



DIRECTOR OF
NET ASSESSMENT

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
1920 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1920

July 1, 2020

The Honorable Charles E. Grassley
Chairman
Committee on Finance
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510-6200

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I write in response to your letter of June 18, 2020, following up the Office of Net Assessment's (ONA) reply of February 5, 2020. In the February response, ONA addressed each of your previous written questions and provided hundreds of pages of supporting documents. In responses to your prior queries, the Department has provided hundreds of pages of supporting documents.

The ONA team is a very small and capable organization actively doing what it is chartered to do. The team and its work remain widely respected by its customers, including the senior-most policy makers and military leaders in the country.

Deputy Secretary of Defense Norquist recently lauded the work of the office, noting the nearly 100 studies, assessments, and original materials produced by ONA in the past few years. He stated "ONA has been and remains one of the Department's most valuable sources of strategic thinking and insight into the likely behavior of our adversaries." ONA has met its obligations to the Secretary and our Congressional oversight committees as defined in law, policy and guidance.

I am proud of the work of the office and look forward to any and every opportunity to discuss it in appropriate settings.

As noted in ONA's letter of February 5, 2020, the Department has met the requirement for an annual "net assessment" under Title 10 U.S.C. § 113 (i). The Department and its Congressional oversight committees regard the Budget Overview Book as satisfying the Secretary's responsibilities for an annual "net assessment."

Responses to your specific questions are attached. Also attached are the email exchanges you requested. Respectfully, it remains my judgment that the previous classified enclosure should remain classified. I am available to discuss my rationale in a cleared facility.

I believe strongly in Congressional oversight and take very seriously my responsibility to remain responsive to Congress, as demonstrated by the considerable resources devoted to responding to

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your oversight queries. I offer, again, to brief you on any or all of the questions you have asked, in order to provide for fuller dialogue.

Thank you for your continued interest in ONA's work, and for your support for the Department of Defense and the men and women who serve it.



James H. Baker
Director
Office of Net Assessment

cc:

The Honorable James M. Inhofe
Chairman, Committee on Armed Services

The Honorable Jack F. Reed
Ranking Member, Committee on Armed Services

Sean O'Donnell
Acting Inspector General, Department of Defense

Attachments:

1. ONA Response to June 18, 2020 Queries
2. DoD Directive 5111.11, April 14, 2020
3. Guidance Memorandum to ONA, October 1, 2019
4. Guidance Memorandum to ONA, April 14, 2017
5. Guidance Memorandum to ONA, June 4, 2015
6. Requested email exchanges

Attachment 1
ONA Response to June 18, 2020 Queries

ONA Response to June 18, 2020 Queries

1. In my February 5, 2020 letter, I asked that ONA provide the number of contracts awarded to the top five entities over the last five years. You provided this list in alphabetical order. I request that this list be provided in accordance to the dollar amount each entity has received over the last five (5) years. In your response, please provide the dollar figures for each entity for each year.

<i>Entity/Year (\$M)</i>	<i>FY15</i>	<i>FY16</i>	<i>FY17</i>	<i>FY18</i>	<i>FY19</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>RAND</i>	\$4.74	\$3.10	\$1.12	\$1.69	\$1.54	\$12.20
<i>LTSG</i>	\$1.67	\$1.80	\$1.32	\$1.75	\$3.09	\$9.65
<i>Dynamis</i>	\$1.38	\$1.23	\$1.43	\$1.48	\$1.34	\$6.88
<i>Leidos</i>	\$1.05	\$1.00	\$1.49	\$1.49	\$1.49	\$6.53
<i>IDA</i>	\$1.09	\$0.29	\$1.41	\$1.95	\$1.76	\$6.51

2. In response to question 4(b) of my letter, you responded that ONA reviews the validity of citations and supporting research “as a matter of course.” However, in your response to the DoD Inspector General you stated that ONA does not agree that every contract requires exhaustive or significant verification of the methods used to derive analytic content.
- Were Halper’s citations and supporting research checked for validity? If not, why not?
 - We review all deliverables to ensure they are consistent with the statement of work. Dr. Halper’s completed work was reviewed for maturity of analysis, comprehensiveness of research, and clarity in writing. This review assessed that the deliverables were acceptable per the statement of work and additional information was not required.
 - Are all deliverables reviewed to ensure the accuracy and validity of citations and supporting research? If not, why not?
 - Question 2 mischaracterizes ONA’s response in the letter of February 5, 2020. ONA evaluates all deliverables to ensure they are consistent with the statement of work. ONA reviews each deliverable to assess whether ONA and the independent contracting authority should seek additional information or require a resubmission of commissioned work. ONA applies judgment before using any element of any commissioned work to inform a net assessment product. Our judgments are based on years of experience reviewing hundreds of commissioned reports, familiarity with existing literature (both classified and unclassified), our research agenda, and the needs of the Secretary of Defense or other senior leaders.
3. In response to question 4(c), you state that “ONA does not require peer review as part of our acceptance process for commissioned work.” Were Halper’s contracts peer reviewed? If not, why not?

- No. Professor Halper's contract did not include a requirement for peer review before submission.
 - As described in ONA's letter of February 5, 2020, experience has shown that overly formalistic peer review can sometimes work against originality, analytic boldness, and methodological innovation. In light of ONA's mission to bring these attributes into the Department, and as reflected in the guidance issued by successive Secretaries of Defense (attached), ONA does not require peer review by vendors.
4. In the August 2019 article, published by *The Washington Times*, several sources that Halper claimed to have interviewed and consulted for his work have stated that they would not consider themselves to be contributors to his research papers, and some had no memory of being asked to participate in any project at all.
- a. Has ONA reached out to each individual listed in Halper's statement of work to verify that each individual was in fact interviewed or contributed to Halper's research? If not, how can you state with certainty that Halper fulfilled the terms of his contracts?
 - Reference response in paragraph 2a above. Like all studies produced by and for ONA, Professor Halper's completed work was reviewed for maturity of analysis, comprehensiveness of research, and clarity in writing. This review assessed that the deliverables were acceptable per the statement of work.
 - b. Can you state with certainty that Halper interviewed the individuals that he claimed to interview for his research papers? If not, how can you claim that Halper's work was of high quality?
 - No. Professor Halper's work demonstrated analytic originality and a willingness to take on new, poorly understood, important questions. Those qualities can be achieved by many different methods. Professor Halper had published a well-respected book about China, was a professor at Cambridge University, and had served with distinction in the U.S. government. Professor Halper met the terms of his contractual obligations with ONA, and the Department paid him pursuant to the terms of his contract for the products he submitted.
5. In question 4(e), I asked if ONA currently requires contractors to provide the name and dollar amount contributed by third parties to ensure a contractor's work is in no way influenced by foreign individuals or entities. In response to this question, you spoke only of ONA's employees and conflict of interest forms that they are required to sign. This was not my question, and therefore your answer is unresponsive. In documents provided to my office Halper's travel to Japan is listed as being paid for by a third party. ONA does not appear to know the name or identity of the individual or entity that paid for Halper's travel to Japan.

- a. Did ONA attempt to elicit an answer at any point from Halper as to who paid for this travel? If not, why not?
 - As stated in ONA's February 5, 2020 response, a clause found in this contract was the Contractor Code of Business Ethics and Conduct, which requires contractors to disclose, in writing, to the Office of the Inspector General, any violation of Federal criminal law involving fraud, conflict of interest, bribery, or gratuity violations to demonstrate the vendor's obligations to report any potential conflicts of interest to the government.
 - b. Does ONA believe that travel paid for by a third-party could, on its face, be a conflict of interest to a DoD-sponsored study? If not, why not?
 - As noted above, a clause found in this contract was the Contractor Code of Business Ethics and Conduct, which requires contractors to disclose, in writing, to the Office of the Inspector General, any violation of Federal criminal law involving fraud, conflict of interest, bribery, or gratuity violations to demonstrate the vendor's obligations to report any potential conflicts of interest to the government.
6. In response to question five of my letter, you state that approval to exercise an option of a contract is given by an independently appointed contracting officer, who is not under your direction or authority. However, you also state that ONA will determine the strategic value of exercising an option in a contract and ONA will provide its recommendation to the independent contracting authority.
- a. How often does a contracting officer disagree with ONA's recommendation and opt to not exercise an option in a contract? Who then has final determination on exercising a contract option?
 - The contracting officer reviews ONA's recommendation for option award with the same rigor as it does a pre-award evaluation to ensure consistency in the process and adherence to all regulations. To date, all option requests submitted to the contracting officer were consistent with required processes and adhered to regulations, which resulted in the contracting officer concurrence with ONA's recommendations to select an option and final determination to exercise a contract option.
 - As with all contracts, the final determination on exercising a contract option is provided by the independent contract authority.
 - b. How many times over the last five years has this occurred?
 - See above.

7. In response to question eight of my letter, I asked if Halper's relationship with Russian intelligence officer Vyacheslav Trubnikov suggested that there may be biased and unreliable information contained within Professor Halper's deliverable. Your response was that ONA's security agency found no derogatory information on Professor Halper. Your answer is unresponsive to my question.
- a. Could a relationship between a contractor and a source suggest that a deliverable may be tainted with inaccurate or misleading information, especially a source that is a known intelligence officer for a foreign, hostile government? If not, why not?
 - Possibly. It would depend on the facts and circumstances. As stated in ONA's letter of February 5, 2020, Professor Halper listed Minister Trubnikov as a possible reference in his statement of work, and therefore this information was known to the office and the independent contracting authority. Professor Halper did not disclose any "relationship" with Minister Trubnikov to any ONA official, to the best of our knowledge.
 - b. Do you believe that research papers containing inaccurate or misleading information could cause a conflict in ONA's mission of providing assessments of future military threats? If not, why not?
 - Yes. However, as stated in ONA's letter of February 5, 2020, ONA applies judgment before using any element of any commissioned work to inform a net assessment product. These judgments are based on years of experience reviewing hundreds of commissioned reports, familiarity with existing literature (both classified and unclassified), our research agenda, and the needs of the Secretary or other senior leaders.
8. In response to question 13 of my letter, I asked for a list of individuals, contracted, nongovernment, or detailed, and their associated entity that would have shared workspace with ONA. Your answer indicated that in the past, there have been individuals that shared ONA's workspace.
- a. Please provide a list of those individuals, and their associated entity, that shared a workspace with ONA in the last five years.
 - The following personnel were temporarily detailed or provided full time contract support and shared an assigned workspace with ONA in the past five years
 - Ten Air Force officers: one Col, Military Analyst; one Lt Col, Military Analyst; four Maj's, Military Analysts; three Capt's, Acquisition Assistants; one Capt, Military Analyst.
 - Three Coast Guard officers, CDRs, Military Analysts.
 - Two Navy officers: one CAPT, Military Analyst; one CDR, Military Analyst.

- Two Army officers: one LTC, Executive Officer and Chief of Staff; one CPT, JCS Intern.
 - Two Army Reserve officers, CPTs, Executive Officers.
 - One Navy petty officer, YN1, Executive Assistant.
 - One Army civilian, GS-15, Civilian Analyst.
 - One Air Force Reserve officer, Lt Col, Military Analyst.
 - One OSD civilian, GS-15, Civilian Analyst.
 - One NASA employee, GS-15, Civilian Analyst.
 - One DTRA employee, GS-15, Civilian Analyst.
 - Eight contractors: one FFRDC Researcher, one SETA Researcher, two Research Assistants, two Scheduling Assistants, one Security Specialist, and one Archivist.
- b. Would these individuals have been privy to ONA's assessment of its future needs, in terms of future research projects?
- None of the above individuals took part in assessments of the future needs of the office. Such assessments are made by ONA leadership, all of whom are government employees assigned to ONA.
 - Members of the ONA team receive guidance from ONA leadership on the direction of the analytic program in order to do their work.
- c. Has a contracted, nongovernment, or detailed individual ever, either intentionally or inadvertently, received information regarding ONA's future needs?
- Yes. ONA publishes a general guide to its research interests in the Broad Area Announcement (BAA). This is available to any vendor and to the general public. The BAA outlines the process by which interested vendors should submit proposals, and identifies twelve areas of interest. ONA also conducts "road shows" with vendors explaining the BAA in an effort to broaden our vendor base.
- d. Please provide ONA's policy on separating non-ONA employees from ONA's workspace.
- All individuals permanently assigned and detailed to ONA and support contractors who perform a full-time role in ONA workspaces are required to sign a non-disclosure agreement.
 - All individuals detailed to ONA and support contractors who perform a full-time role in ONA workspaces participate only in meetings or briefings necessary for them to meet their work requirements given their respective roles.
 - All individuals detailed to ONA and support contractors who perform a full-time role in ONA workspaces are given access only to shared files and resources necessary for them to meet their work requirements given their respective roles.

- Some individuals under contract with the Office require occasional access to classified systems within the ONA spaces to work on specified ONA-sponsored projects. These contractors perform such work in ONA spaces pursuant to their contracts and are at all times supervised and escorted by a full-time government-employed ONA team member.
9. Did you provide any information relating to any Flynn-Kislyak call to the media? If so, what information?
- No.
10. Did you provide any information relating to any Flynn-Kislyak call to an individual with the knowledge that it would be shared by that individual to the media? If so, what information?
- No.
11. In your communications with Mr. Ignatius, did you ever provide Mr. Ignatius any information related to Lt. Gen. Flynn? If so, what information?
- To the best of my recollection, Mr. Ignatius sought my views in a single brief dialog about LTG (ret) Flynn's abilities and our relationship. I confirmed that we had worked closely together as military officers on the Joint Staff, that I generally admired his leadership and reputation for analytic boldness, and that I was surprised by some of his public statements post retirement from active service. I did not and do not hold animus towards LTG (ret) Flynn. My observations were off-the-record.
 - ONA interactions with all media are conducted in accordance with DoD policy and ATSD/PA procedures.
12. In your communications with Deputy Secretary of Defense Robert Work did you ever discuss any information relating to Lt. Gen. Flynn? If so, what information?
- No.
13. In your communications with Deputy Director of ONA, David Epstein, did you ever discuss any information relating to Lt. Gen. Flynn? If so, what information
- No.
14. On what date did you become aware of Halper's role in Crossfire Hurricane? How did you become aware?
- I do not recall the specific date, but it would have been when I read about it in a national newspaper.

