Outer Space as a Regional Issue of World Politics

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SUMMARY

Outer Space may be researched as a global region of interdependence of the main actors in World Politics. The main goal of 'World Space Policy' is to change contemporary politics from a nation-state struggle for world power to a system of global government (on the basis of a reformed UN). In order to fulfill this goal Mankind is in great need of a "mental revolution". The change of paradigms (from national interest to human interest) is the main condition for constructing a 'Cosmic' civilization.

Keywords : Cosmos ; Global Government ; UN; Agreements

The integrative nature of world politics is embodied by the formation of macro-spaces (or regions), which are characterized, in the opinion of V. Strada, "not only by spatial terms, but also a provisional dynamism....they are connected with each other by way of attraction and repulsion, depending on specific peculiarities which create the unique look of each such region"[17,111]. In this way, the principle of 'trans-regionalism', defined in many doctrines as 'open regionalism' in the framework of a general theory of integrated world processes, is evident. According to the conceptual approaches of neofunctionalists (E. Haas), processes of integration begin from that sphere in which there are the fewest obstacles for interaction and coordination. Then a gradual spreading to other spheres (the 'spillover' effect) occurs, and this forms the preconditions for stability and the acquisition of new institutional forms. The last condition can be illustrated by the combination of the processes of globalization and regionalization. According to Russian researcher V.V. Fokina, in scientific discourse there has appeared a new understanding of 'global regionalization' (or 'regional globalization'), where local and global coexist not in the capacity of exclusive processes, but more often as if the global processes were taking place within the local.[20] The great number of areas formed in the process of globalization and regionalization make their contact and interaction inevitable and inescapable. From this comes, in the view of N. Kosolapov, the need to classify these areas, and their inter-influences, as well as the connections between these areas which have a vital effect on processes within the sphere of international relations and world politics.[8]

Precisely these theoretical premises can predetermine the conceptual characteristic of Space as a global region of world politics; an area which, in the conditions of a modern post industrial civilization, tends to create various forms of interactions between actors in international relations. In any such discourse, one should keep in mind the observation of Russian researcher M.L. Lagutina, that the first decade of the 21st century is the

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Received 19 March 2014 Accepted 12 May 2014

concluding phase of the transitional period in the evolution of the international system from traditional international relations (between governments) to more complicated relations of a global character.[9] This new system was founded on quality structural transformations of international societal outlook, where in place of a government-centric model is a multi-actor model of universal interaction. However, such universal interaction does not at all signify an end to conflicts, new challenges in safety (for example, cosmic safety), and other symptoms of structural complications of the traditional, long-standing system of international relations. Rather, new sources of tension in world politics, such as the aforementioned factors, will emerge. The development of 21st century world politics suggests that the mastery of outer space is becoming one of the most important political programs of leading nations. A failure of any country to engage and utilize the cosmic realm would result not only in lagging behind in technological advancement, but would have negative political consequences, in the form of a lowering of prestige and authority on the world stage, as well as the inability to use this 'final frontier' as an instrument of foreign and national politics.

'Cosmic politics' brings forth amendments to the character of the interaction between governments, global business, and civil society which result in the appearance of new forms of international political growth. Russian researcher Y.V. Kosov notes, "in the 21st century the tendency toward the unification of the world took shape with the creation of a world political and economic system which will be not only global in its essence, but will entail as well a system of governance"[7]. Thus, the problem of global governance comes to the forefront in the instrumentalist view of world politics. In this context, global management of outer space is becoming one of the foremost tasks of international society for its safe and stable existence. The need to structure the system of inter-, trans-, and super-national institutions of governance arises, and this leads to an absolutely new model of world order, where the most important trait becomes the 'planetary factor', defined in a sense including the cosmic regions, where joint actions between and amongst different actors in world politics and international relations are made on a grand scale. Therefore the principles and understanding of practical space exploration, which objectively view Earth ass the integral object, can be essential for the formation of a system of governance of the 21st century. According to A. Toynbee's [18] idea, objective processes of globalization assist in the formation of greater spaces of joint human activity. Originally the macroenvironment of interoperability was seen as the desert, which was replaced by the oceans, but now in modern times circumterraneous regions and outer space in general have come to the forefront, explaining outer space's moniker as "the final frontier". The spatial characteristics of outer space as a global region of civilized activity of mankind are connected with its particular brand of integrative nature. So, for example, the use of circumterraneous space with the goal of developing telecommunications breakthroughs leads to the growth and development of cross-border processes and to the formation of truly 'global' spaces of international relations and world politics. However, it should be noted that the development of outer space and its exploitation in many respects aggravates and brings into view the international political contradictions of the present.

