

Weekly Media Report - Sept 27 - Oct 3, 2022

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HALL OF FAME:

<u>Former Deputy Secretary of Defense Robert O. Work Inducted as 25th Member of NPS</u> Hall of Fame

(Navy.mil 28 Sept 22) ... Mass Communication Specialist 2nd Class James Norket (NPS.edu 28 Sept 22) ... Mass Communication Specialist 2nd Class James Norket

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San Francisco Fleet Week Kicks Off

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FACULTY:

With Winter Coming, Europe Is Walking Off a Cliff

(Foreign Policy 29 Sept 22) ... Naval Postgraduate School faculty Brenda Shaffer

Facing the worst energy crisis since World War II as the cold-weather heating season starts, Europe continues to dither. European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen has presented a series of new European Union energy policies, including planned price caps, additional taxes on energy producers, establishment of a new European hydrogen bank, and new support for electric vehicles. European Union member states, meanwhile, are nationalizing utilities, setting electricity prices, and subsidizing consumers. These EU policies do not represent a significant departure from the policies that got the continent into the energy mess in the first place.













Even if Israel Agrees to a Border Deal, Energy Riches Are Distant Dream for Lebanon

(Haaretz 3 Oct 22) ... David Rosenberg

The day before a consortium of energy companies began the first-ever exploration for hydrocarbons offshore Lebanon in February 2020, President Michel Aoun declared that the country had joined "the club of oil nations." A few weeks later, the results came in: The Byblos 16/1 exploration well in Block 4 was dry... Energy companies choose to drill in places that have the right mix of geology ("below-the-surface" conditions) together with political stability, credible tax regimes and other "above the surface" assets, says Prof. Brenda Shaffer, an international energy expert and a faculty member of the U.S. **Naval Postgraduate School**.

C2 Superiority in an Era of Technological Competition

(AFCEA 30 Sept 22) ... Chris Britt, Andre Leon, and Dr. Britta Hale

From seabed to space, the application of intelligent autonomous systems (IAS) is evolving within the joint all-domain command and control (JADC2) architecture... Dr. Britta Hale is an assistant professor in Computer Science at the **Naval Postgraduate School**. She holds a Ph.D. from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. Dr. Hale's research focuses on cryptographic protocols, autonomous device security and security within constrained and denied environments.

ALUMNI:

Navy Veteran, Cleveland O. Eason, Shares an Inspired Approach to Achieving One's Fullest Potential in Self-Help Book, A Sailor's Advice on Life

(Digital Journal 26 Sept 22)

In A Sailor's Advice on Life, author Cleveland O. Eason compiles decades' worth of military experience into a practical, no-nonsense guide to achieving success in relationships, career development, finances, and more... Cleveland O. Eason entered the US Navy at the height of the Cold War. He obtained the rank of Chief Petty Officer after just nine years of service. Mr. Eason obtained the rank of Lieutenant Commander before retiring with 23 years of honorable service. While on active duty, Mr. Eason had assignments in Asia Pacific and Southwest Asia and deployed on US Navy surface ships in both the Atlantic and Pacific theaters of operations. Mr. Eason's military overseas and stateside assignments, ports of call and post-military retirement entrepreneur pursuits, contributed to his ability to have positive interactions with people from all walks of life. Mr. Eason graduated from Spring Valley High School, has a Bachelor in Applied Science from Troy University, a Master in Systems Analysis from the Naval Postgraduate School and a Master of Business and Administration from the Robert H. Smith School of Business.

Zapata Computing Welcomes New Advisor Lieutenant General (USMC, Ret.) Michael Groen

(businesswire 27 Sept 22)

Zapata Computing, the leading enterprise quantum software company, today announced that it has added Lieutenant General (USMC, Retired) Michael Groen as an advisor to the company. Groen brings more than three and a half decades of military and public sector experience to the table, serving in a leadership role for multiple security and intelligence divisions of the U.S. Government. As an advisor to Zapata, he will be responsible for helping the company with product and go-to-market strategy for its growing public sector offering.

Franken's Experience In DC Government Will Serve Iowa Well

(blogforIowa 29 Sept 22)

I've often supported losing candidates whose utopian hopes aligned with mine. Everything being equal, I've chosen women candidates... "Franken earned a bachelor's degree in engineering, a master's degree from the College of Physics at the **Naval Postgraduate School** and professional studies at MIT, UVA's Darden School of Business, and the Brookings Institute. Franken was a member of the U.S. Navy. He retired from military service as a three-star admiral in 2017. Franken worked in a variety of positions in Washington, D.C. He was the first military officer on Senator Ted Kennedy's staff. He also worked in the U.S. Department of Defense."













Who is Deanne Criswell, the administrator of FEMA?

(CNN 29 Sept 22) ... Shawna Mizelle

The woman in charge of leading the federal disaster response to Hurricane Ian is drawing upon years of experience coordinating emergency efforts on Covid-19, wildfires, flooding and other crises... She also holds a master's degree in Security Studies from the **Naval Postgraduate School**, Center for Homeland Defense and Security, according to her FEMA biography.

Mark Poland Named Sugar Land Police Chief

(KHOU 30 Sept 22) ... Michelle Homer

After an extensive search, Sugar Land City Manager Michael W. Goodrum has named Mark Poland as police chief... Poland earned a bachelor's degree in police science from George Washington University and a master's degree in homeland security from The **Naval Postgraduate School**. He is a graduate of the 260th session of the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy and recently assisted as a subject-matter expert for the Department of Justice Commission on Law Enforcement report.

The Russian Warship and the South China Sea

(Foreign Policy 1 Oct 22) ... Alexander Wooley

On April 14, a country left almost without a navy secured a stunning victory at sea. Ukraine used two land-based anti-ship missiles (ASMs) to sink a major surface combatant: the Russian-guided missile cruiser Moskva. It was a shocking victory—and one that may have lessons for a potential conflict 5,000 miles away, where China may one day use its own arsenal of ASMs to keep the United States and its allies out of the Western Pacific...

Conversely, in 1994, a **Naval Postgraduate School** student (and naval officer) named John Schulte submitted his thesis looking at the effectiveness of cruise missiles in littoral warfare. To help, he constructed a data set of all previous missile hits against ships. He found that an average of 1.2 hits put ships out of action and 1.8 missile strikes sank the ships. The Moskva fits that profile. The Russian cruiser's crew appeared to have been asleep at the wheel at the time of the strike. Schulte's thesis, declassified in 2009, found this was fairly common, too. He created a special category called "defendable targets"—warships that had the tools to fight off an ASM attack but did not and were hit, usually because of inattention, defense systems switched off or not working, or situational confusion, among others. Often, the victim never even got off a countermeasure. The eventual havoc wreaked was proportional to the size, number, and sophistication of weapons used.

UPCOMING NEWS & EVENTS:

October 10: Columbus Day (Federal Holiday)













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The Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) welcomed the Honorable Robert O. Work, 32nd Deputy Secretary of Defense and acclaimed national security professional, into the school's prestigious Hall of Fame during a ceremony in Herrmann Hall, Sept. 22, recognizing his lifetime of service to the United States.

"This is a man of extraordinary ability and contributions," said retired U.S. Navy Vice Adm. Ann E. Rondeau, president of NPS. "We have the honor of inducting him as the 25th member of our Hall of Fame and his courage, integrity and selflessness serve as an exemplary model of leadership for us all to follow as we face the challenges ahead."

Work, a 1990 graduate of NPS, becomes the latest inductee into the Hall of Fame, established to recognize the accomplishments of NPS' most distinguished alumni and friends who, through the attainment of positions at the highest levels of public service, have made the greatest contributions to society, to their nations, and to NPS.