Attachment 2

DoD Directive 5111.11, April 14, 2020



DoD DIRECTIVE 5111.11

DIRECTOR OF NET ASSESSMENT

Originating Component: Office of the Chief Management Officer of the Department of Defense

Effective: April 14, 2020

Releasability: Cleared for public release. Available on the Directives Division Website at <https://www.esd.whs.mil/DD/>.

Reissues and Cancels: DoD Directive 5111.11, "Director of Net Assessment," December 23, 2009

Approved by: David L. Norquist, Deputy Secretary of Defense

Purpose: This issuance updates the responsibilities and functions, relationships, and authorities of the Director, Net Assessment, pursuant to the authority vested in the Secretary of Defense by Section 113 of Title 10, United States Code, and consistent with Section 904 of Public Law 113-291.

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SECTION 1: GENERAL ISSUANCE INFORMATION

1.1. APPLICABILITY.

This issuance applies to OSD, the Military Departments, the Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS) and the Joint Staff, the Combatant Commands, the Office of the Inspector General of the Department of Defense, the Defense Agencies, the DoD Field Activities, and all other organizational entities within the DoD (referred to collectively in this issuance as the “DoD Components”).

SECTION 2: RESPONSIBILITIES AND FUNCTIONS

The Director, Net Assessment, is the Principal Staff Assistant (PSA) and advisor to the Secretary of Defense for net assessment matters. In the exercise of assigned responsibilities, the Director, Net Assessment:

a. Develops and coordinates independent net assessments of the standing trends, and future prospects of U.S. military capabilities and national potential in comparison with those of other countries or groups of countries so as to identify emerging or future threats or opportunities for the United States, consistent with the April 14, 2017 and October 1, 2019 Secretary of Defense Memorandums. Pursuant to Section 904(b) of Public Law 113-291, these net assessments may be communicated to the Secretary of Defense, without obtaining the approval or concurrence of any other DoD official. This will include, as required, net assessments of:

(1) Current and projected U.S. and foreign military capabilities by theater, region, domain, function, or mission.

(2) Specific current and projected U.S. and foreign capabilities, operational concepts, doctrine, and weapon systems.

b. Develops, advises, and consults on any net assessment portion of the Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense to the President and Congress, congressional testimony, and foreign government discussions; and provides advice for the preparation of net assessments by the CJCS.

c. Manages an independent research program that harnesses the latest thinking and relevant historical lessons, from diverse sources, and cultivates a network of experts for DoD to draw from.

d. Conducts future-oriented war games that examine the evolution of the character of war and assesses the expected performance of our current and emerging capabilities relative to those of our adversaries.

e. Provides guidance and staff assistance, and represents the Secretary of Defense in the development of national net assessments and resultant competitive strategies by the National Security Council; and serves as the primary OSD focal point for joint efforts with the Intelligence Community to produce net assessments.

f. Provides support for the improvement of and coordinates on the development of technical and joint military net assessments within the DoD.

g. Provides objective and independent analyses of national policy, doctrine, strategy, goals, objectives, and capabilities, as requested, or determined necessary.

h. Provides analysis of key trends and dynamics impacting the international system, its future trajectory, the nature of competition in the system, and their implications for our military advantage.

- i. Coordinates with DoD officials, as necessary, to ensure that DoD documents, deliberations, and discussions reflect appropriate, up-to-date assessment information.
- j. Ensures that assigned policies and programs are designed and managed to improve standards of performance, ethics, economy, and efficiency.
- k. Uses existing systems, facilities, and services of DoD and of other federal departments and agencies, when possible, to avoid duplication and achieve maximum efficiency and economy.
- l. Performs such other duties as the Secretary of Defense may prescribe.

SECTION 3: RELATIONSHIPS

3.1. DIRECTOR, NET ASSESMENT.

In performing his or her assigned responsibilities and functions, the Director, Net Assessment:

- a. Reports directly to the Secretary of Defense.
- b. Coordinates and exchanges information with other OSD officials, the DoD Component heads, other federal officials, and, as appropriate, State or local officials having collateral or related functions.

3.2. OSD PSAS AND DOD COMPONENT HEADS.

The OSD PSAs and DoD Component heads coordinate with the Director, Net Assessment on matters under their purview related to the responsibilities, functions, and authorities assigned to the Director, Net Assessment, in this issuance.

SECTION 4: AUTHORITIES

Pursuant to the authority vested in the Secretary of Defense, and subject to his or her authority, direction, and control, and in accordance with DoD policies and issuances, the Director, Net Assessment, is hereby delegated authority to exercise, within assigned responsibilities and functions, all authority of the Secretary of Defense derived from statute, Executive order, or interagency agreement, except where specifically limited by statute or Executive order to the Secretary of Defense. The Director, Net Assessment is specifically delegated authority to:

a. Establish DoD policy through DoD instructions (DoDIs), directive-type memorandums (DTMs), and rules published in the Federal Register, within the authorities and responsibilities assigned in this issuance and in accordance with DoDI 5025.01 or Administrative Instruction (AI) 102.

(1) In those documents, assign responsibilities related to the authorities and responsibilities in this issuance to other OSD PSAs and DoD Component heads. Assignment of responsibilities in DoD issuances or rules published in the Federal Register to Military Department officials must be made through the Secretaries of those Departments. DoD issuances or rules published in the Federal Register assigning responsibilities to the Combatant Commands must be coordinated with the CJCS.

(2) DoDIs and DTMs must be fully coordinated, in accordance with DoDI 5025.01. Rules published in the Federal Register must be fully coordinated with impacted OSD and DoD Component heads and be consistent with AI 102.

(3) This authority may not be redelegated.

b. Approve other DoDIs, DoD manuals, and DTMs in areas of assigned responsibilities and functions that implement policy already established by a DoD Directive, DoDI, DTM, or policy memorandum issued by the Secretary or Deputy Secretary of Defense.

(1) In these documents, assign responsibilities related to the authorities and responsibilities in this issuance to other OSD PSAs and DoD Component heads. Assignment of responsibilities in these DoD issuances to Military Department officials must be made through the Secretaries of those Departments. DoD issuances assigning responsibilities to the Combatant Commands must be coordinated with the CJCS.

(2) Such documents must be fully coordinated, in accordance with DoDI 5025.01.

(3) This authority may only be further delegated to DoD officials, as specified in DoDI 5025.01.

c. Approve the Federal Register publication of documents other than rules and significant guidance documents (e.g., notices, orders, and non-significant guidance documents as defined in Executive Order 13891 and determined by the Office of Management and Budget), in accordance with AI 102. Unless otherwise restricted by law, this authority may be further

delegated only in writing to DoD officials at or above the level of a general or flag officer, Senior Executive member, or equivalent.

d. Communicate directly with the DoD Component heads, as necessary, to carry out assigned responsibilities and functions, including transmitting requests for advice and assistance. Communications to Military Department officials must be transmitted through the Secretaries of the Military Departments or as otherwise provided in law or directed by the Secretary of Defense in other DoD issuances. Communications to the Combatant Commanders must be in accordance with DoD Directive 5100.01.

e. Communicate with other government officials, members of the public, and representatives of foreign governments, as appropriate, in carrying out assigned responsibilities and functions. Communications with representatives and members of the legislative branch must be conducted through the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs, except for communications with the Defense Appropriations Committees, which must be coordinated with the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller)/Chief Financial Officer, Department of Defense.

f. Obtain reports and information, in accordance with DoDI 8910.01, as necessary, to carry out assigned responsibilities and functions.

g. Establish appropriate arrangements for DoD participation in non-DoD governmental programs for which the Director, Net Assessment, is assigned primary DoD cognizance.

h. Enter into support and service agreements with the Military Departments, other DoD Components, or other federal departments and agencies, as required, for the effective performance of responsibilities and functions assigned to the Director, Net Assessment, in accordance with DoDI 4000.19.

GLOSSARY

G.1. ACRONYMS.

ACRONYM	MEANING
AI	administrative instruction
CJCS	Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
DoDI	DoD instruction
DTM	directive-type memorandum
PSA	Principal Staff Assistant

G.2. DEFINITIONS.

TERM	DEFINITION
net assessment.	For the purposes of this issuance, the comparative analysis of military, technological, political, economic, and other factors governing the relative military capability of nations. Its purpose is to identify problems and opportunities that deserve the attention of senior defense officials.

REFERENCES

- Administrative Instruction 102, "Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) Federal Register (FR) System," November 6, 2006, as amended
- DoD Directive 5100.01, "Functions of the Department of Defense and Its Major Components," December 21, 2010
- DoD Instruction 4000.19, "Support Agreements," April 25, 2013, as amended
- DoD Instruction 5025.01, "DoD Issuances Program," August 1, 2016, as amended
- DoD Instruction 8910.01, "Information Collection and Reporting," May 19, 2014
- Executive Order 13891, "Promoting the Rule of Law Through Improved Agency Guidance Documents," October 9, 2019
- Public Law 113-291, Section 904(b), "Carl Levin and Howard P. 'Buck' McKeon National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2015," December 19, 2015
- Secretary of Defense Memorandum, "Guidance," April 17, 2017
- Secretary of Defense Memorandum, "Guidance," October 1, 2019
- United States Code, Title 10, Section 113

Attachment 3
Guidance Memorandum to ONA, October 1, 2019



SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

OCT - 1 2019

MEMORANDUM FOR DIRECTOR OF NET ASSESSMENT

SUBJECT: Guidance

The Office of Net Assessment (ONA) has long been the Department's premier source of independent, deep thinking about the future and a critical enabler of competitive strategies against our adversaries. That is the mission I direct you to continue carrying out under my tenure.

In fulfilling this mission, I expect you to pursue the following core tasks:

- Conduct independent net assessments that examine the trends and future prospects of military capabilities of the United States relative to other actors, as required by law. I would like these assessments to include political and economic aspects, as well as regional implications of anticipated shifts in the military balance.
- Analyze the long-term strategy and doctrine of our principal competitors.
- Study the enduring strengths and weaknesses of the United States, our allies, and our competitors, and recommend actions I might take to further favorable trends.
- Lead long-term war gaming, to both explore the character of future warfare as well as assess programmed forces.
- Undertake bilateral net assessments with select allies.
- Prepare to act as a red team for candidate strategies the Department is considering.

There are several aspects of the office's work that I expect you to emphasize:

- Pay particular attention to the science and technology competition that is part of the broader geostrategic competition with China and Russia.
- Examine great power competition in the context of alliances, including potential future alliances, shifts in burden sharing among current allies and partners, and the alliances or cooperative arrangements our competitors may seek to develop.
- Seek out the finest minds globally who are thinking about strategy, economics, technology, and the future. Bring competing views to me and the staff.

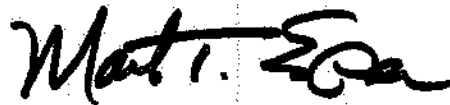


OSD010518-19/CMD012984-19

To aid you in accomplishing these tasks, you will have:

- The intellectual freedom to pursue studies and analysis, even those that do not bear immediate fruit, or that may question our current strategies;
- Access to meetings or briefings that the Deputy or I attend that you believe to be of use;
- Access to Department of Defense classified programs and capabilities;
- Your team must constantly act as an intellectual scout, reconnoitering the future as best as you can. I appreciate that your reports will be tentative and subject to change, but you must take risks and be bold in thinking about alternative futures. I regard your work, both internal and contracted, as pre-decisional in nature, as it may shape judgements and choices I make about the Department.

Great power competition is upon us in earnest. Your work must continue to help us to deter and to win. I am counting on ONA's contribution to position us for the future.



cc:

Chief Management Officer of the Department of Defense
Secretaries of the Military Departments
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
Under Secretaries of Defense
Chief of the National Guard Bureau
General Counsel of the Department of Defense
Director of Cost Assessment and Program Evaluation
Inspector General of the Department of Defense
Director of Operational Test and Evaluation
Chief Information Officer of the Department of Defense
Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs
Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs
Directors of Defense Agencies
Directors of DoD Field Activities

Attachment 4
Guidance Memorandum to ONA, April 14, 2017



SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

APR 14 2017

MEMORANDUM FOR DIRECTOR OF NET ASSESSMENT

SUBJECT: Guidance

The Office of Net Assessment has long been my predecessors' source of independent, long-term, deep thinking about our future. That is the legacy I expect you to maintain and upon which I expect you to build. I require your unfiltered insights.

These are the core tasks I see for your office during my tenure as the Secretary of Defense:

- Conduct independent net assessments that examine the trends and future prospects of military capabilities of the United States relative to other actors, as required by law. I would like these assessments to include political and economic aspects, as well as regional implications of anticipated shifts in the military balance.
- Analyze the long-term strategy and doctrine of our principal competitors.
- Study the enduring strengths and weaknesses of the United States, our allies, and our competitors, and recommend actions I might take to further favorable trends.
- Lead long-term war gaming, to both explore the character of future warfare as well as assess programmed forces.
- Undertake bilateral net assessments with select allies.
- Prepare to act as a red team for candidate strategies the Department is considering.