For example, as per the 1997 United Nations Development Program (UNDP), there was introduced a new conceptual measurement of poverty - informational poverty. This type of poverty creates a situation where poor countries are increasingly dependent on industrialized countries and the multinational corporations, which manage, maintain, and monopolize satellite feeds of television news and programming in all regions of the world. In western political science there is a term 'electronic colonialism', the essence of which, in the opinion of American political scientist B. Barber, is that, "receiving huge profits, the Anglo-American entertainment industry, through telecommunications dominance, will soon control everything that we see, feel and think all across the globe".[1,184] This is made possible by a complex information technology network which envelops the entire Earth and for its growth and development needs to master the circumterraneous and cosmic regions. Satellites, in western scholar A. Smith's view, are like "medical syringes, with the help of which important information is sovereignly drawn out"[11,105] from those governments which do not possess the corresponding technology. The economic, ecological, and political advantages that the nations with developed space programs have over the 'outer space underdeveloped' countries are huge, and this creates further tension and aggravates the social and economic gap between the rich North and the poor South. In recent years on the international scene, developing countries have started to more actively look for all possible ways to 'sovereignize' national, terrestrial, marine, and air spaces including segments of outer space. One example of this was illustrated in the 20th century, when a number of the equatorial countries from a tribune of the United Nations declared it urgent and necessary to develop a set of norms relating to outer space laws and regulations. Their proposal included the suggestion that the geostationary orbit should be considered an extension of the geomagnetic field of the Earth, which would thereby give these states the right to those cosmic areas.

The 'outer space' factor is becoming an important component of the analysis of the place and a role of nation states within the framework of world hierarchy. Until recently the major factor determining the position and ranking of nations on the world hierarchy was nuclear potential. However, conditions of 21st century life have dictated that the capacity of this or that state to possess a 'space weapon', (i.e. military satellites and the means to place and operate weapons in space) be added as a notable factor. Not only such postindustrial powers as the USA, but also a number of developing countries such as China, Iran, Israel, and India are actively engaged in military-space research, since intel, reconnaissance, and communication satellites are the integral material resources of modern armed forces. That is why maintaining a presence in outer space became for the state not only a factor of prestige, but also an objective indispensability. The mastery of outer space is causing international competition in that sphere to rapidly grow, and researchers have already dubbed it "the second space race". [17]

In this context one of the major problems for actors of world politics is the development of international rules of law regarding 'outer space' rights that, on the one hand, would hamper the militarization of space, and on the other hand, would

create just conditions based on equality for the peaceful development of space by all people of the Earth, regardless of nationality. Undoubtedly, certain successes in to this regard have been achieved, that has predetermined the conditions for cooperation amongst nations in the development of space. During retrospective analysis of existing international agreements, it is especially necessary to note the "Treaty on the Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies" (1967) which has been ratified by an overwhelming number of states in the world. This treaty underscores the indispensability of research and the use of outer space for the interests of all mankind on the basis of equality of states, providing freedom of scientific research in space, while forbidding the states to appropriate objects of space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies. The Outer Space Treaty of 1967 specifically stipulated a ban on the interdiction of objects already in orbit, the placement in outer space or the installation on celestial bodies of objects with nuclear capabilities or other types of weapons of mass destruction. In addition, this treaty defined the status of astronauts as envoys of mankind in space.[2] Practically signed at the same time was the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space (1968), which also has been ratified almost by 90 states. The importance of this document consists, first of all, in idea of mutual aid and support in outer space, which is necessary for rendering assistance to astronauts, irrespective of their national identity, in case of accident, disaster or an emergency landing. [15]

