



Prague Security
Studies Institute

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PSSI NEWSLETTER N° 3 – SPECIAL ISSUE , OCTOBER 2011
SPACE SECURITY THROUGH THE TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

FOREWORD FROM THE CONFERENCE CO-ORGANIZERS

Dear Colleagues and Friends,

PSSI, together with the European Space Policy Institute (ESPI), convened an international conference on “Space Security through the Transatlantic Partnership” between June 12-14, 2011 to illuminate many of the 21st century challenges in this rapidly emerging field. For the first time, this undertaking involved space policy professionals and experts from Europe, the United States and Japan. It took place in Prague under the auspices of Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Transport, and the Lord Mayor of Prague. The conference attracted over one hundred high-level space policy practitioners, NGO experts, academics and industry representatives from the partner countries.

This gathering represented the initiation of an NGO-led, trilateral “Track-II” venue for exchanges among the independent space policy communities of the respective nations involved

(i.e. Europe, the US and Japan). We were most gratified by the enthusiastic responses of the conference attendees, and their willingness to explore in greater depth the various dimensions of the subject matter, an encouraging sign for future such sessions.

This PSSI/ESPI-led conference on space security succeeded in its goal of bringing together relevant, senior participants in the respective space communities to discuss candidly the complex space security environment and address how to best maintain stability and security in space, as well as to generate practical solutions and/or policy options to address the most prominent space security challenges. With the conference now behind us, we intend to build on this new “Track II” NGO initiative to accelerate, stimulate and amplify creative solution sets to the most vexing emerging obstacles concerning unfettered access to, and use of, space.

Oldřich Černý
*Co-Founder and Executive Director
Prague Security Studies Institute*

Kai-Uwe Schrogl
*Director
European Space Policy Institute*



Group photo of speakers at the Space Security through the Transatlantic Partnership international conference

CONFERENCE SUMMARY

On 12–14 July 2011, a conference was convened in Prague entitled „Space Security through the Transatlantic Partnership“, co-sponsored by the Prague Security Studies Institute (PSSI) and the European Space Policy Institute (ESPI). It was the first non-governmental transatlantic conference of its kind dedicated to this topic with the participation of over one hundred senior space policy officials and high-level representatives of multilateral institutions, NGOs, academia, and industry from Europe, the US, and Japan. They included: the US Departments of State and Defense, the US Strategic Command; the European Space Agency (ESA); the European Council, the European Commission (EC), the European External Action Service (EEAS), the European Defence Agency (EDA); the European Union Satellite Centre (EUSC); the Japanese Ministry of Defense; Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency (JAXA); and the Strategic Headquarters for Space Policy in the

Cabinet Office. The overarching goal of the conference was to solicit and assess both converging and diverging views on the multi-faceted subject of space security and seek to establish an on-going “Track II” non-governmental process designed to assist with the crafting of a future architecture for the management of this key dimension of space policy on a trilateral, and eventually global, basis.

SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS

The shared interest of Europe, the United States and Japan in strengthening space security is growing steadily. There is a common view of the pressing need to safeguard space-based assets, which perform essential tasks for most of the world’s population, as well as to ensure free access to, and responsible behaviour in, space. The conference was comprised of five panels over the period of one and a half days covering the following topics:

- Defining space security for the 21st century
- Transatlantic approaches to international space security cooperation
- Governance of space activities
- Security policy dimensions of Space Situational Awareness
- Transatlantic space crisis management for the future

Defining Space Security for the 21st Century

Beyond the two traditional space powers, the US and Russia, Europe and other new actors have changed the geostrategic setting in space (particularly China) and will shape space policies, and associated national policy decision-making, for the 21st century. Several conference participants noted that space is not a sanctuary. It is borderless with predictable orbital paths and assets that are vulnerable. Although nations will differ in what is viewed as an appropriate response to an incident or conflict, there is a need to forge a common understanding of space security “red lines” of acceptable behaviour. Space assets (including ground-based) are properly regarded as critical infrastructure and their disruption or damage would result in far-reaching economic, political, and geostrategic consequences. As space has become more congested, contested and competitive, a number of speakers indicated that there is a desire to strengthen diplomatic channels and promote measures to enhance stability, including best practices guidelines, prior notifications of launches of space vehicles, and closer coordination (including joint ventures). With the increasing presence in space of private operators, it is vital to integrate them into international space security initiatives and dialogues. There was also a general view expressed that organizations such as NATO need to determine their role in the future architecture of space security.

