

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 13, 2011 7:43 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I; Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

RELEASED IN  
FULL

Definitely. Happy to do it. + Amira.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 13, 2011 7:35 PM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

Jake - We'd like to have him start talking to folks for his book on the Obama administration's foreign policy before he sits down with the Secretary – hopefully in January. Might you have time later this week Thurs-Fri or early next week? He is also looking to talk to Kurt, Einhorn and we hope to have him sit down with Bill as well. We should discuss what you should focus on before we sit down with him. David is most focused on Iran, N Korea, China, Pakistan, Arab Spring and wants to also hear about her role on Libya. He is coming at it with the broad question – how have we tried to sustain American power when we are in economic decline – and how have we dealt with the “power shift” to China. Right up your/S's alley.

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior  
Reviewer

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FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 21, 2011 7:11 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger

Excellent -- thanks Mike.

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

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 21, 2011 7:09 PM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Sanger

Assured me all is for book and while they will be reporting on Israel/Iran but what you said is "walled off" and not for their reporting.

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior  
Reviewer

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RELEASED IN  
FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 8:38 PM  
**To:** Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger - part II ?

No he can join

**From:** Valliani, Amira  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 8:35 PM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Fw: Sanger - part II ?

Is it important to you that Mike Hammer be there during your meeting with Sanger?

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 08:24 PM  
**To:** Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger - part II ?

Could we do 4 pm, I won't be able to sit in at 330 as I have a mtg with CDM. If S doesn't work, perhaps I will join in progress - they need another 45mins to an hour.

**From:** Valliani, Amira  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 08:21 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger - part II ?

How does 3:30pm tomorrow sound?

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 4:53 PM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Cc:** Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** Sanger - part II ?

Jake - Good session today, particularly recalibrating Sanger's impressions on where S is/has been on Afghanistan. How about we squeeze in the big frame session tomorrow, I fear if we wait until January you'll get consumed with the press of business of the new year. So, shall we schedule?

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior  
Reviewer

**RELEASED IN FULL****Hammer, Michael A**

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**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 11:33 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju; Khan, Naveed J  
**Cc:** Gahan, Kimberly A; Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

Thank you, sir.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 11:29 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin; Khan, Naveed J  
**Cc:** Gahan, Kimberly A; Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

Sure. I will use my basic cleared stump speech points on legal aspects of a smart power approach to international law

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 11:21 AM  
**To:** Khan, Naveed J; Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Gahan, Kimberly A; Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

David is on for Wednesday 18 January at 2:30 p.m. He has a hard pass, so I can just meet him at C Street and bring him up to your office.

He says that he will get us a list of topics before then, but that "much of it will focus on the legal issues surrounding new tools, from drones to cyber..." He is also interested in your view of "how the administration approaches these issues in comparison to past administrations."

Thanks!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

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**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:20 AM  
**To:** Khan, Naveed J; Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

As I'll be on travel next week Wed-Fri, Ben Chang will follow up to lock up the date, he's cking with Sanger on whether your proposed time works.

**From:** Khan, Naveed J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:10 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju; Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

Mike,

Would 2:30 pm on Wednesday, Jan 18<sup>th</sup> be ok?

Naveed

*Naveed J. Khan  
Personal Assistant to Legal Adviser Harold Hongju Koh  
Office of the Legal Adviser, Room 6421*

*Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20520  
Ph: 202-647-9598  
Fax: 202-647-7096  
email: [khannj@state.gov](mailto:khannj@state.gov)*

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**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:03 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A; Khan, Naveed J  
**Subject:** David Sanger's book project

Sure. Adding my office to figure out a time

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 9:43 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

Harold - can you provide us a time next week Jan 17-20, half hour, will be on background, either I or Ben Chang will sit in. Sanger has talked with Jake, will see Bill on the 19<sup>th</sup> and the Secretary later in the month. Thx, Mike

RELEASED IN FULL

**Smith, Brenda B (PACE)**

**From:** Starr, Katherine L <StarrKL@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 14, 2012 3:23 PM  
**To:** Bradley, Maryam AM; Chang, Benjamin; PA Special Assistants; Laine, Andrew J (PACE)  
**Cc:** Goode, Sheila M (PACE)  
**Subject:** recording interviews

Talked to Sheila Goode here, who knows such things☺.

Basically, reporter can bring a plain ol' digital recorder, that's not a problem. Reporter cannot bring smart phone, ipad, etc. to record interviews.

