NEGATIVE BRIEF: SPACE COOPERATION

By Vance E. Trefethen

NEGATIVE BRIEF: SPACE COOPERATION WITH CHINA 2

COUNTERPLAN – Isolation and Countermeasures, not Cooperation. Cancel the Affirmative plan and do this instead: 2

China is a big threat in space: They’re determined to neutralize US space capabilities 2

Protecting US dominance is essential: Congress should increase funding to defeat China’s counterspace initiatives 2

We need to get allies on board to help deal with challenges in space coming from China 3

Head Start 2017 budget request is $9.6 billion and it’s a failure 3

INHERENCY 3

1. New technology avoids space debris problem 3

New satellites can be put into lower orbits over the next 20-40 years to avoid space junk 3

2. China already participates in International Space Station 4

INH: China already participates in the ISS 4

SOLV: China could never be invited to be an official member because of the other nations and treaties involved 4

SOLVENCY 4

1. No National Security Benefit 4

China does not have anything in space that would benefit US national security 4

2. No commercial benefit 4

Space exploration is transitioning to the private sector, and they don’t want to work with China 4

3. International cooperation won’t solve space debris 5

International space debris cooperation won’t happen. Even if it did, we don’t have the technology or the funding 5

No technology exists that could clean up space debris 5

4. No clear Chinese counterpart to cooperate with 5

Chinese structure is confusing and there could be rogue operators. It’s unclear who we’re supposed to cooperate with 5

5. Fundamental space policy disagreements 6

US/China space arms control process isn’t going to happen due to fundamental space policy disagreements 6

6. The real problem is money 6

The US has clearly the best space technology – we just don’t have the will to fund space programs 6

DISADVANTAGES 6

1. Strengthens China’s space & military programs, leading to Chinese space dominance and loss of US power 6

Link: Space cooperation would give China technology they could use to build up their space & military programs 6

Link: Space technology leakage to China would compromise US national security and no safeguards would prevent it. Example: European cooperation led to technology leakage 7

Link: China is building capabilities to destroy US satellites and erode US dominance in space 7

Link: China’s intent is to dominate space militarily and deny access 7

Link: China believes space war is inevitable and they intend to win it 7

Impact: US national security and US and world economies collapse without space dominance 8

2. Higher federal deficits 8

Link: Space cooperation with China will inflate the federal deficit 8

Impact: Every increase in the deficit hurts the economy 8

NEGATIVE BRIEF: SPACE COOPERATION WITH CHINA

COUNTERPLAN – Isolation and Countermeasures, not Cooperation. Cancel the Affirmative plan and do this instead:

1. The US increases funding for NASA and the military to more effectively defeat China’s aggressive activities in space.
2. The US leads an international meeting of allies to warn them of Chinese space threats and begin joint preparations for countermeasures.  
     
   Funding from cutting $1 billion from Head Start   
   Counterplan takes effect the same date as the Affirmative plan would have.  
   All Negative speeches may clarify.

China is a big threat in space: They’re determined to neutralize US space capabilities

Dr. Ashley Tellis 2014 (PhD; Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; formerly served as Senior Adviser at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, and in 2003, he also served on the National Security Council staff as Special Assistant to the President )28 Jan 2014 testimony before the House Armed Services Subcommittees on Strategic Forces and Seapower and Projection Forces “Does China Threaten the United States in Space?” <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/01/28/does-china-threaten-united-states-in-space>

Irrespective of what specific provocation may spark a wider conflict, Chinese defense planners are deeply consumed by the necessity of preparing for an armed confrontation with the United States, which they clearly recognize as a superior military power. Given their assessment that American superiority derives fundamentally from its ability to leverage its space systems to produce the information dominance necessary to deliver decisive warfighting advantages, Chinese strategists are by necessity drawn to the idea of attempting to neutralize American space capabilities.

Protecting US dominance is essential: Congress should increase funding to defeat China’s counterspace initiatives

Dr. Ashley Tellis 2014 (PhD; Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; formerly served as Senior Adviser at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, and in 2003, he also served on the National Security Council staff as Special Assistant to the President )28 Jan 2014 testimony before the House Armed Services Subcommittees on Strategic Forces and Seapower and Projection Forces “Does China Threaten the United States in Space?” <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/01/28/does-china-threaten-united-states-in-space>

Since I have outlined broadly the technical measures required in these areas in my article cited earlier—“China’s Military Space Strategy”—I will not repeat them here. Suffice it to say that because protecting U.S. information dominance is vital not only to securing success in war but also to procuring that victory at the lowest cost in terms of lives and effort expended, both the administration and the Congress should not stint in funding all the mitigation efforts required to defeat China’s counterspace initiatives—the term “defeat” in this context understood as enabling the U.S. military to successfully complete its missions despite opposition.