Transatlantic Approaches to International Space Security Cooperation

Several participants observed that the transatlantic partnership in the field of space security is only now developing. The European Union (EU) is a new actor in this field and is interested in pursuing enhanced international cooperation. In this connection, the US wishes to see the EU, and relevant European institutions and Member States, as global players with substantial influence. Recommended preconditions to implementing meaningful transatlantic cooperation on space security are firm political leadership, shared interests, realistic milestones, technological capabilities, and trust in the handling of sensitive



Giuseppe Morsillo, Director of Policies, Planning and Control, European Space Agency, and Frank A. Rose, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Space and Defense Policy, Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance, US Department of State (from left)



Frank Asbeck, Principal Advisor, Security and Space Policy, European External Action Service

data and information. By establishing its own brand of diplomacy, Europe could also contribute indirectly to US space diplomacy, for example, by bringing actors like China and Russia into the transatlantic dialogue. Japan could play a similar recruiting role among Asian space-faring nations and aspirants. In terms of global space diplomacy, the draft Code of Conduct for Outer Space Activities introduced by the EU represents the leading collective action to date for the protection of the space environment. It is a document which encourages

responsible behaviour in space on a voluntary basis. There was general agreement that the Code is not well-suited to resolving conflicts in space. Besides the Code, Europe, the US, and Japan should stake out mutual positions concerning the Group of Government Experts on Outer Space transparency and confidence-building measures (TCBMs) in 2012 and the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) working group on long-term sustainability.



Geraldine Naja, Head of the Coordination with EU Institutions, European Space Agency (ESA) and Dumitru-Dorin Prunariu, Chairman of the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS)



Panel discussion "Security Policy Dimensions of Space Situational Awareness"

effective enforcement measures. In this connection, private sector initiatives, including the Space Data Association (SDA), should be incorporated into space policy decision-making. To improve governance, better coordination between governments and private operators, as well as the pursuit of bilateral agreements, were among the steps discussed. The involvement of emerging space powers (e.g. China, India, Australia, Brazil, etc.) in space governance deliberations is likewise deemed desirable.

Security Policy Dimensions of Space Situational Awareness

Space Situational Awareness (SSA) is regarded as a lynchpin capability for ensuring the safety and security of satellites and spacecraft and enabling the monitoring and understanding of a constantly changing space environment. SSA is not an end in itself, but a method for safeguarding national security assets and sovereignty. The US has the world's most comprehensive SSA capability and Europe is seeking to develop an autonomous capability. Incorporating NATO as a player in a transatlantic SSA configuration seems to some an appropriate move. SSA is also a highly useful diplomatic tool and the sharing of SSA data constitutes one of the most potent, globally-available space transparency measures. It likewise contributes to managing the pressing issue of orbital space debris. Coordination and shared input are essential to improving the future upgrading of SSA tools and possibilities for interoperability. The involvement of the private sector and intergovernmental institutions in any global SSA efforts is essential. In short, it is important to strengthen collective capability to face new challenges such as flying formations (clusters) of small satellites.