Unfortunately, not all legal resolutions of the United Nations have received all-out support. In 1979, the "Agreement Governing the Activities of States on the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies", better known as the Moon Treaty or the Moon Agreement, was finalized, but is has been signed and ratified by only with 13 states, none of which have advanced space programs.[16] The fate of the given agreement clearly demonstrates the inability of mankind to act as a single entity in order to secure a future for all beyond the limits of Earth. This was shown by the unwillingness of the majority of countries to recognize the moon as a general property of mankind, as the escalating 'resource famine' continues to define the desire of many countries to divide lunar resources for their own use. As a result, there are already practically 100 countries that to some extent engage in space activity and a number of them (for example, the USA, Russia, China) maintain very ambitious plans to develop and utilize the moon and other celestial bodies close to the Earth. For example, one of the heads of the Russian Federal Space Agency, Gennady Raikunov, declared in an interview that, "the Moon is already in fact the seventh continent, and, certainly, it is necessary for us to constantly operate a lunar base for research and to determine and utilize the resources of the Moon."[13] This once again testifies to the fact that space has become a region of world politics. In 2000 at the session of the Legal Subcommittee of the Committee of the United Nations on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, the Russian Federation suggested the development of a universal Convention on Space Laws, which (by analogy to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea) had a number of super-national provisions, mandatory for execution by all actors in

space. Such a convention is particularly necessary because in outer space today, not only nations, which have certain obligations within the limits of the United Nations structure, but also commercial entities and businesses actively work in space, and these latter entities currently have no obligations whatsoever. Japanese researcher Kenichi Ohmae in his book 'The End of the Nation-State' speaks about the subordination of the government to the interests of international business in conditions of globalization. This trend is especially noticeable in the sphere of outer space, where even so powerful a state as the USA is compelled to go the way of commercialization (use of private contracts) for both space research and practical astronautics.[9]

The diversity of participants who engage in activity in space increases every year. However, one of the major features of space development has became regional integration of the states into research and scientifically-practical projects such as the launching of satellites and other forms of space cooperation. For example, the European Space Agency (ESA) specializes in all issues related to the research and the use of space for peaceful objectives. Such is the avenue for development of the x-ray telescope which will help to "trace the formation and evolution of galaxies, the features and structure of black holes, the life cycles of matter and energy, and other fundamental phenomena and objects in the Universe."[10]

Big interest in space exploration and development has been shown in recent years amongst the countries of Latin America, which created a regional space agency in 2002. The stated objectives of this agency focus on the launching of satellites for the realization of various projects such as forecasting weather, preventing dangerous acts of nature, and monitoring water and agricultural resources. [12]

The leader of space research in the Asian-Pacific region is China, which is actively working in the Asia-Pacific Space Cooperation Organization (APSCO), founded in 2005. In fact, the Chinese booster rocket which was launched into orbit in 2008 was a joint research satellite of Iran, Thailand and the People's Republic of China. Undoubtedly, regional cooperation in circumterraneous space allows the inclusion into the space community of those countries which independently could never carry out such activities independently. In this way, space has become a global region of interaction and interoperability.[4,11]

'Space integration' entails an absolute necessity to develop global management schemes which would allow for the minimization of negative consequences of active development of circumterraneous space. As M.L. Lagutina notes, mankind created a 'second nature' (industrial, energy, transport, communication, etc.) on the scales of which the flow of energy involved in it becomes commensurable with physical spaces and the energy of environments. As a result, the surrounding area -a geosphere- is more and more exposed to the influences of human activity, and a new kind of habitat forms ("technosphere"), in which natural elements more and more often give up their place in favor of highly technological and mechanized processes.[9]

For this very reason, the creation of an international space structure which monitors natural and technogenic accidents is so necessary. It should become the basis of a system of forecasting and crisis management in a larger safety strategy aimed at protecting mankind and the environment

with regards to outer space exploration. However, in S.V. Krichevsky's opinion, "the carrying out of essential national and international ecological programs and other space projects presents special importance and complexity, due to the fact that these very projects can lead to the creation of potentially dangerous global systems or the colonization of other heavenly bodies, which could in turn result in the occurrence of catastrophic threats for the biosphere of the Earth and mankind".[5,49]

