecturer, "The Art of Space Deterrence," European Leadership Network, 2-20-18, https://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/commentary/the-art-of-space-deterrence/

As consensus emerges on the possibility that, should a major war occur, satellites will mostly likely be attacked or harassed in one way or another, there is increasing deliberation on ‘space deterrence’, or how to prevent would-be aggressors from attacking satellites and other parts of space infrastructure on Earth. Reasoned analysis focuses on applying imagined thresholds of sensitivity and reaction based on the types of satellites attacked, how they are attacked, and when they are attacked in a crisis. For example, a Planet Labs imaging satellite being jammed outside of a crisis is a different incident compared to a Keyhole imagery satellite being destroyed during a Taiwan crisis. Indeed, it is crucial to think about what systems any space power may value above all others, which they may be able to suffer losing, and which losses may provoke a stern reaction. Most tools of space warfare today, of which America, China, and Russia lead, include jamming and Earth-based kinetic-kill capabilities that are ground, sea, or air missile based. Additionally, many Earth-based weapons such as missiles, attack aircraft, and naval vessels can bombard ground facilities if they are in range. However, as those narrow discussion tend to delve into the technical and tactical weeds, there are useful principles to remember when considering space deterrence on a more strategic level. With the tools of space warfare spreading, then, how does one deter an adversary from attacking one’s valuable and essential space infrastructure that is responsible for precision warfare as well as precision farming? This is a very difficult question to answer, and there are no direct and holistic ones to be given. But general ground rules for strategic thought can be provided. The difficulty is that any reason to think that space deterrence may be easier to achieve than equivalents on Earth has a counter that may highlight why, in some circumstances, space deterrence may be harder to impose in the mind of the adversary. First, politics, strategy, and deterrence relationships in space are extensions of those on Earth. Space deterrence remains an art of understanding the opponent’s psychology, valued possessions, and political objectives, as space deterrence is just a thematic or geographic variant of deterrence in general. Although space specialists are needed to understand spacepower, war in space is still subject to the same strategic logic as other terrestrial environments, and therefore deterrence in space cannot ignore events on Earth. Space warfare is merely the continuation of Terran politics by other means; a shooting war is space does not occur in a political vacuum. Additionally, some countries may have an ability to attack or disrupt satellites but possess no space-based assets of their own. Therefore, a tit-for-tat exchange of responding to a satellite attack with a satellite attack will not always be an option. Terrestrial threats and retaliation may be called for to deter attacks on space assets and space deterrence requires a joint approach, just as a joint approach to modern deterrence on Earth requires spacepower to function. Adhering too narrowly to the concept of ‘space deterrence’ can mislead analysis to isolate space from Earth. It is as misleading as speaking in terms of ‘air deterrence’ or ‘sea deterrence’. Deterring a state from taking a particular action in any environment requires more than one method of deterring by denial or punishment. Rather, modern deterrence relationships need to account for the role space systems play in building holistic deterrent and warfare capabilities in every environment, as well as the role satellites and space infrastructure may play in triggering, exacerbating, or resolving crises on Earth, as well as winning wars. Space is often an afterthought or a miscellaneous ancillary in the grand strategic views of top-level decision-makers. A president may not care that one satellite may be lost or go dark; it may cause panic and Twitter-based hysteria for the space community, of course. But the terrestrial context and consequences, as well as the political stakes and symbolism of any exchange of hostilities in space matters more. The political and media dimension can magnify or minimise the perceived consequences of losing specific satellites out of all proportion to their actual strategic effect.

#### No escalation from satellite attacks.

Dr. Eric J. Zarybnisky 18, MA in National Security Studies from the Naval War College, PhD in Operations Research from the MIT Sloan School of Management, Lt Col, USAF, “Celestial Deterrence: Deterring Aggression in the Global Commons of Space”, 3/28/2018, https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/1062004.pdf

While deterrence and the Cold War are strongly linked in the public’s mind through the nuclear standoff between the United States and the Soviet Union, the fundamentals of deterrence date back millennia and deterrence remains relevant. Thucydides alludes to the concept of deterrence in his telling of the Peloponnesian War when he describes rivals seeking advantages, such as recruiting allies, to dissuade an adversary from starting or expanding a conflict.6F6 Aggression in space was successfully avoided during the Cold War because both sides viewed an attack on military satellites as highly escalatory, and such an action would likely result in general nuclear war.7F7 In today’s more nuanced world, attacking satellites, including military satellites, does not necessarily result in nuclear war. For instance, foreign countries have used high-powered lasers against American intelligence-gathering satellites8F8 and the United States has been reluctant to respond, let alone retaliate with nuclear weapons. This shift in policy is a result of the broader use of gray zone operations, to which countries struggle to respond while limiting escalation. Beginning with the fundamentals of deterrence illuminates how it applies to prevention of aggression in space.

#### Squo debris thumps.

**Wall 21** [Mike Wall, Michael Wall is a Senior Space Writer with [Space.com](http://space.com/) and joined the team in 2010. He primarily covers exoplanets, spaceflight and military space. He has a Ph.D. in evolutionary biology from the University of Sydney, Australia, a bachelor's degree from the University of Arizona, and a graduate certificate in science writing from the University of California, Santa Cruz. 11/15/21, "Kessler Syndrome and the space debris problem," Space, [https://www.space.com/kessler-syndrome-space-debris accessed 12/10/21](https://www.space.com/kessler-syndrome-space-debris%20accessed%2012/10/21)] Adam

Earth orbit is getting more and more crowded as the years go by. Humanity has launched about 12,170 satellites since the dawn of the space age in 1957, [according to the European Space Agency](https://www.esa.int/Safety_Security/Space_Debris/Space_debris_by_the_numbers) (ESA), and 7,630 of them remain in orbit today — but only about 4,700 are still operational. That means there are nearly 3,000 defunct spacecraft zooming around Earth at tremendous speeds, along with other big, dangerous pieces of debris like upper-stage rocket bodies. For example, orbital velocity at 250 miles (400 kilometers) up, the altitude at which the ISS flies, is about 17,100 mph (27,500 kph). At such speeds, even a tiny shard of debris can do serious damage to a spacecraft — and there are huge numbers of such fragmentary bullets zipping around our planet. ESA estimates that Earth orbit harbors at least 36,500 debris objects that are more than 4 inches (10 centimeters) wide, 1 million between 0.4 inches and 4 inches (1 to 10 cm) across, and a staggering 330 million that are smaller than 0.4 inches (1 cm) but bigger than 0.04 inches (1 millimeter). These objects pose more than just a hypothetical threat. From 1999 to May 2021, for example, the ISS conducted 29 debris-avoiding maneuvers, including three in 2020 alone, [according to NASA officials](https://www.nasa.gov/mission_pages/station/news/orbital_debris.html). And that number continues to grow; the station performed [another such move in November 2021](https://www.space.com/space-station-dodging-chinese-space-junk-spacex-crew-3), for example. Many of the smaller pieces of space junk were spawned by the explosion of spent rocket bodies in orbit, but others were more actively emplaced. In January 2007, for instance, China intentionally destroyed one of its defunct weather satellites in a much-criticized test of anti-satellite technology that generated [more than 3,000 tracked debris objects](https://swfound.org/media/9550/chinese_asat_fact_sheet_updated_2012.pdf) and perhaps 32,000 others too small to be detected. The vast majority of that junk remains in orbit today, experts say. Spacecraft have also collided with each other on orbit. The most famous such incident occurred in February 2009, when Russia's defunct Kosmos 2251 satellite slammed into the operational communications craft Iridium 33, producing [nearly 2,000 pieces of debris](https://swfound.org/media/6575/swf_iridium_cosmos_collision_fact_sheet_updated_2012.pdf) bigger than a softball. That 2009 smashup might be evidence that the Kessler Syndrome is already upon us, though a cataclysm of "Gravity" proportions is still a long way off. "The cascade process can be more accurately thought of as continuous and as already started, where each collision or explosion in orbit slowly results in an increase in the frequency of future collisions," [Kessler told Space Safety Magazine in 2012](http://www.spacesafetymagazine.com/space-debris/kessler-syndrome/don-kessler-envisat-kessler-syndrome/).

**Probability – 0.1% chance of a collision.**

Alexander William **Salter 16**, **Economics Professor at Texas Tech**, **’16**, “SPACE DEBRIS: A LAW AND ECONOMICS ANALYSIS OF THE ORBITAL COMMONS” 19 STAN. TECH. L. REV. 221 \*numbers replaced with English words

The probability of a collision is currently **low**. Bradley and Wein estimate that the **maximum probability** in LEO of a collision over the lifetime of a spacecraft remains **below one in one thousand**, conditional on continued compliance with NASA’s deorbiting guidelines.3 However, the possibility of a future “snowballing” effect, whereby debris collides with other objects, further congesting orbit space, remains a significant concern.4 Levin and Carroll estimate the average immediate destruction of wealth created by a collision to be approximately $30 million, with an additional $200 million in damages to all currently existing space assets from the debris created by the initial collision.5 The expected value of destroyed wealth because of collisions, currently small because of the low probability of a collision, can quickly become significant if future collisions result in runaway debris growth.

