Commercial Space and Spacepower

Henry R. Hertzfeld, Research Professor
Space Policy Institute
George Washington University
Washington, D.C.
hrh@gwu.edu

Spacepower Theory Project National Defense University 25 April 2007

including suggestions for reducing	ompleting and reviewing the collect this burden, to Washington Headqu uld be aware that notwithstanding an DMB control number.	arters Services, Directorate for Infor	mation Operations and Reports	, 1215 Jefferson Davis	Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington	
1. REPORT DATE 25 APR 2007	2. REPORT TYPE			3. DATES COVERED 00-00-2007 to 00-00-2007		
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE		5a. CONTRACT NUMBER				
Commercial Space and Spacepower				5b. GRANT NUMBER		
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER		
6. AUTHOR(S)				5d. PROJECT NUMBER		
				5e. TASK NUMBER		
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER		
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) George Washington University, Space Policy Institute, 2121 I Street, NW, Washington, DC, 20052				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER		
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)		
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)		
12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAII Approved for publ	LABILITY STATEMENT ic release; distributi	ion unlimited				
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NO Towards a Theory	of Spacepower. 25-2	26 Apr 2007, Fort L	esley J. McNair,	Washington,	DC	
14. ABSTRACT						
15. SUBJECT TERMS						
16. SECURITY CLASSIFIC	17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON			
a. REPORT unclassified	b. ABSTRACT unclassified	c. THIS PAGE unclassified	Same as Report (SAR)	21	RESI ONSIDEE LEASON	

Public reporting burden for the collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and

Report Documentation Page

Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188

Spacepower

- Economic and commercial power:
 - Monopoly
 - Dominant competitive position
 - Large market share; ability to set worldwide standards
- For this presentation spacepower will ignore
 - Aggressive actions in space
 - Denying others access to space
- But, it is assumed that a stable space environment can be enforced.
 - International organizations, regulations, agreements
 - A very powerful nation(s) enforcing rules

The Changing International Space Environment: 1960 to 2007

- Globalization of networks (industrial, financial, information)
 - Affects commercial space in both supply and demand
- Technological capabilities have spread to many nations
 - U.S. is no longer the only highly capable commercial supplier
- "Privatization" -- Governments as one of many purchasers
- Worldwide consolidation of space firms
 - "oligopolistic competition"
- Growing regulatory environment--national interests
 - For security, and non-proliferation purposes
 - For safety, environmental, and economic protection

Globalization

- Different types of globalization
 - Geopolitical
 - Multinational corporations, financial markets
 - Information and networks

Globalization Regionalizaton Isolation

- Globalization is not inevitable
 - Has progressed unevenly and with setbacks

Globalization and Space

- On the supply side dual-use space capabilities have:
 - Created worldwide instant communications
 - Enabled images of large areas as well as high-resolution images for location-specific purposes
- All of which lead to a reinforcing pattern of greater globalization
 - Through better and faster communications, and
 - Through expanded potential markets
- Space activities require very high up-front investments, the larger the market potential, the better the profit opportunity
- The more produced the lower the average costs.
- Therefore, higher demand coupled with lower costs leads to continued growth and expansion of services.

Globalization and Space

- On the demand side globalization
 - Raises consumer expectations of the availability of new goods and services
 - Enables demand for space products to increase
 - Which, with open borders and markets, encourages commercial space investments, and
 - Likely future price decreases due to larger sales.

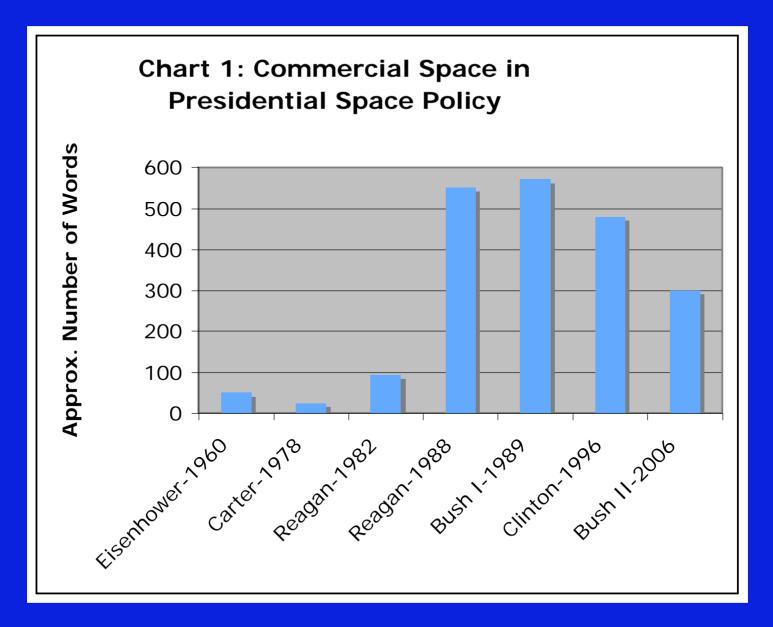
U.S. Policy: Commercial Space

- Official government policy on commercial space
 - Presidential Decisions and Memos on Space Policy
 - Presidential Decisions and Memos on Telecommunications
 - Policy as reflected in space legislation & regulations
 - Other governmental actions and regulations affecting commercial space (budgets, anti-trust, trade, competitiveness, R&D, etc.)
- U.S. commercial space policy is complex, cannot be separated from non-space economic policy, and sometimes produces unintended results that may contradict "official space policies."