There are several aspects of the office that I expect you to emphasize:

- Focus on how we field a more lethal warfighting force relevant to future military competitions.
- Seek out the finest minds globally who are thinking about the international order, foreign policy, economics, technology, and the future. Bring competing views to me and the staff.
- Continue your outreach to my other direct reports, as well as the intelligence community.



OSD003073-17/CMD006451-17

To aid you in accomplishing these efforts you will have:

- Access to meetings or briefings that the Deputy or I attend that may be of use.
- Access to appropriate Department of Defense classified programs and capabilities.
- The intellectual freedom to pursue studies, even those that do not bear immediate fruit.
- Your team must constantly act as an intellectual scout, reconnoitering the future as best as you can. I appreciate that your reports will be tentative and subject to change, but you must take risks and be bold in thinking about alternative futures. I regard your work, both internal and contracted, as pre-decisional in nature, as it may shape judgments and choices I make about the Department.

John M. Mattis

cc:

Secretaries of the Military Departments
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
Under Secretaries of Defense
Deputy Chief Management Officer
Chief, National Guard Bureau
General Counsel of the Department of Defense
Director of Cost Assessment and Program Evaluation
Inspector General of the Department of Defense
Director of Operational Test and Evaluation
Chief Information Officer of the Department Of Defense
Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs
Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs
Director, Strategic Capabilities Office
Directors of Defense Agencies
Directors of DoD Field Activities

Attachment 5
Guidance Memorandum to ONA, June 4, 2015



SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

JUN 04 2015

MEMORANDUM FOR DIRECTOR, NET ASSESSMENT

SUBJECT: Guidance

1. The Office of Net Assessment has long been my predecessors' source of independent, long term, deep thinking about our future. That is the legacy I expect you to maintain and upon which I expect you to build. I will require your unfiltered insights even (or especially) when they challenge my present thinking or the thinking of other Department officials.
2. These are the core tasks I see for your office during my tenure as the Secretary of Defense:
 - (a) The conduct of independent net assessments that examine the standing trends and future prospect of military capabilities of the United States relative to other actors, as required by law. I would like these assessments to include political and economic aspects, as well as regional implications. I am particularly interested in space and cyber.
 - (b) A comparison of our relative overmatch in each war-fighting domain from 2000-2030.
 - (c) A series of studies examining the future security environment. Synthesize where possible, as there is good work being done here by the intelligence community and others.
 - (d) Identify uncomfortable questions or problems for the United States that ought to be asked or addressed, but are not at present.
 - (e) Lead long-term war gaming.
3. There are several aspects of the office that I would like you to reinvigorate:
 - (a) Put a premium on finding opportunities, rather than just challenges.
 - (b) Seek out the finest minds globally who are thinking about the international order, foreign policy, economics, technology, and the future. Bring competing views to me and the staff.
 - (c) Identify emergent analytic practices, as well as recommendations on whether and how to incorporate them into the Department.
 - (d) Rebuild the connective tissue between Office of Net Assessment and the Intelligence Community.
4. To aid you in accomplishing these efforts, you will have:
 - (a) Access to meetings or briefings that the Deputy or I attend that you believe to be of use.
 - (b) Access to all Department of Defense classified programs and capabilities.
 - (c) The intellectual freedom to pursue studies, even those that do not bear immediate fruit.

5. Finally, help me think about the long-term consequences of near-term policy decisions; bring the imperfect wisdom of the future into the present for my consideration. Your work remains future focused, but you must ensure the team's work has present relevance to me. It is unclear to me whether the office is presently scoped and staffed to accomplish these objectives. Within thirty days, bring me your initial plan to meet my intent.

Ash Carter

cc:

Secretaries of the Military Departments
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
Under Secretaries of Defense
Deputy Chief Management Officer
Chief of the National Guard Bureau
General Counsel of the Department of Defense
Director, Cost Assessment and Program Evaluation
Inspector General of the Department of Defense
Director, Operational Test and Evaluation
Department of Defense Chief Information Officer
Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs
Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs
Directors of the Defense Agencies
Directors of the DoD Field Activities

Attachment 6
Requested email exchanges

From: (b) (6)
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA)
Cc: Epstein, David F SES OSD ODNA (US); (b) (6)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Your work
Date: Wednesday, May 22, 2019 5:20:33 PM
Attachments: (b) (5).docx
(b) (5).docx
(b) (5).dot

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Jim,

I've attached the two papers I passed on to you before as well as our status update on the international crisis war game series. I caveat again that this data collection is ongoing and our

(b) (5) (b) (5) (b) (5)

Best,

(b) (6)

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA) (b) (6)
Sent: Monday, May 20, 2019 7:19 PM
To: (b) (6)
Cc: Epstein, David F SES OSD ODNA (US); (b) (6)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Your work

Thanks (b) (6). Understand all. And congratulations on (b) (6) —although a loss for the (b) (6) and USG.

Trons of previously aforementioned papers?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On May 20, 2019, at 07:48, (b) (6) CIV, (b) (6)
(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)> >>

wrote:

Jim,

Great to hear from you. My JWICS email is not up right now, but I can schedule a TS video call to discuss (b) (5). At a very general level, I can say that I have not found any evidence to suggest that my initial conclusions (b) (5) have changed. The major caveat is that my sample has been (b) (5) so I can't say with any certainty (b) (5)

Recognizing this limitation, I'm currently running a series of war-games that look at (b) (5). My goal is to run (b) (5) games of (b) (5). I'm currently at (b) (5). We've run iterations in (b) (5). I am planning on running additional iterations in (b) (5) this fall. Pending funding, I also plan to run iterations (b) (5) winter. I hesitate to generalize too much from the data we have so far, but the trends so far support my previous conclusions (b) (5). This is remarkable because we introduce (b) (5) in the game.

I am leaving the (b) (6) this summer and moving (b) (6). That helps me to extend the game to a non-U.S. audience because I ran into difficulties running this game with some nations because of my affiliation with the (b) (6). On a downside, that means that my clearance will no longer be held by (b) (6) nor will I be receiving (b) (6) funding for the work. I am, however, still an (b) (6) and I need to figure out how I can leverage my (b) (6) to do some of the work that I will no longer be doing for the (b) (6). If ONA has any open billets for a (b) (6), I would love to discuss!

Best,

(b) (6)

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA) (b) (6) <Caution-mailto (b) (6)>

Sent: Sunday, May 19, 2019 2:35 PM

To: (b) (6)

Cc: Epstein, David F SES OSD ODNA (US); (b) (6)

Subject: Your work

Professor—

I have been rereading with interest today two of the papers you left me when we last met:

(b) (5) (b) (6)
(b) (5)

Do the insights from these still hold, in your mind? Have you extended the latter work to include

(b) (5)

May I trouble you to send these papers to me electronically? I was speaking with David Ignatius, the journalist, about this topic. I would like send him some things, including your work.

Also, would your please pass me your JWICS email. There is an exchange I am having with (b) (5) (b) (6) and I would appreciate your take on it.

Have you written anything else lately?

Thanks again for all the hard work.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

From: (b) (6)
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA)
Cc: Epstein, David F SES OSD ODNA (US); (b) (6)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Your work
Date: Monday, May 20, 2019 10:48:28 AM

Jim,

Great to hear from you. My JWICS email is not up right now, but I can schedule a TS video call to discuss the (b) (5). At a very general level, I can say that I have not found any evidence to suggest that my initial conclusions (b) (5) have changed. The major caveat is that my sample has been (b) (5) so I can't say with any certainty (b) (5).

Recognizing this limitation, I'm currently running a series of war-games that look at (b) (5). My goal is to run (b) (5) games of (b) (5). I'm currently at (b) (5). We've run (b) (5) iterations in (b) (5). I am planning on running additional iterations in (b) (5) this fall. Pending funding, I also plan to run iterations (b) (5) winter. I hesitate to generalize too much from the data we have so far, but the trends so far support my previous conclusions (b) (5). This is remarkable because we introduce (b) (5) in the game.

I am leaving the (b) (6) this summer and moving (b) (6). That helps me to extend the game to a non-U.S. audience because I ran into difficulties running this game with some nations because of my affiliation with the (b) (6). On a downside, that means that my clearance will no longer be held by (b) (6) nor will I be receiving (b) (6) funding for the work. I am, however, still an (b) (6) and I need to figure out how I can leverage my (b) (6) to do some of the work that I will no longer be doing for the (b) (6). If ONA has any open billets for a (b) (6), I would love to discuss!

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(b) (6)

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA) (b) (6)
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Have you written anything else lately?

Thanks again for all the hard work.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Mattis and the border Friday,
Date: November 2, 2018 7:49:31 AM

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

I'd like to talk more about this. (And to read your essay).

Get Outlook for iOS < Caution-<https://aka.ms/o0ukef> >

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6)
Sent: Friday, November 2, 2018 6:21:01 AM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: Mattis and the border

[EXTERNAL EMAIL]

David, I wish we had had a chance to talk before your column this morning.

The bottom line is that the President has issued a lawful order.

We can and do debate internally about whether orders are lawful vs unlawful when deciding to follow or challenge them.

We don't debate about proper or improper motivation in thinking about whether to execute it or not.

Who are we to decide whether a motivation is "proper" or "improper"? It would be the height of unprofessionalism to do so. And I would argue that we can't afford to establish that norm, because it would dramatically undermine civil control of the military. I can imagine very dire situations where it might be worth debating the question of motivation. This situation is not so dire as to bring the principle into question.

The President's order may be unwise. It may be a political stunt. It may be an overreaction. But he has earned the right to make these judgments, after hearing our advice.

And I think it is our political system which has remedies for these kinds of errors. It is to that system from which the remedy sought must come. Not from appealing to a Secretary or a Chairman to stand up and speak out in opposition to something they did not recommend.

I can think of countless examples in every Administration I have served where I felt I had seen orders given out of improper motivation, poor judgment, or to use the troops for "political purposes". So what? My opinion and judgment isn't relevant. It is instead my citizens job to evaluate these things. If I disagreed so strongly, I should resign.

Our job is to argue, advise, and then listen. And if the order is lawful, then execute it diligently and faithfully.

I have thought a bit on this question. I wrote an award winning essay about it when I was in War College.

Thanks for listening.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense

(b) (6)

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call? Monday, October
Date: 1, 2018 6:17:26 PM

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Understood. Thanks for talking with me.

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [Caution-mailto: (b) (6)]
Sent: Monday, October 01, 2018 6:14 PM
To: Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com>
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?

[EXTERNAL EMAIL]

David, please, as always, our discussions are completely off the record. If any of my observations strike you as worthy of mixing or folding into your own thinking, that is as usual fine.

Great to talk with you. Have a good night.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Oct 1, 2018, at 3:14 PM, Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com < Caution-mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com > > wrote:

I am working on a column about AI issues for the government on which I'd love to get your take. Also one about where we're heading on Iran, ditto. Any chance you could call this afternoon?

From: [Ignatius David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] Follow up Monday, July 30,
Date: 2018 9:46:16 AM

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

I am so glad you will attend. That will make the whole conference better for everyone. Thanks for the quantum crib sheet. Don't snicker when I make my presentation.

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [Caution-mailto (b) (6)]
Sent: Monday, July 30, 2018 6:06 AM
To: Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com>
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Follow up

[EXTERNAL EMAIL]

David, good morning. I did hear back, and plan to attend. I appreciate your advocacy.

Quantum computing is worth the hype, but not quite yet and not for the most obvious application.

Not quite yet because we still have not built a single logical qubit. Several companies have built a dozen or so imperfect ones, but these are not yet capable of anything remotely useful. They are toys. We don't even know which physical architecture makes for the best approach—there are several competing models. It's unclear how quickly we will make progress towards solving these problems. And once built, it is unclear how to properly encode and decode the results of actually useful computing problems. Oh, and we also aren't exactly sure where the boundary is for classes of problems can be better solved by a quantum computer.

Almost certainly the "end of cryptography" will not be the foremost use case. Governments and engineers are already thinking about post-quantum cryptography. But the ability to simulate quantum phenomenology—assuming we actually can build a workable computer—would allow for unprecedented ability to understand and manipulate matter. New materials and new medicines with properties we can barely imagine today would become designable and producible. It would be as or more revolutionary than the introduction of the classic computer.

But we have a ways to go to that vision.

Or so I think.

See you soon.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense

(b) (6)

On Jul 29, 2018, at 10:15 PM, Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com < Caution-mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com > > wrote:

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

I am hoping that you heard back from Nick Burns re ASG but fearing not. If not, we will definitely be the worse for missing your insights. They have asked me to speak briefly on quantum computing. What do you think is worth saying, in the continuum between intellectual interest and hype?

Get Outlook for iOS < Caution-Caution-https://aka.ms/o0ukef > < Caution-https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=https-3A__aka.ms_o0ukef-25C2-25A0-253E&d=DwQF-g&c=RAhzPLrCAq19eJdrcQjUVewFYoMRqGDAXQ_puw5tYjg&r=QndntnPzAwUf7S1u6koXQ9ySaeG5xLV_JrV3h8c6-9A&m=1QKICqxV60bEuYrYUOFwFRGNGA-x2Ib_OuS3_bVYMVE&s=HpaMuxjcPwWWO2HceMOGleGOMgSiP-L6cf0Cxmkncls&e=>

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Follow up Sunday, July 29, 2018
Date: 10:15:55 PM

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

I am hoping that you heard back from Nick Burns re ASG but fearing not. If not, we will definitely be the worse for missing your insights. They have asked me to speak briefly on quantum computing. What do you think is worth saying, in the continuum between intellectual interest and hype?

