

GECMUN 8

Background Guide

Disarmament and International Security Committee

Preventing an arms race in outer space

SDG: 16. Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions

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Committee Introduction

The United Nations Committee on Disarmament and International Security (DISEC) was established as the First Committee of the UN General Assembly. DISEC is one of the most significant and influential committees as it works with complex topics such as “disarmament, global challenges and threats to peace that affect the international community” and “seeks out solutions to the challenges in the international security regime.” DISEC cooperates with the UN Disarmament Commission, Conference on Disarmament, and the UN Security Council to achieve their principal goal of establishing international security and peace. Unfortunately, because it is a committee of the General Assembly, DISEC and its powers are restricted by the UN charter as it cannot pass binding resolutions that enforce any official action. Instead, the Security Council takes action on the results determined by the First Committee’s resolutions. A unique characteristic of DISEC is that it is the only main committee of the UN General Assembly entitled to verbatim records coverage. Summaries of speeches and actions from previous conference meetings can be used as references. In addition, because each member state of the UN has access to exactly one vote in DISEC and there are no veto powers, the committee’s judgement can truly be internationally beneficial. The first GA resolution, “Establishment of a Commission to Deal with the Problems Raised by the Discovery of Atomic Energy,” was adopted on recommendation by the First Committee on 24 January 1946. Other past topics the First Committee has considered are cyber warfare, nuclear proliferation, the global small arms trade, and issues with national sovereignty. With improved awareness and cooperation, through this conference, DISEC will discuss the rapid weaponization of outer space to pursue peace and security in the global community.

Agenda Introduction

The Space Race was a competition in the late 20th century between the Soviet Union and the United States to develop superior spaceflight technology that sprang from the Cold War. It triggered a shift in the meaning of space from an unknown region to another potential domain for territorial disputes and opportunities for advancement. The 1967 Outer Space Treaty determined this domain to be “the province of all mankind” and pledged that “the exploration and use of outer space shall be carried out for the benefit and in the interests of all countries.” Although DISEC, UNSC, the Preventing Arms Race in Outer Space program (PAROS), and the Committee on Peaceful Usage of Outer Space (COPUOS) have acknowledged concerns regarding the arms race in outer space, the legislation does not cover all necessary issues. The topics discussed were limited to the prohibition of establishing weapons of mass destruction in space, while the complexities about other harmful technology used for military purposes have not been addressed. Because outer space is clearly not a sovereign territory, it will only become increasingly difficult for the UN to manage powerful nations’ plans to install private structures that could potentially put the international community in danger. To avoid the currently over-ambiguous framework open to inaccurate interpretations and resulting conflicts, DISEC must work effectively to develop a viable legal framework for peace and security on a global scale.

With influential countries like the United States, Russian Federation, and People’s Republic of China constantly announcing space activities that vary in design and motive, the UN may be faced with the militarization of outer space, as the chances of a scenario with space stabilization becoming slimmer and slimmer. The tentative imbalance in military power among countries all over the world and the instability of the controlling of arms are highlighted with the possibility of warfare occurring in outer space. To counter threats to international peace and security, the UN must regulate the militarization of space through bodies like DISEC by ensuring outer space is used equally and carefully for opportunities for humanity and not for destructive purposes.

Letter from the Chairs

Hello delegates, welcome to DISEC! My name is Cevina Hwang and I will be your head chair for the DISEC committee at GECMUN VIII. I am a senior at Saipan International School, and a co-founder of my island's first Model United Nations club. This is my fourth year in MUN and third year at GECMUN, and I am delighted to be working with you for a successful conference this year. I love MUN for the unique skills and freedom it provides students with, and with the rest of the chair team, I will strive to allow all delegates to utilize their abilities for a fulfilling conference. No matter how experienced you are in MUN, I hope all of you find the opportunity to enjoy GECMUN 8. Good luck and see you soon!

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact us at:
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Warm Regards,
Cevina Hwang

Key Terms

ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILES (ABMs):

Surface-to-air structures designed to physically counter and destroy any ballistic missile. Usually refers to those intended to intercept ICBMs.

ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPONS:

Space weapons created to destroy or disable any satellites orbiting Earth for a planned tactical attack. There are multiple different types and they are usually used for military purposes.

ARMS RACE

A competition of military capability regarding weapons between two or more countries.

COLD WAR

A competition for supremacy in nuclear warfare between the United States, the Soviet Union, and their respective allies after World War II.

COLD WAR

A period of geopolitical tension between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies that began after the end of World War II. Included the Arms Race and Space Race.

COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE (COPUOS)

The committee established in 1959 tasked with governing the “exploration and use of space for the benefit of all humanity: for peace, security and development.” It reviews international cooperation in peaceful uses of outer space, studies space-related activities that the United Nations has power over, encourages space research programs, and studies legal problems regarding the exploration of outer space.

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT (CD)

A “single multilateral disarmament negotiating forum of the international community” that focuses on the prevention of an arms race in outer space, along with nuclear disarmament, radiological weapons, and transparency.

ELECTROMAGNETIC BOMBS

Weapons that use extremely powerful but quick electromagnetic pulses to affect the electronic circuitry of an area. Although they do not directly harm humans or basic infrastructure, they can disable any and all electronic systems ranging from computers to vehicles.

INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES (ICBMs)

Missiles with a minimum range of 5,500 kilometers (3400 miles) mainly used to deliver one or more [thermonuclear warheads](#). Although other types of conventional, chemical, and biological weapons can also be delivered with ICBMs, it has not been done yet.

MILITARIZATION (OF OUTER SPACE)

Any kind of utilization of outer space, including all available celestial bodies, for military uses such as accommodating weapons or bases by any state.

OUTER SPACE

The physical expanse that extends beyond Earth's atmosphere.

OUTER SPACE TREATY

Agreement on the Outer Space Treaty was reached by the General Assembly in 1966 and it entered into force in October 1967. It added a few amendments to the Declaration of Legal Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space. The Treaty provides the basic framework on international space law, including banning territorial claims of outer space, WMDs, and destructive behavior.

PREVENTION OF AN ARMS RACE IN OUTER SPACE (PAROS)

A UN resolution that reaffirmed the basic concepts of the Outer Space Treaty and advocates for a ban on the weaponization of space. It acknowledges that the Outer Space Treaty "by itself does not guarantee the prevention of an arms race in outer space." The resolution urges all states to follow PAROS' principles and calls upon the Conference on Disarmament (CD) to establish an ad hoc committee regarding PAROS resolution issues.

SATELLITE/SPACE OBJECT

A spacecraft placed in orbit around a celestial body to collect information or improve communication.

SPACE RACE

A competition in the late 20th century mainly between the Soviet Union and the United States to develop superior spaceflight technology that sprang from the Arms Race of the Cold War.

WEAPONIZATION (OF OUTER SPACE)

The establishment of weapons in outer space intended to attack both Earth and other objects in outer space, including weapons on Earth that are designed to attack outer space.

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION (WMDs)

Any weapon that can kill and/or injure a large number of humans, or bring extreme destruction to infrastructure and the natural environment.

Historical Background

During the infamous Space Race, outer space began to be seen as an opportunity to claim new potential territory by countries worldwide. Early UN treaties and statements, including the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty, 1967 Outer Space Treaty, and 1979 Moon Agreement, clearly state that any and all actions by individual member states regarding space must be universally beneficial and not advantageous for a select party. However, there seems to be a clear imbalance between more active countries in development in outer space and those that are not. This is evident in the disparities in the number of satellites and other space objects that respective states have launched. Furthermore, states' true motives and objectives cannot be determined for sure by the UN. The Outer Space Treaty bans WMDs, but other weapons and structures are not sufficiently regulated by international law. Thus, existing treaties are inadequate for ensuring outer space as for the common good of humanity.

During sessions of the committee established by the CD, a stalemate has formed due to the US' opposition to proposals regarding PAROS. However, other countries like Russia and China have been consistently active in creating some resolutions to specify further the prohibition of establishing certain weapons by member states and promoting transparency throughout the UN.

