India, China, and the United States in Space: Partners, Competitors, Combatants? A Perspective from the United States

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Overview

- U.S. government’s space policies and attitudes toward space and cooperation
- India’s missile defense program and the link between missile defense and ASATs
- India/U.S. cooperation in space – obstacles and possibilities
- Comparison of how the United States views China versus India
• Obama administration’s National Space Policy (NSP) released in June 2010
  – More amenable to international cooperation
• U.S. historically not open to treaties limiting space freedom of action
  – G.W. Bush NSP
  – Obama NSP: open to discussions of TCBMs, plus: “The United States will consider proposals and concepts for arms control measures if they are equitable, effectively verifiable, and enhance the national security of the United States and its allies.”
• Department of Defense (DoD) realizing U.S. can no longer go it alone in space – thinking has shifted post-Cold War

• Three C’s of space: congested, competitive, and contested
  – Congested: 1000 satellites on orbit, 21,000 pieces of space debris being tracked, possible RF interference
  – Competitive: space no longer dominated by Cold War superpowers
  – Contested: DoD views space as potential domain for conflict

• Pentagon has been modifying how it views deterring attacks on U.S. space assets

• Space Posture Review and the National Security Space Strategy
India’s missile defense program and ASATs

- India’s space program – civil space historically – recently taking on more military tones and capabilities
- Similarities and differences between missile defense and anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons
- India’s missile defense programs as ASATs
  - Serve more as a political than military tool
- Effects of China’s 2007 ASAT test and 2010 missile defense test
  - U.S. and Soviet ASAT test record and debris results
  - Statements by Indian officials about China’s ASAT test
Potential U.S.-India space cooperation

- Obama’s visit in November 2010
- Supporting India’s permanent membership in UNSC
- Export control reform
  - March 2010: National Export Initiative
  - April 2010: Gates speech about the need to protect only the “crown jewels”
  - November 2010: Export Enforcement Coordination Center
  - December 2010: Possible changes to U.S. Munitions List
- Taking ISRO and DRDO off of Entity List – “realign” India
- U.S. strive to get India membership of four major non-proliferation regimes
- Cooperation on civil space
Potential U.S.-India space cooperation (con’t)

• Space as a global commons
  – Debate about how space fits into global commons, but an important discussion to have

• Indian Foreign Secretary Nirupama Rao on global commons

• Need to have a debate – both in New Delhi and in Washington – about how best to coordinate efforts to preserve the global commons of space
How the United States views China versus India

• U.S.: unclear what effect China’s growth will have on its power
• U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission
  – Conservative on China, but recent report focuses more on China’s cyberspace efforts than space efforts
• DoD annual report to Congress on China’s military power
  – Calls for “sustained and reliable U.S.-China military relations”
• NASA uncertain about how best to interact with China
  – Bolden’s recent visit to China demonstrated this
  – No separation of China’s military and civil space
  – Conservative members of U.S. Congress very much against U.S.-China space cooperation
Definite Competitors, Plausible Partners

National Research Council 2010 report on science and technology programs of six countries
- On China: U.S. should “ensure a collaborative yet strategically competitive relationship with China to benefit from Chinese resources and to jointly promote global stability while addressing issues of open access and technology transfer”
- On India: U.S. should “support Indian growth and should strengthen the existing U.S.-India alliance”

Foreign Policy: India or China?

U.S., India, and China must examine space policies and spending to ensure that they do not become combatants
- Space is part of an overall continuum of security concerns
- India should consider what role it wants to play in establishing responsible space behavior and what it is willing/able to contribute
• Questions?

• Thank you!

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