### 1NC – Colonization

#### Colonization’s impossible

**Levchenko 19**. Professors in the Plasma Sources and Applications Centre/Space Propulsion Centre, NIE, Nanyang Technological University. 2019. “Mars Colonization: Beyond Getting There.” Global Challenges, vol. 3, no. 1.

Settlement of Mars—is it a dream or a necessity? From scientific publications to public forms, there is certainly little consensus on whether colonization of Mars is necessary or even possible, with a rich diversity of opinions that range from categorical It is a necessity!20 to equally categorical Should Humans Colonize Other Planets? No.21 A strong proponent of the idea, Orwig puts forward five reasons for Mars colonization, implicitly stating that establishing a permanent colony of humans on Mars is no longer an option but a real necessity.20 Specifically, these arguments are: Survival of humans as a species; Exploring the potential of life on Mars to sustain humans; Using space technology to positively contribute to our quality of life, from health to minimizing and reversing negative aspects of anthropogenic activity of humans on Earth; Developing as a species; Gaining political and economic leadership. The first argument captures the essence of what most space colonization proponents feel—our ever growing environmental footprint threatens the survival of human race on Earth. Indeed, a large body of evidence points to human activity as the main cause of extinction of many species, with shrinking biodiversity and depleting resources threatening the very survival of humans on this planet. Colonization of other planets could potentially increase the probability of our survival. While being at the core of such ambitious projects as Mars One, a self‐sustained colony of any size on Mars is hardly feasible in the foreseeable future. Indeed, sustaining even a small number of colonists would require a continuous supply of food, oxygen, water and basic materials. At this stage, it is not clear whether it would be possible to establish a system that would generate these resources locally, or whether it would at least in part rely on the delivery of these resources (or essential components necessary for their local production) from Earth. Beyond the supply of these very basic resources, it would be quite challenging if not impossible for the colonists to independently produce hi‐tech but vitally important assets such as medicines, electronics and robotics systems, or advanced materials that provide us with a decent quality of life. In this case, would their existence become little more than the jogtrot of life, as compared with the standards expected at the Earth?22

#### **Capitalism is inevitable, adaptive, and alternatives are comparatively worse.**

[Meltzer](http://public.tepper.cmu.edu/facultydirectory/FacultyDirectoryProfile.aspx?id=98) 09 Dr. Allan H. Meltzer, economist and professor of Political Economy at Carnegie Mellon University’s Tepper School of Business in Pittsburgh (The eighth lecture in the 2008-2009 Bradley Lecture series, 3/9/2009, “There is no better alternative than capitalism”, [http://hiram7.wordpress.com/2009/03/12/there-is-no-better-alternative-than-capitalism/)//](http://hiram7.wordpress.com/2009/03/12/there-is-no-better-alternative-than-capitalism/)//jk)

**There is no better alternative than capitalism** as a social system **for providing growth and personal freedom. The alternatives offer less freedom and lower growth. The “better alternatives” that people imagine are almost always someone’s idea of utopia**. Libraries are full of books on utopia. **Those that have been tried have not survived** or flourished. **The most common reason for failure is that one person or group’s utopian ideal is unsatisfactory for others** who live subject to its rules. Either the rules change or they are enforced by authorities. Capitalism, particularly democratic capitalism, includes the means for orderly change. **Critics of capitalism look for viable alternatives to support. They do not recognize that**, unlike Socialism, **capitalism is adaptive, not rigid. Private ownership of the means of production flourishes in many different cultures**. Recently **critics of capitalism discovered the success of Chinese capitalism as an alternative to American capitalism. Its main feature is mercantilist policies supported by rigid controls on capital**. China’s progress takes advantage of an American or western model–the open trading system–and the willingness of the United States to run a current account balance. China is surely more authoritarian than Japan or western countries, a political difference that previously occurred in Meiji Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. Growth in these countries produced a middle class followed by demands for political freedom. China is in the early stages of development following the successful path pioneered by Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and others who chose export-led growth under trade rules. Sustained economic growth led to social and political freedom in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. Perhaps China will follow. **Capitalism continues to spread. It is the only system humans have found in which personal freedom, progress, and opportunities coexist. Most of the faults and flaws on which critics dwell are human faults, as Kant recognized. Capitalism is the only system that adapts to all manner of cultural and institutional differences. It continues to spread and adapt and will for the foreseeable future.**

#### Capitalist growth is sustainable.

Rune **Westergård 18**. Entrepreneur, Engineer and Author, founder of the technical consulting company CITEC. 2018. “Real and Imagined Threats.” One Planet Is Enough, Springer International Publishing, pp. 71–80. CrossRef, doi:10.1007/978-3-319-60913-3\_7.