**From:** Bradley, Maryam AM  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 14, 2012 2:55 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin; PA Special Assistants; Starr, Katherine L; Laine, Andrew J (PACE)  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger appointment (Monday)

I'd start with the P Special Assistants; Mordica Simpson covers PA.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 14, 2012 2:48 PM  
**To:** PA Special Assistants; Starr, Katherine L; Laine, Andrew J (PACE)  
**Subject:** FW: David Sanger appointment (Monday)

With whom do we clear use of tape recorder in P offices, do you know?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Morris, Margo T  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 14, 2012 12:03 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger appointment

I understand your need to do that; or at least have always done in past

Margo Morris  
Personal Assistant  
Under Secretary for Political Affairs  
Department of State  
202 647-2471

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 14, 2012 11:43 AM

UNCLASSIFIED

**To:** Morris, Margo T

**Subject:** RE: David Sanger appointment

I am writing a memo and would attend. Can we make sure we get DS clearance for him to bring a tape recorder into the suite?

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**DAVID SANGER**  
**CHIEF WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT**  
**THE NEW YORK TIMES**

David E. Sanger is Chief Washington Correspondent for The New York Times and is one of the newspaper's senior writers. He is also the author of the best-selling book *The Inheritance: The World Obama Confronts and the Challenges to American Power*, which Sanger wrote as a writer in residence at the Center for a New American Security. While he is at work on a successor book, Sanger is the first National Security and the Press fellow at Harvard's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.

In nearly three decades at The New York Times, he has reported from New York, Tokyo and Washington, covering a variety of issues surrounding foreign policy, globalization, nuclear proliferation, Asian affairs and, since 2001, the Bush and Obama presidencies. Twice he has been a member of Times reporting teams that won the Pulitzer Prize. Before covering the White House, Mr. Sanger specialized in the confluence of economic and foreign policy, and wrote extensively on how issues of national wealth and competitiveness have come to redefine the relationships between the United States and its major allies. He was correspondent and then bureau chief in Tokyo for six years. In 1994, he took up the position of chief Washington economic correspondent, and covered a series of global economic upheavals, from Mexico to the Asian economic crisis. He was named a senior writer in March 1999, and White House correspondent later that year. He was named Chief Washington Correspondent in October 2006. Mr. Sanger joined the Times in the Business Day section, specializing in the computer industry and high-technology trade. In 1986 he played a major role in the team that investigated the causes of the space shuttle Challenger disaster. The team won the 1987 Pulitzer Prize for national reporting. He was a member of another Pulitzer-winner team that wrote about the Clinton administration's struggles to control exports to China. In 2007, the New York Times received the DuPont Award from the Columbia Journalism School for "Nuclear Jihad: Can Terrorists Get the Bomb?" a documentary featuring Mr. Sanger and his colleague William J. Broad. In 2004, Mr. Sanger was the co-recipient of the Weintal Prize for diplomatic reporting for his coverage of the Iraq and Korea crises. He also won the Aldo Beckman prize for coverage of the presidency. In both 2003 and 2007 he was awarded the Merriman Smith Memorial Award for coverage of national security strategy. He also shared the American Society of Newspaper Editor's top award for deadline writing in 2004, for team coverage of the Columbia disaster. Mr. Sanger is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Aspen Strategy Group.

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

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**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Valliani, Amira  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:41 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

Sure – let's try for tomorrow afternoon. Would 2pm work?

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:38 AM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** FW: Flight delay

Amira – heads up, see below, Sanger won't make it, let me know if we can reschedule this week.

**From:** Sanger, David [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:32 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Flight delay

Jake, mike

With apologies, us air cancelled my 10 am flight out of boston. They put me on an 11 15 delta, arriving around 1240. That messes us up big time. Any flexibility in schedule? I'll also be in dc all week.

Let me know what works for you.

David

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:HammerMA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 08:22 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

I've chatted with Jake and Kurt and they should have time this week – can we proceed with scheduling? Any times that don't work for you before I start trying to land these? Burns is on travel and I'm trying to pin down Einhorn as well.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 6:51 PM  
**To:** 'dasang@nytimes.com'  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Ok - will try to set up some apptms starting Weds and do best we can with Secretary, I realize we are getting down to the wire but scheduling is a bear, how deep into Jan can we go?

**From:** David Sanger [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 06:36 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Mike,

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

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I'm in Vienna -- spent the day with the Iran inspectors -- and flying back tomorrow. Around rest of week -- weds, thus, friday -- and all next week except Monday. So let's try to do Jake, Kurt, Einhorn and others on the list in the next few days.

On Dubai, not hearing from you I skipped it. But I'll be in Egypt week of Jan. 8 -- one reason I'd like to lock in the sec state quick -- and could do it then.

many thanks.

cheers,  
David

On Mon, Dec 12, 2011 at 11:04 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

We are looking for a hard date to schedule you with the Secretary early in the new year and perhaps you can at least come in to chat with Jake, others when you get back from your trip later this week or early next. Are you still planning to stop in Dubai this week?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 11:19 AM  
**To:** '[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)'

**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Sounds like a plan. We'll see if I can link you up with our team in Dubai.