"I am honored, happy and humbled to be recognized with this award," Work said. "I'm honored because of all the academic institutions I've attended, I consider the Naval Postgraduate School to be the best one yet."

After a 27-year career as a U.S. Marine Corps officer, Work went on to hold two of the most prestigious titles in the Department of Defense, serving as Under Secretary of the Navy and later returning to the Pentagon as the 32nd Deputy Secretary of Defense.

The NPS Hall of Fame is an honor reserved for the "best of the best." Its members include Adm. Mike Mullen, former Chief of Naval Operations and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Adm. Wayne Meyer, the father of the AEGIS combat system; and Vice Adm. Jan Tighe, who served as Commander, U.S. 10th Fleet, making her the first woman to command a numbered fleet.

"I am humbled to be even associated with the other high-caliber recipients of this award," Work noted.

"As I look to the Hall of Fame members, what strikes me is that though varied in their careers and accomplishments, the one thing that each member has in common is that each of them demonstrated an unwavering, selfless dedication to their communities, to their country, and to the Naval Postgraduate School," added U.S. Navy Capt. Philip Old, NPS chief of staff.

Work's military career began in the Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps at the University of Illinois, where he earned a Bachelor of Science degree in biology. Upon graduation in 1974, he was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps. Over the course of the next 27 years, he commanded an artillery battery, and served as base commander of the Combined Arms Training Center (CATC) in Camp Fuji, Japan.

Later in his Marine Corps career, Work became the first head of the Marine Corps' Strategic Initiatives Group, a small analytical team that reported directly to the Commandant of the Marine Corps. Finally, he became the Military Assistant and Special Aide to the Secretary of the Navy before retiring as a colonel in 2001.

Although many believe that 27 years of service to the United States would be sufficient, Work was just getting started.

Following his retirement from the Marines, Work joined the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments as a senior fellow for maritime affairs, eventually becoming the vice president for strategic studies. He later accepted a position as an adjunct professor at George Washington University, where he taught defense analysis and the roles and mission of the armed forces. And, he directed and analyzed war games for the Office of Net Assessment and for the Secretary of Defense.











In 2009, Work was appointed as Under Secretary of the Navy under President Barack Obama, serving in that capacity until 2013. After spending a year as chief executive officer for the Center for a New American Security, Work returned to the Pentagon in 2014 when he was nominated by President Obama as Deputy Secretary of Defense. He would serve the next three years as the DOD's number two civilian official, working for three Secretaries of Defense in two presidential administrations before his departure in 2017.

A true example of lifelong learning, Work earned his Master of Science in Space Systems Operations from NPS in 1990, as well as a Master of Science in Systems Management from the University of Southern California, and a master's degree in International Policy from the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at John Hopkins University.

"From biology to international defense policy to space systems to systems management, his intellectual range, and his intellectual flexibility is unparalleled," Rondeau said.

After his retirement as Deputy Secretary of Defense, Work served as chairman of the National Security Commission on Artificial Intelligence. He is currently president and owner of TeamWork LLC, which provides insight and counsel on defense and national security issues.

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San Francisco Fleet Week offers the public an opportunity to take a tour of the ships and interact with service members as they showcase their ships', units', and services' capabilities. It also gives the public a chance to gain a better understanding of how the sea services support the national defense of the United States and protect freedom of the seas.

Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard forces and assets also participate in a robust disaster response exercise, an annual event joint training event that adds a serious, practical objective to San Francisco Fleet Week. The exercise is designed to train military forces and local, county, state and federal government agencies to work together to respond to natural and man-made disasters, such as earthquakes, wildfires and industrial accidents.

Service members will have an opportunity to interact with the local community, while participating in a number of community relations projects and entertainment events throughout the week. The Fleet will arrive in San Francisco Sunday-Monday, Oct. 2-3. The public will have opportunities to tour the ships and meet service members.













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FACULTY:

With Winter Coming, Europe Is Walking Off a Cliff

(Foreign Policy 29 Sept 22) ... Naval Postgraduate School faculty Brenda Shaffer

Facing the worst energy crisis since World War II as the cold-weather heating season starts, Europe continues to dither. European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen has presented a series of new European Union energy policies, including planned price caps, additional taxes on energy producers, establishment of a new European hydrogen bank, and new support for electric vehicles. European Union member states, meanwhile, are nationalizing utilities, setting electricity prices, and subsidizing consumers. These EU policies do not represent a significant departure from the policies that got the continent into the energy mess in the first place.

The fundamental problem is that Europe is still not facing the sources of its energy security crisis, preferring to blame outside forces for its current predicament. Von der Leyen and other European leaders point at Russia and its war on Ukraine for Europe's energy woes. Russian President Vladimir Putin's throttling of the gas taps has undoubtedly made things worse, but this will already be the third winter of Europe's energy crisis. In the winters 2020-2021 and 2021-2022, Europe already experienced significant spikes in the prices of electricity and natural gas, as well as gas shortages that led to increased use of coal and fuel oil. European policymakers either did not take notice or preferred not to change course.

As long as so many people in Europe and elsewhere believe that the continent's energy predicament is all about Putin, it helps to be very clear about the policies that led Europe to this crisis. Knowing what caused the problem is the first step to addressing it.

Europe's crisis has been two decades in the making. Aiming to engineer a fast transition from fossil fuels and nuclear energy to renewable sources, European policymakers forced profound changes in the energy supply. At the same time, they ignored projections for continued demand for oil and natural gas, as well as the need for a reliable baseload fuel source to back up intermittent solar and wind. Many EU member states cut back domestic production of fossil fuels and constrained imports, with the notable exception of gas from Russia. Germany, which has significant gas deposits of its own, banned fracking—as did France and other countries. Over the past decade, European domestic production of natural gas has halved, and today imports make up 83 percent of Europe's gas consumption.

Under pressure from activists and green parties, Germany and several other countries also chose to phase out carbon-free nuclear power, despite an impeccable safety record. Today, Europe's proposed caps on gas and electricity prices, along with new levies on energy producers, will further restrict supplies while seeking to protect consumers from the high prices that could induce them to lower the thermostat and turn down the lights.

Phase out nuclear and coal and put the brakes on natural gas—but add less energy generation from renewables than you've subtracted—and you get a shortage.

Europe's policy of blocking gas supplies created shortages that started causing price spikes two winters ago. Believing it will soon be able to do without gas, Europe has also blocked long-term contracts for imports, with the result that Europe is starving for gas even though it is surrounded by some the world's largest gas reserves—not just in Russia, but also in North Africa, Central Asia, and other regions. The EU could have easily ensured access to reliable gas supplies at affordable prices but is now dependent on the costly spot market instead. Even today, while European officials trot the globe for new gas volumes, they are refusing to sign long-term contracts with the courted producers. Last week was a case in point: Two years into Europe's energy crisis and seven months into Russia's war in Ukraine, German Chancellor Olaf Scholz returned from a trip to Qatar and the United Arab Emirates with an













agreement for only a single tanker-load of liquefied natural gas instead of the long term supplies the country desperately needs to keep its citizens warm and factories running.

Europe still has not faced up to the implications of its choice to give up natural gas beginning a decade ago. In the 1990s and 2000s, natural gas was the fastest-growing fuel in Europe and globally. Gas was in demand due to its relatively low emissions and, until recently, competitive price. Switching from coal to natural gas was also the fastest and cheapest way to lower carbon emissions: As a result of the shale gas revolution, the United States rapidly cut its carbon emissions without government intervention. About a decade ago, however, the anti-fossil-fuel camp accelerated its campaigns against natural gas. The result: Europe phased out long-term gas contracts.