Transatlantic Space Crisis Management for the Future

Crisis management is complex and necessitates an understanding of the type of crisis (man-made or natural), the assets involved (their size and purpose), the nature of the crisis (isolated or occurring among several assets) and the global geopolitical environment. The primary objective of space crisis management is to avoid

Governance of Space Activities

There was broad agreement that, beyond the provisions of the Outer Space Treaty (OST), there exists an increasing demand for new norms, rules, and soft law. Space governance involves strategy, a budgetary framework, development of infrastructure, and regulatory requirements. Challenges to space security need to be publicly debated using various platforms. The COPUOS is the most comprehensive policy forum to seek modalities to increase the stability and sustainability

of space activities. It is a venue that involves space experts and deals with practical issues (unlike the Conference on Disarmament that emphasizes arms control and is highly ideological). Outside the COPUOS, the draft Code of Conduct mentioned above constitutes a first step toward creating political, rather than legal pressures. The theory is that understanding what constitutes responsible behaviour increases strategic stability. It was acknowledged that nations should develop their own "best practice" policies and procedures, including



Vladimír Šilhan, Defence Advisor, Permanent Representation of the Czech Republic to the EU; James Finch, Director, Policy and Strategy Development Global Strategic Affairs, Space Policy Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, US Department of Defense and Aude-Emmanuelle Fleurant, Head, Armament and Defence Economy Research Group, French Military Academy Strategic Research Institute



Panel moderators at the concluding panel of the conference

Current Outlook

There is now a widespread recognition of global dependency on space systems accompanied by a desire for maximum autonomy in a number of areas. Collaboration in space is viewed as the only sustainable path forward. A strong transatlantic partnership, together with Japan, is a key engine that can build on shared values and security interests. This like-minded alliance group can serve as the template for global cooperation and set meaningful standards. Virtually all space-faring nations desire to mitigate orbital debris, secure free access to space and avoid misunderstandings, mishaps, and misperceptions. Given the complex space environment involving new actors and technologies, there is a need for more creative transparency and confidence-building measures (TCBMs), especially given the fact that no new viable space treaty has been proposed. The concept of Space Traffic Management (STM) also warrants further examination.

conflicts or disruptive “incidents” in space. The growing dependency on space assets has revealed weaknesses in dealing with space emergencies. There are at least three activities that can be pursued in peacetime: promoting the responsible use of space; deterring attacks or purposeful disruptions; and the building of international partnerships. A robust space crisis management posture can also reduce the possibility of terrestrial conflict. Part of crisis management is considering vulnerability, redundancy, and ability to reconstitute, not only for military, but also civilian assets. Crisis management also involves detailed operational aspects. The Shriever wargames, for example, facilitate testing how technologies and different groups may interact in crisis circumstances. Cooperation in crisis management among governments, and governments and private operators, requires joint standards and exercises. The goal is to make reacting to many space-related contingencies a routine exercise.



Admiral Dennis C. Blair

Summary of the Keynote Speech by Admiral Dennis C. Blair, former US Director of National Intelligence and Commander-in-Chief of the US Pacific Command

Admiral Blair underscored in his keynote address that China's growing space capabilities are an important factor in most of the topics covered on the conference agenda, including governance, the security policy dimensions of space, and space crisis management. To the extent that Europe and the United States can agree on a common approach to

"The transatlantic partnership in space needs to set its sights on the global space enterprise, and to find ways to bring China into that enterprise to play a transparent, realistic and productive role."

Admiral Dennis C. Blair

dealing with China's rise in space, the benefits from the global use of space would be multiplied and the dangers reduced. Admiral Blair observed that China is building worldwide navigation, communications and intelligence collection systems, with relay satellites to pass on information gathered on the other side of the world back to China. Accordingly, international discussions concerning space security need to involve realistic

understandings of Chinese space-related developments.

Admiral Blair explained that there are basically two competing camps concerning China's future. Those that "hope for the best" and wish to continue business as usual with China, and those that are concerned by China's unpredictability and episodic belligerence and wish to be prepared for a more troubled future. He recommended a more activist and positive, multi-lateral approach toward Beijing that finds a proper balance, or middle ground, between these alternative outcomes. Admiral Blair commented that the best prospect for the successful engagement of China in space would be to offer it the opportunity to participate, proactively and responsibly, in space endeavors and even help shape their course, beginning with space exploration and scientific research and moving, over time, to commercial and military systems (e.g. transparency and confidence-building measures, behavioral norms etc.). Cooperation of this type would likely build greater trust between China and other space-faring nations, something that is in short supply today. Admiral Blair added that China's participation in these ventures would also provide a clearer sense of its true intentions as it pursues a robust and ambitious civilian and military space program.