---

**From:** David Sanger [<mailto:dasang@nytimes.com>]  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 10:36 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Dubai: Would be around Dec. 13.

On the Sec., she knows I'm writing the book, so at most I'll just remind her that at some point soon I'd love to get this going. I'm with you -- we want to do Jake, Burns, etc. first.

cheers,  
David

On Sat, Dec 3, 2011 at 10:09 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Leave it up to you if you want to raise with the Secretary. We'd like for you to chat with Jake and others before you connect with her. Challenge has been synching up between your traveling and Jake's. Indeed it will be a small window

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after the 15th but guess we'll have to try then.

Let me ck on Dubai, do you have a rough sense when you actually will be there?

**From:** David Sanger [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]

**Sent:** Friday, December 02, 2011 02:53 PM

**To:** Hammer, Michael A

**Subject:** coupla book things

Mike,

Greetings from across the street.

I'll be at the Brookings Saban forum all weekend, and I see we have the secstate at lunch. If we chat, should I remind her of this project and that time is getting short, or hold my fire?

Also, I'm headed to India at the end of next week, and may stop in Dubai on the way home on Iran related stuff. That's where you guys have a big Iran-watching embassy operation -- anyone I might contact to go in and visit those folks?

I'll be back around the 15th, and we'll have a brief window before Christmas to jam in a bunch of interviews. Not ideal, but I fear if we don't kick into gear then we'll have too many chapters off in editing. For example, I don't have secstate speaking directly now on her role in Libya decision, or the two Af/pak processes.

cheers,  
David

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: [202-862-0322](tel:202-862-0322) | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

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David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: [202-862-0322](tel:202-862-0322) | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

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--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

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**Smith, Dana S (PA)**

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**From:** Smith, Dana S (PA)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 28, 2011 8:22 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Cc:** Zieseniss, Mireille L  
**Subject:** RE: 830 meeting

**Categories:** Working  
**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

Ok, take your time. We're under control here.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

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

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 28, 2011 8:21 AM  
**To:** Smith, Dana S (PA)  
**Cc:** Zieseniss, Mireille L  
**Subject:** 830 meeting

I am headed in but running a bit behind - apologies. Nothing new to report other than the time is set for Jake to see David Sanger at 2 p.m tomorrow...

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior  
Reviewer

**RELEASED IN FULL****Hammer, Michael A**

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**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:16 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

I am out through Wednesday but let me check – if you're out, I could probably come in by 2:30. Harold and Sanger, two of my favorite people.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:13 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

Will you be back and able to sit-in, if so – I'll pass this off to you to nail down.

**From:** Khan, Naveed J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:10 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju; Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

Mike,

Would 2:30 pm on Wednesday, Jan 18<sup>th</sup> be ok?

Naveed

*Naveed J. Khan  
Personal Assistant to Legal Adviser Harold Hongju Koh  
Office of the Legal Adviser, Room 6421*

*Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20520  
Ph: 202-647-9598  
Fax: 202-647-7096  
email: [khannj@state.gov](mailto:khannj@state.gov)*

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:03 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A; Khan, Naveed J  
**Subject:** David Sanger's book project

Sure. Adding my office to figure out a time

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 9:43 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

Harold - can you provide us a time next week Jan 17-20, half hour, will be on background, either I or Ben Chang will sit in. Sanger has talked with Jake, will see Bill on the 19<sup>th</sup> and the Secretary later in the month. Thx, Mike

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**Hammer, Michael A**

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**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 4:31 PM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Sanger will indeed want to record. Are you able to check with TJ or should I?

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 02:51 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin; Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

**RELEASED IN FULL**

Confirmed. Reminder: if recording we need to clear with TJ Lunardi in DS.

*Mary L. Dubose  
Personal Assistant to  
Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
Tel: (202) 647-8636  
Fax: (202) 647-6047*

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 2:47 PM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Confirming Sanger on Thursday at 4:15. He may want to bring a research/book assistant as he did for sit-down with Jake...

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 11, 2012 08:52 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin; Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Ok. Thanks.

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

*Mary L. Dubose  
Personal Assistant to  
Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
Tel: (202) 647-8636  
Fax: (202) 647-6047*

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 11, 2012 2:49 PM

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**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Have not heard back yet. My hunch is yes as he seemed flexible from the outset. Can we go ahead and fix?

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 11, 2012 02:14 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin; Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Do we know if 4:15pm will work?

*Mary L. Dubose  
Personal Assistant to  
Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
Tel: (202) 647-8636  
Fax: (202) 647-6047*

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 6:25 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Will check...

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 6:24 PM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean; Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

+ chang, who is in direct contact with Sanger and will be sitting in on it. Ben- can you ck, suspect it will be just fine.

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 6:23 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill  
**Importance:** High

The Deputy now has a meeting with the Secretary during this time. Is it possible to change this meeting to 4:15pm on the 19<sup>th</sup>?