Threatening reports about our ability to create disasters and even exterminate ourselves are not a new idea. A standard example is the British national economist Thomas Malthus in the early 19th century, who predicted that population growth would come to a halt because of starvation. Malthus calculated that the available food in the world couldn’t feed more than one billion people. He extrapolated the development from a still picture of his own time and couldn’t fathom that food production would increase tremendously thanks to new knowledge and technology. Our present food production is sufficient for seven times as many. Malthus didn’t pay attention to the fact that we live in a continuously changing civilisation, and the same kind of miscalculations are still made today. There are people who have even achieved the status of media superstars by presenting various dystopias and catastrophe scenarios. As early as 1968, Professor Paul Erlichs at Stanford University published the bestseller The Population Bomb, where he predicted that an imminent population explosion would result in hundreds of millions of deaths by starvation in the 1970s and 80s. Basically, he made the same mistake as Malthus, i.e. he treated knowledge and technology as if they were static phenomena. The most widely read environment report in the world, State of the World, was a loud whistle-blower when it was first published in the early 1980s. The Swedish version, Tillståndet i världen, was published yearly from 1984 and some years into the 2000s by the Worldwatch Institute Norden; I still have some of the early issues left. This report contains many valuable observations and suggestions, but also several basic analytical mistakes. In other words, it acts as an eye-opener, but it suffers from being tainted by political ideology. Its main weakness is that it doesn’t take the intrinsic driving forces of progress into account. State of the World was translated into most major languages and is, as already mentioned, the world’s most widely read environmental report. It has affected us all, directly or indirectly, through school and media. Even if the Swedish version I refer to was written some years ago, it is still worthy of discussion, firstly because it maintains an appearance of scientific validity, and secondly because it has served as a trendsetter for the general ideology which has been adopted by many later books and reports on the subject at hand. It still lives on as an engraved pattern in our conception of the world. In the report we can, for instance, read the following: A world where human desires and needs are fulfilled without the destruction of natural systems demands an entirely new economic order, founded on the insight that a high consumption level, population growth, and poverty are the powers behind the devastation of the environment. The rich have to reduce their consumption of resources so that the poor can increase their standard of living. The global economy simply works against the attempts to reduce poverty and protect the environment. We stubbornly insist to regard economic growth as synonymous with development, even though it makes the poor even poorer. Even if we up to this point have mainly described the environment revolution in economic terms, it is, in its most fundamental meaning, a social revolution: to change our values. Massive threat scenarios are still presented, for instance in the British scientist Tim Jackson’s book Prosperity Without Growth from 2009, which is one of the most widely read and frequently quoted works in this area. Tim Jackson, who is an economist and professor in sustainable development, explains how we humans are indulging in a ruthless pursuit of new-fangled gadgets in a consumption society running at full speed towards its doom. He also claims that material things in themselves cannot help us to flourish; on the contrary, they may even restrain our welfare. In other words, we cannot build our hopes that the economy, technology or science can help us to escape from the trap of Anthropocene, which has brought us to the brink of an ecological disaster. There are hundreds on books on this theme, and they all agree that the general state of the world is pure misery; everything is getting worse, the resources are being depleted, and that man will soon have destroyed the entire planet. The apparent reason for this, of course, is due to the consumption culture and the present financial system—which exposes man as a greedy, ruthless and ultimately weak creature. This attitude may serve a purpose as an eye-opener. But it is not very credible, and it may even be counterproductive. Of course, we can see a lot of problems ahead of us; but to solve them, we need the correct diagnostics instead of dubious doomsday prophesies. Focus: The Problem Since the focus of attention is so profoundly fixated on the problems in the climate and environmental debate, the progress already made—and the opportunities at hand—are often overshadowed. The example below will help to illustrate this point: In the year 2014, the Nobel Prize in physics was awarded to three scientists who had invented blue light emitting diodes—a technology that has made high-bright and energy-efficient LED lighting possible. As lighting accounts for 20% of the world’s total electrical consumption, this invention has the potential to radically reduce energy consumption and greenhouse gas emissions. In an interview made by the major Swedish daily newspaper Dagens Nyheter, one of the prize winners, Hiroshi Amano, says the following about energy-efficient, inexpensive and high-bright LED lights: “They are now being used all over the world. Even children in the developing countries can use this lighting to read books and study in the evenings. This makes me very very happy”. Shortly after this announcement, the news headlines declared that LED lighting was a threat to the environment. This statement was based on a report showing that LED lighting could be hazardous to flies and moths, which in turn might disturb the eco system. This is a typical example of how progress pessimists and, not least the media, think and act. In this case, they focused on a potential problem associated with LED lighting, and ignored the tremendous possibilities that the new technology offered to dramatically reduce greenhouse gases and thus spare the eco system (not to mention all the other advantages). Books and reports of the kind mentioned above tell us repeatedly about disasters, threats, problems, collapses and famines. On the other hand, they are notoriously silent about the great improvements actually made—the reduction of extreme poverty (not only as a percentage but also in absolute numbers), longer lifespans, dramatic global progress in education and healthcare, etc. The lack of positive media coverage on the environment means that many people believe that too little is being done, which is quite understandable considering the one-sided nature of the information they are presented with. Alarmist reporting almost always reminds me of pirates: they are unreliable and half their vision is blocked by their eye patches. It is vital that the media not only one-sidedly focus on the misery without presenting the progress made and suggesting constructive courses of action. The quality of our decisions in all respects depends on our knowledge, insight and attitude. Real and Imagined Threats Many people are convinced that the climate and environmental problems are growing. It is certainly true that our planet has its limitations, but many of the predictions from alarmist literature have been proven false. In the 1980s, the forest dieback was a frequently discussed subject. To quote the well-known German news magazine Der Spiegel, an “ecological Hiroshima” was imminent. Most experts at the time claimed that a wide-spread forest death seemed unavoidable. Additionally, the general mood of impending doom was augmented by the threat of a nuclear disaster during the cold war. I remember the pessimistic discussions among friends and how frequently the gloomy reports appeared in Swedish and Finnish television. The future of humankind appeared to be depressingly bleak. But the forest dieback never happened. On the contrary, the forest area has been constantly expanding in Europe, even during the entire period when the forest was believed to be dying. Today, only two thirds of the yearly accretion in Europe are cut down, according to the Natural Resource Institute in Finland. There are different opinions as to why the large-scale forest dieback didn’t occur. One theory is that the researchers’ evidence and conclusions had been incomplete and too hasty; the forest was actually never in danger. Others suggest that the emission limitations implemented prevented the disaster. My point is that the environmental catastrophe did not happen. Some other environmental problems, exaggerated or not, that have concerned us during the last decades have also disappeared from the immediate agenda: overpopulation, DDT, the ozone hole, heavy metals, lead poisoning, soot particles, the waste mountain, and the acidification of our lakes. Unfortunately, some environmental problems, like soot particles and waste, still remain in some areas, especially in poorer countries, where there are other, even worse problems that have yet to be resolved. The conclusion is, however, that we and our society in most cases have handled threatening situations quite well. When alarming symptoms are noted, scientists and other experts are summoned, and we act according to their diagnoses. It is no big deal that the diagnoses are sometimes wrong, as long as the side effects are not too severe. The main thing is that we do our best to avoid disasters, and on the whole, humankind has succeeded rather well this far. As individuals, we react very differently to various kinds of threats. The closer and more tangible the threat is, the more violent are the reactions—while distant and invisible symptoms, like the depletion of the ozone layer, concern us less. In the latter cases, we have to trust the scientists’ and later the politicians’ reactions. Does this mean that disasters are avoided thanks to war headlines, threats, and anxiety? I don’t think that this is the most important explanation; rather, it is factual and science-based information that produces effective results. But if exaggerated threat scenarios and reports of misery are needed to inspire the necessary political opinion, acquire research funding and create behavioural changes, we will have to live with that. The most important thing to remember in this context is that the actions shouldn’t cause more harm than the original problem itself. The risk with exaggerated threat and misery reporting is that it may inspire an over-reaction based on misleading diagnoses, or the opposite—a paralysing feeling of helplessness. It is necessary to take threats against the climate and the environment seriously, but not to a degree where our ability to reason and act is blocked by fear or anxiety. Many environmental debaters claim that the fall of the Inca and Roman empires were caused by the same causes that are now threatening our present civilisation—a short-sighted over-exploitation and rape of nature. Easter Island is another popular example. However, in my opinion it is both worthless and irresponsible to judge the world situation of today by copying the outcome of earlier cultural endeavours in history. The inhabitants of the Inca empire and Easter Island didn’t have anything even remotely comparable with the organisations, technology, medicine or general knowledge of today. It would be like comparing a case of appendicitis in the past to a case today. In pre-modern times, it was a fatal condition. In this day and age, it is cured by a simple routine operation. Today, humankind is conscious of the climate changes and other ecological challenges. And we also have the knowledge and resources needed to act. Facts, Propaganda and Hidden Messages During all the years I have followed the development of technology and society, I have repeatedly observed how a mishmash of serious research, political propaganda, and the hidden agendas of individuals have been distributed more or less randomly by the media. There are of course many different kinds of alarmism— everything from well-founded research reports to exaggerated prophesies of doom. It is far from simple to separate the wheat from the chaff. The actions taken against ozone depletion, lead emissions and the toxic chemical, dioxin, are all examples of how research has shown the way to successful results. Today, greenhouse gas emissions top the list of issues deserving our gravest attention, as it is a global phenomenon—just as the depletion of the ozone layer once was. There are also a considerable number of local environmental problems, such as drought, air pollution, forest depletion and overfishing. All of these are real threats that have to be acted upon, even though they are not global. However, I am always disturbed when a single global environmental issue is bundled with an assortment of several local issues, rather like a simplified trademark advertisement for the negative consequences of civilisation. This makes the information abstract and inaccurate, ignoring the fact that different locales require different solutions. Fear and alarmism are natural reactions that once protected us when we were living at the mercy of nature—they are evolutionary relics from our life in the savanna. Today, the same properties can be significant drawbacks. The transition from a primitive, animal-like state to the society we have today must, on the whole, be counted as a great success. But many people regard the same world as over-exploited, depleted, unjust, war-ridden and balancing on the brink of destruction. How can people living in the same epoch have so entirely different views of the world? In the sustainability debate, there is one faction dealing with the natural resources and ecosystems, and another focusing on the redistribution of wealth. There is even a third faction discussing a minimalistic lifestyle; for example, downshifting, with less work and less material welfare. When all these ingredients are mixed without discretion, the result is an anxiety soup that many have choked on. In a situation like that, we cannot expect any constructive initiatives to materialise. Instead, it would be far better to explore, research and discuss each dimension separately. What Is the Real State of the Planet? It is easy to generalise and say that we over-exploit the planet’s resources and pollute the world with our waste. But how many care to examine these statements in detail and ask exactly which resources are over-exploited? • Are fish becoming extinct? It is true that overfishing occurs in many places, which is, of course, unsustainable. However, this is not an unavoidable threat to the world’s total food resources. Fortunately, there are several examples of fish stocks that have either recovered or started to replenish once the fishing effort has been eased. • Is the air being poisoned? Many are convinced that the air we breathe is becoming dirtier all the time. But that isn’t true, at least not in the Western world. From the year 1990, emissions of sulphur dioxide have been reduced by 80%, nitrogen oxides by 44%, volatile organic substances by 55%, and carbon monoxide by 62%. Despite these dramatic improvements, 64% of Europeans believe that pollution is increasing. • Are the forests dying? It is a general belief that the forests in the developed countries are dwindling. But that isn’t true; on the contrary, the wooded areas are expanding. However, the forests are decreasing in the poor countries, where forestry and farming are still major sources of income, as they once were in the industrialised countries. • Are we drowning in waste? There are many who believe that we are surrounded by constantly growing mountains of waste. In the developed countries, the truth is that increasing amounts of waste are being recycled and the landfills are decreasing. • Will there be enough phosphorus? Phosphorus is an important nutrient in farming, extracted from phosphate ore. Many scientists fear that the finite natural resource of phosphate ore will become depleted in the future, which may jeopardise the world’s food supply. But there are already working solutions for this problem, such as by reclaiming phosphorus through digestion residues and sewage sludge. There are also technological solutions for the chemical extraction of phosphorus from polluted water—the remediation of lakes and rainwater by removing phosphorus is already a common procedure. Here we achieve a win-win situation—phosphorus is collected while preventing the eutrophication of lakes. • Will there be enough energy to go around? A common statement is that the earth’s population is too large, and that we consume too much energy with respect to the climate. This is one of those issues where we have to think in terms of symptoms, diagnoses, and medication. The symptoms are there for all to see: climate change. On the other hand, the diagnosis that we consume too much energy is wrong. The correct diagnosis is that we are not using the right technology; i.e. energy efficient power production without harmful emissions. Consequently, the correct statement would be that we consume energy that is produced by technologies that are harmful to the climate. The difference in wording is important. As the first diagnosis is “too high energy consumption”, the remedy will be to use a different medication than a diagnosis based on “the wrong technology”. Alarmist reporting can inspire bad decisions if the statements aren’t systematically reviewed and evaluated. It can also be misguiding to express environmental threats in general terms. Actions must be based on precise specific symptoms with corresponding diagnoses. If the doctor discovers that the patient is lame and suffers from a high fever, it doesn’t help to predict imminent death. Maybe the lameness and the fever have different causes altogether! A successful cure would probably include two different diagnoses with separate medications. Several recent surveys of the general conception of the world have been made— one is Project Ignorance by Gapminder and Novus in Sweden. One of the questions asked was whether CO2 emissions per capita and year had increased or decreased in the world during the last 40 years. The surveyed group was large and representative in order to give a fairly accurate picture of the common opinion. No less than 90% believed that CO2 emissions had increased. The truth is that they haven’t increased at all. It is important that decision makers on all levels learn how to see the wood from the trees. Decisions based on false preconditions can halt technological development, and thus also the development of the economy, welfare, and a healthier environment. The flow of innovations in the climate and environmental areas is accelerating rapidly.