In European energy policy, ideology trumps basic math. Phase out nuclear and coal and put the brakes on natural gas—but add less energy generation from renewables than you've subtracted—and you get a shortage. What's more, all attempts to force a faster transition to wind and solar ignore major resource and technology constraints: These energy sources require vast land usage, critical materials and hardware (including from China), and either backup power or nonexistent storage. And, finally, the policymakers' forced transition ignores projections of continued demand for fossil fuels, including for transportation, industry, heating, and backup power for unpredictable wind and solar.

Despite the math, the data, and a two-year-old energy crisis that has sharply worsened since Russia invaded Ukraine in February, European policymakers continue to follow each other like sheep. As if the energy crisis weren't happening, the Netherlands announced this week that it will continue to reduce gas production at the massive Groningen field. Germany is sticking to its fracking ban and nuclear phaseout, while Belgium shut down a nuclear power plant last week that provides a significant share of the country's electricity needs—even as Belgians protest in the streets against skyrocketing energy prices. These countries might instead take their cue from Liz Truss, the new British prime minister: One of her first announcements after taking office was a new energy policy, including a renewal of offshore oil and gas exploration and a reversal of her country's fracking ban.

Instead of changing course, European policymakers have doubled down with increased investments in solar, wind, and electric vehicles. "The renewables are cheap, they are homegrown, they make us independent," von der Leyen said in her State of the European Union speech earlier this month. This is a plain contradiction of the facts: Europe has yet to get renewables to work without subsidies and fossil-fuel backup power, they require resource-hungry global supply chains, and they come with their own set of geopolitical challenges and dependencies, just like fossil fuels.

European leaders are aware that their energy market designs are not working. National governments are bailing out or outright nationalizing collapsing utilities. Most are now setting electricity and gas prices for customers. Moreover, Europe's high cost of carbon has not deterred utilities from firing up mothballed coal plants and switching from gas to fuel oil for electricity and heat. Von der Leyen correctly pointed out in her address that European gas prices are now benchmarked on high-cost LNG rather than low-cost pipeline gas and that the benchmark system has to be reformed. Europe has yet to address the economic implications of the market transferring to higher LNG prices.

Instead of focusing with urgency and laser sharpness on these issues—and reversing mistaken decisions such as various countries' nuclear phaseouts—European leaders continue to push new projects that are untested and far from commercially viable. Their current pet technology is hydrogen: Von der Leyen recently announced yet more EU funding and the establishment of a European Hydrogen Bank. Hydrogen, however, is not yet commercially viable, there are serious safety concerns about its use and transportation, and there may be significant climate and pollution impacts from its production and inevitable leaks.

Were European policymakers more honest about the homegrown causes of their energy crisis, the proper policies would be clear. First, the EU needs to allow and even encourage its energy buyers to sign long-term gas import contracts, which generally span more than a decade. This would allow producers to invest in the production and transport of dedicated gas volumes for Europe. Nuclear phaseouts should be reversed wherever possible. Next, Europe should be technology neutral in its development of renewable and low-carbon energy sources—instead of directing vast subsidies to specific technologies selected by politicians and bureaucrats.













In addition, Brussels and European governments should give natural gas a new look, including domestic sources, as Britain is now doing. Modern natural gas projects do not release methane like previous generations, and the switch from coal to gas is still the fastest and most efficient way to lower both pollution and carbon emissions. Furthermore, European policies need a long-term plan for baseload fuel to produce electricity in conjunction with solar and wind. Because they do not produce a consistent and predictable volume of power, solar and wind can never replace base load fuels like nuclear and natural gas. These sources go hand in hand.

Europe needs an entirely new approach to energy market design. Above all, it urgently needs to replace ideology with practicality. Otherwise, Europeans will face many more crisis winters—no matter what Putin does.

In Europe's Energy Crisis, Ideology Trumps Basic Math (foreignpolicy.com)

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Even if Israel Agrees to a Border Deal, Energy Riches Are Distant Dream for Lebanon (Haaretz 3 Oct 22) ... David Rosenberg

The day before a consortium of energy companies began the first-ever exploration for hydrocarbons offshore Lebanon in February 2020, President Michel Aoun declared that the country had joined "the club of oil nations." A few weeks later, the results came in: The Byblos 16/1 exploration well in Block 4 was dry.

No further drilling has occurred since. But now, with Israel and Lebanon in talks to resolve their disputed maritime barrier, could Lebanon really be up for membership in the club this time?

It's an important question, not just for Lebanon but also for Israel.

Israel is hoping that by resolving the border dispute, Lebanon can begin to develop its gas fields and "weaken Lebanon's dependence on Iran, restrain Hezbollah and promote regional stability," Prime Minister Yair Lapid explained on Sunday.

In fact, ending the border dispute would enable the same consortium that failed with Block 4 to finally begin exploring Lebanon's Block 9, part of which Israel has claimed as within its own territorial waters. It might also pique the interest of global energy companies in an auction for additional exploration rights Beirut has scheduled for December 15.

But most analysts are skeptical. Lebanon's political paralysis and its legendary corruption will continue to act as a deterrent, as will the obstacles to exporting the gas to customers that could use it.

Energy companies choose to drill in places that have the right mix of geology ("below-the-surface" conditions) together with political stability, credible tax regimes and other "above the surface" assets, says Prof. Brenda Shaffer, an international energy expert and a faculty member of the U.S. **Naval Postgraduate School**.

"Rarely are the above-the-surface conditions perfect, but they need to be manageable," she says. "Removal of a maritime hot conflict between Israel and Lebanon will help improve Lebanon's above-the-ground profile. However, the conclusion of an agreement does not mean that conflict will actually end."

A state of war

Even with a maritime agreement, Israel and Lebanon remain in a state of war and won't have any straightforward mechanism to resolve even minor disputes. More worryingly, Hezbollah can and does act independently of the government in Beirut – which means that even if Israel and Lebanon strike an agreement, Hezbollah will do as Hezbollah wishes.

Natural gas not only involves big spending on exploration, but even bigger investments in developing the infrastructure to produce and deliver it to markets by pipeline or as liquefied natural gas. The payback takes years, so energy companies need to feel confident that their investment won't go down in the flames of war.













One way to help insure against that danger is to use concrete language in the agreement that addresses potential issues of conflict, says Gabriel Mitchell, director of undergraduate studies at Notre Dame University's Tantur campus and an expert of Eastern Mediterranean energy. Even then, the danger remains high.

"It needs to be ironclad enough that international companies feel like it's worth taking the risk to conduct exploration in Lebanese waters. But it's not a guarantee. We know there's an agreement between Israel and Lebanon, but Hezbollah isn't a party to it," he says.

Hezbollah isn't the only risk energy companies take entering Lebanon. Beset by corruption and sectarianism, Lebanon has been poorly governed for decades and only got into the energy game long after neighboring Israel, Cyprus and Egypt had begun finding major reservoirs of natural gas.

An industry regulator, the Lebanon Petroleum Administration, was only formed in 2012 and then it took seven months to name its board amid partisan infighting over nominations. The first licensing round was launched a year later, but it was delayed until 2017 because the government never approved relevant decrees.

Money for nothing

A consortium comprising the French company Total, Italy's ENI and Russia's Novatek was awarded rights to drill two blocks, designated 4 and 9. After delays due to the COVID pandemic, drilling got underway in Block 4 in 2020, only to come up dry. Block 9 has yet to be explored, but in the meantime Novatek has dropped out and the Lebanese government has taken over its 20 percent stake, although it is not clear how it can finance its share, given its dire financial state.

Industry sources say that state-owned QatarEnergy may take over the Novatek share and that Total will move ahead with drilling in the Block 9 Kana prospect if an agreement is reached with Israel. With an agreement in place, the auction for eight offshore blocks may also go ahead after repeated delays.