Mary L. Dubose  
Personal Assistant to  
Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
Tel: (202) 647-8636  
Fax: (202) 647-6047

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**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 05, 2012 9:11 PM  
**To:** Neville, Colleen C; Dubose, Mary L  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Cool, thx -- will let Ben know. FYI -Sanger will be in Cairo next week doing research for his book, hope Bill doesn't think Sanger is stalking him.

---

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 05, 2012 09:08 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Dubose, Mary L  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Mike,

Sorry to miss you but OK for Ben to join.

If you can get me the paper on the 17<sup>th</sup>, that would be great. thanks!

Colleen

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 05, 2012 11:30 AM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

The 19<sup>th</sup> at 3:30 works for Sanger. Since I'll be out, I would propose that Ben Chang sit in, he sat in on other interviews Sanger did - with Jake. We should of course ask Bill if he is ok with that, the purpose is so we can summarize for S for her sit-down with Sanger later what issues have been discussed. Alternatively, Bill could give us a read-out afterwards if he prefers to do it one-on-one. Finally, Colleen - do you still want us to send the briefing paper for this on Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> (sounds ominous) or now that it has been pushed back get it to you on the 17<sup>th</sup>?

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 10:03 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

The Deputy will be on travel Jan 24 - Jan 31.

Mary L. Dubose  
Personal Assistant to  
Deputy Secretary of State Burns

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Tel: (202) 647-8636

Fax: (202) 647-6047

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 9:57 AM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Just realized I will be in Miami 18-20<sup>th</sup> and I'll like to be at this session w/ Bill, any chance we could find time with Sanger the following week?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 8:09 AM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Let me ck w/ Sanger

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 07:59 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Good morning Mike,

The Deputy Secretary will not return from his travel until 7:55pm on the 17<sup>th</sup> now. We will have to change the date and time of the interview. Is it possible to do it on the 19th at 3:30pm?

Thanks, Mary

*Mary L. Dubose*  
*Personal Assistant to*  
*Deputy Secretary of State Burns*  
Tel: (202) 647-8636  
Fax: (202) 647-6047

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**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 4:24 PM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Thank you!

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 02:48 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Time is locked in on the Deputy's schedule.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 11:01 AM  
**To:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Dubose, Mary L; Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Sanger can do 17<sup>th</sup> at 3-4, can we pls lock in. We'll coordinate/send up prep materials. Mike

---

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Monday, December 19, 2011 8:14 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Dubose, Mary L; Kidd, Patricia E  
**Subject:** FW: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Mike,

For the Sanger interview -the 17<sup>th</sup> from 3-4pm is prob the best time. If it has to be on the 18<sup>th</sup>, we can do it at 10:00am - 11:00am.

Let us know if this works for Sanger.

As for Friedman, I'm going to flag for the boss next week when he's back in town so let's hold off on contacting him for now.

Thanks!

Colleen

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 3:36 PM  
**To:** Zeya, Uzra S; Neville, Colleen C  
**Subject:** NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Uzra - as I mentioned, David Sanger of NYT, is writing a book on the Obama administration's foreign policy. We are coordinating with NSS, who has already spent time with him and supports Sanger's requests to interview the Secretary, Bill and others. Before he sits down with the Secretary - probably in late January - we hope we might find time for him to talk with Bill. David is most focused on Iran, N Korea, China, Pakistan, the Arab Spring and wants to also hear about the Secretary's role on Libya. He is coming at it with the broad question - how have we tried to sustain American power when we are in economic decline - and how have we dealt with the "power shift" to China. We are having Sanger meet Jake and Kurt next week and Einhorn in early January. If Bill is willing, it would be super to schedule in early-to-mid January. The session would be on background as a Senior Administration official. Anything on the record would be subject to our approval. I think we would need a solid 45 minutes. Look forward to hearing from you. Mike

**RELEASED IN FULL****Hammer, Michael A**

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**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 21, 2011 6:47 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger - part III ?

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

I can't wait.

Thanks again for the bowtie!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 21, 2011 6:27 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger - part III ?

Yes pls, he is expecting you :)

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 21, 2011 06:20 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger - part III ?

Thanks. Shall I reach out to Sanger once I get windows of time from Amira?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 21, 2011 6:09 PM  
**To:** Valliani, Amira  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Sanger - part III ?

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

Jake agreed to continue the conversation next week – Ben Chang, cced, can arrange and staff it for PA as I will be on leave. Thanks and hope you get a break. Mike

**RELEASED IN FULL****Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:22 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Khan, Naveed J; Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

Will do – am reaching out and will report back.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:20 AM  
**To:** Khan, Naveed J; Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

As I'll be on travel next week Wed-Fri, Ben Chang will follow up to lock up the date, he's cking with Sanger on whether your proposed time works.