#### Destruction of cap cant overcome all systems of neolib - crises cause elites to double down on austerity measures and structural adjustment that hasten privatization.

Peck and Theodore 19 Jamie Peck is Canada Research Chair in Urban & Regional Political Economy and Professor of Geography at the University of British Columbia, Canada. He is the Managing Editor of Environment and Planning A and the convenor of the Summer Institute in Economic Geography. Nik Theodore is a Professor, Urban Planning and Policy, Associate Dean for Faculty Affairs and Research, CUPPA. “Still Neoliberalism?” The South Atlantic Quarterly, 118, April 2019

--Always assumed to be on its last legs but comes back - 2008 seen as comprehensive repudiation but still kicking

--“No alternative” is the reigning ideology – solution was austerity measures, taax cuts, structural adjsmtnet across the global South, challenges to public service provision/social security/healthcare, and financial elites got bailed out/deregulated

--Changes come and go – Dodd Frank and liquidity shock requirements got repealed – Syrizas in Greece still got austerity medicine and then wrecked in 2019 election by conservatives

That neoliberalism remains a circulating if contestable term, after decades of fitful and fickle usage, might be considered an achievement of sorts. Repeatedly disowned, denigrated, and dismissed, it nevertheless refuses to go away— at least circumstantial evidence, perhaps, that there is indeed “some there there.” This is not the place to revisit the extended genealogy of this troubled signifier and its contested historical geography (see Peck 2010; Cahill et al. 2018), except to observe that its turbulent fortunes, perhaps especially in the period since the Wall Street crash of 2008, have been revealing, while at the same time adding new layers of mystification and puzzlement to what has been a never-less-than-checkered history. What was to be a particularly heavyhanded reboot of this history began in the thick of that last crisis, a little over a decade ago. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Wall Street crash was at the time widely interpreted as both a comprehensive repudiation and a system failure of neoliberalism by key figures on the left, from Eric Hobsbawm to Naomi Klein, who read the moment as terminal for the rolling project of financial deregulation and for the small-state consensus more generally, a view that was echoed by center-left economists such as Joseph Stiglitz and, although not in so many words, by the likes of Paul Krugman. Rather more surprisingly, there were also some mainstream politicians on the right and left flanks of the center ground, from France’s Nicolas Sarkozy to Australia’s Kevin Rudd, who in this uniquely disorientating context were moved to utter the hitherto unspeakable term, albeit only to declare its graceless exit (see Erlanger 2008; Rudd 2009). A common refrain across much of the commentary at the time, when real economies around the world and the credibility of those charged with their stewardship were both in freefall, was that the much-maligned state would be (had to be) making a comeback—in its own way echoing the arch-neoliberal conceits of governmental withdrawal and free-market governance, as if the state had ever really gone away. Projects of neoliberalization, it has been fairly clear all along to those willing to see, have never been synonymous with a simple diminution, or withdrawal, of the state, but instead have been variously concerned with its capture and reuse, albeit in the context of a generalized assault on social-welfarist or leftarm functions, coupled with an expansion of right-arm roles and capacities in areas like policing and surveillance, incarceration and social control, and the military. Nevertheless, this kind of state project was widely believed to have met its end a decade ago in the Wall Street meltdown.

What followed certainly did not align with the script of a terminal, once-and-for-all collapse of neoliberalism represented (again, somewhat misleadingly) as a bracketable “era” of free-market governance. As if to affirm Thatcher’s premature dismissal that there was “no alternative” to market rule, what followed in the wake of the financial crisis was, far from a retreat of neoliberalism, more like an audacious exercise in doubling down. Longterm austerity measures were (re)imposed in nations rich and poor, including those countries once regarded as the tutelary “heartlands” of the project, and its proving grounds, the United States and the United Kingdom. A new generation of structural adjustment programs targeted not only populations across the global South but also Greece, Detroit, and elsewhere. There were sustained, if scattergun, assaults on many of the old targets—public services, public budgets, and public servants; social movements and labor unions; social security, socialized healthcare, and public-education systems; and undeserving classes, the poor, and racialized others. And all the while, financial and corporate elites got away with slaps on the wrist, if that, only to be compensated in due course with yet more deregulation and further rounds of tax cuts. This unapologetic mutation of late neoliberalism, back as it were from its own grave, may have been shorn of anything approaching credible claims to moral leadership and intellectual authority, but in this reconstituted form it would present a yet more brutal face in its dogged defenses of political power and institutional dominance, soon to be coupled with brazen reassertions of the manifestly dubious case for corporate liberty, financial freedom, and social-state retrenchment.

#### Cap solves war – no root cause.

Gartzke 05 (Erik, associate professor of political science at Columbia University and author of a study on economic freedom and peace contained in the 2005, Economic Freedom of the World Report “Future Depends on Capitalizing on Capitalist Peace,” 10/18, Windsor Star, http://www.cato.org/pub\_display.php?pub\_id=5133)

With terrorism achieving "global reach" and conflict raging in Africa and the Middle East, you may have missed a startling fact - we are living in remarkably peaceable times. For **six decades**, developed nations have not fought each other. France and the United States may chafe, but the resulting conflict pitted french fries against "freedom fries," rather than French soldiers against U.S. "freedom fighters." Tony Blair and Jacques Chirac had a nasty spat over the EU, but the English aren't going to storm Calais any time soon. The present peace is unusual. Historically, powerful nations are the most war prone. The conventional wisdom is that democracy fosters peace but this claim fails scrutiny. It is based on statistical studies that show democracies typically don't fight other democracies. Yet, the same studies show that democratic nations go to war about as much as other nations overall. And more recent research makes clear that only the affluent democracies are less likely to fight each other. Poor democracies behave much like non-democracies when it comes to war and lesser forms of conflict. A more powerful explanation is emerging from newer, and older, **empirical research** - the "capitalist peace." As predicted by Montesquieu, Adam Smith, Norman Angell and others, nations with high levels of economic freedom not only fight each other less, they go to war less often, period. Economic freedom is a measure of the depth of free market institutions or, put another way, of capitalism. The "democratic peace" is a mirage created by the overlap between economic and political freedom. Democracy and economic freedom typically co-exist. Thus, if economic freedom causes peace, then statistically democracy will also appear to cause peace. When democracy and economic freedom are both included in a statistical model, the results reveal that economic freedom is considerably more potent in encouraging peace than democracy**, 50 times more potent**, in fact, according to my own research. Economic freedom is highly **statistically significant** (at the one-per-cent level). Democracy does not have a measurable impact, while nations with very low levels of economic freedom are **14 times more prone** to conflict than those with very high levels. But, why would free markets cause peace? Capitalism is not only an immense generator of prosperity; it is also a revolutionary source of economic, social and political change. Wealth no longer arises primarily through land or control of natural resources. New Kind of Wealth Prosperity in modern societies is created by market competition and the efficient production that arises from it. This new kind of wealth is hard for nations to "steal" through conquest. In days of old, when the English did occasionally storm Calais, nobles dreamed of wealth and power in conquered lands, while visions of booty danced in the heads of peasant soldiers. Victory in war meant new property. In a free market economy, war destroys immense wealth for victor and loser alike. Even if capital stock is restored, efficient production requires property rights and free decisions by market participants that are difficult or impossible to co-ordinate to the victor's advantage. The Iraqi war, despite Iraq's immense oil wealth, will not be a money-maker for the United States. Economic freedom is not a guarantee of peace. Other factors, like ideology or the perceived need for self-defence, can still result in violence. But, where economic freedom has taken hold, it has made war less likely. Research on the capitalist peace has profound implications in today's world. Emerging democracies, which have not stabilized the institutions of economic freedom, appear to be at least as warlike - perhaps more so - than emerging dictatorships. Yet, the United States and other western nations are putting immense resources into democratization even in nations that lack functioning free markets. This is in part based on the faulty premise of a "democratic peace." It may also in part be due to public perception. Everyone approves of democracy, but "capitalism" is often a dirty word. However, in recent decades, an increasing number of people have rediscovered the economic virtues of the "invisible hand" of free markets. We now have an additional benefit of economic freedom - **international peace**. The actual presence of peace in much of the world sets this era apart from others. The empirical basis for optimistic claims - about either democracy or capitalism - **can be tested and refined**. The way forward is to capitalize on the capitalist peace, to deepen its roots and extend it to more countries through expanding markets, development, and a common sense of international purpose. The risk today is that faulty analysis and anti-market activists may distract the developed nations from this historic opportunity.