But analysts are dubious that the companies will bite. They may well prefer to leave the gas in the seabed rather than have the "headache of dealing with Lebanese politics," Mitchell says.

A report issued last year by the New York-based Natural Resource Governance Institute, a nonprofit organization that advises countries on sustainable and inclusive development, said Lebanon scored a "weak" 53 out of 100 points in its Resource Governance Index (the same as notoriously dysfunctional Nigeria).

Among other things, it found Beirut had not established any rules for how energy revenues should be spent and that no sovereign wealth fund had been established despite legislation calling for one.

Rules that do exist governing the industry were rarely enforced, the NRGI said. For corruption and political stability, Lebanon had "failing" scores.

Lebanese leaders are keen on getting gas revenues. Cabinet policy statements have long referred to the oil and gas "wealth" in the country's waters, and the government's 2019 budget even provisioned for revenues from the sector.

But, in an opinion piece for the Gulf news website The National, Michael Young said that even if Lebanon finds and develops its gas reserves, the wealth is unlikely to find its way into the economy, much less help ordinary Lebanese.

The economy, in a deep slump for three years, is desperate for international aid, but it can't get it until the government undertakes the kind of structural reforms Lebanese leaders have long resisted.

Many hope that gas profits will generate the money they need without meeting the international community's demands. "In their mind, the political uses of gas revenues greatly surpass its potential economic or developmental benefits for an impoverished Lebanon's population," said Young, who edits the Carnegie Middle East Center's Diwan blog.

As to the "below-the-surface" conditions Brenda Shaffer speaks about, relatively little is known. A widely quoted study by the British firm Spectrum conducted in 2012 estimated recoverable gas reserves at up to 25.4 trillion cubic feet, close to Israel's estimated 31 to 35 billion. But not long afterwards, Lebanese politicians were touting a number nearly four times that figure.

"There has not been enough geological surveying done of Lebanon's EEZ to say with a degree of certainty if there are commercial quantities of oil and natural gas offshore of Lebanon," says Shaffer,













adding that several surveys conducted in the 1990s expressed confidence there were commercially viable amounts of oil and natural gas.

The problem with Syria

If somehow Lebanon can clear the hurdles of security, governance, and commercially viable reserves, it still faces the same problem other East Mediterranean gas producers – Israel included – have had to contend with: how to get the gas to big markets that need it, first and foremost Europe.

Lebanon's electricity sector would be a customer for the gas, but its needs are small and the power monopoly Electricite du Liban barely functions. Big multinational energy companies won't spend the capital to explore and develop gas unless they have ways of exporting it to bigger markets under long-term contracts that guarantee them a revenue stream.

Lebanon could theoretically ship the gas "eastward" to Syria, except that Western energy companies face sanctions barriers, Mitchell says. No pipeline from the Middle East to Europe exists and it might not be technically feasible anyway, but in any case building one would require Lebanon to team up with Israel, which is politically problematic. The same applies to pipelines running from the Middle East to Turkey or to Egypt, for shipment onward to Europe.

Converting the gas to LNG that can be exported by tanker would require a costly investment and one vulnerable to attack.

The war in Ukraine, and Western sanctions have left Europe desperately in search of alternatives to Russian gas, including from the Eastern Mediterranean. That has raised hopes in Israel and elsewhere that the European market may finally be in reach.

But Lebanon has already missed the boat, says Mitchell. "The shift Europe is engaged in is occurring too quickly for Lebanon to really take advantage of it. The timeline of any development is five or six years and by then Europe's gas infrastructure is going to look very different," he warns. "The interest in investing in large projects is probably going to wane rather than increase."

Even if Israel Agrees to a Border Deal, Energy Riches Are Distant Dream for Lebanon - Middle East News - Haaretz.com

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C2 Superiority in an Era of Technological Competition

(AFCEA 30 Sept 22) ... Chris Britt, Andre Leon, and Dr. Britta Hale

From seabed to space, the application of intelligent autonomous systems (IAS) is evolving within the joint all-domain command and control (JADC2) architecture.

As the integrated application of these heterogeneous devices matures, so will new threats to the cybersecurity of the interconnected future fleet of manned and unmanned platforms and sensors.

Solutions built for office spaces in the mold of classic, internet-style, point-to-point command and control (C2) link security protocols no longer fit the emerging paradigm. Joint simultaneous control across service components, robust operation in contested and degraded environments and efficient integration with international partners can only be achieved by recognizing the changing C2 space and seizing revolutionary technologies.

Within the JADC2 all-domain sensor network, autonomous systems are a shared service capability that extends the reach and capacity of the joint force, contributing directly to informed and faster decision-making by the joint force commander. As the Navy, under Project Overmatch, looks to integrate autonomous platforms into its fleet arsenal, it is imperative that stove-piped and proprietary business practices be removed and government-industry standard development take center stage, per Rear Adm. Douglas Small, USN, commander of Naval Information Warfare Systems Command. These needed commercial best practices derived from strong government-industry partnerships will allow for more secure and robust IAS standards to be adopted for today's modernized fleet.











Technology transformation comes not only from the availability of new paradigms but also from customization to the unique environments and challenges faced by the Department of Defense (DoD). International Maritime Exercise 2022, for example, is an 18-day biennial naval training event led by U.S. Naval Forces Central Command with maritime partners from 60 nations and international organizations. International Maritime Exercise 2022 is not only the largest multinational naval exercise in the region, but also the largest unmanned maritime exercise in the world, with 10 partner nations bringing their own unique unmanned maritime capabilities to the event, which calls to attention existing DoD IAS communications barriers. Locally and across several Maritime Operations Centers, C2 of this diverse array of unmanned systems was conducted by various means. Effectively achieving centralized C2 in a distributed manner becomes increasingly challenging amongst the more than 80 unmanned system types showcased throughout the exercise.

To overcome such challenges, standardization has led the way in securing the employment of unmanned platforms since the first operational use of armed unmanned aerial vehicles during the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan. Fundamentally, the advantage of standardization lies in its highly refined specification and list of requirements. Whereas black-box proprietary protocols may receive little review, critique or analysis, standardized solutions are often linked to specifications negotiated and analyzed by world experts in the topic field. Therefore, it is not surprising that the DoD has long benefited from leveraging such expertise and analysis.

For more than two decades, communication over radio frequency has been the go-to operating procedure for unmanned system platforms, with minimal changes to the current application of connection-oriented standardized security protocols such as Transport Layer Security (TLS). However, the choice of which standardized solution to use is critical. Even while a standard provides notable benefits for interoperability, indifferent application comes with performance risks. Transport Layer Security was designed for well-connected and stable office environments, not contested and degraded ones. It requires several relays of information to re-instantiate if the connection is cut, leading to repeated delays if connections are unstable. Unsurprisingly, this risk is minimal in an office internet situation. When applied to a contested JADC2 operational environment, however, it can be fatal.

Even now, constrained operating environments continue to be witnessed in Eastern Europe, where coalitions of special operations task groups working in Ukraine and Poland regularly suffer from disrupted satellite communications. Satellite communication networks are intended to be accessible from anywhere in the world. Faced with contested access to these, the Ukrainian and Polish operation task groups looked for alternate communication methods such as mobile and ad hoc networks.

Unfortunately, ad hoc networks are heavily restrictive, limited to their immediate area and geographic features. When a network is set up in a valley, for example, it will not be able to communicate with another network on the other side of a mountain or high rock formation. Just as with line-of-sight radio, only local entities can utilize the network backbone and are disconnected from those farther afield. Critically, this leads to siloed communications separating special operations task groups and limiting command and control. Information infrastructure for mission success cannot be overstated.