---

**From:** Khan, Naveed J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:10 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju; Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

Mike,

Would 2:30 pm on Wednesday, Jan 18<sup>th</sup> be ok?

Naveed

*Naveed J. Khan  
 Personal Assistant to Legal Adviser Harold Hongju Koh  
 Office of the Legal Adviser, Room 6121*

*Department of State  
 2201 C Street, NW  
 Washington, D.C. 20520  
 Ph: 202-617-9598  
 Fax: 202-617-7096  
 email: [khannj@state.gov](mailto:khannj@state.gov)*

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:03 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A; Khan, Naveed J  
**Subject:** David Sanger's book project

Sure. Adding my office to figure out a time

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 9:43 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

Harold - can you provide us a time next week Jan 17-20, half hour, will be on background, either I or Ben Chang will sit in. Sanger has talked with Jake, will see Bill on the 19<sup>th</sup> and the Secretary later in the month. Thx, Mike

UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Sanger, David [dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:52 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Flight delay

Jake at 2 tomorrow is terrific

Burns on 17th is fine, too.

Week of Jan 9 I'm in Cairo, but Einhorn could be week before or after. Also u shd know times doing big Iran sanctions piece this week or next so maybe if Bob is around he might wanna talk for that.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:HammerMA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:43 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

OK – let's just stick to Kurt today – will meet you at C street entrance. Jake can do 2 pm tomorrow, work for you? Also, I have you penciled in for Burns on Jan 17<sup>th</sup> from 3-4, hope that works. Also working Einhorn for week of Jan 9.

**From:** Sanger, David [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:40 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Flight delay

I know. This has been the ill fated meeting. Fine for Kurt, and Asst is not coming along. Thought it might be more candid if it's just me and Kurt, and u of course if u are joining. I have a state press badge.

I can probably make it around 1. Should we get started with Jake or try tomorrow or Thurs?

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:HammerMA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:33 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

Ugh – but you'll still make the Campbell mtg at 2 pm? If so, what's your researcher's name, contact info, so we can clear you guys in?

**From:** Sanger, David [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:32 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Flight delay

Jake, Mike

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

With apologies, my air cancelled my 10 am flight out of Boston. They put me on an 11 15 Delta, arriving around 1240. That messes us up big time. Any flexibility in schedule? I'll also be in DC all week.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Let me know what works for you.

David

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:HammerMA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 08:22 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

I've chatted with Jake and Kurt and they should have time this week -- can we proceed with scheduling? Any times that don't work for you before I start trying to land these? Burns is on travel and I'm trying to pin down Einhorn as well.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 6:51 PM  
**To:** 'dasang@nytimes.com'  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Ok - will try to set up some apptms starting Weds and do best we can with Secretary, I realize we are getting down to the wire but scheduling is a bear, how deep into Jan can we go?

**From:** David Sanger [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 06:36 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Mike,

I'm in Vienna -- spent the day with the Iran inspectors -- and flying back tomorrow. Around rest of week -- weds, thus, friday -- and all next week except Monday. So let's try to do Jake, Kurt, Einhorn and others on the list in the next few days.

On Dubai, not hearing from you I skipped it. But I'll be in Egypt week of Jan. 8 -- one reason I'd like to lock in the sec state quick -- and could do it then.

many thanks.

cheers,  
David

On Mon, Dec 12, 2011 at 11:04 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

We are looking for a hard date to schedule you with the Secretary early in the new year and perhaps you can at least come in to chat with Jake, others when you get back from your trip later this week or early next. Are you still planning to stop in Dubai this week?

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 11:19 AM  
**To:** 'dasang@nytimes.com'

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Sounds like a plan. We'll see if I can link you up with our team in Dubai.

---

**From:** David Sanger [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 10:36 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Dubai: Would be around Dec. 13.

On the Sec., she knows I'm writing the book, so at most I'll just remind her that at some point soon I'd love to get this going. I'm with you -- we want to do Jake, Burns, etc. first.

cheers,  
David

On Sat, Dec 3, 2011 at 10:09 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Leave it up to you if you want to raise with the Secretary. We'd like for you to chat with Jake and others before you connect with her. Challenge has been synching up between your traveling and Jake's. Indeed it will be a small window after the 15th but guess we'll have to try then.

Let me ck on Dubai, do you have a rough sense when you actually will be there?

---

**From:** David Sanger [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 02, 2011 02:53 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** coupla book things

Mike,

Greetings from across the street.

I'll be at the Brookings Saban forum all weekend, and I see we have the secstate at lunch. If we chat, should I remind her of this project and that time is getting short, or hold my fire?

Also, I'm headed to India at the end of next week, and may stop in Dubai on the way home on Iran related stuff. That's where you guys have a big Iran-watching embassy operation -- anyone I might contact to go in and visit those folks?