We need to get allies on board to help deal with challenges in space coming from China

Dr. Ashley Tellis 2014 (PhD; Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; formerly served as Senior Adviser at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, and in 2003, he also served on the National Security Council staff as Special Assistant to the President )28 Jan 2014 testimony before the House Armed Services Subcommittees on Strategic Forces and Seapower and Projection Forces “Does China Threaten the United States in Space?” <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/01/28/does-china-threaten-united-states-in-space>

Given this fact, the United States must prepare to cope with China’s counterspace programs principally through unilateral investments in developing the appropriate antidotes. It should initiate a discussion with all spacefaring powers about the nature of emerging threats to security in space and it should certainly engage in consultation with its friends and allies, especially in Asia—including Japan, South Korea, India, and Australia, among others—about the challenges posed by China’s counterspace program.

Head Start 2017 budget request is $9.6 billion and it’s a failure

Rob Kuhlman 2016 (associate editor for The Daily Signal) 9 Feb 2016 “What Obama Got Wrong in 2017 Budget” <http://dailysignal.com/2016/02/09/heritage-researchers-react-to-obamas-budget/> (brackets added)

It [the 2017 budget] would also increase the budget for the failed Head Start program by $434 million to an all-time high of $9.6 billion. According to the Department of Health and Human Services, [Head Start has failed to improve outcomes for participants](http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2013/01/head-start-impact-evaluation-report-finally-released), failing to improve their cognitive abilities, social emotional well-being, and participants’ parenting practices, among other shortcomings. Obama’s budget would continue to grow federal meddling in the care of the youngest Americans by proposing a $100 million increase in Pre-K Development Grants.

INHERENCY

1. New technology avoids space debris problem

New satellites can be put into lower orbits over the next 20-40 years to avoid space junk

Journalist Leonard David quoting Johns Hopkins University space debris expert Marshall Kaplan 2011 (orbital debris expert within the Space Department at the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory) 9 May 2011 “Ugly Truth of Space Junk: Orbital Debris Problem to Triple by 2030” quoted by Leonard David, columnist with Space Insider at SPACE.com <http://www.space.com/11607-space-junk-rising-orbital-debris-levels-2030.html> (ellipses in original)

"There is a good chance that we may have to eventually abandon all active satellites in currently used orbits," Kaplan said. "One possible scenario for the future is that we may phase out this generation of spacecraft while replacing them with a brand-new infrastructure of low-orbiting constellations of small satellites, each of which partially contributes to collecting desired data or making communications links." These constellations could be placed below 370 miles (600 km), thus avoiding the debris issue. "Such a new infrastructure could be developed over the next 20, 30 or 40 years," Kaplan said. "We should have plenty of time to make the transition, so let's use it wisely. We all caused this problem … there is no doubt about that. And, nobody will claim somebody else did it."

2. China already participates in International Space Station

INH: China already participates in the ISS

SOLV: China could never be invited to be an official member because of the other nations and treaties involved

Frank Morring 2014 (journalist) 16 Jan 2014 “NASA, China Meet On Possible Cooperation” AVIATION WEEK <http://aviationweek.com/space/nasa-china-meet-possible-cooperation> (brackets added)

[NASA Administrator Charles] Bolden noted that China is already among the 80-plus nations that “participate” in International Space Station activities, including the cutting-edge science program represented by the Alpha Magnetic Spectrometer. Launched on the final space shuttle mission, the AMS uses Chinese superconducting magnets as part of its search for evidence of dark matter from its perch atop the ISS starboard truss. However, it is unlikely that China — which is working toward assembly of its own Mir-class space station in 2018-22 — will be invited to join the ISS partnership of NASA and the space agencies of Russia, Canada, Japan and Europe. Nor will India or other spacefaring nations not already in the partnership become ISS partners. None of the existing station partners wants to reopen the treaties that set up the partnership to allow new members in, according to Bolden. Drafting them was “painful,” the NASA administrator said, and “nobody wants to do that again.” However, “each member organization is encouraged to reach out and involve other nations as participants,” he told reporters.