By 2005, the UNGA adopted a paper introduced by Russia on the transparency of building in space called "Transparency and Confidence-Building Measures in Outer Space Activities," along with PAROS. All member states favored Russia's resolution, except Israel, which abstained, and the US against it. In 2007, when China fired a missile to dispose of one of its weather satellites, the United States and Japan began to become wary of a potential arms race in outer space. However, the US did not cease its development of projects regarding outer space and missiles. That same year, regulations on space debris mitigation and another working paper regarding PAROS written by Russia and China were introduced.

In 2009, once the US replaced their opposition to PAROS with an abstention, PAROS was adopted by the CD as a draft resolution. In addition, Russia's "Transparency and Confidence-Building Measures in Outer Space Activities" was adopted automatically. In 2011, Sri Lanka's draft resolution calling for verification measures to avoid an arms race was adopted identical to PAROS. By 2018, resolutions "Further Practical Measures for the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space" and "No First Placement of Weapons in Outer Space" were adopted as well.

With clear regulations on permitted action still in the process of being developed and the increasing dependence of all countries on space objects for individual purposes, the threat of conflict remains prevalent.

Current State of Affairs

Currently, there exist treaties that ban the placement of weapons of mass destruction in space. In 2010, New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) was initially adopted with a deadline of February 5th, 2021. Still, it continues to be implemented today after the United States and Russian Federation agreed on a five-year extension through February 4, 2026. The treaty's lapse means that there will continue to be restraints on the development of strategic weapons, including, among others, nuclear warheads, missiles, and submarines, and bombers that carry nuclear weapons, with the primary goal of inhibiting a nuclear arms race. This decision came with a change in leadership in the United States from former President Donald Trump to President Joe Biden.

Although the New START Treaty continues to be implemented, space security against weapons of mass destruction remains tenuous due to conflicting interests. In early 2020, The White House and the Kremlin publicly announced statements that stressed the need for collective efforts to avoid a costly arms race, maintain stability in the global nuclear non-proliferation regime, and make progress in arms control negotiations. In the days that followed, the United States suggested an updated New START treaty with Russia and China; however, China has balked. In July 2020, a Chinese representative stated China's intention to join the treaty under the condition of Washington to cut its nuclear arsenal to China's level. This would mean a drastic reduction in size, of approximately 20 times, for the United States. In October of 2020, China's envoy to the UN, Geng Shuang, stated that China would not join the so-called "trilateral arms control negotiation." Other countries have also been involved in a modern-day arms race or poised to enter one. This includes India and Pakistan, North Korea and South Korea, Iran and China, among others.

Although there exist treaties that ban the placement of weapons of mass destruction in space, these treaties do not prevent states from placing other types of weapons in space. Consequently, in March 2019, Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi announced a successful anti-satellite trial of a kinetic-kill vehicle and a series of space combat drills under the code name "IndSpaceEx." In early 2020, the U.S. Space Command made allegations against Russia, whom they accused of progressing efforts to develop space-based weaponry and threaten U.S. assets in outer space. In March of 2021, France conducted an outer space military exercise and operation under the code name "AsterX." These efforts have been interpreted as part of the state's policy to make France the world's third-largest space power.

Likewise, the risk of an arms race continues to exist, and its discussion holds the gravity of consequential decisions and debates.

Stances of Parties

Russian Federation

The Soviet Space Program, which Russia launched the world's first satellite, manned flight, and space station under, has gradually developed into Roscosmos State Corporation for Space Activities. As political and military tensions arise between Russia and other nations, Roscosmos has announced that Russia will likely end most of its collaboration with the International Space Station and that work has begun on a space station of its own, which will hopefully be completed by 2025. Deputy Prime Minister Yuri Borisov has explicitly stated that although Russia is open to partnerships and allies, they are content to flourish on their own. Although Russia has been consistently active in producing international legislation within the UN regarding space law, rather than focusing on international collaboration, it plans to focus on reaching goals they set for themselves.