#### Capitalism is sustainable and humanity’s only hope against catastrophic climate change.

Shi-Ling Hsu 21, D'Alemberte Professor of Law at the Florida State University College of Law, Sept 2021, Capitalism and the Environment, Cambridge University Press, p. 50-52

2.8 CHOOSING CAPITALISM TO SAVE THE ENVIRONMENT: LARGE-SCALE DEPLOYMENT Finally, a third reason that capitalism is suited to the job of environmental restoration and protection is its ability to undertake and complete projects at very large scales. In keeping with a major thesis of this book, construction at very large scales should give us a little pause, because of the propensity of capital to metastasize into a source of political resistance to change. But some global problems, especially climate change, may require very large-scale enterprises. For example, because greenhouse gas emissions may already have passed a threshold for catastrophic climate change, technology is almost certainly needed to chemically capture carbon dioxide from ambient air. But carbon dioxide is only about 0.15% of ambient air by molecular weight, and a tremendous amount of ambient air must be processed just to capture a small amount of carbon dioxide. This technology has often been referred to as "direct air capture," or "carbon removal." Given that inherent limitation, direct air capture technology must be deployed at vast scales in order to make any appreciable difference in greenhouse gas concentrations. There is certainly no guarantee that direct air capture will be a silver bullet. But if it is to be an effectual item on a menu of survival techniques, it will more assuredly be accomplished under the incentives of a capitalist economy. Capitalism might also help with the looming crisis of climate change by helping to ensure the supply of vital life staples such as food, water, and other basic needs in future shortages caused by climate-change. In a climate-changed future, there is the distinct possibility that supplies of vital life staples may run short, possibly for long periods of time. Droughts are projected to last longer, with water supplies and growing conditions increasingly precarious. Capitalist enterprise could, first of all, provide the impetus to finally reform a dizzying multitude of price distortions that plague water supply and agriculture worldwide. Second, capitalist enterprise can undertake scale production of some emergent technologies that might alleviate shortages. Desalination technology can convert salty seawater into drinkable freshwater.54 A number of environmental and economic issues need to be solved to deploy these technologies at large scales, but in a crisis, solutions will be more likely to present themselves. A technology that is already being adopted to produce food is the modernized version of old-fashioned greenhouses. The tiny country of the Netherlands, with its 17 million people crowded onto 13,000 square miles, is the second largest food exporter in the world,55 exporting fully three-quarters that of the United States in 2017.56 The secret to Dutch agriculture is its climate-controlled, low-energy green-houses that project solar panel-powered artificial sunlight around the clock. Dutch greenhouses produce lettuce at ten times the yield57 and tomatoes at fifteen times the yield outdoors in the United States58 while using less than one-thirteenth the amount of water,59 very little in the way of synthetic pesticides and, of course, very little fertilizer given its advanced composting techniques. Sustained shortages in a climate-changed future might require that a capitalist take hold of greenhouse growing and expand production to feed the masses that might otherwise revolt. 2.9 CHOOSE CAPITALISM Clearly, the job in front of humankind is enormous, complex, and many-faceted. The best hope is to be able to identify certain human impacts that are clearly harmful to the global environment, and to disincentivize them. Getting back to notions of institutions in capitalism, what is crucial is aligning the right incentives with profit-making activity. What capitalism does so well — beyond human comprehension — is coordinate activity and send broad signals about scarcity. Information about a wide variety of environmental phenomena is extremely difficult to collect and process. If a set of environmental taxes can help establish a network of environ-mental prices, then an unfathomably large and complex machinery will have been set in motion in the right direction. Also, because of the need for new scientific solutions to this daunting list of problems, new science and technology is desperately needed. Capitalism is tried and true in terms of producing innovation. Again drawing upon the study of institutions, it is not so much that individuals need a profit-motive in order to tinker, but the prospect of profit-making has to be present in order for institutions, including corporations, to devote resources, attention, and energy towards the development of solutions to environmental problems. Corporations can and should demonstrate social responsibility by attempting to mitigate their impacts on the global environment, but a much more conscious push for new knowledge, new techniques, and new solutions are needed. Finally, the scale of needed change is profound. Huge networks of infrastructure centered upon a fossil fuel-centered economy must somehow be replaced or adapted to new ways of generating, transmitting, consuming, and storing energy. A global system of feeding seven billion humans (and counting), unsustainable on its face, must be morphed into something else that can fill that huge role. About a billion and a half cars and trucks in the world must, over time, be swapped out for vehicles that must be dramatically different. This is a daunting to-do list, but look a bit more carefully among the gloomy news. Elon Musk, a freewheeling, pot-smoking entrepreneur shows signs of breaking into not one, but two industries dominated by behemoths with political power. Thanks to California emissions standards, automobile manufacturers have developed cars that emit a fraction of what they did less than a generation ago. Hybrid electric vehicles have thoroughly penetrated an American market that powerful American politicians had tried to cordon off for American manufacturers only. At least two companies have developed meat substitutes that are now widely judged to be indistinguishable from meat, and have established product outposts in the ancient power centers of fast food, McDonald's and Burger King. The tiny country of the Netherlands, about half the size of West Virginia, exports almost as much food as the United States, able to ship fresh produce all the way to Africa. At bottom, all of these accomplishments and thousands more are and were capitalist in nature. While they collectively repre-sent a trifle of what still needs to be accomplished, they were also undertaken without the correct incentives in place, and thus also represent the tremendous promise of capitalism.

#### Growth forces structural changes that solve environmental damage.

Faik **Bilgili et al. 16**. \*\*PhD in Economics, The City University of New York and Istanbul University; professor of Economics, Erciyes University, Turkey. \*\* Emrah Kocak, Researcher, Evran University. \*\*Ümit Bulut, PhD in Economics, Gazi University and Professor of Economics, Ahi Evran University. “The dynamic impact of renewable energy consumption on CO2 emissions: A revisited Environmental Kuznets Curve approach.” *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* 54(Feb): 838-9. Emory Libraries.

According to the scale effect, given the level of technology, more resources and inputs are employed to produce more commodities at the beginning of economic growth path. Hence, more energy resources and production will induce more waste and pollutant emissions, and the level of environmental quality will get worse (Torras and Boyce [11], Dinda [2], Prieur [12]). The structural effect states that the economy will have a structural transformation, and economic growth will affect environment positively along with continuation of growth. In other words, as national production grows the structure of economy changes, and the share of less polluting economic activities increases gradually. Besides, an economy experiences a transition from capital-intensive industrial sectors to service sector and reaches technology-intensive knowledge economy (the final stage of the structural change). Due to the fact that technology-intensive sectors utilize fewer natural sources, the impact of these sectors on environmental pollution will be less. The last channel of the growth process is the technological effect channel. Since a high-income economy can allocate more resources for research and development expenditures, the new technological processes will emerge. Thus, the country will replace old and dirty technologies with new and clean technologies, and environmental quality will deepen (Borghesi [13], Copelan and Taylor [14]). Consequently, environmental pollution initially increases and later decreases as a result of scale, structural and technological effect emerging along with growth path.Some studies of EKC hypothesis consider income elasticity of clean environment demand (Beckerman [15], Selden and Song [16], McConnel [17], Panayotou [18], Carson et al. [19], Brock and Taylor [20]). Accordingly, the share of low-income people’s expenditures for food and basic necessities is higher than that of high-income societies’ expenditures for the same type of commodities (Engel’s Law). As income level and life standards rise in conjunction with economic growth, the societies’ demand for clean environment advances. Besides, societies make often pressure on policy makers to protect the environment through new regulations. One might argue that, because of these reasons, clean environment is a luxury commodity and the demand elasticity of clean environment is higher than unity (Dinda [2]).