SOLVENCY

1. No National Security Benefit

China does not have anything in space that would benefit US national security

Michael Listner 2014 (*attorney and the founder and principal of Space Law and Policy Solutions, a think tank and consultation firm that concentrates on legal and policy matters relating to space security and development*.) “Commentary | Two Perspectives on U.S.-China Space Cooperation” 14 July 2014 SPACE NEWS <http://spacenews.com/41256two-perspectives-on-us-china-space-cooperation/>

When states, including geopolitical competitors, cooperate, there is always an unspoken premise that aside from the stated political goal each participant will have the unstated goals of reaping short- and long-term benefits of resources belonging to the other. In terms of cooperation between China and the United States, any stated goal of cooperation would implicate technology, intellectual property, scientific methodologies and funding. Given this presupposition, does China possess an advantage in any of these areas that would benefit the national security interests of the United States in a partnership? The answer is to both questions is cumulatively no.

2. No commercial benefit

Space exploration is transitioning to the private sector, and they don’t want to work with China

Michael Listner 2014 (*attorney and the founder and principal of Space Law and Policy Solutions, a think tank and consultation firm that concentrates on legal and policy matters relating to space security and development*.) “Commentary | Two Perspectives on U.S.-China Space Cooperation” 14 July 2014 SPACE NEWS <http://spacenews.com/41256two-perspectives-on-us-china-space-cooperation/>

China brings no tangible benefits to the table, and with the paradigm shift toward commercial space activities by the United States, any cooperative arrangements with China would be met with resistance by private operators who would have concerns of their own regarding technology and the ability to operate in the outer space environment.

3. International cooperation won’t solve space debris

International space debris cooperation won’t happen. Even if it did, we don’t have the technology or the funding

Marshall Kaplan 2011 (orbital debris expert within the Space Department at the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory) 9 May 2011 “Ugly Truth of Space Junk: Orbital Debris Problem to Triple by 2030” quoted by Leonard David, columnist with Space Insider at SPACE.com <http://www.space.com/11607-space-junk-rising-orbital-debris-levels-2030.html>

"The proliferation is irreversible. Any cleanup would be too expensive. Given this insight, it is unlikely spacefaring nations are going to do anything significant about cleaning up space," Kaplan said. "The fact is that we really can't do anything. We can't afford it. We don't have the technology. We don't have the cooperation. Nobody wants to pay for it. Space debris cleanup is a 'growth industry,' but there are no customers. In addition, it is politically untenable."

No technology exists that could clean up space debris

Marshall Kaplan 2011 (orbital debris expert within the Space Department at the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory) 9 May 2011 “Ugly Truth of Space Junk: Orbital Debris Problem to Triple by 2030” quoted by Leonard David, columnist with Space Insider at SPACE.com <http://www.space.com/11607-space-junk-rising-orbital-debris-levels-2030.html>

"Barring the discovery of a disruptive technology within the next decade or so, there will be no practical removal solution," Kaplan added. "We simply lack the technology to economically clean up space."

4. No clear Chinese counterpart to cooperate with

Chinese structure is confusing and there could be rogue operators. It’s unclear who we’re supposed to cooperate with

Dean Cheng 2014 (Senior Research Fellow, Asian Studies Center, Heritage Foundation) 18 Feb 2014 Hearing on China’s Space and Counterspace Programs <http://origin.www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/transcripts/February%2018%2C%202015_Transcript.pdf> (brackets added)

Let me first note I don't think anyone is claiming that we can stop China's space program. Although I do find it intriguing that Joan [Johnson-Freese] at the same time argues that no one can stop the Chinese space program from progressing, however they're going to progress, which is certainly true, but that somehow by offering cooperation, we can create stakeholders within the Chinese system if they aren't stakeholders already. And let me note here that when we are talking about stakeholders, this goes to a fundamental question about cooperation, which is who exactly is it we are cooperating with? As of right now, here we are eight years after the Chinese ASAT test of 2007. I'm not sure anyone can tell us who actually made that decision. Walk us through. We know who ultimately fired these systems. And let me note here that at the time there were some fascinating arguments being made, including by some “realists,” that this may have been evidence of a “rogue PLA.” The PLA just did it on its own. Maybe there weren't even, you know, the political authorities didn't know. Why? Because the Foreign Ministry didn't know except, of course, within the Chinese political structure, the Foreign Ministry is actually largely irrelevant, which makes them very different from our National Security Council foreign policymaking structure or even the old Soviet Politburo.