I'll be back around the 15th, and we'll have a brief window before Christmas to jam in a bunch of interviews.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Not ideal, but I fear if we don't kick into gear then we'll have too many chapters off in editing. For example, I don't have secstate speaking directly now on her role in Libya decision, or the two Af/pak processes.

cheers,  
David

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | sanger@nytimes.com

--

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NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

RELEASED IN FULL

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**Hammer, Michael A**

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**From:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 11:05 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Adler, Caroline E  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger

Great. Can you find out how deep into January he can go? I have no sense of what her month is like yet

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 11:03 AM  
**To:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Cc:** Adler, Caroline E  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger

Yes, WH is cooperating, he has spent time with Donilon, others. They know he is looking to meet up with HRC and support.

---

**From:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 11:02 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Adler, Caroline E  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger

That's not happening. We'd be talking about one shot deal of 20, 25 minutes.  
Is the White House cooperating?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 11:01 AM  
**To:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger

I'll double ck with him, he will of course insist that the earlier the better and is asking for more than one session.

---

**From:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 10:59 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Adler, Caroline E  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger

As long as we can bump to 2012.

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 10:58 AM  
**To:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Cc:** Adler, Caroline E  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger

David says the sooner the better, so perhaps we could nail down a date certain early in the new year. Problem so far has been between his travel and our team's we have not had a round of conversations with him – think he is off to the

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Gulf for this week but back the 15<sup>th</sup>, I think. I had hoped to link him up with at least Bill and Jake before we did S. Jake we could do, Bill is on travel until the 29<sup>th</sup>.

**From:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 10:53 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Adler, Caroline E  
**Subject:** Sanger

What's his deadline? Given how few days are left in December before we all scatter, we can't connect him with HRC until the new year.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**RELEASED IN FULL****Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 10:59 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Adler, Caroline E  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger

As long as we can bump to 2012.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 10:58 AM  
**To:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Cc:** Adler, Caroline E  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger

David says the sooner the better, so perhaps we could nail down a date certain early in the new year. Problem so far has been between his travel and our team's we have not had a round of conversations with him – think he is off to the Gulf for this week but back the 15<sup>th</sup>, I think. I had hoped to link him up with at least Bill and Jake before we did S. Jake we could do, Bill is on travel until the 29<sup>th</sup>.

---

**From:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 10:53 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Adler, Caroline E  
**Subject:** Sanger

What's his deadline? Given how few days are left in December before we all scatter, we can't connect him with HRC until the new year.

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**RELEASED IN FULL****Hammer, Michael A**

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**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 22, 2011 12:19 PM  
**To:** Valliani, Amira  
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger - part III ?

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

I can check with David about those dates and circle back...

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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**From:** Valliani, Amira  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 22, 2011 10:53 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger - part III ?

Mike and Ben,

Great – Jake’s planning to be around on the 28, 29, and 30<sup>th</sup>. I’m actually going to be on leave and in Kenya next week. So, I’ll be able to help a bit with scheduling, but loop Jake in as well while scheduling the Sanger meeting since he’ll largely be tracking his own scheduling on those days.

Amira

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 21, 2011 6:09 PM  
**To:** Valliani, Amira  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Sanger - part III ?

Jake agreed to continue the conversation next week – Ben Chang, cced, can arrange and staff it for PA as I will be on leave. Thanks and hope you get a break. Mike

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Valliani, Amira  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 11:25 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Great – finalized for Tuesday at 12:30. Jake's actually got a late lunch already scheduled for that day, but I'll let you know if anything changes.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 5:50 PM  
**To:** Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Let's lock in Tuesday, at 1230, maybe we can do over lunch.

**From:** Valliani, Amira  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 1:20 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Sure. Tomorrow and Friday are tough, but Jake definitely wants to make this happen. Would early next week work?

On Tuesday the 20<sup>th</sup>, between 9:15-10:15, 12:30pm-2:00pm, and 2:30pm-3:30pm are best, but I can make other times work if those aren't good on Sanger's end.

Let me know if Tuesday is too late and I'll talk to Jake to see what we can move around for Thursday and Friday.

Amira

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:34 AM  
**To:** Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Can you provide me a couple windows tomorrow or Friday? Except for Thurs 2:30-3:30 pm when Sanger can't. To be safe, we probably need an hour to factor in a pre-brief. Let me know, thx.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 13, 2011 11:26 PM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I; Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger's book project

Terrific - we'll work to schedule

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 13, 2011 07:43 PM

**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I; Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Definitely. Happy to do it. + Amira.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 13, 2011 7:35 PM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

Jake - We'd like to have him start talking to folks for his book on the Obama administration's foreign policy before he sits down with the Secretary – hopefully in January. Might you have time later this week Thurs-Fri or early next week? He is also looking to talk to Kurt, Einhorn and we hope to have him sit down with Bill as well. We should discuss what you should focus on before we sit down with him. David is most focused on Iran, N Korea, China, Pakistan, Arab Spring and wants to also hear about her role on Libya. He is coming at it with the broad question – how have we tried to sustain American power when we are in economic decline – and how have we dealt with the “power shift” to China. Right up your/S's alley.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

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**From:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 18, 2012 1:52 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger

Locked is a strong word, but shooting for next week

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 18, 2012 01:28 PM  
**To:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Subject:** Sanger

He's coming to talk to Bill tomorrow, sure he will ask about S – is timing locked down yet?