5:18

### extra

**Time frame – Kessler effect 200 years away.**

Peter **Stubbe 17**, PhD in law @ Johann Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt, **’17**, State Accountability for Space Debris: A Legal Study of Responsibility for Polluting the Space Environment and Liability for Damage Caused by Space Debris, Koninklijke Brill Publishing, ISBN 978-90-04-31407-8, p. 27-31

The prediction of possible scenarios of the future evolution of the debris p o p ulation involves many uncertainties. Long-term forecasting means the prediction of the evolution of the future debris environment in time periods of decades or even centuries. Predictions are based on models84 that work with certain assumptions, and altering these parameters significantly influences the outcomes of the predictions. Assumptions on the future space traffic and on the initial object environment are particularly critical to the results of modeling efforts.85 A well-known pattern for the evolution of the debris population is the so-called Kessler effect’, which assumes that there is a certain collision probability among space objects because many satellites operate in similar orbital regions. These collisions create fragments, and thus additional objects in the respective orbits, which in turn enhances the risk of further collisions. Consequently, the num ber of objects and collisions increases exponentially and eventually results in the formation of a self-sustaining debris belt aroundthe Earth. While it has long been assumed that such a process of collisional cascading is likely to occur only in a very long-term perspective (meaning a time 1 n of several hundred years),87 a consensus has evolved in recent years that an uncontrolled growth of the debris population in certain altitudes could become reality much sooner.88 In fact, a recent cooperative study undertaken by various space agencies in the scope of i a d c shows that the current l e o debris population is unstable, even if current mitigation measures are applied. The study concludes: Even with a 90% implementation of the commonly-adopted mitigation measures [...] the l e o debris population is expected to increase by an average of **30% in the next 200 years.** The population growth is primarily driven by catastrophic collisions between 700 and 1000 km altitudes and such collisions are likely to occur every 5 to 9 years.89

**Status quo solves – mitigation and remediation compliance growing.**

**Colombo et. al 18**—Camilla Colombo, PhD, visiting academic in Spacecraft Engineering within Engineering and Physical Sciences at the University of Southampton; Francesca Letizia, PhD, Space Debris Engineer at ESA Space Debris Office; Mirko Trisolini, PhD, Postdoctoral researcher at the Politecnico di Milano Department of Aerospace Engineering; Hugh Lewis, PhD, Professor within Engineering and Physical Sciences at the University of Southampton (“Space Debris: Risk Mitigation,” from Frontiers of Space Risk: Natural Cosmic Hazards & Societal Challenges, Chapter 5, p 128-136)

5.4 MITIGATION MEASURES The space debris problem is nowadays internationally recognized, therefore mitigation measures are being taken and guidelines discussed. These can be divided into two classes: The avoidance or protection measures and the active and passive debris removal measures. The avoidance or protection measures include the design of satellites to withstand impacts by small debris, or the selection of safe procedures for operational spacecraft such as orbits with less debris, specific attitude configurations, or implementing active avoidance maneuvers to avoid collisions. On the other hand, measures for debris removal currently consist in limiting the creation of new debris (by prevention of in-orbit explosions and ensuring spacecraft subsystems reliability), to free some orbital implementing end-of-life disposal maneuvers protected regions, or to reenter in the atmosphere. Active debris removal is also being considered as a mean to stabilize the growth of space debris by removing from orbit some selected noncompliant objects. The e.Deorbit mission will target an ESA-owned derelict satellite in low orbit, capture it with a net or robotic arm technology, and reenter with a controlled atmospheric reentry (Biesbroek et al. 2014). Acknowledging the fact that the projected growth in the number of satellites orbiting the Earth will increase in the future, space agencies and international organizations have been discussing and building a set of guidelines to ensure the sustainability of future space activities. The InterAgency Debris Coordination Committee (IADC) was founded in 1993 by ESA (Europe), NASA (the United States), the Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency (JAXA, Japan), and the Roscosmos Russian Federation. As of January 2017, the IADC also includes the Italian Space Agency (ASI, Italy), the Centre National d'Études Spatiales (CNES, France), the China National Space Administration (CNSA, China), the Canadian Space Agency (CSA, Canada), the German Aerospace Centre (DLR, Germany), the Korea Aerospace Research Institute (KARI, South Korea), the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO, India), the National Space Agency of Ukraine (NSAU, Ukraine), and the UK Space Agency (UKSA, United Kingdom). This international cooperation decided a set of space debris mitigation measures (Inter-Agency Space Debris Coordination Commitee, 2002), which includes: 1. Limitation of debris released during normal operations. 2. Minimization of the potential for on-orbit breakups (resulting from stored energy after the completion of mission operations, or during the operational phases of the mission and by avoiding intentional destruction and other harmful activities). 3. Post Mission Disposal in particular in geosynchronous regions and for objects passing through the LEO region. 4. Prevention of on-orbit collisions. The IADC guidelines were presented to the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (UN COPUOS) and contributed to the creation of the Space Debris Mitigation Guidelines of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to be considered for the mission planning, design, manufacture and operational phases of spacecraft and launch vehicle orbital stages” (United Nations Office for Outer Space Affairs 2010): 1. Limit debris released during normal operations. 2. Minimize the potential for breakups during operational phases. 3. Limit the probability of accidental collision in orbit. 4. Avoid intentional destruction and other harmful activities. 5. Minimize potential for post-mission breakups resulting from stored energy 6. Limit the long-term presence of spacecraft and launch vehicle orbital stages in the low Earth orbit region after the end of their mission. 7. Limit the long-term interference of spacecraft and launch vehicle orbital stages with the geosynchronous region after the end of their mission. 5.4.1 Mitigation Guidelines for Post Mission Disposal In this section we focus on the third of the measures dictated by the IADC, namely Post Mission Disposal. A “25-year rule” was defined to limit the presence of satellites in the LEO region to no more than 25 years after their decommissioning. The 25-year limit was selected to ensure that a reasonable reduction in lifetime could be achieved without greatly affecting satellite resources. After 25 years a satellite has to be removed from the LEO protected region by placing it in a graveyard orbit or by disposing of it through atmospheric reentry. According to the IADC Space Debris Mitigation Guidelines (Inter-Agency Space Debris Coordination Commitee 2002) if "a spacecraft or orbital stage is to be disposed of by re-entry into the atmosphere, debris that survives to reach the surface of the Earth should not pose an undue risk to people or property.” The low Earth orbit protected region (LEO region) is the spherical shell region that extends from the Earth's surface up to an altitude of 2000 km. The geosynchronous protected region (GEO region) is a segment of a spherical shell with a lower and upper altitude boundary of 200 km below and above the geostationary altitude of 35,786 km, and which is constrained by a latitude sector extending between plus and minus 15 degrees from south to north (Inter-Agency Space Debris Coordination Committee 2002; United Nations Office for Outer Space Affairs 2010). At altitudes below 600 kilometers, spacecraft with a conventional area-to-mass ratio (i.e., conventional satellites have a value of area-tomass ratio around 0.012 m?/kg) will reenter within a few years due to atmospheric drag. Intervention to remove and prevent further creation of debris above that altitude should therefore be the primary focus of passive mitigation measures. As described in the document on the “Requirements on Space Debris Mitigation for ESA Projects” (ESA 2008) and the "ESA Space Debris Mitigation Compliance Verification Guidelines” (ESA 2015), end-of-life measures can be distinguished in: (1) Disposal, (2) passivation, and (3) reentry. Required measures for disposal currently cover spacecraft in LEO and GEO through a series of Operational Requirements (OR) (ESA 2008): "OR-01. Space systems operating in the LEO protected region shall be disposed of by reentry into the Earth's atmosphere within 25 years after the end of the operational phase." "OR-02. Space systems operating in the GEO protected region shall be disposed of by permanently removing them from the GEO protected region.” The GEO disposal orbit should be almost circular (i.e., eccentricity less of equal to 0.005) and with a minimum perigee altitude above the geostationary altitude, which is given as a function of the solar radiation pressure coefficient of the space system at the beginning of its life and its cross-sectional area. This is done to take into account the eccentricity oscillation due to the effects of solar radiation pressure and to ensure that such oscillation would not make the orbit interfere with the GEO protected regions. "OR-03. Where practicable and economically feasible, space systems outside the LEO and GEO protected regions shall implement means of end-of-life orbit disposal to avoid long-term interference with operational orbit regions, such as the Galileo orbit." OR-04. Launcher stages shall also perform end-of-life disposal maneuvers by targeting "direct reentry as part of the launcher sequence.” Alternatively, they should be injected into a LEO orbit with a maximum reentry time of 25 years. As other space systems, they should be removed from LEO and GEO protecting region and orbit that interfere with other operational orbits such as the one of the Galileo orbit. OR-05. Passivation of the system (spacecraft or launcher stage) has to be completed within 2 months of the end of mission. End-of-life measures for reentry include: OR-06. "For space systems that are disposed of by reentry," an "analysis has to be performed to determine the characteristics of fragments surviving to ground impact, and assess the total casualty risk to the population on ground assuming an uncontrolled reentry.” OR-07. Such a casualty risk has to be lower than 10-4 if an uncontrolled reentry is targeted; otherwise if the casualty risk is higher than the threshold of 10-4, "a controlled reentry must be performed such that the impact footprint can be ensured over an ocean area, with sufficient clearance of landmasses and traffic routes." The rate of compliance of missions to the end-of-life mitigation guidelines was analyzed by the ESA Space Debris Office in 2017). Between 2006 and 2015, the rate of compliance of LEO missions (including naturally compliant missions and satellites performing end-of-life maneuvers) was 53.3% for the payloads (corresponding to 60.3% of the payload mass), reaching end of life in the LEO protected region (Frey and Lemmens 2017). The compliant objects, with a lifetime after decommissioning of less than 25 years, include naturally compliant objects due to their initial altitude well inside the Earth's atmosphere (this constitutes the biggest part of the compliant share), compliant objects after a deorbit maneuver, or spacecraft having performed a maneuver leading to a direct reentry. In terms of mass, this share is constantly sloping downward. Between 2007 and 2016, 71.6% of the rocket bodies reaching end of life in the LEO protected region was compliant, and this fraction has remained virtually unchanged for 8 years in a row despite an increase in end-of-life maneuver activity. 5.4.2 Passive End-of-Life Disposal In order to meet the mitigation guidelines LEO satellites at the end of their life would use the remaining propellant to perform either a perigeelowering maneuver (to decrease the orbit perigee well inside the Earth's atmosphere to guarantee a reentry within 25 years) or a direct reentry. Spacecraft in GEO are instead currently re-orbited to quasi circular orbits outside the GEO protected ring, with a perigee line aligned with the SunEarth direction (where possible) in order to bind the long-term oscillations in the eccentricity caused by solar radiation pressure. Recently, ESA funded projects on the design of disposal trajectories for medium Earth orbits (MEO) (Alessi et al. 2014; Rossi et al. 2015), highly elliptical orbits (HEO), and libration Earth orbits (LPO) (Armellin et al. 2014; Colombo et al. 2014; Colombo et al. 2015). These have demonstrated the possibility of exploiting natural orbit perturbations for designing passive mitigation strategies for debris disposal. Disposal strategies enhancing the effects of orbit perturbations have been further analyzed in LEO (Alessi et al. 2017), in MEO (Rosengren et al. 2015; Alessi et al. 2016; Armellin and San-Juan; Daquin et al. 2016; Gkolias et al. 2016), in GEO (Colombo and Gkolias 2017), and in HEO (Colombo et al. 2014; Armellin et al. 2015). Indeed, it was shown that, rather than performing an expensive maneuver to lower the perigee, the optimal maneuver should be given in a way to change the disposal orbit to another neighborhood orbit where the effect of orbit perturbations causes the orbit perigee to enter into the atmosphere. Indeed, the effects of luni-solar perturbation causes long-term oscillation on the eccentricity, which can be exploited so that the spacecraft's trajectory over a long period (from 5 to 70 years, depending on the initial orbit) could lead to natural reentry. This effect can be enhanced by solar radiation pressure, especially if considering a spacecraft equipped with large solar panels or a deployable reflective surface (Lücking et al. 2012, 2013). Moreover, resonances with the Earth's nonuniform potential can enhance the eccentricity growth effects. 5.4.2.1 An Example of End-of-Life Deorbiting Exploiting Luni-Solar Perturbations One of the most beautiful demonstrations of how natural dynamics can be enhanced is given by the INTEGRAL mission designed by ESA, the United States, Russia, the Czech Republic, and Poland. The INTErnational Gamma-Ray Astrophysics Laboratory, launched in 2002, gathered some of the most energetic radiation from space (Eismont et al. 2003). A reentry of this spacecraft with a pure impulsive maneuver would have not been possible due to the limited amount of propellant left onboard. In an ESA-funded study, the end-of-life disposal of INTEGRAL mission--expected to end in 2016-was designed with a time window for disposal between January 1, 2013 and January 1, 2029. Reentry solutions with a delta-velocity requirement below 40-50 m/s were found (Colombo et al. 2014). The main perturbations acting on the dynamics of the reentry were luni-solar perturbations, which affect the evolution of eccentricity, inclination, and anomaly of the perigee measured with respect to the Earth-Moon plane. It was shown that depending on the set of initial elements, which depends on the date the reentry maneuver is performed, the proposed maneuver would then aim at further increasing or decreasing the eccentricity. In particular, if we focus on the natural evolution of the eccentricity under luni-solar perturbation and Earth's oblateness, when the nominal eccentricity is low, the optimal reentry maneuver further decrease the eccentricity value; as a consequence, the following long-term propagation will reach a higher eccentricity, corresponding to a reentry. In this case, the maneuver is more efficient (i.e., lower delta velocity is required) (Colombo et al. 2014). Once the initial disposal maneuver is performed, the spacecraft evolves under natural perturbations and the reentry can then be semicontrolled. The high inclination of HEOs represents an advantage as the final reentry phase can target regions at higher latitudes on the Earth's surface thereby reducing the ground hazard. In the case of HEOs, reentry is caused by luni-solar perturbation (not air drag), therefore the orbit reenter with quite a high eccentricity (high apogee and low perigee) and does not circularize. Due to the oscillations in eccentricity, the next optimal window for injecting the spacecraft into a reentry trajectory is between 2013 and the first half of 2018 for a final reentry in 2028. After that, the required maneuver would increase until reaching a next window for performing the maneuver between the second half of 2021 and the first half of 2026, for a reentry in 2028. These analytical studies were used for high fidelity parametric analyses performed by the ESA (Merz et al. 2015) to investigate the effect of a maneuver at apogee to change the perigee altitude. The final maneuver sequence was given at the beginning of 2015 and split into three major burns plus a touch-up for final fine-tuning. The spacecraft is now on its course to reentry in 2028 (see Figure 5.11).