Today, the U.S. Navy is taking advantage of and planning unique missions and opportunities across its portion of the DoD Information Network. However, its infrastructure and processes are based on technologies first conceptualized in the 1990s (e.g., Internet Protocol Security (IPSec)) and the aforementioned TLS). These network security protocols are point-to-point, requiring separate channel establishment with every existing network device for each new one added to the command overview.

Although cutting-edge at inception, there is still reliance on such point-to-point security connections today, decades later, forcing a high-latency and outmoded security overlay on top of dynamic autonomous device mesh networks. Contrast this with the swift evolvement of the mobile phone: the 1990s saw the use of personal digital assistants, while in the current day, wide-angle cameras and cloud connectivity are incorporated with the iPhone 13. Even DoD infrastructure has embraced cloud computing and microcomputers embedded in devices. Likewise, manual statistical inference was common in the 1990s, while today sees artificial intelligence and machine learning deployed throughout DoD systems. When such development is put in context, it is no surprise that office environment security protocols and architectures from the 1990s are nonperformant against new generation features and current capabilities.













Since standards paved the way for interoperability in the first place and innovation is shifting from defense to commercial sectors, this raises the question: what reinforcements for JADC2 challenges exist incognito among emerging industry capabilities?

Fortunately, new industry standards such as the Messaging Layer Security protocol address these current shortcomings. Asynchronicity-by-design is a cryptographic protocol design approach that is robust to connection failure and does not require multiple relays of non-mission-relevant data to reinstantiate the connection—a connection handshake. In fact, the security layer is survivable over connection loss and reconnect. In a time when DoD requirements call for C2 interoperability across the cyber domain to meet National Defense Strategy objectives and adversaries continue to develop sophisticated anti-access/area denial capabilities, these enhancements would significantly improve IAS security and that of information resiliency and speed to supported troops.

Not only do new standards provide for asynchronicity in C2 security protocols, but they also offer another attractive feature for JADC2: multidevice support. Point-to-point connections like IPSec and TLS incur an overhead linear in the number of devices on the network. As the interconnected domain scales for true oversight of the battlefield, the pain of such a slowdown is palpable. Conversely, the Messaging Layer Security standard is explicitly built for multidevice scenarios, supporting logarithmic group scaling—a significant improvement. Emerging industry protocol standards thus expand on their historical predecessors and offer customization capabilities for the currently evolving and future JADC2 environment.

Standardized asynchronous and secure multidevice C2 protocols must ultimately become the key enablers of dynamic teaming for allied interoperability, further enhancing use cases and notably the JADC2 concept. The inclusion of these key enablers will provide seamless IAS interoperability with other military services and allied partners, overcoming the challenges of data sharing and C2 at scale in this new reality agnostic to device or environment.

Even now, constrained operating environments continue to be witnessed in Eastern Europe, where coalitions of special operations task groups working in Ukraine and Poland regularly suffer from disrupted satellite communications.

The future of modern warfare will only increase its dependency on joint IAS technologies. This is not a battle of proprietary techniques but of joint, standardized solutions that can span international collaboration and solutions for denied operational environments that can support asynchronicity and multidevice scenarios with efficiency and security. Emergent techniques uniquely fit the needs of JADC2; however, embracing that potential is a choice. Black-box proprietary solutions or even random standardized alternatives that are inappropriately selected in light of tactical environments will continue to create problems simply due to ease or familiarity to implementors unless there is clear direction to look at new potential. The new IAS paradigm is fertile ground for applying such constructs, bringing it one step closer to achieving the desired strategic end state.

Considering the recent cyber actions taken by Russia against Ukraine, the peer rival threat is real and more tangible than ever before. There is an increasing need for speed and security in sensors and unmanned assets. As called for in the 2021 Navy Science and Technology Strategy for IAS, the DoD must keep pace with shifting threats and technology by fundamentally redesigning the journey from science and technology to adapting warfighting capability. In an era of intertwined, rapidly accelerated threats and new autonomous technologies, drastic moves to speed development and operationalize and adopt disruptive and secure industry technologies to meet these challenges should be a foremost priority. That choice affects not only security but operational resiliency.

Increasing resilience, connectivity and real-time awareness amidst a distributed and contested environment and among international allies such as at International Maritime Exercise 2022, are all key tenets associated with the DoD's unmanned campaign plan. C2 capabilities are the enablers of these tenets. C2 link protocol design selection subtly but sharply determines the efficacy of IAS capabilities. This choice is the lynchpin in the ability of IAS to jointly achieve the seamless integration, synchronization and security required to become multidomain operations force multipliers.

Lt. Christopher Britt, USN, holds a Master of Science in Cyber Systems and Operations from the Naval Postgraduate School. He is a recipient of the Fleet Cyber Command Award for Academic













Achievement in Cyber Operations. His work in a joint thesis with Lt. Andre Leon tackled the question of multidomain security interoperability, with testing on aerial and surface autonomous devices.

Lt. Andre Leon, USN, holds a Master of Science in Computer Science from the Naval Postgraduate School. He is a recipient of the Fleet Cyber Command Award for Academic Achievement in Cyber Operations.

Dr. Britta Hale is an assistant professor in Computer Science at the **Naval Postgraduate School**. She holds a Ph.D. from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. Dr. Hale's research focuses on cryptographic protocols, autonomous device security and security within constrained and denied environments.

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ALUMNI:

Navy Veteran, Cleveland O. Eason, Shares an Inspired Approach to Achieving One's Fullest Potential in Self-Help Book, A Sailor's Advice on Life

(Digital Journal 26 Sept 22)

In A Sailor's Advice on Life, author Cleveland O. Eason compiles decades' worth of military experience into a practical, no-nonsense guide to achieving success in relationships, career development, finances, and more.

US Navy Veteran and entrepreneur, Cleveland O. Eason has released a new self-help book to assist people in efficiently navigating the ups and downs of their daily lives. Titled A Sailor's Advice on Life, the book contains invaluable life lessons, gathered from Cleveland's 23 years of active military service, as well as subsequent post-military entrepreneurial pursuits. The perfect alternative to the "school of hard knocks," A Sailor's Advice on Life reveals the secrets to critical thinking, and challenges readers to look inwards – encouraging them to ask the deep questions that will help them find meaning and direction in their lives.

During an interview, Cleveland said "Learning from the experiences of others is one of the smartest ways to learn. This book is a summary of my many life adventures and the lessons learned along the way. By adopting the strategies contained in my life guide, you will be able to navigate life's hazards and minimize instances of two steps forward and one step back!"

After reading A Sailor's Advice on Life, readers will develop a better understanding of the reasons behind the many troubling times in their lives, and also learn how best to fortify themselves to brave the inevitable storms. The book divides life into four different phases – Preparation, Seperation, Independence and Dependent that run parallel with an individual's Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter seasons. It provides proven tools and techniques to push through each phase and illuminates a path that anyone can follow to establish and maintain healthy relationships and lead a fulfilling life.

A Sailor's Advice on Life has had a positive impact on its readers. One reader writes, "Mr. Eason draws on his years of experience and keen observations to provide an "owners manual" for life. Appropriate for teenagers and young adults as they navigate the trials and challenges of growing in a world filled with mixed, often contradictory, messages. He points out the many attractive pitfalls and ways to avoid them...An excellent read for a young adult and the people that love them."