Get Outlook for iOS < Caution-<https://aka.ms/o0ukef> >

From: [Jonatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call this afternoon?
Date: Monday, July 16, 2018 8:03:28 AM

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

I will be trying to make sense of the days events intellectually, and I could use some wisdom. Any chance we could talk at noon or so?

Get Outlook for iOS < Caution-<https://aka.ms/o0ukef> >

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Question
Date: Monday, April 2, 2018 6:58:51 PM

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Wise and easy to forget. I noted that SecDef created the Gerasimov channel the other day. Glad there are different levels, though at the end of the day there needs to be strategic direction.

Get Outlook for iOS < Caution-<https://aka.ms/o0ukef> >

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6)
Sent: Monday, April 2, 2018 6:50:16 PM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Question

[EXTERNAL EMAIL]

David, I am sure others will be more thoughtful here, but one idea I see overlooked is in the phrasing of the question.

Aren't there many "US" and only slightly fewer "Russia"s?

The way a head of state speaks to another should be different in some contexts than how senior military leaders speak together, how tactical units deconflict, how intelligence services cooperate and compete.

The way our business leaders and financiers speak to theirs. The way our Fed talks to their central bank. The way our youth engage theirs. The way our media supports their own attempts. How our civil societies interact.

Our countries are not monolithic. Surely our messages can't be, either.

Yes, there is an important alignment role that can and must come from the White House. But we have many other channels to talk with and influence each other, over many different areas.

Perhaps you might explore that complexity a bit, and talk about how we might try to use it to our advantage (just as the Russians will try to use it to their own)

Perhaps too cliché an observation.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (7)

On Apr 2, 2018, at 3:23 PM, Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com < Caution-mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com >> wrote:

I am trying to think about whether and how US should talk to Russia. I'd welcome any thoughts.

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Can we talk Monday?
Date: Monday, March 26, 2018 5:10:07 AM

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Great. 3.00 or 4.00? I'll be at (b) (6)

Sent from my iPhone

On Mar 25, 2018, at 10:40 PM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)

(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)> > wrote:

[EXTERNAL EMAIL]

David, yes. In the afternoon is best for me.

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Mar 25, 2018, at 9:09 PM, Ignatius, David
<David.Ignatius@washpost.com <Caution-mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com > > wrote:

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Can we talk Monday?
Date: Sunday, March 25, 2018 9:09:16 PM

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] Checking in
Date: Monday, January 8, 2018 5:12:27 PM

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Jim:

Try me again if you have a moment. (b) (6)

David

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [Caution-mailto: (b) (6)]
Sent: Monday, January 08, 2018 5:11 PM
To: Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com>
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Checking in

David, my apologies for the delayed reply. I just tried your cell, no joy. Is this evening possible?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

(b) (6) < Caution-mailto: (b) (6) >

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, January 8, 2018 9:58 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Checking in

Jim:

Any chance you might be in for a phone call later today (Monday)? I am at the office, (b) (6) or cell, (b) (6). Let me know what time might work.

David

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Checking in
Date: Monday, January 8, 2018 9:58:25 AM

Jim:

Any chance you might be in for a phone call later today (Monday)? I am at the office, (b) (6) or cell, (b) (6). Let me know what time might work.

David

From: [Work, Robert HON SD](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Cc: [Guenov, Tressa S SES \(US\)](#); [Hedger, Stephen C SES \(US\)](#)
Subject: Re: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?
Date: Thursday, December 22, 2016 3:10:14 PM

I do too!

Happy holidays, Jim!

Best, Bob

Sent from my iPhone

> On Dec 22, 2016, at 3:06 PM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6) > wrote:

>

> Sir--wilco.

>

> I think this is a fine set up for 3OS.

>

> With respect

>

> Jim

>

> Original Message

> From: Work, Robert HON SD

> Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 2:38 PM

> To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)

> Cc: Guenov, Tressa S SES (US); Hedger, Stephen C SES (US)

> Subject: RE: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?

>

>

> Jim: thanks. The whole point is to now follow up with 3OS and 17/18 budget.

>

> I would like to slow this until after the first of the year then follow up.

>

> Best, Bob

>

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [mailto:(b) (6)]

> Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 2:34 PM

> To: Work, Robert HON SD

> Cc: Guenov, Tressa S SES (US); Hedger, Stephen HON SD

> Subject: Re: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?

>

> Sir:

>

> The briefing went well. Chris Brose was a close and capable questioner. More details are available to your staff on SIPR.

>

> Two unclassified, paraphrased observations of his stand out:

>

> - (b) (5)

> - (b) (5)

>

> He also indicated a desire for the Chairman and Ranking to see it, and perhaps the Committee. I will leave that request to you and Tressa.

>

> I did ask him to go slowly--you, the SD, the Chiefs have only had the briefing a short while.

>

> With respect

>

> Jim

>

> Original Message

> From: Work, Robert HON SD

> Sent: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 6:49 PM

> To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)

> Cc: Guenov, Tressa S SES (US); Hedger, Stephen C SES (US)

> Subject: Re: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?

>

>

> Jim: I see no reason not to brief. But Chris was going to set up a meeting between me and his. OSD to talk 3OS and ACDP. It would actually be good to do overmatch at same time. Let's talk with Hedger tomorrow about best approach

>

> Best, Bob

>

> Sent from my iPhone

>

>> On Dec 14, 2016, at 5:18 PM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6) > wrote:

>>

>> Mr. Secretary --

>>

>> A portion of the oversight committee staff has gotten wind of the overmatch work. This is unsurprising given the mention of it in David Ignatius' column.

>>

>> I have been contacted by Chris Brose informally (he is a friend) and he has asked if we can brief him.

>>

>> The work has been made available privately and in hardcopy only to you, the Secretary, the Chiefs and the COCOMs. I am unaware of further distribution, although some winks and nods in the hallways suggest that trusted agents in the Service staffs and Joint Staff have also seen it since then.

>>

>> I would recommend we give the briefing verbally to Chris soonest, and not leave slides behind. Of course, I welcome Tressa's wisdom on this matter.

>>

>> With respect

>>

>> Jim

>>

>> Director

>> Office of Net Assessment

>> (b) (6)

>> (b) (6)

>> (b) (6)

>>

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Work, Robert HON SD](#)
Cc: [Guenov, Tressa S SES \(US\)](#); [Hedger, Stephen C SES \(US\)](#)
Subject: Re: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?
Date: Thursday, December 22, 2016 3:06:21 PM

Sir--wilco.

I think this is a fine set up for 3OS.

With respect

Jim

Original Message
From: Work, Robert HON SD
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 2:38 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Cc: Guenov, Tressa S SES (US); Hedger, Stephen C SES (US)
Subject: RE: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?

Jim: thanks. The whole point is to now follow up with 3OS and 17/18 budget.

I would like to slow this until after the first of the year then follow up.

Best, Bob

-----Original Message-----
From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [mailto:(b) (6)]
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 2:34 PM
To: Work, Robert HON SD
Cc: Guenov, Tressa S SES (US); Hedger, Stephen HON SD
Subject: Re: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?

Sir:

The briefing went well. Chris Brose was a close and capable questioner. More details are available to your staff on SIPR.

Two unclassified, paraphrased observations of his stand out:

-(b) (5)
-(b) (5)

He also indicated a desire for the Chairman and Ranking to see it, and perhaps the Committee. I will leave that request to you and Tressa.

I did ask him to go slowly--you, the SD, the Chiefs have only had the briefing a short while.

With respect

Jim

Original Message

From: Work, Robert HON SD
Sent: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 6:49 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Cc: Guenov, Tressa S SES (US); Hedger, Stephen C SES (US)
Subject: Re: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?

Jim: I see no reason not to brief. But Chris was going to set up a meeting between me and his. OSD to talk 3OS and ACDP. It would actually be good to do overmatch at same time. Let's talk with Hedger tomorrow about best approach

Best, Bob

Sent from my iPhone

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> Jim
>
> Director
> Office of Net Assessment
> (b) (6)
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>

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Work, Robert HON SD](#)
Cc: [Guenov, Tressa S SES \(US\)](#); [Hedger, Stephen C SES \(US\)](#)
Subject: Re: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?
Date: Thursday, December 22, 2016 2:33:43 PM

Sir:

The briefing went well. Chris Brose was a close and capable questioner. More details are available to your staff on SIPR.

Two unclassified, paraphrased observations of his stand out:

- (b) (5)
- (b) (5)

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With respect

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> Jim

>

> Director

> Office of Net Assessment

> (b) (6)

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From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Work, Robert HON SD](#)
Cc: [Guenov, Tressa S SES \(US\)](#); [Hedger, Stephen C SES \(US\)](#)
Subject: Re: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?
Date: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 7:28:51 PM

Sir, wilco.

Original Message

From: Work, Robert HON SD
Sent: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 6:49 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Cc: Guenov, Tressa S SES (US); Hedger, Stephen C SES (US)
Subject: Re: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?

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To: [Work, Robert HON SD](#)
Cc: [Guenov, Tressa S SES \(US\)](#); [Hedger, Stephen C SES \(US\)](#)
Subject: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?
Date: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 5:17:00 PM

Mr. Secretary --

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With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

From: [Work, Robert HON SD](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Cc: [Guenov, Tressa S SES \(US\)](#); [Hedger, Stephen C SES \(US\)](#)
Subject: RE: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?
Date: Thursday, December 22, 2016 2:38:13 PM

Jim: thanks. The whole point is to now follow up with 3OS and 17/18 budget.

I would like to slow this until after the first of the year then follow up.

Best, Bob

-----Original Message-----

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [mailto:(b) (6)]
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 2:34 PM
To: Work, Robert HON SD
Cc: Guenov, Tressa S SES (US); Hedger, Stephen HON SD
Subject: Re: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?

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To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Cc: [Guenov, Tressa S SES \(US\)](#); [Hedger, Stephen C SES \(US\)](#)
Subject: RE: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?
Date: Thursday, December 15, 2016 8:44:25 AM

Jim: Brose confirmed he is trying to get me into McCain.

I agree a brief is okay, and we should not leave slides behind.

I think the best outcome is you brief the staff and I follow with the Chairman 1-2 days later.

Steve will be talking with you.

Best, Bob

-----Original Message-----

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [[mailto:\(b\) \(6\)](#)]

Sent: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 5:17 PM

To: Work, Robert HON SD

Cc: Guenov, Tressa S SES (US); Hedger, Stephen HON SD

Subject: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?

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With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: [Work, Robert HON SD](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Cc: [Guenov, Tressa S SES \(US\)](#); [Hedger, Stephen C SES \(US\)](#)
Subject: Re: Overmatch brief to SASC staffer?
Date: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 6:49:02 PM

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Best, Bob

Sent from my iPhone

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> Jim
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>

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Talk today or tomorrow?
Date: Monday, March 14, 2016 6:44:12 PM

1000 tomorrow workable?

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, March 14, 2016 4:44 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Talk today or tomorrow?

Jim:

Hoping to have the call I scratched last week. If you have any time late today or tomorrow am I would be most grateful. (b) (6)

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] How America's political decay has fueled Trump's rise from The Washington Post
Date: Thursday, March 10, 2016 8:14:00 PM

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Caution-<http://wpo.st/ZmK1>

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] My Christmas present
Date: Friday, December 18, 2015 4:35:29 PM
Attachments: [ATT00001.txt](#)

(b) (6) age 1 day.

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work
Date: Friday, December 18, 2015 9:48:56 AM

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Jim: I wonder if we would do our call at 4.00 today instead of 3.00. Is that possible for you?
David

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 18, 2015, at 7:10 AM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)> wrote:

Yes sir

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, December 17, 2015 2:56 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work

Tomorrow pm good for me. 3?

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)>
Sent: Thursday, December 17, 2015 11:15 AM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work

Tomorrow PM is pretty open.

That said, I have little new to discuss, at least rel the middle east. I was just thankful again for you laying out the views so cogently.

Hope all remains well.

With respect

Jim

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, December 17, 2015 8:30 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Thanks Jim. You around this week for a phone chat?

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 17, 2015, at 7:43 AM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)

(b) (6) < Caution-
mailto:(b) (6) > < Caution-Caution-
mailto:(b) (6) < Caution-
mailto:(b) (6) > > wrote:

Sir, a nice column laying the drivers of our present strategy wrt
ISIS...it's advantages and its risks.

Have a blessed holiday.

With respect

Jim

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: Re: In for a phone call this morning?
Date: Thursday, October 8, 2015 8:04:11 PM

This email was sent from a non-Department of Defense email account, and contained active links. All links are disabled, and require you to copy and paste the address to a Web browser. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm authenticity of all links contained within the message.

No problem. Glad you are pivoting to Asia. Had a great dinner Tuesday night with new CJCS and vice. Very impressive. Let's talk when you return.

Sent from my iPhone

On Oct 8, 2015, at 7:46 PM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)

<(b) (6)> <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)> > wrote:

David my apologies. I am in Tokyo, hence you time delay. I am sorry to have missed you. I have been OCONU for the past four days.

Heading to Narita shortly, if still relevant.

With respect

Jim

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, October 8, 2015 11:26 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: In for a phone call this morning?

Jim:

Late notice but I'd be grateful for the chance to think out loud with you for five minutes if you can spare time. I am on (b) (6)

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: In for a very brief call soon this am?
Date: Thursday, September 17, 2015 9:27:18 AM

I am on (b) (6)

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Cc: [Nick Burns](#); [Jonathon Price](#)
Subject: Mark your calendar
Date: Thursday, September 10, 2015 4:02:28 PM

Jim:

Nick Burns asks me to share with you his invitation to join us next August in Aspen for the Aspen Strategy Group. Details will be coming in some months but I am copying our executive administrator Jonathon Price if you have any questions. I can't think of anyone whose rumination on our topics I'd rather hear. With best wishes

David

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: Re: Talk Tuesday?
Date: Monday, September 7, 2015 7:28:36 PM

Shape of my favorite region after Russian moves (to what end diplo or kinetic?), Salman DC visit (with what aim and result), Euro reaching tipping point because of migration crisis (again, to what end?) anytime between 10.30 and 11.30 would work for me.