5. Fundamental space policy disagreements

US/China space arms control process isn’t going to happen due to fundamental space policy disagreements

Dr. Ashley Tellis 2014 (PhD; Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; formerly served as Senior Adviser at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, and in 2003, he also served on the National Security Council staff as Special Assistant to the President )28 Jan 2014 testimony before the House Armed Services Subcommittees on Strategic Forces and Seapower and Projection Forces “Does China Threaten the United States in Space?” <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/01/28/does-china-threaten-united-states-in-space>

Let me end by offering a few concluding thoughts on the policy responses the United States should pursue in regards to responding to China’s counterspace programs. Unfortunately for both the United States and the international community, there is no arms control solution available to limit the dangers posed by China’s counterspace activities. There are already deep and abiding disagreements universally about what constitutes weaponization in space, which instruments ought to be considered space weapons, and whether and how U.S. space policies have contributed to space competition. All these controversies ensure that a useful space arms control regime capable of restraining counterspace activities by any state, including China, is very far away, if it is at all possible.

6. The real problem is money

The US has clearly the best space technology – we just don’t have the will to fund space programs

CNN 2015. “Race to the Stars” <http://www.cnn.com/interactive/2015/05/world/china-space/>

U.S. space technology is still "hands down the best in the world," says Joan Johnson-Freese, a professor at the U.S. Naval War College, but she says the U.S. lacks the political will to fund an ambitious manned spaceflight program, China's is the pride of the nation. "It would cost the US $140 billion for a true moon and Mars exploration mission but sticker shock would kill it instantly," she says.

DISADVANTAGES

1. Strengthens China’s space & military programs, leading to Chinese space dominance and loss of US power

Link: Space cooperation would give China technology they could use to build up their space & military programs

Michael Listner 2014 (*attorney and the founder and principal of Space Law and Policy Solutions, a think tank and consultation firm that concentrates on legal and policy matters relating to space security and development*.) “Commentary | Two Perspectives on U.S.-China Space Cooperation” 14 July 2014 SPACE NEWS <http://spacenews.com/41256two-perspectives-on-us-china-space-cooperation/>

China has made significant strides in its space program, and its accomplishments follow in the footsteps of the outer space activities performed by the United States. China does have the perception of momentum in its space program and uses current technology to facilitate its achievements, but it still lags behind. Cooperation with China would reap no tangible benefits in terms of technology for the United States and in fact would risk exposing outer space technology and methodologies that China could appropriate under the guise of cooperation and incorporate into its own space and military programs.

Link: Space technology leakage to China would compromise US national security and no safeguards would prevent it. Example: European cooperation led to technology leakage

Michael Listner 2014 (*attorney and the founder and principal of Space Law and Policy Solutions, a think tank and consultation firm that concentrates on legal and policy matters relating to space security and development*.) “Commentary | Two Perspectives on U.S.-China Space Cooperation” 14 July 2014 SPACE NEWS <http://spacenews.com/41256two-perspectives-on-us-china-space-cooperation/>

China’s technical partnership with the European Union on the Galileo project led to its application on China’s indigenous Beidou Phase 2 satellite navigation system. The accuracy of the Beidou signal came as a surprise to its European partners as such accuracy was unlikely to be obtained without taking shortcuts. Thus, what began as a cooperative effort between the European Union and China led to China reaping the technological benefit with the resultant national security implications. Such would be the case with a cooperative effort with the United States. Any effort would expose U.S. technology, and it stands to reason that no matter what safeguards were put in place China would acquire and benefit from that technology. Not only would the United States not benefit from a cooperative effort it would also sacrifice its technological advantage and compromise its national security.

Link: China is building capabilities to destroy US satellites and erode US dominance in space

Jeffrey L. Fiedler 2014 (Commissioner, U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission) 18 Feb 2014 Hearing on China’s Space and Counterspace Programs <http://origin.www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/transcripts/February%2018%2C%202015_Transcript.pdf>

Over the last decade, China has rapidly scaled up and improved its civilian and military space platforms, including satellites, ground infrastructure, and rockets. These inherently dual-use platforms help China achieve economic and scientific missions, while supporting expanded PLA operations and military modernization goals. Although China is mostly catching up to the United States in space capabilities, China poses a number of challenges to U.S. activities in space. First and foremost is China’s development of new counterspace technologies that could disable or destroy U.S. satellites and their support architecture. In addition, China’s space exploration and satellite launch plans could erode U.S. dominance in space.