A Sailor's Advice On Life is an ideal book for individuals who are starting out, starting over, looking for the North Star, or trying to figure out where they are. Readers are encouraged to purchase a copy at: https://www.amazon.com/Sailors-Advice-Life-Cleveland-Eason/dp/1644620022













About the Author

Cleveland O. Eason entered the US Navy at the height of the Cold War. He obtained the rank of Chief Petty Officer after just nine years of service. Mr. Eason obtained the rank of Lieutenant Commander before retiring with 23 years of honorable service. While on active duty, Mr. Eason had assignments in Asia Pacific and Southwest Asia and deployed on US Navy surface ships in both the Atlantic and Pacific theaters of operations. Mr. Eason's military overseas and stateside assignments, ports of call and post-military retirement entrepreneur pursuits, contributed to his ability to have positive interactions with people from all walks of life. Mr. Eason graduated from Spring Valley High School, has a Bachelor in Applied Science from Troy University, a Master in Systems Analysis from the **Naval Postgraduate School** and a Master of Business and Administration from the Robert H. Smith School of Business.

Navy Veteran, Cleveland O. Eason, Shares an Inspired Approach to Achieving One's Fullest Potential in Self-Help Book, A Sailor's Advice on Life - Digital Journal

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Zapata Computing Welcomes New Advisor Lieutenant General (USMC, Ret.) Michael Groen

(businesswire 27 Sept 22)

Zapata Computing, the leading enterprise quantum software company, today announced that it has added Lieutenant General (USMC, Retired) Michael Groen as an advisor to the company. Groen brings more than three and a half decades of military and public sector experience to the table, serving in a leadership role for multiple security and intelligence divisions of the U.S. Government. As an advisor to Zapata, he will be responsible for helping the company with product and go-to-market strategy for its growing public sector offering.

"Throughout my career in the public sector I have focused on driving transformational change in military capabilities. Quantum computing represents the next generation of technology that will be truly transformational"

Tweet this

"It's clear that the DoD, intelligence community and public sector are increasing their focus on quantum computing, considering the potential useful applications of the new technology, as well as the threat that it presents," said Christopher Savoie, CEO and co-founder of Zapata Computing. "We continue to see increasing interest in our software and our expertise from the federal government, and we're looking forward to Lieutenant General Groen's guidance and expertise to continue to capitalize on that momentum."

Lieutenant General Groen has an incredibly distinguished background and track record across multiple agencies within the federal government. Most recently he served as the Director of the Joint Artificial Intelligence Center (JAIC), and the senior executive for artificial intelligence (AI) in the Department of Defense (DOD). The Lieutenant General also served at the National Security Agency (NSA), overseeing computer network operations, and as the Director of Joint Staff Intelligence (JSJ2), working closely with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Secretary of Defense, and senior leaders across the department. Lieutenant General Groen is an experienced Marine commander and multi-tour combat veteran. He is also the author of With the 1st Marine Division in Iraq, No Greater Friend, No Worse Enemy and holds Master's Degrees in electrical engineering and applied physics from the Naval Postgraduate School.

"Throughout my career in the public sector I have focused on driving transformational change in military capabilities. Quantum computing represents the next generation of technology that will be truly transformational," added Lieutenant General Groen. "There's no question that the pace of digitally enabled defense transformation is increasing. That's exactly why it's so important for the U.S. government to get quantum ready now, and it's also the reason I'm so excited about working closely with the team at Zapata."













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Franken's Experience In DC Government Will Serve Iowa Well

(blogforIowa 29 Sept 22)

I've often supported losing candidates whose utopian hopes aligned with mine. Everything being equal, I've chosen women candidates.

Today things aren't equal.

Not this primary. Not among Iowa Democrats' U.S. Senate choices. All Iowans will benefit from having a Democrat join our Republican. Plus, there's much each senator can do for Iowa – whichever party controls the Senate.

For winning, the strongest candidate is former Admiral Mike Franken, hands down. He already knows Washington, with personal experience in the Senate, White House and Pentagon. His leadership skills have been recognized and rewarded. He will immediately have the respect of the other senators.

Most important in winning, Franken was raised and shaped by Western Iowa.

Republican majorities carry 93 of our 99 counties. Democrats need a goal of a more statewide political party.

Based on my time in Ida County, and in north central Iowa during my 1974 congressional primary, Mike Franken's demeanor, record, common sense, and ties to the people in small town western Iowa will help Iowa's Democrats reach that goal.

Nicholas Johnson

Iowa City

Franken's "experience in the Senate, White House and Pentagon. His leadership skills have been recognized and rewarded."

"In Washington, D.C., he served a fellowship in congressional affairs for the Office of the Secretary of the Navy; as the political-military chair in the Chief of Naval Operations' Executive Panel, in Navy's Plans and Strategy Deep Blue staff; in the Assessments Division in support of Navy's representation in the Joint Requirements Oversight Council and in the Joint Staff's Joint Operations Division overseeing U.S. Pacific Command operations. He presented the worldwide orders book to Secretary Donald Rumsfeld from 2003 to 2005 and was the first military officer to serve as a legislative fellow for Senator Ted Kennedy." "Michael T. Franken," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael T. Franken

"Franken earned a bachelor's degree in engineering, a master's degree from the College of Physics at the **Naval Postgraduate School** and professional studies at MIT, UVA's Darden School of Business, and the Brookings Institute. Franken was a member of the U.S. Navy. He retired from military service as a three-star admiral in 2017. Franken worked in a variety of positions in Washington, D.C. He was the first military officer on Senator Ted Kennedy's staff. He also worked in the U.S. Department of Defense." "Michael Franken," BallotPedia, https://ballotpedia.org/Michael Franken

"He saw sea duty in four navy destroyers, a destroyer squadron, and an aircraft carrier. He deployed frequently to the world's hotspots and was the first commanding officer of the USS WINSTON S CHURCHILL. He has significant Pentagon experience beginning with a legislative tour with Senator Edward Kennedy, and then in multiple strategy, policy, and planning positions involving the Indo-Pacific, the Middle East, Europe, and Africa. In these uncertain times with our democracy under attack, Iowans need Admiral Mike Franken in the US Senate. Through his work in the US Navy and at the Pentagon, Mike knows the global challenge of Russian aggression, and the propaganda and disinformation tactics used by Vladmir Putin. . . . Michael Franken has dedicated his life to serving our country and doing what's right. Franken was the only voice on a team of military advisers to oppose George W. Bush's invasion of Iraq. Franken served under President Barack Obama and oversaw numerous successful













missions to protect our country including leading U.S. forces in Africa to fight terrorists and pirates." Franken for Iowa, https://frankenforiowa.com/about/

"raised and shaped by Western Iowa." "Franken was born the youngest of nine children in rural Sioux County, Iowa. His father was a machinist and blacksmith. His mother was a school teacher. He joined the navy at age 22 at the urging of an older brother. In 1989, Franken married his wife Jordan. Together, they have two children Franken lives in downtown Sioux City, Iowa." "Michael T. Franken," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael T. Franken

"Franken was born in Sioux County, Iowa. He was one of nine children. During his youth, Franken worked alongside his father at the Lebanon Farm Shop, working with farm equipment and trucks. When he was 17 years old, Franken began working at Sioux Preme Packing Company to pay for college. He also worked as bar manager, math tutor, bouncer, and as a law firm's civil engineer." "Michael Franken," BallotPedia, https://ballotpedia.org/Michael Franken

"Mike grew up working in his father's small machine shop where he ran a lathe, did welding, and helped with general implement repair. He was a hired hand for neighboring farms until, at the age of 17, he began a three-year-stint working at a slaughterhouse in Sioux Center, Iowa. He obtained a Navy scholarship in 1978 and graduated in engineering from the University of Nebraska. . . . His life in Lebanon, Iowa has taught him the values of community, family, faith, and rural life, which guides his efforts to invest and build in rural Iowa. . . . As the father of a child with disabilities, he has seen how inconsistent care can be in years where he was transferred 17 different times. She would have great support in one community and the next there would be no support. For his daughter and for veterans who were injured, he seeks to pick up the banner of former Senator Tom Harkin as a disability advocate." "Franken for Iowa," https://frankenforiowa.com/about/

"Republican majorities carry 93 of our 99 counties." Trump carried 93 of 99 Iowa counties in 2020. "Donald Trump Won in Iowa," Politico, Jan. 6, 2021, https://www.politico.com/2020-election/results/iowa/

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Who is Deanne Criswell, the administrator of FEMA?