China

On the global scale, China has always been active in discussing and creating international legislation on outer space, while China National Space Administration (CNSA) works with China Aerospace and Technology Corporation for China's individual advancement in space development. CNSA was the first agency to reach the far side of the moon and the second to send a rover to explore Mars' surface. Recently, China began launching sections of their permanent space station, which would improve China's military power and technology, enhance its position on the global space stage, and promote any alliances or rivalries with competing nations. With China now striving to accomplish more missions including building a base on Mars, increasing political and strategic tensions have formed between China and the US. Christopher Newman, professor of space law and policy at the U.K.'s Northumbria University has stated that "President Xi Jinping has declared that China's 'Space Dream' is to overtake all nations and become the leading space power by 2045."

United States of America

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) is a US government agency in charge of managing all space programs and aeronautic research. With NASA as one of the world's most renowned and advanced space agencies, the US has been one of the few nations at the top of the global space sector ever since the infamous Space Race with the USSR. The National Space Policy former US President Donald Trump issued in 2020 outlines the US's activities regarding development in space. It prioritizes leading the "responsible and constructive use of space, promoting a robust commercial space industry, returning Americans to the Moon and preparing for Mars, leading in exploration, and defending United States and allied interests in space." To foster the nation's economic development, continued progress, and sustained leadership in space, it encourages the growth of a globally competitive American commercial space sector that promotes "American leadership in the generation of new markets and innovation-driven entrepreneurship." Regarding international space law from COPUOS, the US ratified the

Outer Space Treaty, Rescue Agreement, Space Liability Convention, and the Registration Convention, but did not ratify the Moon Treaty.

India

In the last couple of years, India's approach to outer space policy has transitioned from a social, environmental perspective to a more military one. India has been encouraging both government and private institutions to develop new technology, vehicles, and missions. K Sivan, Chairman of the Indian Space Research Organization, stated, "We want to create competition and get multiple companies in the space sector that can grow as global leaders." Although in the past the threat of a surplus of space debris was the main concern, India is now focusing on planning both manned and unmanned flights to the Moon and Mars. Furthermore, China's success with their development of space technology serves as a catalyst for India's desire to improve their military space capabilities to improve their military as a whole.

Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of)

The National Aerospace Development Administration (NADA) is the main space agency of the DPRK. It follows the Law of Space Development, formed in 2013, which promotes peaceful and independent activity in space to assist the nation's development. It also insists upon the collaboration of other countries and/or supranational organizations to follow international law and to avoid the militarization of space. Because this law is closely related to the DPRK's missile program, other countries are wary of its implications. It currently plans to continue launching satellites and prepare for an unmanned flight to the moon.

United Arab Emirates

The UAE is "seeking opportunities to explore celestial bodies, develop satellite communications technology and deploy the latest space technologies in terrestrial applications." It prioritizes the applications of remote sensing, including natural resource mapping, environmental monitoring, land-use planning, and security. The UAE has established several policies and goals regarding outer space. They hope to send a lunar rover by 2024 and through the National Space Programme, build a scientific city on Mars where humans can live sustainably by 2117. In addition, Federal Law No. 12 of 2019 on the Regulation of the Space Sector highlights the importance of private investment in space technology and missions, prioritizing safety and the environment, and always considering and following international law.

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The UK's National Space Policy has stated that the government "will increase its international collaboration on development and participation in space missions and applications, as well as sharing with others the best practices that [they] have developed." The UK Space Agency manages the adoption of international UN treaties by UK legislation. The UK strongly promotes the collaboration of nationals in sharing the space environment and working together. It remains in strong support for the Outer Space Treaty as the "cornerstone" of international policy on outer space.

Pakistan

Pakistan's Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Commission (SUPARCO) was initially established successfully but unfortunately, after its development it could not be fostered in the politically and socially unstable environment Pakistan was in. Pakistan's alliance with the US during the Cold War helped launch Pakistan's first rocket, Rehbar-1. However, with Pakistan's budding relationship with China in regards to space technology, especially with a space exploration agreement between the two signed in 2019, strategic tensions arose.

France

The French government under President Emmanuel Macron views outer space as a "real national security issue" and has dedicated the creation of a French Space Army to conduct military operations and missions in space. Currently, the French military has conducted drills and exercises in space as part of the country's strategy to become the world's third-largest space power. Furthermore, Florence Parly, current Minister of the Armed Forces in France vows to endow France with "a real strategic space autonomy against threats by some major powers". Most recently, France conducted an outer space military exercise and operation under the code name "AsterX" in March of 2021.