Trends in Government Policy

(Eisenhower to Present: 1957 to 2007)

- Early policies reflect Cold War era: security,
 U.S. leadership in technology race
- No commercial policy; mainly references to economic growth and spin-offs
- By Clinton Administration, commercial space policy was many pages long
- Basic approach to spacepower (U.S. dominance) has not changed over time



Telecommunications Policy

- Separate policy treatment from overall space policy
- Early years: policy aimed at developing a U.S. monopoly in telecommunications
 - Even to the point of an official position that refused to launch operational telecommunications satellites of foreign nations.
- Kennedy Administration:
 - Stimulation of competition w/in the United States for NASA R&D contracts in telecommunications (aimed at AT&T monopoly)
- Comsat, Intelsat, and private telecommunications ventures--U.S. and, in more recent years, foreign
 - ACTS program as indicator of changes in approach to research

Other Policies

- Since the 1990s, as other areas of space have become both larger and of more commercial value, separate policies have addressed:
 - Remote Sensing
 - Transportation
 - Navigation and GPS
- All sub-groups of space policies are consistent with the overall directives on space.

Legislative Actions

- Legislation often incorporates Administration Space Policies verbatim
- Legislation enables regulatory actions
- NASAct of 1958 as amended over time
- CSLA of 1984, as amended
- Remote Sensing
 - Privatization studies in 1979/80
 - Transfer to NOAA in mid-1980s with expected commercialization (except for weather satellites)
 - More recent remote sensing legislation

Other Government Space Regulatory and Policy Actions

- Deregulation as a government philosophy--stimulate commercial competitiveness
- GPS in mid-90s; led to policy to guarantee free signal and turn selective availability off
- Export controls--major tightening in 1999
- DOD effort to stimulate industry consolidation
- Growth of government deficit and change in priorities
- Efforts to commercialize and privatize space assets

International Space

- Growth of foreign capabilities and commercial space endeavors
 - Europe: Ariane, Spotimage, Galileo
 - Russia: Commercial launch vehicles; Glonass
 - China: Human Space, launch vehicles
 - Others: Japan, India
 - Emergence of developing world in space
- Consolidation to compete with U.S.
 - Corporate
 - Regional agreements

International Space

- Examples of unintended foreign commercial incentives resulting from U.S. policies
 - Symphonie (U.S. refusal to launch operational telecommunications satellite)
 - One factor which stimulated a commercial Ariane
 - Shuttle decision (no R&D for ELVs)
 - Again, stimulated Ariane to be optimized for geosynchronous telecommunications orbits
 - Export controls
 - Stimulated "ITAR-free" product lines abroad

International Space

- Foreign capabilities today have become essential for some U.S. missions
 - Soyuz as launching system for ISS
 - Joint dependence on weather satellites
 - Purchase of remote sensing imagery
 - Available bandwidth for telecommunications
 - Ground receiving equipment for GPS

Policymaking in the U.S. is Complex

 Space policy, in order to be effective, must be coordinated with other policies; a very difficult process, particularly in the commercial arena

Priorities

- Security policy trumps commercial space policy
- Security policy trumps economic policy
- Economic policy trumps space policy

therefore,

 Commercial space policy will not be the driver of spacepower in the U.S.

and,

Commercial space policy can easily be undermined by these other policies

and,

 Most other nations are very explicit that economic policy is a major part of space policy

Summary

- Economic/business factors
 - Profit motive--investment only with sufficient ROI
 - ROI can include government revenues
 - If global market opportunity is denied, fewer purely commercial investments
 - If increased risk of loss of assets from either domestic or foreign security initiatives, fewer commercial investments will occur.
- Important questions:
 - Do national objectives require space business investment?
 - Are foreign commercial space assets essential to domestic security?
- Clear answer is yes!

Summary

- Economic dominance of U.S. in space, once lost is unlikely to be easily or quickly recovered
 - Future policy needs to reflect this reality
- Limited options for the future
 - Treat commercial space as "just another commodity"
 - Ignores the dual-use nature of most space applications
 - Dominance and control through military actions
 - Will encourage counter measures by others with uncertain outcomes and increase commercial risk factors
 - Stimulate renewed economic competitiveness in U.S.
 - May not be consistent with export restrictions and other U.S. policies related to free trade and competitiveness

Is There A Solution? Spacepower through Commercial Strength

- Find ways to keep U.S. technological leadership in space
 - Encourage R&D in areas likely to advance commercial space
 - An "offence" rather than a "defense" for future commercial products
 - Produce the best products to encourage worldwide purchase of U.S. goods and services
 - Leadership and spacepower through market dominance
 - Eliminate regulatory disincentives without jeopardizing security or public safety