(CNN 29 Sept 22) ... Shawna Mizelle

The woman in charge of leading the federal disaster response to Hurricane Ian is drawing upon years of experience coordinating emergency efforts on Covid-19, wildfires, flooding and other crises.

Deanne Bennett Criswell, who has been leading the Federal Emergency Management Agency since April 2021 as its first female administrator, has been warning of the looming dangers of Ian since it began pummeling Florida.

"Hurricane Ian is and will continue to be a very dangerous and life-threatening storm, and this is going to be for the days ahead," Criswell said at a news conference Wednesday morning.

FEMA has search and rescue coordination teams staged in Miami and 128,000 gallons of fuel ready for rapid deployment, and the agency has moved in a variety of generators of all sizes and types to restore power to critical infrastructure and medical facilities, Criswell said.

Coordinating the federal response to Ian's wrath will be among the toughest assignments of Criswell's career.

As the head of FEMA during the Biden administration, she's created initiatives to support the US health care system in the age of Covid and, more recently, was tasked with aiding the federal response to the water crisis in Jackson, Mississippi.

Prior to that, she was the commissioner of the New York City Emergency Management Department for two years, a time that overlapped with the coronavirus outbreak. At times in the earliest days of the outbreak, personal protective equipment was so scarce that city officials were using rain ponchos and garbage bags instead of surgical gowns.













"Us all being 'in it together' meant we were all competing for the same resources," Criswell said when she recounted her experience earlier this year. "Necessity drove innovation and there wasn't a problem in front of us that didn't require a do-it-yourself solution."

Criswell started her emergency management career in Aurora, Colorado, as head of the city's emergency management and dealt with the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina as she worked to secure housing for evacuees and reunite families. Enter your email to sign up for the Wonder Theory newsletter.

She served in the Colorado National Guard for more than two decades and was deployed to Kuwait and Qatar, according to her official FEMA biography. She also worked as a firefighter.

During the Obama administration, Criswell worked at FEMA leading one of the Agency's National Incident Management Assistance Teams, where she was in charge of response and recovery for flooding, hurricanes and wildfires, according to the agency.

Criswell obtained her bachelor's degree in technology education and training at Colorado State University in 2003. According to the school, she attended with hopes of becoming the first college graduate in her family. Criswell went on to get her master's degree in public administration from the University of Colorado in 2006.

She also holds a master's degree in Security Studies from the **Naval Postgraduate School**, Center for Homeland Defense and Security, according to her FEMA biography.

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Mark Poland Named Sugar Land Police Chief

(KHOU 30 Sept 22) ... Michelle Homer

After an extensive search, Sugar Land City Manager Michael W. Goodrum has named Mark Poland as police chief.

Poland is currently a Loudoun County undersheriff and colonel in Virginia.

He's expected to join SLPD on Nov. 1.

Poland replaces Eric Robins, who retired in July after 30 years with SLPD, including four as chief.

Poland supervised 841 law enforcement officers and civilians and managed a \$111 million budget for LCSO. He's spent 26 years in law enforcement.

"I am looking forward to joining the Sugar Land team and working together to ensure we remain among the nation's safest cities," Poland said in a statement.

Poland joined LCSO in 1997 as a patrol deputy before promotions to detective, sergeant, lieutenant, captain, major, lieutenant colonel and undersheriff/colonel. He served in and provided leadership for several divisions including patrol, major crimes, special victims' unit, narcotics and gangs, internal affairs and criminal investigations.

"I am a hard-working leader who demands professionalism from law enforcement individuals. I also believe, as a law enforcement official, leaders within our profession must continue to expand our knowledge and grow as professionals to keep ahead of ever-changing trends in crime."

Poland earned a bachelor's degree in police science from George Washington University and a master's degree in homeland security from The **Naval Postgraduate School**. He is a graduate of the 260th session of the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy and recently assisted as a subject-matter expert for the Department of Justice Commission on Law Enforcement report.

He is a member of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy Virginia Chapter, the Major County Sheriffs of America, the Virginia Sheriff's Institute, the Virginia Sheriff's Association, and the National Sheriff's Association.

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The Russian Warship and the South China Sea

(Foreign Policy 1 Oct 22) ... Alexander Wooley

On April 14, a country left almost without a navy secured a stunning victory at sea. Ukraine used two land-based anti-ship missiles (ASMs) to sink a major surface combatant: the Russian-guided missile cruiser Moskva. It was a shocking victory—and one that may have lessons for a potential conflict 5,000 miles away, where China may one day use its own arsenal of ASMs to keep the United States and its allies out of the Western Pacific.

Ukraine's use of a couple of souped-up Kh-35 missiles looks like asymmetric warfare, the sea version of what Ukrainian land forces skillfully used against the Russian army in the early days of the war. Ukraine landed a haymaker on the Moskva, but it was more a target of opportunity than part of a clear strategy. That may limit its application to other conflicts—but it is still being seized on as part of the dense arguments over the best strategy for Taiwan.

For decades, the U.S. Navy's surface battle groups have been able to steam up to the enemy's coastline pretty much uncontested. As late as April 13, Russians felt similarly confident about the Black Sea, historically dominated by Russian naval power.

Anti-access/area denial (A2/AD) is a U.S. buzzword first applied to describe Beijing's plans to militarily deter the United States from China's own maritime sphere. For American warships, the most potentially lethal part of these plans is the People's Liberation Army Rocket Force (PLARF), the largest ground-based missile army in the world. It's a branch of arms largely foreign to the West but a staple of many autocrats' parades. The PLARF includes more than 2,000 conventionally armed ballistic and cruise missiles, with a focus on anti-ship variants that can target U.S. carrier groups in the South Chine Sea or reinforce Taiwan in the event of a war from bases near the Chinese coast. The PLARF would try to overwhelm U.S. and allied shipboard defensive systems through sheer numbers. Military planners there were likely thrilled to see what Ukraine accomplished with a couple of truck-mounted ASMs.

Yet the Moskva, commissioned in 1983, was a vintage Cold War ship, armed to the teeth with carrier-killing missiles and no one to fire them at. Contrast that with the increasingly militarized Western Pacific, where the scale and sophistication of air and sea platforms, weapons, sensors, and pace of technological punches and counterpunches are much greater.

The United States and its allies would deploy soft-kill and hard-kill countermeasures to defeat China's newer land-based ballistic and hypersonic anti-ship missiles, the latter now or soon able to cover much of the South China Sea. Whether Beijing has the matching intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capabilities is up for debate. Hitting a ship at a great distance is a step-by-step process, from initial location to tracking, engaging, and finally post-battle assessment—together termed the "kill chain" model.

As this mini arms race continues, the United States is looking to, among other measures, "quad-pack" RIM-162 Evolved SeaSparrow Missiles into the Mark 41 Vertical Launching System of cruisers and destroyers. That means four missiles per launch cell instead of one, enabling U.S. ships to better defend themselves against massed attacks, and with deeper magazines that remain on station longer, which improves troops' prospects of attack when their ammunition resupply opportunities look dim. The United States is also trying to develop anti-ship cruise missile lasers—a promising technology but one that's still some distance from deployment.