He concluded his remarks by indicating that the decision to utilize space systems in a cooperative manner - for such activities as disaster

relief, scientific research, commercial joint ventures and peacekeeping operations - must be made by China itself. That said, he indicated that it will be the responsibility of other space faring nations, including Europe, the US and Japan, to provide China with workable opportunities to participate in the resolution of emerging challenges in the field of space security as well as the immense benefits to mankind stemming from the peaceful uses of space.

Summary of the Keynote Speech by Hirofumi Katase, Deputy Secretary-General of the Strategic Headquarters for Space Policy, Cabinet Secretariat, Japan

Mr Katase began his remarks by expressing his appreciation that, for the first time, space policy decision-makers, academics, NGO experts and industry representatives from Europe, the US and Japan, which share common values, were gathered to help shape the architecture of future space security. He acknowledged that this is an especially relevant topic as the number of countries operating in space has dramatically increased in the past twenty years from thirty to sixty. The larger number of space-faring nations and growing intensity of space activities is primarily a result of the globalization.

Japan's Basic Space Law of 2008 and the Japan Basic Plan for Space, approved in 2009, underline the importance of international cooperation and security in space.

"We should work together to involve developing countries into an actual international cooperation that will give them the true benefit of space utilization."

Hirofumi Katase

Mr Katase observed that Japan and the US have already begun discussions, at an official level, concerning collaboration on space security issues as a part of their foreign and defense policy cooperation and coordination. The success of the working relationships of three partners (i.e. Japan, the US, and Europe) will largely depend on how such collaboration is organized. Accordingly,



Hirofumi Katase

Mr Katase believes we need to understand those characteristics that differentiate space security from other areas related to globalization. First, he pointed out that space security is a relatively new field that is developing faster than the norms and rules governing areas such as trade. At the same time, space security has become essential for sustained terrestrial economic development. Second is the asymmetric nature of space, where even a small satellite off course or misconduct by even small countries can cause considerable damage. Finally, security in space is directly related to the ability to preserve the security of individual nations.

Mr Katase stated his view that global governance has the best hope of ensuring space security and countries should utilize multi-track approaches to advance better governance, including via the international Code of Conduct for Outer Space Activities proposed by the EU. He also advised that the international community should take care not to establish legally-binding rules too quickly and that Japan should work together with Europe and the US to encourage emerging space-faring nations to comply with international rules and norms. In this connection, he stated that cooperation on space situational awareness (SSA) would be of great importance. Japan possesses some SSA capabilities and the Basic Plan for Space establishes SSA as a high priority area.

At the same time, he observed, in order to gain a global understanding of the importance of space utilization and

what is required to protect space-based assets, it will be essential to promote effective cooperation in space. A good example involving the developing countries is the international cooperation on display with regard to a Japan-led "Sentinel Asia Project" with the participation of Asia-Pacific space agencies, which provides modalities for sharing critical satellite-based information on natural disasters (e.g. earthquakes).

Summary of the Keynote Speech by Pierre-Louis Lempereur, Chairman of the Council Working Party on Disarmament and Space, European Union External Action Service

Mr Lempereur, representing the European Union External Action Service, outlined the major European effort underway in the field of space diplomacy, the international Draft Code of Conduct for Outer Space Activities. He also informed the audience about the status and future plans connected with the Code of Conduct as well as an explanation concerning why the EU embarked on this endeavour and the value it brings to the global space community.

"The purpose of this Code is to enhance the security, safety and sustainability of all outer space activities."

Pierre-Louis Lempereur

He made clear that the EU understands that space activities are expanding rapidly and that space is a crucial resource for all countries in the world, including those that have not, as yet, joined the space club. Accordingly, the EU deemed it necessary to help ensure greater security in outer space. The Code represents a pragmatic and incremental process which can assist in achieving enhanced safety and security in outer space through, in part, transparency and confidence-building measures (TCBMs). The Code is basically a response to the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 61/75 of September 2007 and the EU supports the notion that voluntary rules of the road, grounded in "best practices" among space actors, offers the most promising approach to achieving the above-mentioned objectives.