Sent from my iPhone

> On Sep 7, 2015, at 6:58 PM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6) > wrote:
>
> Should be doable. Any particular topic area?
>
> Original Message
> From: Ignatius, David
> Sent: Monday, September 7, 2015 4:41 PM
> To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
> Subject: Talk Tuesday?
>
>
> Any chance we could chat tomorrow morNing before 11? My back to scho primer.
>
> Sent from my iPhone

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: Re: column
Date: Wednesday, August 5, 2015 8:02:27 AM

Jim:

Thanks for the note. Optimism is not a word I associate with Syria, but I do think this is a more coherent approach than we've had. Do you disagree? I'd love to arrange a call, or come visit! Best
David

Sent from my iPhone

> On Aug 5, 2015, at 7:51 AM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) <(b) (6)> wrote:
>
> David -- another good column on Syria this morning, although you will be unsurprised I do not share your sense of even flickers of optimism...
>
> A good article by your colleague Karen DeYoung on the NSC also.
>
> Hope all remains well with you.
>
> With respect
>
> Jim
>
> Director
> Office of Net Assessment
> (b) (6)
> (b) (6)
> (b) (6)
>
>

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA)
To: (b) (6)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Your work
Date: Wednesday, May 22, 2019 7:12:14 PM

My thanks

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On May 22, 2019, at 17:20, (b) (6)
(b) (6) wrote:

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Jim,

I've attached the two papers I passed on to you before as well as our status update on the international crisis war game series. I caveat again that this data collection is ongoing and (b) (5) (b) (5) (b) (5)

Best,

(b) (6)

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA) (b) (6) >
Sent: Monday, May 20, 2019 7:19 PM
To: (b) (6)
Cc: Epstein, David F SES OSD ODNA (US); (b) (6)
(b) (6)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Your work

Thanks (b) (6). Understand all. And congratulations on (b) (6) —although a loss for the (b) (6) and USG.

Trons of previously aforementioned papers?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On May 20, 2019, at 07:48, (b) (6)

(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)>>
wrote:

Jim,

Great to hear from you. My JWICS email is not up right now, but I can schedule a TS video call to discuss (b) (5). At a very general level, I can say that I have not found any evidence to suggest that my initial conclusions (b) (5) have changed. The major caveat is that my sample has been (b) (5) so I can't say with any certainty (b) (5).

Recognizing this limitation, I'm currently running a series of war-games that look at (b) (5).

My goal is to run (b) (5) games of (b) (5). I'm currently at (b) (5).

We've run iterations in (b) (5). I am planning on running additional iterations in (b) (5) this fall.

Pending funding, I also plan to run iterations (b) (5) winter. I hesitate to generalize too much from the data we have so far, but the trends so far support my previous conclusions (b) (5). This is remarkable because we introduce (b) (5) in the game.

I am leaving the (b) (6) this summer and moving (b) (6). That helps me to extend (b) (6) because of my affiliation with the (b) (6). On a downside, that means that my clearance will no longer be held by (b) (6) nor will I be receiving (b) (6) funding for the work. I am, however, still an (b) (6) and I need to figure out how I can leverage my (b) (6) to do some of the work that I will no longer be

doing for the (b) (6). If ONA has any open billets for a (b) (6), I would love to discuss!

Best,

(b) (6)

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA)

(b) (6) Caution-mailto:(b) (6) > >

Sent: Sunday, May 19, 2019 2:35 PM

To: (b) (6)

Cc: Epstein, David F SES OSD ODNA (US); (b) (6)

Subject: Your work

Professor—

I have been rereading with interest today two of the papers you left me when we last met:

(b) (5)

(b) (6)

(b) (5)

Do the insights from these still hold, in your mind? Have you extended the latter work to include (b) (5)

May I trouble you to send these papers to me electronically? I was speaking with David Ignatius, the journalist, about this topic. I would like send him some things, including your work.

Also, would your please pass me your JWICS email. There is an exchange I am having with (b) (5) (b) (6) and I would appreciate your take on it.

Have you written anything else lately?

Thanks again for all the hard work.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

<(b) (5)>.docx>

<(b) (5)>.docx>

<(b) (5)>.ppt>

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(USA\)](#)
To: [May, Andrew D SES \(USA\)](#)
Cc: (b) (5)
Subject: Fwd: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Your work
Date: Wednesday, May 22, 2019 5:37:49 PM
Attachments: (b) (5).docx
AT100001.htm
(b) (5).docx
AT100002.htm
(b) (5).ppt
AT100003.htm

As discussed. I would enjoy hearing your views on (b) (5) potential

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

Begin forwarded message:

From: (b) (6)
(b) (6)
To: "Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA)" (b) (6)
Cc: "Epstein, David F SES OSD ODNA (US)" (b) (6)
(b) (6)
(b) (6)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Your work

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To: (b) (6)

Cc: Epstein, David F SES OSD ODNA (US); (b) (6)

Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Your work

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With respect

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Office of the Secretary of Defense
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Pending funding, I also plan to run iterations (b) (5)

(b) (5) winter. I hesitate to generalize too much from the data we have so far, but the trends so far support my previous conclusions (b) (5) This is remarkable because we introduce (b) (5) in the game.

I am leaving the (b) (6) this summer and moving (b) (6) That helps me to (b) (6) because of my affiliation with the (b) (6) . On a downside, that means that my clearance will no longer be held by (b) (6) nor will I be receiving (b) (6) funding for the work. I am, however, still an (b) (6) and I need to figure out how I can leverage my (b) (6) to do some of the work that I will no longer be doing for the (b) (6) . If ONA has any open billets for a (b) (6) , I would love to discuss!

Best,
(b) (6)

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA)

(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)> >>

Sent: Sunday, May 19, 2019 2:35 PM

To: (b) (6)

Cc: Epstein, David F SES OSD ODNA (US); (b) (6)

Subject: Your work

Professor—

I have been rereading with interest today two of the papers you left me when we last met:

(b) (5) (b) (6)
(b) (5)

Do the insights from these still hold, in your mind? Have you extended the latter work to include (b) (5) ?

May I trouble you to send these papers to me electronically? I was speaking with David Ignatius, the journalist, about this topic. I would like send him some things, including your work.

Also, would your please pass me your JWICS email. There is an exchange I am having with (b) (5) (b) (6) and I would appreciate your take on it.

Have you written anything else lately?

Thanks again for all the hard work.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA)

To: (b) (6)

Cc: Epstein, David F SES OSD ODNA (US); (b) (6)

Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Your work

Date: Monday, May 20, 2019 7:19:03 PM

Thanks (b) (6) Understand all. And congratulations on (b) (6) —although a loss for the (b) (6) and USG.

Trons of previously aforementioned papers?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On May 20, 2019, at 07:48, (b) (6)
(b) (6) > wrote:

Jim,

Great to hear from you. My JWICS email is not up right now, but I can schedule a TS video call to discuss the last three DEGREs. At a very general level, I can say that I have not found any evidence to suggest that my initial conclusions (b) (5) have changed. The major caveat is that my sample has been (b) (5) so I can't say with any certainty (b) (5)

Recognizing this limitation, I'm currently running a series of war-games that look at (b) (5). My goal is to

run (b) (5) games of (b) (5)

(b) (5). I'm currently at (b) (5)

(b) (5) We've run iterations in (b) (5)

(b) (5) I am planning on running additional iterations in (b) (5) this fall. Pending funding, I also plan to run iterations (b) (5) winter. I hesitate to generalize too much from the data we have so far, but the trends so far support my previous conclusions (b) (5) This is remarkable because we introduce (b) (5) in the game.

I am leaving the (b) (6) this summer and moving (b) (6)
(b) (6) That helps me to extend (b) (5)
(b) (6)
(b) (6) with the (b) (6). On a downside, that means
that my clearance will no longer be held by (b) (6) nor will I be receiving (b) (6)
funding for the work. I am, however, still an (b) (6) and I need to figure out
how I can leverage my (b) (6) to do some of the work that I will no longer be
doing for the (b) (6). If ONA has any open billets for a (b) (6), I would
love to discuss!

Best,

(b) (6)

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA) (b) (6)

Sent: Sunday, May 19, 2019 2:35 PM

To: (b) (6)

Cc: Epstein, David F SES OSD ODNA (US); (b) (6)

Subject: Your work

Professor—

I have been rereading with interest today two of the papers you left me when we last met:

(b) (5)

(b) (6)

(b) (5)

Do the insights from these still hold, in your mind? Have you extended the latter work to include
(b) (5)?

May I trouble you to send these papers to me electronically? I was speaking with David Ignatius, the
journalist, about this topic. I would like send him some things, including your work.

Also, would you please pass me your JWICS email. There is an exchange I am having with
(b) (5) (b) (6) and I would appreciate your take on it.

Have you written anything else lately?

Thanks again for all the hard work.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense

(b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(USA\)](#)
To: (b) (6)
Cc: [Epstein, David F SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#); (b) (6)
Subject: Your work
Date: Sunday, May 19, 2019 2:35:25 PM

Professor—

I have been rereading with interest today two of the papers you left me when we last met:

(b) (5) (b) (6)
(b) (5)

Do the insights from these still hold, in your mind? Have you extended the latter work to include (b) (5)

May I trouble you to send these papers to me electronically? I was speaking with David Ignatius, the journalist, about this topic. I would like send him some things, including your work.

Also, would you please pass me your JWICS email. There is an exchange I am having with (b) (5) (b) (6) and I would appreciate your take on it.

Have you written anything else lately?

Thanks again for all the hard work.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(USA\)](#)
To: (b) (6)
Subject: Fwd: [Non-DoD Source] Checking in
Date: Wednesday, May 8, 2019 12:27:23 PM

Call complete

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Ignatius, David" <David.Ignatius@washpost.com>
Date: May 8, 2019 at 10:06:50 EDT
To: "Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA)" (b) (6)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Checking in

Hoping we can talk at 11 this morning. If another time is better let me know. (b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(USA\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] Query
Date: Monday, May 6, 2019 7:40:00 PM

David, I should have some time on Wednesday morning, if you please. What time might be good?

From: Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com>
Sent: Monday, May 6, 2019 3:57 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA) (b) (6) >
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Query

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Jim:

As I mentioned, I have been asked to speak to a CyberCom gathering this Friday at Fort McNair about strategic issues involved in the age of "persistent engagement." If you have a few minutes Tuesday or Wednesday I'd love to pick your brain about how to think about this strategically.

David

Get Outlook for iOS < Caution-<https://aka.ms/o0ukef> >

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(USA\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] The Washington Post: How Xi overplayed his hand with America
Date: Wednesday, April 17, 2019 6:36:00 AM

Thanks David. Good to talk with you.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com>
Sent: Tuesday, April 16, 2019 11:01 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA) (b) (6) >
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] The Washington Post: How Xi overplayed his hand with America

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

I thought you might like this story from The Washington Post.

How Xi overplayed his hand with America
China's "brain gain" effort was so aggressive that it backfired.

Caution-https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/how-xi-overplayed-his-hand-with-america/2019/04/16/de39df54-608b-11e9-bfad-36a7eb36cb60_story.html

Sent from my iPhone

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA)
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Checking in
Date: Tuesday, April 16, 2019 5:05:20 PM

Does anytime in the next hour suit?

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Apr 15, 2019, at 22:01, Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com> wrote:

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Jim:

Sorry to have missed this. I was with my family. I'd like to talk Tuesday if you're free (or Wednesday, if that's better). Let me know if that's possible and what would be good time.

David

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA) (b) (6)
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2019 6:33 PM
To: Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com>
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Checking in

David—I just landed from flight. Still useful to talk?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Apr 15, 2019, at 12:26, Ignatius, David
<David.Ignatius@washpost.com> <Caution-<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>>> wrote:

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

I am at a lunch. Would 2.00 or 3.00 or 3.00 work?

Get Outlook for iOS <Caution-Caution-<https://aka.ms/o0ukef>> <Caution-[---

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(USA\)
\(b\) \(6\) <Caution-\[\\(b\\) \\(6\\)\]\(mailto:\(b\) \(6\)\)>>
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2019 11:54 AM
To: Ignatius, David](https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=https-3A__aka.ms_o0ukef-25C2-25A0-253E&d=DwQF-g&c=RAhzPLrCAq19eJdrcQjUVEwFYoMRqGDAXQ_puw5tYjg&r=QndntnPzAwUf7S1u6koXQ9ySaeG5xLV_lrV3h8c6-9A&m=xaVmuDgUK7FUIwPwhRN99lw9V7V7OKiD7xsXfJyOHc&s=1z4wwAGss_smbB83HLns34kqJ2tJlPy2eQpLUcmmqY&e=>></p></div><div data-bbox=)

Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Checking in

[EXTERNAL EMAIL]

In an hour perhaps?

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Apr 15, 2019, at 9:43 AM, Ignatius, David

<David.Ignatius@washpost.com> <Caution-<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>> <Caution-
Caution-<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>> <Caution-<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>> > > wrote:

Jim:

Too long since we've talked. Any chance you would have some time this afternoon? Let
me know a time that might work and I'll be by the phone at (b) (6)
David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(USA\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Checking in
Date: Monday, April 15, 2019 6:33:20 PM

David—I just landed from flight. Still useful to talk?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Apr 15, 2019, at 12:26, Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com> wrote:

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

I am at a lunch. Would 2.00 or 3.00 or 3.00 work?