#### Space debris impact is hype

Albrecht 16 – Chairman of the board of USSpace LLC & fmr. head of the National Space Council Mark Albrecht, chairman of the board of USSpace LLC, head of the White House National Space Council from 1989 to 1992, and Paul Graziani, CEO and founder of Analytical Graphics, a company that develops software and provides mission assurance through the Commercial Space Operations Center (ComSpOC), Congested space is a serious problem solved by hard work, not hysteria, 2016, https://spacenews.com/op-ed-congested-space-is-a-serious-problem-solved-by-hard-work-not-hysteria/

Popular culture has embraced the risks of collisions in space in films like Gravity. Some participants have dramatized the issue by producing graphics of Earth and its satellites, which make our planet look like a fuzzy marble, almost obscured by a dense cloud of white pellets meant to conceptualize space congestion. Unfortunately, for the sake of a good visual, satellites are depicted as if they were hundreds of miles wide, like the state of Pennsylvania (for the record, there are no space objects the size of Pennsylvania in orbit). Unfortunately, this is the rule, not the exception, and almost all of these articles, movies, graphics, and simulations are exaggerated and misleading. Space debris and collision risk is real, but it certainly is not a crisis. So what are the facts? On the positive side, space is empty and it is vast. At the altitude of the International Space Station, one half a degree of Earth longitude is almost 40 miles long. That same one half a degree at geostationary orbit, some 22,000 miles up is over 230 miles long. Generally, we don’t intentionally put satellites closer together than one-half degree. That means at geostationary orbit, they are no closer than 11 times as far as the eye can see on flat ground or on the sea: That’s the horizon over the horizon 10 times over. In addition, other than minute forces like solar winds and sparse bits of atmosphere that still exist 500 miles up, nothing gets in the way of orbiting objects and they behave quite predictably. The location of the smallest spacecraft can be predicated within a 1,000 feet, 24 hours in advance. Since we first started placing objects into space there have been 11 known low Earth orbit collisions, and three known collisions at geostationary orbit. Think of it: 135 space shuttle flights, all of the Apollo, Gemini and Mercury flights, hundreds of telecommunications satellites, 1,300 functioning satellites on orbit today, half a million total objects in space larger than a marble, and fewer than 15 known collisions. Why do people worry?

#### No impact their ev makes several flawed assumptions.

\*Translated scientific notation to % probability in brackets

Wein 09 – Professor & Senior Fellow at Stanford’s Center for International Security and Cooperation Lawrence M. Wein, Jeffrey S. Skoll Professor of Management Science at Stanford University and Senior Fellow at Stanford’s Center for International Security and Cooperation, former DEC Leaders for Manufacturing Professor of Management Science at MIT, and Andrew M. Bradley, PhD-Institute for Computational and Mathematical Engineering at Stanford University, Space debris: Assessing risk and responsibility, Advances in Space Research 43 (2009) 1372–1390

More importantly, while our numerical results mimic earlier results (Liou and Johnson, 2005; Walker and Martin, 2004) that stressed the importance of postmission deorbiting, we do not necessarily agree with the claim that the only way to prevent future problems is to remove existing large intacts from space (Liou and Johnson, 2006, 2008). The divergence between our views and those in Liou and Johnson (2006, 2008) is perhaps due to the different performance metrics used. The root causes for alarm in Liou and Johnson (2006, 2008) appear to be the growth rate of fragments and the small increase in the rate of catastrophic collisions over the next 200 years (Liou and Johnson, 2008, Fig. 2). However, the great majority of catastrophic collisions in the SOI do not involve operational spacecraft, and are hazardous only in the sense that the fragments generated from such a collision could subsequently damage or destroy operational spacecraft. Therefore, we introduced the notion of the lifetime risk of an operational spacecraft as the primary performance metric. Our model predicts that the lifetime risk is <5x10^-4 [less than .0005%] over the next two centuries, and always stays <10^-3 [less than .001%] than if there is very high (>98%) spacecraft deorbiting compliance. These risks appear to be low relative to the immense cost and considerable technological uncertainty involved in removing large objects from space, are dwarfed by the ~20% historical mission-impacting (but not necessarily mission-ending) failure rate of spacecraft (Frost and Sullivan, 2004), and could be overestimated if improved traffic management techniques lower future collision risks (Johnson, 2004). Hence, the need to bring large objects down from space does not appear to be as clear cut as suggested in Liou and Johnson (2006, 2008). Nonetheless, our model does not incorporate the possibility of intentional catastrophic collisions (ASAT tests, space wars) that could conceivably occur in the future. In addition, Fig. 5 considers only catastrophic collisions, whereas noncatastrophic intact-fragment collisions could easily disable an operational spacecraft. If the operational lifetime risk is modified to include noncatastrophic collisions with fragments >= 10cm, then the sustainable risk rises by ~50%: it increases from 2.19x10^-2 [.0219%] to 3.09x10^-2 in the base case, and increases from 4.91x10^-4 [.000491%] to 7.94x10^-4 in the full compliance case. Moreover, if fragments >= 1 cm (rather than >= 10 cm) are harmful to spacecraft (Johnson, 2004), then we (as well as other researchers) could be underestimating the risk.