Mexico

Mexico has placed emphasis on the urgency of preventing an arms race in outer space and has repeatedly announced its commitment to the preservation of outer space for exclusively peaceful purposes. Mexico has claimed that it will "continue pushing for no actor to deploy weapons in outer space" and that all nuclear weapons must be eliminated regardless of circumstances. Furthermore, Mexico has voiced that for pragmatic and inclusive resolutions for disarmament and denuclearization.

Israel

The Israel Space Agency is the sector of Israel's Ministry of Science and Technology that focuses on national security and advancements in technology. Although it is noted that Israel has previously abstained from taking explicit action on international space policy, about a decade ago, a special organization was formed to promote Israel's active participation in the "world space market," and a series of private and public space companies sprouted up. ISA is working with multiple foreign and international agencies including NASA, European Space Agency (ESA), and the Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO). Israel aims for international cooperation to capitalize on Israel's strengths and improve relations with allied countries.

Turkey

Turkey has consistently stressed the importance of arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation for the security of regional and international peace and stability. As a party of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) since 1979, Turkey has been an active member in advancing non-proliferation, disarmament, and peaceful uses of nuclear energy. More recently, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has revealed a

10-year space program with the ultimate goals of successful technological and scientific discovery.

Republic of Korea

With the Korea Aerospace Research Institute (KARI) as its main space agency since 1989, the Republic of Korea has continuously supported advancement in space technology, national security, reduction of carbon footprints, and international cooperation. In regards to global collaboration, KARI states that it will work on expanding “its participation in international governmental and non-governmental organizations... actively engaging in international projects such as space exploration, resolving global issues, and so on” to “facilitate space diplomacy to strengthen Korea’s status in the international community.” Furthermore, KARI President Lee Sang-Ryool claimed that KARI’s objective is “exploring projects that the private sector can’t afford to, developing core technologies with far-reaching impact or truly futuristic technologies that can be realized 30 years later.”

Saudi Arabia

In 1985, Sultan bin Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud became the first Arab to fly in space. Now, Saudi Arabia prepares to approve a new National Space Strategy as it reacts to UAE’s rapid advancements in space technology. Between 2000-2019, Saudi Arabia launched 16 satellites into space. Saudi Arabia has established centers dedicated to space research with prestigious schools like the California Institute of Technology and Stanford University, and also signed agreements regarding use of space technology with nations including the US, China, Russia, Germany, and France. Some refer to Saudi Arabia and the UAE’s actions to be another Space Race.

Japan

Japan has actively advocated in favor of the international non-proliferation regime and has called upon the moratorium on the production of fissile materials for the production of nuclear weapons and explosives. In particular, Japan has repeatedly called upon North Korea to take concrete steps towards denuclearization and former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe said that Japan was committed to “work towards complete denuclearization of the Korean peninsula”. Japan’s history of being attacked with atomic bombs during World War II in Hiroshima and Nagasaki continues to strongly impact domestic public opinion in regards to denuclearization.

Germany

Germany has stated its strong commitment to the prevention of an arms race in outer space, citing that the prevention of conflicts extending to outer space is “essential for the strengthening of international security and stability and for safeguarding access to and the long-term use of the space environment for peaceful purposes”. Moreover, Germany has actively contributed to the work of the Group of Governmental Experts on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space (GGE PAROS).

Afghanistan

In the midst of a war for the last few decades, Afghanistan did not have the ability nor will to effectively promote space exploration and the advancement of space technology. Abdul Ahad Momand, an Afghan astronaut, was the first and last person from Afghanistan to go to space in 1988. Afghanistan hopes to rise from this and develop its space power.

Australia

Australia has voiced the discussion of practical and feasible solutions, emphasizing that there were no shortcuts to disarmament. Australian representative Ms. Mansfield said, “Australia remains firmly committed to the ultimate goal of a world free of nuclear weapons but considers that efforts to achieve this must be both practical and feasible”. They have also called for the importance of hearing the diversity of opinions to reach more inclusive initiatives and resolutions to denuclearization. Furthermore, while Australia has claimed in favor of the prevention of an arms race in outer space, they rejected two key initiatives, the Prevention of the Placement of Weapons in Outer Space and No First Placement initiative, claiming that initiatives like such would provide “limited comfort and could have counterproductive consequences”.