Pierre-Louis Lempereur

The first draft of the Code was introduced in December 2008. After extensive consultations with key space-faring nations, the EU produced a revised draft in September 2010 and the EU Council gave a mandate to the EU High Representative to carry out wider consultations. Mr Lempereur observed that the EU recognizes that there are two main areas where the Code provides added value. First, the scope of the Code is all-encompassing, covering all dimensions of space operations and applies to both civilian and military activities in space. It also offers procedures to reduce the possibility of incidents in space, including collisions between space objects, or any other forms of interference with other states' rights. Second, the Code has a preventive focus, emphasizing that activities undertaken in space should be involve a high degree of care, due diligence, and transparency with the aim of building confidence among space actors.

In closing, Mr Lempereur informed the audience that the Code had been presented to various audiences and discussed bilaterally with a number of space-faring nations. The EU now plans to discuss this text multilaterally and will organise a multilateral experts meeting(s), open to all States, the first of which is to take place by the end of 2011. These meetings will serve to prepare an ad hoc Diplomatic Conference, open to all States on a voluntary basis, at which the Code will be open to signature.



Kai-Uwe Schrogl, Director of the European Space Policy Institute, Oldřich Černý, Executive Director of the Prague Security Studies Institute, and Jiří Schneider, First Deputy Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic (from left)

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Prague conference was universally regarded among the participants as an important contribution to this rapidly emerging issue area and unique in its ambition to enhance trilateral discussions on space security beyond the limited scope of current deliberations. Currently, a sizable void exists in the allied space security dialogue. During this “Track II” kick-off event, the door was opened on a range of less-acknowledged areas of space security, including: the robust counterspace activities of China; the implications of the dual-use nature (i.e. equipment and technology with both civilian and military applications) of much of the space infrastructure of allies and adversaries; and the absence of many threat scenarios in the planning of influential managers of national space assets.

The conference participants expressed support for continuing to develop this new “Track II” initiative. The immediate next steps will include preparing a conference report that lists the most relevant areas of space security discussed at the conference that could benefit from further dialogue, research and trilateral exchanges. Such a report should also emphasize those dimensions of space security that hold the most potential for ground-breaking advances in transatlantic and trilateral cooperation and communication (e.g. transparency and

confidence-building measures, counterspace contingencies, SSA, etc.). Some of the recommendations put forward included:

- Integrate space security into broader foreign policy and international security deliberations
- Exploit the EU – US dialogue as an important platform for space security discussions, accompanied by NGO expert groups
- Involve commercial operators in policy debates on major issues, including unintentional interference; regulatory compliance; access to space; SSA and collision avoidance; and cyber security
- Identify guidelines based on common understandings which define responsible behaviour in space
- Seek better understanding of the connective tissue among SSA, TCBMs and crisis management
- Continue to engage governments in forging a better understanding of the draft Code of Conduct for Outer Space Activities
- Identify several concrete activities for initial practical collaboration
- Explore establishment of a combined space operations centre as a vehicle for closer cooperation, including the sharing of information on the space environment, objects, and interference
- Examine the prospects for multi-layered coordination ranging from incidents to major threats via engaging in joint exercises between

governments and private operators (beyond the Shriever wargames) to establish a crisis response roadmap

- Assess the potential of joint US – EU – NATO exercises on different contingencies associated with transatlantic crisis management pilot projects
- Involve Japan’s space security stakeholders as full partners in transatlantic space security deliberations
- Understand the potential consequences of space failures in the context of terrestrial crises (including economic and civilian aspects)
- Identify the next venue for “Track-II” exchanges among the independent space policy communities, the broader foreign policy and national security agencies, the academic communities and industries of Europe, the US and Japan.



Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of the Czech Republic



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC



Ministry of Transport
of the Czech Republic

The Carthage Foundation, Dr. James Q. Whitaker,
The Donner Foundation, The Claremont Institute



Roger W. Robinson Jr., Co-Founder of the Prague Security Studies Institute, and former Senior Director of International Economic Affairs, US National Security Council, introducing keynote speaker Admiral Dennis C. Blair



Alexandr Vondra, Minister of Defense of the Czech Republic, Oldřich Černý, and Norman L. Eisen, Ambassador of the United States to the Czech Republic (from left)



Brian Kennedy, President of the Claremont Institute



Jeff Kueter, President, George C. Marshall Institute (center), with Xavier Pasco, Senior Research Fellow at the Foundation for Strategic Research (left) and Kai-Uwe Schrogl, Director of the European Space Policy Institute

ABOUT PSSI

The Prague Security Studies Institute (PSSI) is a non-profit, non-governmental organization established in early 2002 to advance the building of a just, secure, democratic, free market society in the Czech Republic and other post-communist states.

PSSI's mission is also to build an ever-growing group of informed, security-minded policy practitioners dedicated to the development of democratic institutions and values in the Czech Republic and its regional neighbors. PSSI offers programs that meet the critical requirements associated with equipping new generations of young leaders to manage the complex, security-related challenges of the 21st century.

To fulfill its mission, PSSI conducts a broad range of activities under its Security Scholars Program, Program of Atlantic Security Studies, Regional Outreach Program and Corporate Council Program. PSSI aims to identify and analyze cutting-edge foreign policy and security-related developments in transatlantic relations and other theaters of the world, and to propose sound, achievable policy responses to address these and other security challenges. Its foremost interest remains, however, in preserving the hard-fought freedoms of the Czech Republic and other post-communist states through strength, prosperity and individual liberty.

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Queries about PSSI activities and projects can also be directed to Petr Lang (lang@pssi.cz), Program Coordinator.

Your Support is Appreciated

As the Institute is expanding its activities and regional outreach, we would welcome your support for these efforts. Tax deductible contributions from the US can be made to PSSI through the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, 1201 L Street, NW, 2nd Floor, Washington, D.C. 20005. Our primary contact at the Foundation is Mr. Bradley Lips, Chief Executive Officer (e-mail: brad.lips@atlasusa.org, tel. +12024498449). Such donations can also be directed to the Institute's tax-exempt partner organization, PSSI Washington, 1002 Wisconsin Ave, Townhouse Levels 3 & 4, Washington, D.C. 20007.

Bank Account

Our direct PSSI Account is located at the Komerční banka, a. s. (Na Příkopě 33, 11407 Prague 1, Czech Republic):
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ABOUT ESPI

The European Space Policy Institute (ESPI), situated in Vienna, Austria, was established in November 2003, pursuant to a decision by the European Space Agency (ESA) Council. The Institute was co-founded by ESA and the Austrian Research Promotion Agency (FFG) of the Austrian Ministry of Transport, Innovation and Technology. Its membership is comprised of select institutions in the space sector including agencies, operators and companies. The membership has benefited from ESPI's desire to preserve its independence in the preparation of its various publications, research materials and expert gatherings. The Institute is advised by a Council of distinguished experts in the space field.

ESPI's fundamental mission is to provide decision-makers with informed, cutting-edge views on mid- to long-term issues relevant to Europe's space activities. It also seeks to enrich the global debate on challenging space-related issues. In this context, ESPI acts as an independent platform for developing studied positions and advancing agreed strategies. ESPI offers a number of research products, including Reports, Perspectives, two book series (i.e. Yearbook on Space Policy and Studies in Space Policy), Position Papers and Memoranda. These can be found online at www.espi.or.at. ESPI is also a hub for researchers in the field of space policy, largely through its European Space Policy Research and Academic Network (ESPRAN). It supports the Presidency of the European Interparliamentary Space Conference (EISC) and manages the Ambassador Platform for the Central and Eastern European Region in the Integrated Applications Promotion (IAP) Programme.