

Remarks for September 28 Symposium

John M. Logsdon

- Whatever else the outcome of the Augustine report, two things seem evident
 - There will be a formal decision to extend ISS operations to 2020
 - There will be a more open approach to international engagement, perhaps in the ISS, certainly for whatever follows it

space, and the combined annual budgets of their space programs are comparable to NASA's. If the United States is willing to lead a global program of exploration, sharing both the burden and benefit of space exploration in a meaningful way, significant benefits could follow. Actively engaging international partners in a manner adapted to today's multi-polar world could strengthen geopolitical relationships, leverage global resources, and enhance the exploration enterprise.

- There is an opportunity to make the post-Augustine situation a positive situation for the U.S. in its relation to the global (space) community. What is needed is Presidential leadership
- Recall what made the space station an international undertaking in the first place
 - Reagan's invitation, January 25, 1984
 - Follow up by NASA Administrator designated as personal envoy of the President
 - Reagan reiterates invitation at G-7 summit in London, June 1984
 - Clinton suggests possibility of Russia joining the partnership at April 1993 Vancouver summit
 - Followup at White House level – Gore/Chernomyrdin
- In current situation, there is an opportunity once again for the U.S. President to propose a global approach to space exploration, beginning with expanding the ISS partnership
"Our approach to foreign policy must reflect the world as it is, not as it used to be. It does not make sense to adapt a 19th-century concert of powers or a 20th-century balance-of-power strategy. We cannot go back to Cold War containment or to unilateralism. . . . We will lead by inducing greater

cooperation among a greater number of actors and reducing competition, tilting the balance away from a multi-polar world and toward a multi-partner world."

- Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, July 16, 2009

What I propose is a Presidential decision and then announcement that:

- To take full advantage of the investments by 15 nations in an orbital research laboratory and to offer our current partners a guarantee that they will have full opportunity to utilize their contributions to the ISS, the United States pledges to continue its involvement in the ISS until at least 2020, and perhaps beyond; After 2020, U.S. involvement will continue until there is a joint decision that the benefits of ISS utilization no longer outweigh the costs of its operation;
- With the prior concurrence of existing ISS partners, the United States will invite other spacefaring nations such as India, China, and South Korea to assume, either
 - on the basis of a bilateral agreement, a share of the U.S. utilization resources and operating costs of the ISS, thereby lowering the costs to the United States of its ISS involvement, or
 - alternatively, the ISS agreements could be amended to redistribute utilization rights, partner contributions to operating and utilization costs, and management arrangements.
- Recognizing that a goal of returning to the Moon by 2020 matches neither U.S. fiscal realities nor the current plans of potential U.S. partners in exploration, an invitation to restart discussions among the 14 current members of International Space Exploration Coordination Group on a truly multilateral program after 2020 of human exploration beyond low Earth orbit, based on shared control, shared contributions of capabilities, and shared costs. Identify the NASA Administrator as the personal

representative of the President in these discussions and ensure that participants in the discussions as much as possible represent or have the proxy of the decision-making levels of their governments. Aim at having an internationally agreed plan for exploration in the 2020s, including a division of labor and costs, by 2012-2014.

- Might this get us on a productive path forward?