Get Outlook for iOS < Caution-<https://aka.ms/o0ukef> >

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (USA) (b) (6)
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2019 11:54 AM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Checking in

[EXTERNAL EMAIL]

In an hour perhaps?

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Apr 15, 2019, at 9:43 AM, Ignatius, David
<David.Ignatius@washpost.com> < Caution-<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com> > >
wrote:

Jim:

Too long since we've talked. Any chance you would have some time this afternoon? Let me know a time that might work and I'll be by the phone at (b) (6)

David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Mattis and the border
Date: Friday, November 2, 2018 11:58:14 AM

My thanks.

The essay is here: <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a517944.pdf>

It is a bit denser and not as well written as I remember. Still, I stand by its conclusions, however inartfully rendered.

When would be a good time to talk?

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Nov 2, 2018, at 7:49 AM, Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com> wrote:

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

I'd like to talk more about this. (And to read your essay).

Get Outlook for iOS < Caution-<https://aka.ms/o0ukef> >

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6)
Sent: Friday, November 2, 2018 6:21:01 AM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: Mattis and the border

[EXTERNAL EMAIL]

David, I wish we had had a chance to talk before your column this morning.

The bottom line is that the President has issued a lawful order.

We can and do debate internally about whether orders are lawful vs unlawful when deciding to follow or challenge them.

We don't debate about proper or improper motivation in thinking about whether to execute it or not.

Who are we to decide whether a motivation is "proper" or "improper"? It would be the height of unprofessionalism to do so. And I would argue that we can't afford to establish that norm, because it would dramatically undermine civil control of the military. I can imagine very dire situations where it might be worth debating the question of motivation. This situation is not so dire as to bring the principle into question.

The President's order may be unwise. It may be a political stunt. It may be an overreaction. But he has earned the right to make these judgments, after hearing our advice.

And I think it is our political system which has remedies for these kinds of errors. It is to that system from which the remedy sought must come. Not from appealing to a Secretary or a Chairman to stand up and speak out in opposition to something they did not recommend.

I can think of countless examples in every Administration I have served where I felt I had seen orders given out of improper motivation, poor judgment, or to use the troops for "political purposes". So what? My opinion and judgment isn't relevant. It is instead my citizens job to evaluate these things. If I disagreed so strongly, I should resign.

Our job is to argue, advise, and then listen. And if the order is lawful, then execute it diligently and faithfully.

I have thought a bit on this question. I wrote an award winning essay about it when I was in War College.

Thanks for listening.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [David Ignatius](#)
Subject: Mattis and the border
Date: Friday, November 2, 2018 6:21:02 AM

David, I wish we had had a chance to talk before your column this morning.

The bottom line is that the President has issued a lawful order.

We can and do debate internally about whether orders are lawful vs unlawful when deciding to follow or challenge them.

We don't debate about proper or improper motivation in thinking about whether to execute it or not.

Who are we to decide whether a motivation is "proper" or "improper"? It would be the height of unprofessionalism to do so. And I would argue that we can't afford to establish that norm, because it would dramatically undermine civil control of the military. I can imagine very dire situations where it might be worth debating the question of motivation. This situation is not so dire as to bring the principle into question.

The President's order may be unwise. It may be a political stunt. It may be an overreaction. But he has earned the right to make these judgments, after hearing our advice.

And I think it is our political system which has remedies for these kinds of errors. It is to that system from which the remedy sought must come. Not from appealing to a Secretary or a Chairman to stand up and speak out in opposition to something they did not recommend.

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Our job is to argue, advise, and then listen. And if the order is lawful, then execute it diligently and faithfully.

I have thought a bit on this question. I wrote an award winning essay about it when I was in War College.

Thanks for listening.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?
Date: Monday, October 1, 2018 6:14:10 PM

David, please, as always, our discussions are completely off the record. If any of my observations strike you as worthy of mixing or folding into your own thinking, that is as usual fine.

Great to talk with you. Have a good night.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Oct 1, 2018, at 3:14 PM, Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com> wrote:

I am working on a column about AI issues for the government on which I'd love to get your take. Also one about where we're heading on Iran, ditto. Any chance you could call this afternoon?

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Tweet by David Ignatius on Twitter
Date: Wednesday, August 8, 2018 6:26:32 AM

Sir, my thanks.

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Aug 7, 2018, at 11:36 PM, Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com> wrote:

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.



**David Ignatius (@IgnatiusPost < Caution-
<https://twitter.com/ignatiuspost?s=11> >)**

8/7/18, 11:25 PM < Caution-

<https://twitter.com/ignatiuspost/status/1027033093985775616?s=11> >

The Chinese threat that an aircraft carrier can't stop

[washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-c...](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-c...) < Caution-<https://t.co/PVRlxaUHFf> >

Download < Caution-https://twitter.com/download?ref_src=MailTweet-iOS > the
Twitter app

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [David Ignatius](#)
Subject: RD report
Date: Monday, August 6, 2018 11:44:25 AM

David, as discussed.

<https://www.nsf.gov/statistics/2018/nsb20181/report/sections/research-and-development-u-s-trends-and-international-comparisons/recent-trends-in-federal-support-for-u-s-r-d> < Caution-

<https://www.nsf.gov/statistics/2018/nsb20181/report/sections/research-and-development-u-s-trends-and-international-comparisons/recent-trends-in-federal-support-for-u-s-r-d> >

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Meeting?
Date: Sunday, August 5, 2018 6:13:40 PM

Of course. I will see you there.

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Aug 5, 2018, at 3:29 PM, Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com> wrote:

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Jim :

My fault. I had to rush back to take care of something. Can we talk this evening. Perhaps sit together at dinner? Very sorry about this afternoon.
David

Get Outlook for iOS <Caution-<https://aka.ms/o0ukef>>

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6)
Sent: Sunday, August 5, 2018 3:27:58 PM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: Meeting?

[EXTERNAL EMAIL]

David, I thought we were to talk after. I have not seen you lingering.

Apologies if I mistook your intent.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Follow up
Date: Monday, July 30, 2018 6:05:50 AM

David, good morning. I did hear back, and plan to attend. I appreciate your advocacy.

Quantum computing is worth the hype, but not quite yet and not for the most obvious application.

Not quite yet because we still have not built a single logical qubit. Several companies have built a dozen or so imperfect ones, but these are not yet capable of anything remotely useful. They are toys. We don't even know which physical architecture makes for the best approach—there are several competing models. It's unclear how quickly we will make progress towards solving these problems. And once built, it is unclear how to properly encode and decode the results of actually useful computing problems. Oh, and we also aren't exactly sure where the boundary is for classes of problems can be better solved by a quantum computer.

Almost certainly the “end of cryptography” will not be the foremost use case. Governments and engineers are already thinking about post-quantum cryptography. But the ability to simulate quantum phenomenology—assuming we actually can build a workable computer—would allow for unprecedented ability to understand and manipulate matter. New materials and new medicines with properties we can barely imagine today would become designable and producible. It would be as or more revolutionary than the introduction of the classic computer.

But we have a ways to go to that vision.

Or so I think.

See you soon.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Jul 29, 2018, at 10:15 PM, Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com> wrote:

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

I am hoping that you heard back from Nick Burns re ASG but fearing not. If not, we will definitely be the worse for missing your insights. They have asked me to speak briefly on quantum computing. What do you think is worth saying, in the continuum between intellectual interest and hype?

Get Outlook for iOS < Caution-<https://aka.ms/o0ukef> >

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call this afternoon
Date: Monday, June 25, 2018 2:31:00 PM

David, 1700 works. A good number for you at that time?

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Monday, June 25, 2018 9:41 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call this afternoon

Eager to get your thoughts on several matters. Say 4 or 5?
David

Get Outlook for iOS < Caution-<https://aka.ms/o0ukef> >

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: Any chance you could talk briefly?
Date: Thursday, April 12, 2018 2:27:00 PM

ok

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Thursday, April 12, 2018 2:27 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6) >
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] RE: Any chance you could talk briefly?

Had to do a quick TV hit and away from desk. Any chance same number at 3:00?

-----Original Message-----

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [[mailto:\(b\) \(6\)@washpost.com](mailto:(b) (6)@washpost.com)]
Sent: Thursday, April 12, 2018 2:23 PM
To: Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com>
Subject: RE: Any chance you could talk briefly?

No joy at that number. Pls advise a good time.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Thursday, April 12, 2018 11:09 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Any chance you could talk briefly?

I am writing today and trying to make sense of something that I suspect you've already figured out. I'm on (b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: Any chance you could talk briefly?
Date: Thursday, April 12, 2018 2:23:00 PM

No joy at that number. Pls advise a good time.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Thursday, April 12, 2018 11:09 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Any chance you could talk briefly?

I am writing today and trying to make sense of something that I suspect you've already figured out. I'm on (b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Question
Date: Monday, April 2, 2018 6:50:18 PM

David, I am sure others will be more thoughtful here, but one idea I see overlooked is in the phrasing of the question.

Aren't there many "US" and only slightly fewer "Russia"s?

The way a head of state speaks to another should be different in some contexts than how senior military leaders speak together, how tactical units deconflict, how intelligence services cooperate and compete.

The way our business leaders and financiers speak to theirs. The way our Fed talks to their central bank. The way our youth engage theirs. The way our media supports their own attempts. How our civil societies interact.

Our countries are not monolithic. Surely our messages can't be, either.

Yes, there is an important alignment role that can and must come from the White House. But we have many other channels to talk with and influence each other, over many different areas.

Perhaps you might explore that complexity a bit, and talk about how we might try to use it to our advantage (just as the Russians will try to use it to their own)

Perhaps too cliché an observation.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Apr 2, 2018, at 3:23 PM, Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com> wrote:

I am trying to think about whether and how US should talk to Russia. I'd welcome any thoughts.

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Can we talk Monday?
Date: Sunday, March 25, 2018 10:40:35 PM

David, yes. In the afternoon is best for me.

Director
Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
(b) (6)

On Mar 25, 2018, at 9:09 PM, Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com> wrote:

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Checking in
Date: Monday, January 8, 2018 5:11:07 PM

David, my apologies for the delayed reply. I just tried your cell, no joy. Is this evening possible?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, January 8, 2018 9:58 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Checking in

Jim:

Any chance you might be in for a phone call later today (Monday)? I am at the office, (b) (6) or cell, (b) (6) Let me know what time might work.

David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Quick question
Date: Tuesday, December 5, 2017 9:15:00 PM

Will send a suggested time soon

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Tuesday, December 5, 2017 8:23 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Quick question

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

No problem. I know how busy you are. Looking forward to a chance to talk in person when you have time.

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 5, 2017, at 8:00 PM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)

(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)> > wrote:

David, I am so sorry. I saw this last night and intended to call. Today was jammed and between classified sessions I ran out of time.

With apologies

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

<Caution-mailto:(b) (6)>

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, December 4, 2017 11:00 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Quick question

Jim: I have small but interesting point I want to check with you If you have two minutes Tuesday morning. (b) (6)
Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Quick question
Date: Tuesday, December 5, 2017 8:00:31 PM

David, I am so sorry. I saw this last night and intended to call. Today was jammed and between classified sessions I ran out of time.

With apologies

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, December 4, 2017 11:00 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Quick question

Jim: I have small but interesting point I want to check with you If you have two minutes
Tuesday morning. (b) (6)
Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: Follow up
Date: Tuesday, November 28, 2017 8:13:00 AM

Back to you shortly. Deadline?

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]

Sent: Monday, November 27, 2017 4:44 PM

To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6) >

Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Follow up

Jim:

Two things:

--I am good for dinner on Wednesday 6 Dec. Would you be my guest at the Metropolitan Club at 17th and H? I promise a tasty dinner and a quiet place to talk.

--I am writing a column that refers to the two very interesting "China rising" reports. I've tried to reach Pointe Bello for comment but no luck, and I don't find any public mention of OCEA. Is it accurate to describe them as reports commissioned by the Air Force? Is it possible to cite OCEA and if so, how should I describe it?

Many thanks and see you next week.

David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call to this week?
Date: Friday, November 17, 2017 7:31:51 AM

I will call you then.

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Friday, November 17, 2017 7:24 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call to this week?

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

After 2.00 would work. Say 3.00?

Sent from my iPhone

On Nov 17, 2017, at 6:49 AM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)

(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)> > wrote:

David, my apologies.

I have time today before 0930 and after 1400, if it is still useful for us to talk.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: Ignatius, David

Sent: Thursday, November 16, 2017 10:30 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call to this week?

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Yes.

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [Caution-Caution-mailto:(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)>]
Sent: Thursday, November 16, 2017 7:46 AM
To: Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com <Caution-mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com > >
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call to this week?

David, thank you for the note. I am arriving via red eye--mid to late morning workable?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)
(b) (6)
(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6) > <Caution-Caution-mailto:(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6) > >

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Wednesday, November 15, 2017 8:03 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call to this week?

I'd love to compare notes on several subjects. How does tomorrow morning look for you?

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call to this week?
Date: Friday, November 17, 2017 6:49:14 AM

David, my apologies.

I have time today before 0930 and after 1400, if it is still useful for us to talk.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, November 16, 2017 10:30 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call to this week?

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Yes.

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [Caution-mailed] (b) (6)
Sent: Thursday, November 16, 2017 7:46 AM
To: Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com>
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call to this week?

David, thank you for the note. I am arriving via red eye--mid to late morning workable?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

< Caution-mailto (b) (6) >

From: Ignatius, David

Sent: Wednesday, November 15, 2017 8:03 PM

To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)

Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call to this week?

I'd love to compare notes on several subjects. How does tomorrow morning look for you?

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call to this week?
Date: Thursday, November 16, 2017 7:45:51 AM

David, thank you for the note. I am arriving via red eye--mid to late morning workable?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Wednesday, November 15, 2017 8:03 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call to this week?