Brazil

Brazil has stated that it supports the “total elimination [of nuclear weapons] in a transparent, irreversible and verifiable manner and within a multilaterally agreed timeframe”. They have also shown firm commitment to the objective of creating outer space an environment of peaceful and scientific exploration for the common good of humankind as well as nuclear non-proliferation as a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT).

Iran (Islamic Republic of)

Iran’s actions in improving their space program are similar to other nations such as China and North Korea. Iran’s movements towards developing space technology seem to take a more military approach, and others see it as a potential threat to security. While the leader of Iran’s national space agency, Morteza Berari, claimed that Iran’s use of outer space is peaceful, former US Secretary of State Michael Pompeo claimed that Iran’s space program was dangerous and for military purposes. Countries including the US have accused Iran of not following UNSC’s resolution on Iran’s Nuclear Issue.

Spain

As a founding member of the European Space Agency (ESA) and one of its largest contributors, Spain has played an active role in international action in outer space. It has played a key role in multiple flagship space missions carried out by Europe by providing structures and financial contributions. In addition, the European Space Astronomy Centre (ESAC) is located in Spain’s Madrid Region. However, Spain is not as interested in acting on their own, and is more willing to work as a part of a group like ESA. Pedro Duque, the former Minister of Science and Innovation of Spain, stated that there was no benefit of establishing Spain’s own space agency, and that Spain will be working as part of the ESA or the EU.

Iraq

Iraq is in favor of setting strict international guidelines as to define weaponization and militarization of outer space, and also of effectively preventing an arms race. Iraq is completely against any placement of weapons in outer space, believing that space should only be used for the advancement of mankind and not conflict. It calls for regulations about combatting debris in space and the explicit banning of any space objects that could potentially carry air-to-ground weapons.

Switzerland

In 1975, Switzerland co-founded the European Space Agency (ESA) and currently chairs together with Luxembourg. Switzerland has always been interested in preserving peaceful use of space and fostering support for international collaboration in outer space for scientific and technological advancements. Today, Switzerland is engaged in advocating for new, binding legal instruments to prevent an arms race in space. Furthermore, it is a member of the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) where it supports confidence-building measures and rules of conduct in space.

Possible Solutions

The issue of preventing an arms race in outer space is one of great importance and failure to resolve this issue could have great unwanted consequences.

A feasible solution to this problem is for the international community to cooperate on establishing stronger restrictions against dangerous activities in space and the employment of space weapons including anti-satellite weapons and nuclear weapons.

The first step would be for member states to explore various options for limiting the testing of dangerous space weapons and considering supplementary issues including legally binding standards for the mitigation of space debris and possible violations to countries breaching internationally agreed-upon conditions. The next step would be for like-minded states to establish a code of conduct for space security based upon the discussion aforementioned.

The code of conduct for space security would build norms of responsible and safe behavior in space activities and would work as an international instrument to prevent an arms race in outer space.

Questions to Consider

Some issues and questions to consider when coming up with solutions:

- How do we/should we define space weapons? Does it include ground-based systems designed to attack space-based assets or weapons that travel through space to reach their targets or even random objects placed in space that have the potential to cause damage?
- What are the consequences of space exploration and subsequent proliferation of space debris?
- What effect would regulations have on international and national security?
- How would the weaponization of space likely influence the strategic balance and stability of the world?
- Should one person have the authority to launch nuclear weapons? Who should have the authority to launch them?
- How will justice be served to victims of nuclear testing, bombings, and radiation?
- Consider existing arms control instruments, in particular those that counter nuclear weapons and missiles.
- Consider the importance of transparency and confidence building measures (TCBMs) in outer space.
- Consider space safety and sustainability.
- Consider the costs of the replacement and/or other costs related to nuclear weapons.
- Consider nuclear-industrial complexes and the issue of political influence and lobbying.

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