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

RELEASED IN FULL

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**Hammer, Michael A**

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**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Monday, December 19, 2011 8:14 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Dubose, Mary L; Kidd, Patricia E  
**Subject:** FW: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Mike,

For the Sanger interview -the 17<sup>th</sup> from 3-4pm is prob the best time. If it has to be on the 18<sup>th</sup>, we can do it at 10:00am - 11:00am.

Let us know if this works for Sanger.

As for Friedman, I'm going to flag for the boss next week when he's back in town so let's hold off on contacting him for now.

Thanks!

Colleen

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 3:36 PM  
**To:** Zeya, Uzra S; Neville, Colleen C  
**Subject:** NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Uzra - as I mentioned, David Sanger of NYT, is writing a book on the Obama administration's foreign policy. We are coordinating with NSS, who has already spent time with him and supports Sanger's requests to interview the Secretary, Bill and others. Before he sits down with the Secretary - probably in late January - we hope we might find time for him to talk with Bill. David is most focused on Iran, N Korea, China, Pakistan, the Arab Spring and wants to also hear about the Secretary's role on Libya. He is coming at it with the broad question - how have we tried to sustain American power when we are in economic decline - and how have we dealt with the "power shift" to China. We are having Sanger meet Jake and Kurt next week and Einhorn in early January. If Bill is willing, it would be super to schedule in early-to-mid January. The session would be on background as a Senior Administration official. Anything on the record would be subject to our approval. I think we would need a solid 45 minutes. Look forward to hearing from you. Mike

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Hammer, Michael A

RELEASED IN FULL

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 05, 2012 9:08 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Dubose, Mary L  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Mike,

Sorry to miss you but OK for Ben to join.

If you can get me the paper on the 17<sup>th</sup>, that would be great. thanks!

Colleen

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 05, 2012 11:30 AM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

The 19<sup>th</sup> at 3:30 works for Sanger. Since I'll be out, I would propose that Ben Chang sit in, he sat in on other interviews Sanger did - with Jake. We should of course ask Bill if he is ok with that, the purpose is so we can summarize for S for her sit-down with Sanger later what issues have been discussed. Alternatively, Bill could give us a read-out afterwards if he prefers to do it one-on-one. Finally, Colleen - do you still want us to send the briefing paper for this on Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> (sounds ominous) or now that it has been pushed back get it to you on the 17<sup>th</sup>?

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 10:03 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

The Deputy will be on travel Jan 24 - Jan 31.

Mary L. Dubose  
 Personal Assistant to  
 Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
 Tel: (202) 647-8636  
 Fax: (202) 647-6047

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 9:57 AM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Just realized I will be in Miami 18-20<sup>th</sup> and I'll like to be at this session w/ Bill, any chance we could find time with Sanger the following week?

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 8:09 AM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Let me ck w/ Sanger

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 07:59 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Good morning Mike,

The Deputy Secretary will not return from his travel until 7:55pm on the 17<sup>th</sup> now. We will have to change the date and time of the interview. Is it possible to do it on the 19th at 3:30pm?

Thanks, Mary

*Mary L. Dubose  
Personal Assistant to  
Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
Tel: (202) 647-8636  
Fax: (202) 647-6047*

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 4:24 PM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Thank you!

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 02:48 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Time is locked in on the Deputy's schedule.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 11:01 AM  
**To:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Dubose, Mary L; Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Sanger can do 17<sup>th</sup> at 3-4, can we pls lock in. We'll coordinate/send up prep materials. Mike

---

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Monday, December 19, 2011 8:14 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A

**Cc:** Dubose, Mary L; Kidd, Patricia E

**Subject:** FW: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Mike,

For the Sanger interview -the 17<sup>th</sup> from 3-4pm is prob the best time. If it has to be on the 18<sup>th</sup>, we can do it at 10:00am - 11:00am.

Let us know if this works for Sanger.

As for Friedman, I'm going to flag for the boss next week when he's back in town so let's hold off on contacting him for now.

Thanks!