The problem of preliminary prevention of natural disasters received an unexpected amount of attention in the speech of prime minister Menninga of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago: "Before hurricane Ivan, the countries of our region suffered from hurricanes Charlie and Francis. After hurricane Ivan, hurricane Hanna came along, having brought with itself death and destruction in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti. Today a number of the countries from the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) are trying to return to a normal life, but are encountering huge difficulties. Allow me to ask you, to what degree are these obvious consequences of climate change caused by flights from the Earth to space, or, in connection with this, an ecological disbalance, caused by industrialization?" [3] Despite the possible oversimplification of his statement of the problem, in it there is very serious political-economic underlying reason. In his time, Vladimir Vernadsky compared the transformational activity of mankind to a geological force with respect to its enormous civilized influence on all environments. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary for modern mankind to realize to its role and place in nature and space, so that in mankind's active transformation in the road ahead, technological progress will not result in catastrophic events for the surrounding natural world. All this leads to the understanding of the fact that mankind has approached a certain boundary in its civilized development, since during the information age, in which mankind's concept of 'knowledge is power' came into force, mankind perceived a sense of boundless power, over both the natural and artificial. Truly, the modern scale of industrial activity can provoke natural cataclysms, and burnt fuel during space flights obviously negatively affect the atmosphere of the Earth.

Unfortunately from the outset, practical outer space exploration went without taking into account the ecological component. At the initial stage of astronautical progress, the issue of space ecology did not come up and specific tasks toward that end were not established, since space exploration and exploitation, as well as other areas, were undertaken with a mindset of man's paradigmatic conquest of nature. A change in the attitude towards the environment began to occur actively in the 21st century, when the philosophy of sustainable development became the major conceptual basis of practical wildlife management. A special place in the international judicial regulation of ecological issues is devoted to outer space in the 'Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects' (also known as the Space Liability Convention). The convention imposes on the state which is carrying out the launching of any object, the absolute responsibility for any damage caused by the aforementioned space objects.[6] Unfortunately, it is necessary to note that the damage isn't decreasing, but increasing, and this has led to the appearance of a whole series of problems, foremost of which is space garbage. In the span of

a few decades, space vehicles which have lost control and their fragments, rotating in a circumterraneous orbit, colliding and being split up, are gradually causing the deterioration of the ecological situation in space and increasing the degree of risk for future space flights and endeavors. According to some data and hypotheses, there is thus a risk of the so-called theoretical 'cascade effect', in which the catastrophic growth of the quantity of orbital garbage consequently creates the practical impossibility of any further development of space.[14,24]

All the aforementioned facts make it obvious that the entrance of world politics into the realm of outer space means the development of new priorities in relationships amongst all participants of the development of circumterraneous space. However, this is quite a challenge. On the one hand, the objective tendency of outer space exploration leads to an indispensability of global integration and cooperation amongst states and other actors of world politics, and on the other hand, 'national egoism' leads to the strengthening of the competitive struggle against the objective of conservation as well as an increased sense of having a 'sovereign right' to develop circumterraneous space for national gain. These days the struggle for imperious advantages in the development of outer space is evident, and in fact this makes up the basic tenet of space policy. If the second half of the 20th century was characterized by the global struggle for energy resources, then the beginning of the 21st century is defined by the struggle for intellectual resources, scientific/technical property, and innovative potential. These very resources in aggregate lay the basis for successes in the sphere of space exploration and development.

For this reason it is so important to give renewed impetus to the United Nations Organization, reforming it so that the objective indispensability of global integration and the interaction of world political actors are reflected in actual managerial actions taken toward the resolution of global problems, amongst which outer space problematics is in the forefront. Otherwise, the 'cosmic parade of sovereignties' will lead to stochastic consequences for the development of circumterraneous space. Therefore, world politics should become not a space-centric struggle of separate powers for authority, but a system in which the order of power serves the interests of all mankind. This, however, requires a 'mental revolution' in which the paradigm of national interest is replaced by a paradigm of universal interest as the basis for the formation of a cosmic civilization.

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