

# The Growing Significance of Outer Space

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The 24th ROK-UN Joint Conference on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Issues:

**“The Evolution of Outer Space Security in an Era of Growing Insecurity”**

UN Headquarters, NY

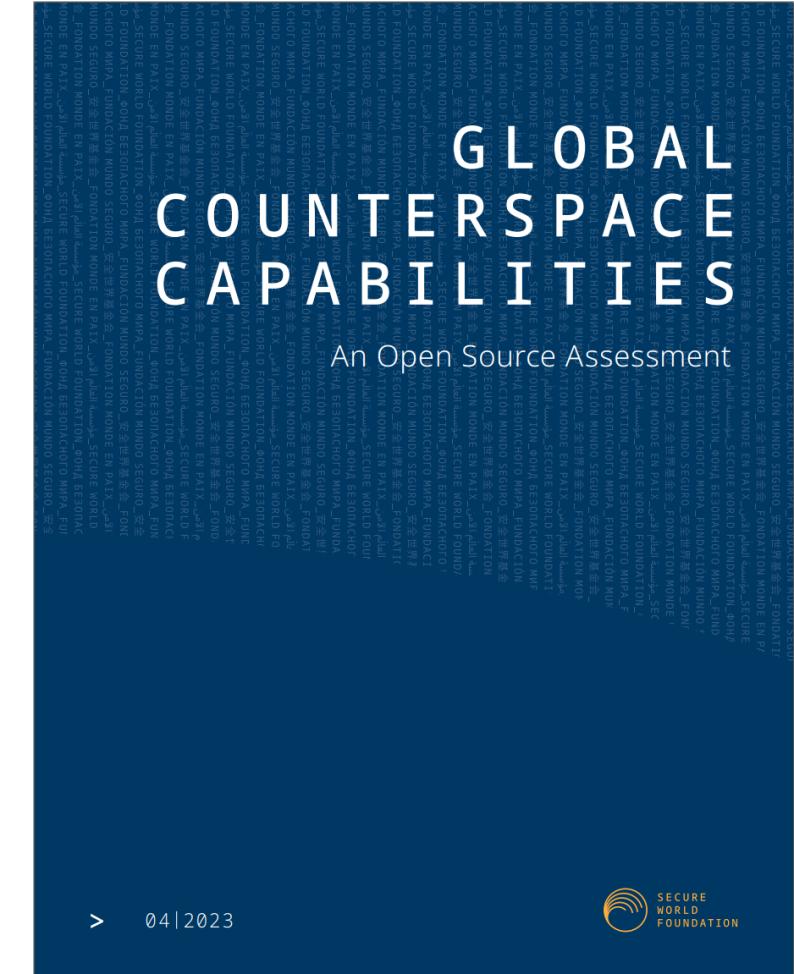
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## Space Security Portal (<https://spacesecurityportal.org/>): an interactive map of global space governance landscape

**SWF's Global Counterspace Capabilities: An Open Source Assessment:** examines counterspace capabilities for a dozen countries across five different categories, plus space situational awareness capabilities, and includes information about space security policies/strategies/budgets



<https://swfound.org/counterspace>

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- Space has always been a part of strategic stability
  - Satellites for verification of national technical means
  - Space for national prestige – geopolitical competition
- What has changed is the incorporation of space into a broad variety of capabilities
  - Key national security enabler for increasing number of countries
  - Part of how economies function – driver of socioeconomic development
  - Infrastructure provides resiliency independent of disasters
- Democratization of access to space
- Do not need to have a space program to be affected by strategic security issues
- Not just nuclear C2 satellites in GEO that can shape strategic stability



# Counterspace Capabilities

**Co-orbital:** systems that are placed into orbit and then maneuver to approach the target to attack it by various means, including destructive and non-destructive

**Direct-Ascent:** systems that use ground, air-, or sea-launched missiles with interceptors that are used to kinetically destroy satellites through force of impact, but are not placed into orbit themselves

**Directed Energy:** systems that use focused energy, such as laser, particle, or microwave beams to interfere or destroy space systems

**Electronic Warfare:** systems that use radiofrequency energy to interfere with or jam the communications to or from satellites

**Cyber:** systems that use software and network techniques to compromise, control, interfere, or destroy computer systems

**Space Situational Awareness:** knowledge about the space environment and human space activities that enables both offensive and defense counterspace operations



# 2025 Global Assessment

	US	RUSSIA	CHINA	INDIA	AUS.	FRANCE	IRAN	ISRAEL	JAPAN	N. KOREA	S. KOREA	UK
LEO Co-Orbital	■	▲	▲	●	●	■	●	●	●	●	●	●
MEO/GEO Co-Orbital	■	■	■	●	●	■	●	●	●	●	●	●
LEO Direct Ascent	■	▲	▲	■	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
MEO/GEO Direct Ascent	■	■	■	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Directed Energy	■	■	■	●	●	■	●	●	●	●	●	●
Electronic Warfare	▲	▲	▲	■	■	■	■	▲	■	■	●	●
Space Situational Awareness	▲	▲	▲	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

LEGEND:    NONE ●    SOME ■    SIGNIFICANT ▲    UNCERTAIN ?    NO DATA -



# RPOs and effects on space security

- Rendezvous and proximity operations (RPOs): potential for (inadvertent) escalation
  - Unclear as to intention, hence SWF's inclusion of it as a co-orbital counterspace capability
- Not as easy to make hard and fast requirements about
  - Other domains can make rules about how close is too close, but due to orbital dynamics, this doesn't always translate into space issues
- Different risk assessments by different actors in space
- Very few hard “rules” about what is and isn’t allowed
  - Helpful to have an understanding about what types of RPOs various actors deem concerning, possible situations where notifications could be given and how to go about doing this
  - Coming storm: very large constellations



# Very large constellations and strategic stability

- Make up most of the current and future satellites in orbit
  - SpaceX's Starlink: 9100, 15,000 planned (+ 30,000 more?)
  - China: Guowang: roughly around 104, 13,000 planned
  - China: Thousand Sails (Qianfan) around 108, 15,000 planned
- Possibility for an incident between two operators to escalate to the point where it affects strategic stability
- Concern about these constellations hampering access to certain orbits; seeing effectively spectrum grab
  - Carrying capacity not as helpful a metric for this – risk tolerance is what guides this



# SSA as a transparency mechanism

- Space situational awareness (SSA): monitor and characterize the space environment and human activities
  - Key factor in verifying activities in orbit and limiting how escalatory they are perceived
  - Can help establish what is anomalous behavior
- SSA is helpful for identifying certain kinds of threats in orbit but not all
  - Strongest in terms of helping determine whether or not an action occurred in orbit
  - Does not help in identifying \*why\* an action occurred
- No single universally agreed-upon pool of SSA data/catalogue
  - More catalogues means more options for objective confirmation of activities (and this is where the commercial sector fits in) but also more room for different assessments
  - Complicated by different maturity of users of SSA data plus hazards like space weather



# Changing nature of activities and actors on the Moon is potentially destabilizing

- Seeing an increase in the number of actors on the Moon
  - Many of the actors' landing sites and areas of interest overlap
- Seeing commercial actors and activities
  - Possibility of misunderstanding government intentions and plans
- Artemis Accords vs International Lunar Research Station?
  - Seeing two governance regimes rising – still TBD to see if they will be competing or complementary
- No place in multilateral fora for discussion of cislunar security issues – but there should be

Questions?

Thanks.

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