Who has the upper hand? "My personal guess is that we are on the cusp of being able to defend ourselves again, but that does depend on newfangled technologies' living up to their hype. So it's not a guess I make with any confidence," said James Holmes, the J.C. Wylie chair of maritime strategy at the U.S. Naval War College.

If Chinese President Xi Jinping agrees with Holmes's assessment, then he might think about attacking Taiwan sooner rather than later. "I do worry that a now-or-never mindset might take hold," Holmes said.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky talks during a press conference with NATO's secretary-general.

After Putin's Land Grab, Zelensky Wants to Fast-Track NATO Membership











Ukraine likely won't join NATO anytime soon, but it's a big symbolic move in a war that's increasingly going against the Kremlin.

But when it comes to Taiwan, A2/AD works both ways. Beijing wants to keep U.S. ships away, but any invasion involves getting its own army across what's already one of the most heavily defended stretches of water in the world. The sinking of the Russian cruiser gave U.S. lawmakers a timely cudgel with which to try to persuade recalcitrant Taiwanese military leaders of the value of a "hedgehog defense," the island bristling with missiles like a hedgehog's spines as both a defense and deterrent to potential aggressors.

"For the most part, rather than high-end systems vulnerable to [Chinese] attack, this means focusing on cost-effective, mobile, survivable technologies that provide the most deterrent effect for the lowest cost—like anti-ship missiles which the Ukrainians have used to great effect," Rep. Michael McCaul, the ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, wrote to Foreign Policy.

But Taipei is not there yet, and some of the existing systems are misplaced. "It's maddening when senior people in Taipei go out and threaten to strike Beijing with the island's very limited inventory of long-range, surface-to-surface missiles," Holmes said. "What would amount to revenge strikes would do little good in terms of what matters, meaning the island's survival as a democratic polity."

The idea of Taiwan rolling out a version of A2/AD against a People's Liberation Army amphibious invasion is not new. Back in 2010, Holmes and Asia-Pacific expert Toshi Yoshihara argued for just such instruments and strategy for Taipei, noting that in many ways it would be copying a Maoist maritime spin on sea denialism as used by mainland China itself in the decades before it embarked on building a navy that can operate globally. But Taiwan's military leadership has been notoriously stubborn, with their hearts set on major weapons systems, cookie-cutter replicas of other middling powers, and a surface fleet of destroyers and frigates. The Moskva sinking could potentially change that.

For both the United States and China, land-based ASMs would reinforce a centuries-old constant of naval warfare: Bad things happen to ships the closer they get to the enemy's shoreline. Three centuries ago, it was coastal batteries and forts. These days, faster weapons and cluttered electronic environments inshore also create shorter response times, whereas injured ships have longer distances to travel back to one's own bases and repair facilities. The landlubber shooter meanwhile has an easier job finding and tracking targets when they are relatively close inshore. There's a reason former British Vice Adm. Horatio Nelson is credited with saying "A ship's a fool to fight a fort."

During the Falklands War in 1982, for instance, the British carriers Invincible and Hermes were held so far to the east, for fear of Argentine ASMs, that a joke circulated among the task force that they were to be awarded the Burma Star, a medal for service in what is now Myanmar.

How distant could a U.S. carrier strike group stay away from the Chinese coast or islands in the South China Sea, where the Chinese have built bases, and still be effective? Not as far as in the 1980s. Former U.S. Navy Secretary John Lehman and Lt. Cmdr. Steven Wills of the CNA make the case that today's carrier-borne aircraft do not have the range nor payloads of previous types, such as the F-14 or A-6. That means carriers have to come closer to the action.

Compounding the problem, during the Cold War, carrier air wings had dedicated air refueling assets. They no longer exist. An unmanned aerial tanker, the MQ-25 Stingray, is in the works and would fly from the decks of carriers, extending the range of F-18s, but it won't be operational until at least 2026.

But the problem is just as acute for Beijing. What major surface units would China venture in an invasion of Taiwan? Its shiny new carriers? In 2016, historian Stephen Biddle and strategic security expert Ivan Oelrich envisioned a "U.S. sphere of influence around allied landmasses [out to about 500 miles], a Chinese sphere of influence over the Chinese mainland, and contested battle space covering much of the South and East China Seas, wherein neither power enjoys wartime freedom of surface or air movement."

Much has happened since they wrote that. It is just as possible that in a future war, the South China Sea would not be contested but instead vacated, a maritime no man's land as deserted as the space between Western trench systems in World War I and denuded except for submarines patrolling beneath the waves.













Another question the Moskva's destruction has produced is just how fragile ships are. Estimating how many strikes a surface ship can survive is both an imprecise science and a largely classified one. Based on a rough formula, one retired U.S. Navy commander recently wrote that the Moskva should have been able to withstand up to five Neptune missiles. Wills estimated to FP that the number should have been three to four missiles.

Results from the USS America supercarrier's SINKEX exercise in 2005 are classified. In their 2021 book, Lehman and Wills seek to arrive at an answer by examining major fires that happened aboard U.S. carriers in the 1960s and use them as a proxy for an anti-ship cruise missile strike. Their conclusion is that a Ford- or Nimitz-class could take a beating, though the authors acknowledge that a deck or hangar fire does not have the energetics of an impacting subsonic cruise missile—let alone an incoming supersonic, ballistic ASM.

Conversely, in 1994, a **Naval Postgraduate School** student (and naval officer) named John Schulte submitted his thesis looking at the effectiveness of cruise missiles in littoral warfare. To help, he constructed a data set of all previous missile hits against ships. He found that an average of 1.2 hits put ships out of action and 1.8 missile strikes sank the ships. The Moskva fits that profile. The Russian cruiser's crew appeared to have been asleep at the wheel at the time of the strike. Schulte's thesis, declassified in 2009, found this was fairly common, too. He created a special category called "defendable targets"—warships that had the tools to fight off an ASM attack but did not and were hit, usually because of inattention, defense systems switched off or not working, or situational confusion, among others. Often, the victim never even got off a countermeasure. The eventual havoc wreaked was proportional to the size, number, and sophistication of weapons used.

Worse for defenders, the failure to knock down every missile in a salvo is potentially disastrous. Retired Navy Capt. Jeffrey Cares, co-author of 2021's Fighting the Fleet: Operational Art and Modern Fleet Combat, has this take: "Why would we think we should go into combat and not take hits? Because we think our systems are that good? ... Well, the joke's on us."

Of the ships ever hit by an ASM, most, like the Moskva, were subject to just one or two missiles. No vessel has had to fend off a barrage of anti-ship cruise missiles, as was expected in A2/AD-type scenarios against the Soviet Union and now potentially in the South China Sea.

Moskva was a big, well-armed ship. The United States builds big, well-armed ships in relatively small numbers compared to China. "When you are imbalanced like we are and can afford only highly capable platforms in small numbers, you greatly simplify an adversary's targeting problem," Cares said. "Everything that the [People's Liberation Army Navy] might shoot at is worth hitting."

The more pressing question would be whether a ship can remain operational or get quickly repaired and be back on the line after a missile hit. In a short-term conflict, if one missile isn't fatal but suspends flight operations and forces a carrier to retire from theater, then it is pretty much as good as sunk.

However, clearly the Chinese themselves don't believe aircraft carriers are dinosaurs quite yet given their own rapid building program. To some extent, carriers are a vanity metric, the equivalent of buying a Porsche for a midlife crisis, but the People's Liberation Army Navy must not think them entirely doctrinally obsolete or fatally vulnerable given the resources they are pouring into them. In June, it launched China's first flat-deck carrier, the Fujian, and the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments recently estimated that China might afford an additional three carriers over the coming 10-year period. The heyday of the big ship might be over, but it's not obsolete yet.

Ukraine Sinking a Russian Warship Has Beijing Worried (foreignpolicy.com)

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