I'd love to compare notes on several subjects. How does tomorrow morning look for you?

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [White, Dana W SES OSD \(US\)](#)
Subject: Ignatius
Date: Thursday, October 12, 2017 8:22:42 AM

Dana, I spoke briefly with David this morning (standard ROE--off the record etc)

He asked whether I thought the likely Iran de-certification was a concern. I said I thought it was a good approach to implementing POTUS judgment, and that we had other tools to contest Iranian misbehavior. I did suggest there may be limits to the model used here for other foreign policy issues.

He asked about north Korea and whether the situation was "fundamentally dangerous". I replied that I felt those words were appropriate, although I directed his attention to the Secretary's remarks about no major changes in posture on the Peninsula.

He is seeing HR later today, I think.

Also--talking with Paul Gigot at WSJ while I am in NYC today. I brought a couple of ONA studies to share with him. Please let me know if you wish me to raise anything with him?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call Thurs am?
Date: Thursday, October 12, 2017 4:53:03 AM

David, I think that is doable. Is between 8 and 8:30 doable?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

Original Message

From: Ignatius, David

Sent: Wednesday, October 11, 2017 7:32 PM

To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)

Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call Thurs am?

Sent from my iPhone

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
To: (b) (6)
Subject: Fw: [Non-DoD Source] Any chance of talking this afternoon?
Date: Monday, September 18, 2017 6:54:23 PM

Call complete. DPRK and Iran.

Sitrep today?

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6)
Sent: Monday, September 18, 2017 12:26 PM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Any chance of talking this afternoon?

Wilco

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, September 18, 2017 9:41 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Any chance of talking this afternoon?

I will be on a train from 4 to 7 but can step out and take a call. (b) (6). Many thanks.

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Any chance of talking this afternoon?
Date: Monday, September 18, 2017 3:26:20 PM

Wilco

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, September 18, 2017 9:41 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Any chance of talking this afternoon?

I will be on a train from 4 to 7 but can step out and take a call. (b) (6) Many thanks.

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Follow up
Date: Thursday, September 14, 2017 6:50:10 PM

My thanks

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

Original Message

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, September 14, 2017 6:47 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Follow up

Thanks for getting back to me, Jim. I put something together. Let me know if you think I'm off base. Talk next week, I hope. All the best
David

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Query
Date: Thursday, September 14, 2017 6:38:50 PM

David I tried you perhaps an hour ago.

A difficult day. I sometimes cannot check email routinely.

If still useful, you can reach me this evening or advise on a good time? If not, next time!

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, September 14, 2017 10:48 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Query

Jim:

I'm trying to think my way through JCPOA issues today. Any thoughts most welcome. I am on (b) (6).

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: Query
Date: Wednesday, August 9, 2017 5:26:37 PM

No joy at the number below. I am calling from (b) (6)

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

Original Message

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Sent: Wednesday, August 9, 2017 4:57 PM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: RE: Query

Will call when enroute home. No tease needed.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Wednesday, August 9, 2017 2:25 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) <(b) (6)>
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Query

Jim:

Any chance we could chat this afternoon? I'm on cell, (b) (6) Full Aspen debrief offered as tease.

David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: Query
Date: Wednesday, August 9, 2017 4:57:00 PM

Will call when enroute home. No tease needed.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Wednesday, August 9, 2017 2:25 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Query

Jim:

Any chance we could chat this afternoon? I'm on cell, (b) (6) Full Aspen debrief offered as tease.

David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [David Ignatius](#)
Subject: follow-up
Date: Thursday, July 27, 2017 4:31:00 PM

David -- as discussed;

https://www.amazon.com/City-Fortune-Venice-Ruled-Seas/dp/0812980220/ref=sr_1_4?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1501187165&sr=1-4&keywords=venice

"City of Fortune traces the full arc of the Venetian imperial saga, from the ill-fated Fourth Crusade, which culminates in the sacking of Constantinople in 1204, to the Ottoman-Venetian War of 1499-1503, which sees the Ottoman Turks supplant the Venetians as the preeminent naval power in the Mediterranean. In between are three centuries of Venetian maritime dominance, during which a tiny city of "lagoon dwellers" grow into the richest place on earth. Drawing on firsthand accounts of pitched sea battles, skillful negotiations, and diplomatic maneuvers, Crowley paints a vivid picture of this avaricious, enterprising people and the bountiful lands that came under their dominion."

Well worth the read.

This also caught my eye:

<http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/06/26/u-s-image-suffers-as-publics-around-world-question-trumps-leadership/>

With respect

Jim

Director, Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] You in for a call?
Date: Thursday, July 27, 2017 1:48:14 PM

Thank you David. I will call in perhaps an hour?

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, July 27, 2017 1:15 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] You in for a call?

I'm on (b) (6) or (b) (6).

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call this afternoon?
Date: Thursday, July 6, 2017 9:05:09 AM

Wilco

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, July 6, 2017 12:09 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call this afternoon?

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Yes of course. Have a wonderful holiday.

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 6, 2017, at 12:15 AM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)

(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)> > wrote:

Good morning David.

I am in Greece, on leave. My apologies. May I call on return, if still useful?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)> >

From: Ignatius, David

Sent: Wednesday, July 5, 2017 11:25 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call this afternoon?

Jim:

I wanted to share some thoughts I had coming out of a trip last week to Syria with Brett McGurk. I'm on (b) (6) until 6:00 or so.
David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call this afternoon?
Date: Thursday, July 6, 2017 12:15:03 AM

Good morning David.

I am in Greece, on leave. My apologies. May I call on return, if still useful?

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Wednesday, July 5, 2017 11:25 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call this afternoon?

Jim:

I wanted to share some thoughts I had coming out of a trip last week to Syria with Brett McGurk. I'm on (b) (6) until 6:00 or so.
David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Call
Date: Thursday, March 16, 2017 10:22:00 AM

David -- good to talk.

A few places to look

<http://www.thespacereview.com/article/2473/1>... For current events. The author, Brian Weeden, is a good source for unclassified wisdom here.

Also slides 15, 18-19 at

https://swfound.org/media/205485/bw_congested_contested_apr2016.pdf

And...

<https://www.ft.com/content/637bf054-8e34-11e5-8be4-3506bf20cc2b>

<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-usa-satellite-idUSTRE79R4O320111028>

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Thursday, March 16, 2017 9:06 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Call

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Going this time is still okay. (b) (6)

Sent from my iPhone

On Mar 15, 2017, at 6:27 PM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6) <
Caution-[mailto:\(b\) \(6\)](#)> > wrote:

Sir, tonight is bad. Early tomorrow? 0900?

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: David.Ignatius@washpost.com
Subject: Call
Date: Wednesday, March 15, 2017 6:27:12 PM

Sir, tonight is bad. Early tomorrow? 0900?

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: (b) (6)
Subject: FW: In for a call Thursday am?
Date: Wednesday, March 15, 2017 5:12:00 PM

Pls check in with PA. Off the record as always.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Wednesday, March 15, 2017 4:57 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call Thursday am?

I am trying to get my mind around space warfare after talking this week to Gen Goldfein. Any chance we could talk for five mins this afternoon and tomorrow morning so I can get the right issue set here.
David

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call this week?
Date: Tuesday, January 31, 2017 6:37:50 AM

Sir--between 7 and 8 works, if I can get checked into my flight. I will ring you.

With respect

Jim

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, January 30, 2017 10:46 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call this week?

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Early Tuesday would work for me. Between 7 and 8 DC Time or after 9.30. But maybe it's easier to try for Wednesday. Let me know.

Sent from my iPhone

On Jan 30, 2017, at 8:59 PM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)

<(b) (6)> <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)> > > wrote:

Sir, my apologies. I have time now, or early tomorrow. Enroute on a morning flight overseas, but available at odd hours. Pls advise on druthers.

With respect

Jim

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, January 30, 2017 1:07 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call this week?

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call Thursday am?
Date: Thursday, December 15, 2016 6:18:34 AM

Sir--before 0900 ok?

Original Message
From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 10:43 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call Thursday am?

I'd welcome a quick chat tomorrow morning if you have ten minutes. Nothing too extreme, just some questions I'm trying to sort through. I'll be at (b) (6) or on cell, (b) (6).

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: Quick call?
Date: Tuesday, October 18, 2016 7:45:00 AM

0830?

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]

Sent: Monday, October 17, 2016 5:38 PM

To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)

Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Quick call?

Jim:

Do you have a moment for a quick call tonight before you leave or, failing that, a bit of time tomorrow morning. I am struggling with a question in which I suspect you would be wise. I'm on (b) (6)

David

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: In for a call Monday?
Date: Monday, October 3, 2016 8:04:00 AM

1300?

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Sunday, October 02, 2016 10:12 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call Monday?

I'm trying to figure out what to recommend for Syria--stand down, stand in, stand still. I'm reachable Monday on

(b) (6)

David

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: Query
Date: Wednesday, September 14, 2016 7:48:00 AM

David, I apologize. A bit of trouble last night with email.

I have time about 0930 or so this morning, if that works for you.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Tuesday, September 13, 2016 3:53 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Query

Are you in for a phone call Weds afternoon or Thursday morning? I am writing a column about how to think about cyber deterrence. Let me know what time might be possible.

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Talk Tuesday?
Date: Tuesday, July 19, 2016 7:53:46 AM

David, I am at West Point for the Net Assessment Summer Study. So my day is helpfully less structured than usual.

What would be a good time to talk?

Original Message

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, July 18, 2016 9:27 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Talk Tuesday?

Jim:

I'm trying to get my head around some recent developments and would be very grateful for a chance to chat Tuesday am, if you are in town and have a few moments. My cell is (b) (6)
David

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: In for a call?
Date: Tuesday, May 31, 2016 4:08:00 PM
Attachments: [ISEC a 00238.pdf](#)

David --

The two email addresses for a discussion of Mahanian philosophy and autonomy

(b) (6) (Jerry Hendrix)
(b) (6) (Bob Martinage)

They are aware that you may be reaching out, but not why.

And the paper I mentioned also attached.

I am glad for your increased interest in Asia. Important. Thank you as always for the conversation.

With respect

Jim

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Tuesday, May 31, 2016 10:52 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?

Jim:

Bunch of things I'd love to run by you if you have a few minutes today. I'm on (b) (6) or (b) (6)

David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: In for a call?
Date: Tuesday, May 31, 2016 11:33:00 AM

1330?

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Tuesday, May 31, 2016 10:52 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?

Jim:

Bunch of things I'd love to run by you if you have a few minutes today. I'm on (b) (6) or (b) (6)

David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Talk today or tomorrow?
Date: Monday, March 14, 2016 6:44:12 PM

1000 tomorrow workable?

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, March 14, 2016 4:44 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Talk today or tomorrow?

Jim:

Hoping to have the call I scratched last week. If you have any time late today or tomorrow am I would be most grateful. (b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] How America's political decay has fueled Trump's rise from The Washington Post
Date: Friday, March 11, 2016 12:18:23 AM

A nice piece and useful diagnosis.

Now--onto trying to solve whatever part of it I can!

Original Message

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, March 10, 2016 8:14 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] How America's political decay has fueled Trump's rise from The Washington Post

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Caution-<http://wpo.st/lZmK1>

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: In for a quick talk this am?
Date: Thursday, March 10, 2016 2:44:00 PM

Okay!

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Thursday, March 10, 2016 12:49 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] RE: In for a quick talk this am?

Jim:

I went ahead and filed my "political decay" column. So rather than grab your time on what is doubtless a busy day, maybe I can take a rain check and call you next week about new issues.
David

-----Original Message-----

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [[mailto:\(b\) \(6\)](#)]
Sent: Thursday, March 10, 2016 10:58 AM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: RE: In for a quick talk this am?

I can talk at about 1305?

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Thursday, March 10, 2016 7:24 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a quick talk this am?

Jim:

I spent yesterday reading Prof. F's "Political order and Political Decay." Trying to think how to get my mind around it. Grateful for any OTR thoughts. I'm on [\(b\) \(6\)](#)
David

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: In for a quick talk this am?
Date: Thursday, March 10, 2016 10:58:00 AM

I can talk at about 1305?

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Thursday, March 10, 2016 7:24 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a quick talk this am?

Jim:

I spent yesterday reading Prof. F's "Political order and Political Decay." Trying to think how to get my mind around it. Grateful for any OTR thoughts. I'm on (b) (6)
David

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: Today's session
Date: Thursday, March 10, 2016 10:10:00 AM

David, I appreciate this note.

I am still new to being "at the table", and so am grateful for feedback about what I did well and where I did not do as well.

I quite agree with your latter point, and it is worthy of continued attention and discussion.

Thanks again for your continued insights, both public and private.

With respect

Jim

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Tuesday, March 08, 2016 3:41 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Today's session

That was superb. Very helpful for everyone around the table. So many topics to explore. One in particular I'd love to discuss with you is my scribbled question of how to maintain stability when we have more competent adversaries, political trouble at home and an increased risk tolerance. (The last item I think is especially interesting.) In any event, well done and thanks.

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?
Date: Monday, February 22, 2016 9:56:59 PM

1005ish workable?

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, February 22, 2016 5:47 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Can we chat tomorrow am?

Sent from my iPhone

On Feb 18, 2016, at 7:22 PM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)

(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)> wrote:

Yes sjr

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, February 18, 2016 4:55 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?

Thanks for getting back to me, Jim. I am just about to leave the office for today.
Perhaps we could talk Monday?

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [Caution-mailto:(b) (6) <Caution-mailto:(b) (6)>]
Sent: Thursday, February 18, 2016 4:37 PM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?