Link: China’s intent is to dominate space militarily and deny access

Kevin Pollpeter 2014 (DEPUTY DIRECTOR, STUDY OF INNOVATION AND TECHNOLOGY IN CHINA, INSTITUTE ON GLOBAL CONFLICT AND COOPERATION, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA-SAN DIEGO) 18 Feb 2014 Hearing on China’s Space and Counterspace Programs <http://origin.www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/transcripts/February%2018%2C%202015_Transcript.pdf>

Indeed, I would argue that China's space program plays a central role in China's anti-access/area denial plans. China views space as critical to its development of what they call an "informationized force." And, in fact, almost every Chinese source that you do read states that whoever controls space controls the earth. As a result, Chinese military writers conclude that China must achieve space supremacy, which is to control space, to be able to freely use space, and to be able to deny the ability to use space to adversaries.

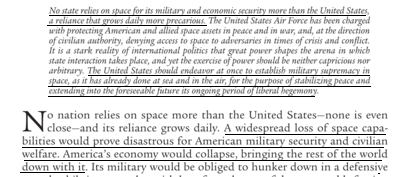
Link: China believes space war is inevitable and they intend to win it

Kevin Pollpeter 2014 (DEPUTY DIRECTOR, STUDY OF INNOVATION AND TECHNOLOGY IN CHINA, INSTITUTE ON GLOBAL CONFLICT AND COOPERATION, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA-SAN DIEGO) 18 Feb 2014 Hearing on China’s Space and Counterspace Programs <http://origin.www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/transcripts/February%2018%2C%202015_Transcript.pdf>

Indeed, nearly every Chinese source describes space as the “ultimate high ground,” leading many Chinese analysts to assess that space warfare is inevitable. Because of the preeminence of the space battlefield, analysts writing on space argue that it will become the center of gravity in future wars and one that must be seized and controlled. In fact, these analysts argue that the first condition for seizing the initiative is to achieve space supremacy.

Impact: US national security and US and world economies collapse without space dominance

Prof. Everett C. Dolman 2006 (associate prof. of Comparative Military Studies at US Air Force School of Advanced Air and Space Studie ) SAIS Review vol. XXVI no. 1 (Winter-Spring 2006) US Military Transformation and Weapons in Space <https://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/sais_review/v026/26.1dolman.html>



2. Higher federal deficits

Link: Space cooperation with China will inflate the federal deficit

Michael Listner 2014 (*attorney and the founder and principal of Space Law and Policy Solutions, a think tank and consultation firm that concentrates on legal and policy matters relating to space security and development*.) “Commentary | Two Perspectives on U.S.-China Space Cooperation” 14 July 2014 SPACE NEWS <http://spacenews.com/41256two-perspectives-on-us-china-space-cooperation/>

It is conceivable that China would reap a similar economic benefit to the detriment of the United States in cooperative outer space activities. The likelihood is great that China would insist that any arrangement entered into be funded disproportionately by the United States. This in turn would take away from other programs, inflate the national deficit and even require more borrowing from China, which would have a cumulative effect on the national and economic security of the United States with little or no benefit.

Impact: Every increase in the deficit hurts the economy

Dr William Gale and Benjamin Harris 2011. (Gale - PhD in economics, Stanford Univ.; senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and co-director of the Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center; former assistant professor in the Department of Economics at UCLA, and a senior economist for the Council of Economic Advisers under President George H.W. Bush; Harris - master’s degree in economics from Cornell University and a master’s degree in quantitative methods from Columbia University; senior research associate with the Economics Studies Program at the Brookings Institution) “A VAT for the United States: Part of the Solution” <http://www.taxanalysts.com/www/freefiles.nsf/Files/GALE-HARRIS-5.pdf/$file/GALE-HARRIS-5.pdf>

But even in the absence of a crisis, sustained deficits have deleterious effects, as they translate into lower national savings, higher interest rates, and increased indebtedness to foreign investors, all of which serve to reduce future national income. Gale and Orszag (2004a) estimate that a 1 percent of GDP increase in the deficit will raise interest rates by 25 to 35 basis points and reduce national saving by 0.5 to 0.8 percentage points of GDP.