#### No debris cascades—This ev answers all aff warrants.

Fange 17 (Daniel Von Fange, Web Application Engineer, Founder and Owner of LeanCoder, Full Stack, Polyglot Web Developer, “Kessler Syndrome is Over Hyped”, 5/21/2017, http://braino.org/essays/kessler\_syndrome\_is\_over\_hyped/)

Kessler Syndrome is overhyped. A chorus of online commenters great any news of upcoming low earth orbit satellites with worry that humanity will to lose access to space. I now think they are wrong. What is Kessler Syndrome? Here’s the popular view on Kessler Syndrome. Every once in a while, a piece of junk in space hits a satellite. This single impact destroys the satellite, and breaks off several thousand additional pieces. These new pieces now fly around space looking for other satellites to hit, and so exponentially multiply themselves over time, like a nuclear reaction, until a sphere of man-made debris surrounds the earth, and humanity no longer has access to space nor the benefits of satellites. It is a dark picture. Is Kessler Syndrome likely to happen? I had to stop everything and spend an afternoon doing back-of-the-napkin math to know how big the threat is. To estimate, we need to know where the stuff in space is, how much mass is there, and how long it would take to deorbit. The orbital area around earth can be broken down into four regions. Low LEO - Up to about 400km. Things that orbit here burn up in the earth’s atmosphere quickly - between a few months to two years. The space station operates at the high end of this range. It loses about a kilometer of altitude a month and if not pushed higher every few months, would soon burn up. For all practical purposes, Low LEO doesn’t matter for Kessler Syndrome. If Low LEO was ever full of space junk, we’d just wait a year and a half, and the problem would be over. High LEO - 400km to 2000km. This where most heavy satellites and most space junk orbits. The air is thin enough here that satellites only go down slowly, and they have a much farther distance to fall. It can take 50 years for stuff here to get down. This is where Kessler Syndrome could be an issue. Mid Orbit - GPS satellites and other navigation satellites travel here in lonely, long lives. The volume of space is so huge, and the number of satellites so few, that we don’t need to worry about Kessler here. GEO - If you put a satellite far enough out from earth, the speed that the satellite travels around the earth will match the speed of the surface of the earth rotating under it. From the ground, the satellite will appear to hang motionless. Usually the geostationary orbit is used by big weather satellites and big TV broadcasting satellites. (This apparent motionlessness is why satellite TV dishes can be mounted pointing in a fixed direction. You can find approximate south just by looking around at the dishes in your northern hemisphere neighborhood.) For Kessler purposes, GEO orbit is roughly a ring 384,400 km around. However, all the satellites here are moving the same direction at the same speed - debris doesn’t get free velocity from the speed of the satellites. Also, it’s quite expensive to get a satellite here, and so there aren’t many, only about one satellite per 1000km of the ring. Kessler is not a problem here. How bad could Kessler Syndrome in High LEO be? Let’s imagine a worst case scenario. An evil alien intelligence chops up everything in High LEO, turning it into 1cm cubes of death orbiting at 1000km, spread as evenly across the surface of this sphere as orbital mechanics would allow. Is humanity cut off from space? I’m guessing the world has launched about 10,000 tons of satellites total. For guessing purposes, I’ll assume 2,500 tons of satellites and junk currently in High LEO. If satellites are made of aluminum, with a density of 2.70 g/cm3, then that’s 839,985,870 1cm cubes. A sphere for an orbit of 1,000km has a surface area of 682,752,000 square KM. So there would be one cube of junk per .81 square KM. If a rocket traveled through that, its odds of hitting that cube are tiny - less than 1 in 10,000. So even in the worst case, we don’t lose access to space. Now though you can travel through the debris, you couldn’t keep a satellite alive for long in this orbit of death. Kessler Syndrome at its worst just prevents us from putting satellites in certain orbits. In real life, there’s a lot of factors that make Kessler syndrome even less of a problem than our worst case though experiment.

* Debris would be spread over a volume of space, not a single orbital surface, making collisions orders of magnitudes less likely.
* Most impact debris will have a slower orbital velocity than either of its original pieces - this makes it deorbit much sooner.
* Any collision will create large and small objects. Small objects are much more affected by atmospheric drag and deorbit faster, even in a few months from high LEO. Larger objects can be tracked by earth based radar and avoided.
* The planned big new constellations are not in High LEO, but in Low LEO for faster communications with the earth. They aren’t an issue for Kessler.
* Most importantly, all new satellite launches since the 1990’s are required to include a plan to get rid of the satellite at the end of its useful life (usually by deorbiting)

**No space wars. Insurmountable barriers overwhelm.**

Bohumil **Doboš 19**, scholar at the Institute of Political Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic, and a coordinator of the Geopolitical Studies Research Centre, **’19**, Geopolitics of the Outer Space, Chapter 3: Outer Space as a Military-Diplomatic Field, Pgs. 48-49)

Despite the theorized potential for the achievement of the terrestrial dominance throughout the utilization of the ultimate high ground and the ease of destruction of space-based assets by the potential space weaponry, the utilization of space weapons is with current technology and no effective means to protect them far from fulfilling this potential (Steinberg 2012, p. 255). **In current global international political and technological setting, the utility of space weapons is very limited**, even if we accept that the ultimate high ground presents the potential to get a decisive tangible military advantage (which is unclear). This stands among the reasons for the lack of their utilization so far. Last but not the least, it must be pointed out that the states also develop passive defense systems designed to protect the satellites on orbit or critical capabilities they provide. These **further decrease the utility of space weapons**. These systems include larger maneuvering capacities, launching of decoys, preparation of spare satellites that are ready for launch in case of ASAT attack on its twin on orbit, or attempts to decrease the visibility of satellites using paint or materials less visible from radars (Moltz 2014, p. 31). Finally, we must look at the main obstacles of connection of the outer space and warfare. The first set of barriers is comprised of **physical obstructions**. As has been presented in the previous chapter, the outer space is very challenging domain to operate in. Environmental factors still present the largest threat to any space military capabilities if compared to any man-made threats (Rendleman 2013, p. 79). A following issue that hinders military operations in the outer space is the predictability of orbital movement. If the reconnaissance satellite's orbit is known, the terrestrial actor might attempt to hide some critical capabilities-an option that is countered by new surveillance techniques (spectrometers, etc.) (Norris 2010, p. 196)-but the hide-and-seek game is on. This same principle is, however, in place for any other space asset-any nation with basic tracking capabilities may quickly detect whether the military asset or weapon is located above its territory or on the other side of the planet and thus mitigate the possible strategic impact of space weapons not aiming at mass destruction. Another possibility is to attempt to destroy the weapon in orbit. Given the level of development for the ASAT technology, it seems that they will prevail over any possible weapon system for the time to come. Next issue, directly connected to the first one, is the utilization of weak physical protection of space objects that need to be as light as possible to reach the orbit and to be able to withstand harsh conditions of the domain. This means that their protection against ASAT weapons is very limited, and, whereas some avoidance techniques are being discussed, they are of limited use in case of ASAT attack. We can thus add to the issue of predictability also the issue of easy destructibility of space weapons and other military hardware (Dolman 2005, p. 40; Anantatmula 2013, p. 137; Steinberg 2012, p. 255). Even if the high ground was effectively achieved and other nations could not attack the space assets directly, there is still a need for communication with those assets from Earth. There are also ground facilities that support and control such weapons located on the surface. Electromagnetic communication with satellites might be jammed or hacked and the ground facilities infiltrated or destroyed thus rendering the possible space weapons useless (Klein 2006, p. 105; Rendleman 2013, p. 81). This issue might be overcome by the establishment of a base controlling these assets outside the Earth-on Moon or lunar orbit, at lunar L-points, etc.-but this perspective remains, for now, unrealistic. Furthermore, **no contemporary actor will risk full space weaponization in the face of possible competition and the possibility of rendering the outer space useless.** No actor is dominant enough to prevent others to challenge any possible attempts to dominate the domain by military means. To quote 2016 Stratfor analysis, "(a) war in space would be devastating to all, and preventing it, rather than finding ways to fight it, will likely remain the goal" (Larnrani 20 16). This stands true unless some space actor finds a utility in disrupting the arena for others.