David my apologies. I was incommunicado.

Enroute now back from Tampa. Can call you in a few hours if that would still be useful.

Again, unusual for me to be so long off the net.

With respect

Jim

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Wednesday, February 17, 2016 12:01 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?

Jim:

Had a fascinating breakfast this am with Work and Selva. If you have a few mins this afternoon I'd be grateful for a call. (b) (6)

David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: (b) (6)
Subject: Re: Mark your calendar
Date: Friday, February 19, 2016 4:48:29 PM

Thanks (b) (6)

Original Message
From: (b) (6)
Sent: Friday, February 19, 2016 8:17 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: RE: Mark your calendar

Sir,

Done -- more to follow soonest.

R (b) (6)

(b) (6)
Military Assistant to the Director, Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

-----Original Message-----

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Sent: Friday, February 19, 2016 6:24 AM
To: (b) (6)
Subject: Fw: Mark your calendar
Importance: High

Pls reach out to Jonathon Price? Invitation still open? Dates viable for me?

Thanks

Original Message
From: Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com>
Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 4:02 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Cc: Nick Burns; Jonathon Price
Subject: Mark your calendar

Jim:

Nick Burns asks me to share with you his invitation to join us next August in Aspen for the Aspen Strategy Group. Details will be coming in some months but I am copying our executive administrator Jonathon Price if you have any questions. I can't think of anyone whose rumination on our topics I'd rather hear. With best wishes David
Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Mears, Zachary SES SD](#)
Subject: FW: In for a call?
Date: Friday, February 19, 2016 7:06:00 AM

Sounds like it went well.

Will follow up with him Monday

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Wednesday, February 17, 2016 12:01 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?

Jim:

Had a fascinating breakfast this am with Work and Selva. If you have a few mins this afternoon I'd be grateful for a call. (b) (6)

David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: (b) (6)
Subject: Fw: Mark your calendar
Date: Friday, February 19, 2016 6:24:17 AM

Pls reach out to Jonathon Price? Invitation still open? Dates viable for me?

Thanks

Original Message

From: Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com>
Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 4:02 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Cc: Nick Burns; Jonathon Price
Subject: Mark your calendar

Jim:

Nick Burns asks me to share with you his invitation to join us next August in Aspen for the Aspen Strategy Group. Details will be coming in some months but I am copying our executive administrator Jonathon Price if you have any questions. I can't think of anyone whose rumination on our topics I'd rather hear. With best wishes

David

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?
Date: Thursday, February 18, 2016 7:22:29 PM

Yes sjr

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, February 18, 2016 4:55 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?

Thanks for getting back to me, Jim. I am just about to leave the office for today. Perhaps we could talk Monday?

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [mailto:[\(b\) \(6\)](#)]
Sent: Thursday, February 18, 2016 4:37 PM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?

David my apologies. I was incommunicado.

Enroute now back from Tampa. Can call you in a few hours if that would still be useful.

Again, unusual for me to be so long off the net.

With respect

Jim

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Wednesday, February 17, 2016 12:01 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?

Jim:

Had a fascinating breakfast this am with Work and Selva. If you have a few mins this afternoon I'd be grateful for a call. [\(b\) \(6\)](#)

David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?
Date: Thursday, February 18, 2016 4:37:15 PM

David my apologies. I was incommunicado.

Enroute now back from Tampa. Can call you in a few hours if that would still be useful.

Again, unusual for me to be so long off the net.

With respect

Jim

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Wednesday, February 17, 2016 12:01 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] In for a call?

Jim:

Had a fascinating breakfast this am with Work and Selva. If you have a few mins this afternoon I'd be grateful for a call. (b) (6)

David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Mears, Zachary SES SD](#)
Subject: Ignatius
Date: Tuesday, February 16, 2016 10:07:00 AM

Zach -- as a reminder only, I have a long history with David and talk with him regularly.

He is occasionally interested in high technology military kit and thinking, which perhaps will be the locus of your conversation.

The DSD's standard TPs wrt Third Offset will provide plenty of fodder.

If I can be helpful before or after the discussion, please let me know.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work
Date: Friday, December 18, 2015 4:04:47 PM

No joy on either number.

Original Message
From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Sent: Friday, December 18, 2015 10:48 AM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work

Yes sir

-----Original Message-----
From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
Sent: Friday, December 18, 2015 9:49 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Jim: I wonder if we would do our call at 4.00 today instead of 3.00. Is that possible for you?
David

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 18, 2015, at 7:10 AM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6)
Caution-[mailto:\(b\) \(6\)](#) > > wrote:

Yes sir

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, December 17, 2015 2:56 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work

Tomorrow pm good for me. 3?

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6) <

Caution-[mailto:\(b\) \(6\)](#) >>

Sent: Thursday, December 17, 2015 11:15 AM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work

Tomorrow PM is pretty open.

That said, I have little new to discuss, at least rel the middle east. I was just thankful again for you laying out the views so cogently.

Hope all remains well.

With respect

Jim

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, December 17, 2015 8:30 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work

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Thanks Jim. You around this week for a phone chat?

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 17, 2015, at 7:43 AM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [\(b\) \(6\)](#) <
Caution-[mailto:\(b\) \(6\)](#) > < Caution-[mailto:\(b\) \(6\)](#) <
Caution-[mailto:\(b\) \(6\)](#) > > wrote:

Sir, a nice column laying the drivers of our present strategy wrt ISIS...it's advantages and its risks.

Have a blessed holiday.

With respect

Jim

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work
Date: Friday, December 18, 2015 10:48:00 AM

Yes sir

-----Original Message-----

From: Ignatius, David [<mailto:David.Ignatius@washpost.com>]
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To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work

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Caution-mailto:(b) (6) > <Caution-Caution-mailto:(b) (6) >
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Sir, a nice column laying the drivers of our present strategy wrt ISIS...it's advantages and its risks.

Have a blessed holiday.

With respect

Jim

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work
Date: Friday, December 18, 2015 7:10:41 AM

Yes sir

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, December 17, 2015 2:56 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work

Tomorrow pm good for me. 3?

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To: Ignatius, David
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work

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To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work

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(b) (6) < Caution- (b) (6) > wrote:

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With respect

Jim

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work
Date: Thursday, December 17, 2015 11:16:00 AM

Tomorrow PM is pretty open.

That said, I have little new to discuss, at least rel the middle east. I was just thankful again for you laying out the views so cogently.

Hope all remains well.

With respect

Jim

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, December 17, 2015 8:30 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Re: Good work

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Have a blessed holiday.

With respect

Jim

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [David Ignatius](#)
Subject: Good work
Date: Thursday, December 17, 2015 7:43:22 AM

Sir, a nice column laying the drivers of our present strategy wrt ISIS...it's advantages and its risks.

Have a blessed holiday.

With respect

Jim

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: In for a phone call this morning?
Date: Thursday, October 8, 2015 7:45:43 PM

David my apologies. I am in Tokyo, hence you time delay. I am sorry to have missed you. I have been OCONU for the past four days.

Heading to Narita shortly, if still relevant.

With respect

Jim

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, October 8, 2015 11:26 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: In for a phone call this morning?

Jim:

Late notice but I'd be grateful for the chance to think out loud with you for five minutes if you can spare time. I am on (b) (6).

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: Talk this afternoon?
Date: Monday, September 28, 2015 1:43:30 PM

OK. Will call.

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, September 28, 2015 12:06 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Talk this afternoon?

Jim:

I would be grateful if you could spare ten minutes this afternoon to talk about one of our favorite topics, Russia Redux. I'm trying to think my way through what's worrisome and what isn't in recent developments. I will be on cell, (b) (6).

David

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: The Pope and soft power
Date: Friday, September 25, 2015 6:29:34 AM

A great column, sir. Thoughtful, timely, thematic.

Thanks for the view.

With respect

Jim

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: (b) (6)
Subject: Fw: In for a very brief call soon this am?
Date: Friday, September 18, 2015 9:29:05 PM

Original Message

From: (b) (6)
Sent: Friday, September 18, 2015 9:28 PM
To: Ignatius, David
Subject: Re: In for a very brief call soon this am?

Yes sjr

Original Message

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Friday, September 18, 2015 8:47 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Re: In for a very brief call soon this am?

Thanks for your note, Jim. Perhaps we could talk Monday morning. I'm trying to make sense of an issue and would be grateful for a chance to chat.

Sent from my iPhone

> On Sep 18, 2015, at 6:12 PM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6) wrote:
>
> David my deepest apologies. I was sequestered all day yesterday and assumed it was OBE last night. And today got away from me.
>
> Please forgive my discourtesy.
>
> With respect
>
> Jim
>
> Original Message
> From: Ignatius, David
> Sent: Thursday, September 17, 2015 9:27 AM
> To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
> Subject: In for a very brief call soon this am?
>
>
> I am on (b) (6)
>
> Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: In for a very brief call soon this am?
Date: Friday, September 18, 2015 9:28:50 PM

Yes sjr

Original Message
From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Friday, September 18, 2015 8:47 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Re: In for a very brief call soon this am?

Thanks for your note, Jim. Perhaps we could talk Monday morning. I'm trying to make sense of an issue and would be grateful for a chance to chat.

Sent from my iPhone

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> With respect
>
> Jim
>
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> Sent: Thursday, September 17, 2015 9:27 AM
> To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
> Subject: In for a very brief call soon this am?
>
>
> I am on (b) (6)
>
> Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: In for a very brief call soon this am?
Date: Friday, September 18, 2015 6:12:18 PM

David my deepest apologies. I was sequestered all day yesterday and assumed it was OBE last night. And today got away from me.

Please forgive my discourtesy.

With respect

Jim

Original Message
From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, September 17, 2015 9:27 AM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: In for a very brief call soon this am?

I am on (b) (6)

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Cc: [Nick Burns; Jonathon Price; \(b\) \(6\)](#)
Subject: Re: Mark your calendar
Date: Friday, September 11, 2015 7:59:12 AM

Sir--my thanks and I look forward to the discussions.

With respect

Jim

Original Message

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 3:02 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Cc: Nick Burns; Jonathon Price
Subject: Mark your calendar

Jim:

Nick Burns asks me to share with you his invitation to join us next August in Aspen for the Aspen Strategy Group. Details will be coming in some months but I am copying our executive administrator Jonathon Price if you have any questions. I can't think of anyone whose rumination on our topics I'd rather hear. With best wishes

David

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: Talk Tuesday?
Date: Tuesday, September 8, 2015 6:53:52 AM

David, I think I can go a bit after 1130? Is that workable?

With respect

Jim

Original Message
From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, September 7, 2015 7:28 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Re: Talk Tuesday?

Shape of my favorite region after Russian moves (to what end diplo or kinetic?), Salman DC visit (with what aim and result), Euro reaching tipping point because of migration crisis (again, to what end?) anytime between 10.30 and 11.30 would work for me.

Sent from my iPhone

> On Sep 7, 2015, at 6:58 PM, Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) (b) (6) wrote:
>
> Should be doable. Any particular topic area?
>
> Original Message
> From: Ignatius, David
> Sent: Monday, September 7, 2015 4:41 PM
> To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
> Subject: Talk Tuesday?
>
>
> Any chance we could chat tomorrow morNing before 11? My back to scho primer.
>
> Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Re: Talk Tuesday?
Date: Monday, September 7, 2015 6:57:59 PM

Should be doable. Any particular topic area?

Original Message

From: Ignatius, David
Sent: Monday, September 7, 2015 4:41 PM
To: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US)
Subject: Talk Tuesday?

Any chance we could chat tomorrow morNing before 11? My back to scho primer.

Sent from my iPhone

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [David Ignatius](#)
Subject: column
Date: Wednesday, August 5, 2015 7:51:00 AM

David -- another good column on Syria this morning, although you will be unsurprised I do not share your sense of even flickers of optimism...

A good article by your colleague Karen DeYoung on the NSC also.

Hope all remains well with you.

With respect

Jim

Director
Office of Net Assessment

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

From: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
To: [Ignatius, David](#)
Subject: Dinner w/ David Ignatius and Jim Baker

From: [Ignatius, David](#)
To: [Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA \(US\)](#)
Subject: [Non-DoD Source] RE: follow-up
Date: Thursday, July 27, 2017 6:08:40 PM

All active links contained in this email were disabled. Please verify the identity of the sender, and confirm the authenticity of all links contained within the message prior to copying and pasting the address to a Web browser.

Thanks for these, Jim. I'll dig up a copy of my Venetian-themed novel, too.

-----Original Message-----

From: Baker, James H SES OSD ODNA (US) [Caution-[mailto:](#) (b) (6)]
Sent: Thursday, July 27, 2017 4:31 PM
To: Ignatius, David <David.Ignatius@washpost.com>
Subject: follow-up

David -- as discussed;

Caution-https://www.amazon.com/City-Fortune-Venice-Ruled-Seas/dp/0812980220/ref=sr_1_4?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1501187165&sr=1-4&keywords=venice

"City of Fortune traces the full arc of the Venetian imperial saga, from the ill-fated Fourth Crusade, which culminates in the sacking of Constantinople in 1204, to the Ottoman-Venetian War of 1499-1503, which sees the Ottoman Turks supplant the Venetians as the preeminent naval power in the Mediterranean. In between are three centuries of Venetian maritime dominance, during which a tiny city of "lagoon dwellers" grow into the richest place on earth. Drawing on firsthand accounts of pitched sea battles, skillful negotiations, and diplomatic maneuvers, Crowley paints a vivid picture of this avaricious, enterprising people and the bountiful lands that came under their dominion."

Well worth the read.

This also caught my eye:

Caution-<http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/06/26/u-s-image-suffers-as-publics-around-world-question-trumps-leadership/>

With respect

Jim

Director, Office of Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense

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