Colleen

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A

**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 3:36 PM

**To:** Zeya, Uzra S; Neville, Colleen C

**Subject:** NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Uzra – as I mentioned, David Sanger of NYT, is writing a book on the Obama administration's foreign policy. We are coordinating with NSS, who has already spent time with him and supports Sanger's requests to interview the Secretary, Bill and others. Before he sits down with the Secretary – probably in late January – we hope we might find time for him to talk with Bill. David is most focused on Iran, N Korea, China, Pakistan, the Arab Spring and wants to also hear about the Secretary's role on Libya. He is coming at it with the broad question – how have we tried to sustain American power when we are in economic decline – and how have we dealt with the "power shift" to China. We are having Sanger meet Jake and Kurt next week and Einhorn in early January. If Bill is willing, it would be super to schedule in early-to-mid January. The session would be on background as a Senior Administration official. Anything on the record would be subject to our approval. I think we would need a solid 45 minutes. Look forward to hearing from you. Mike

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 16, 2012 9:15 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Zieseniss, Mireille L  
**Subject:** Sherman at 2 p.m. with Sanger on Monday

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

P staff has asked to move David from 1 to 2. I am checking with him now but FYI for your calendar.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior  
Reviewer

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 21, 2011 7:11 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger

Excellent -- thanks Mike.

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

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 21, 2011 7:09 PM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Sanger

Assured me all is for book and while they will be reporting on Israel/Iran but what you said is "walled off" and not for their reporting.

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Sanger, David [dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:55 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: What is you phone number

Sure on jake \_ I'm free until 530

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:HammerMA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:52 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: What is you phone number

202 647-6607 office // 202 736-4656 direct – actually can you do Jake at 3:30 today ?? He just made time, I say you seize the chance.

---

**From:** Sanger, David [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:46 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** What is you phone number

---

**From:** Sanger, David  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:40 AM  
**To:** 'HammerMA@state.gov' <HammerMA@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Re: Flight delay

I know. This has been the ill fated meeting. Fine for kurt, and asst is not coming along. Thought it might be more candid if its just me and kurt, and u of course if u are joining. I have a state press badge.

I can probably make it around 1. Should we get started with jake or try tomorrow or thurs?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:HammerMA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:33 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

Ugh – but you'll still make the Campbell mtg at 2 pm? If so, what's your researcher's name, contact info, so we can clear you guys in?

---

**From:** Sanger, David [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:32 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Flight delay

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

Jake, mike

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

With apologies, us air cancelled my 10 am flight out of boston. They put me on an 11 15 delta, arriving around 1240. That messes us up big time. Any flexibility in schedule? I'll also be in dc all week.

Let me know what works for you.

David

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:HammerMA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 08:22 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

I've chatted with Jake and Kurt and they should have time this week -- can we proceed with scheduling ? Any times that don't work for you before I start trying to land these? Burns is on travel and I'm trying to pin down Einhorn as well.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 6:51 PM  
**To:** 'dasang@nytimes.com'  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Ok - will try to set up some apptms starting Weds and do best we can with Secretary, I realize we are getting down to the wire but scheduling is a bear, how deep into Jan can we go?

---

**From:** David Sanger [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 06:36 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Mike,

I'm in Vienna -- spent the day with the Iran inspectors -- and flying back tomorrow. Around rest of week -- weds, thus, friday -- and all next week except Monday. So let's try to do Jake, Kurt, Einhorn and others on the list in the next few days.

On Dubai, not hearing from you I skipped it. But I'll be in Egypt week of Jan. 8 -- one reason I'd like to lock in the sec state quick -- and could do it then.

many thanks.

cheers,  
David

On Mon, Dec 12, 2011 at 11:04 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

We are looking for a hard date to schedule you with the Secretary early in the new year and perhaps you can at least come in to chat with Jake, others when you get back from your trip later this week or early next. Are you still planning to stop in Dubai this week?

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 11:19 AM  
**To:** '[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)'

**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Sounds like a plan. We'll see if I can link you up with our team in Dubai.

---

**From:** David Sanger [<mailto:dasang@nytimes.com>]  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 10:36 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Dubai: Would be around Dec. 13.

On the Sec., she knows I'm writing the book, so at most I'll just remind her that at some point soon I'd love to get this going. I'm with you -- we want to do Jake, Burns, etc. first.

cheers,  
David

On Sat, Dec 3, 2011 at 10:09 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Leave it up to you if you want to raise with the Secretary. We'd like for you to chat with Jake and others before you connect with her. Challenge has been synching up between your traveling and Jake's. Indeed it will be a small window after the 15th but guess we'll have to try then.

Let me ck on Dubai, do you have a rough sense when you actually will be there?

---

**From:** David Sanger [<mailto:dasang@nytimes.com>]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 02, 2011 02:53 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** coupla book things

Mike,

Greetings from across the street.

I'll be at the Brookings Saban forum all weekend, and I see we have the secstate at lunch. If we chat, should I remind her of this project and that time is getting short, or hold my fire?

Also, I'm headed to India at the end of next week, and may stop in Dubai on the way home on Iran related stuff.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

That's where you guys have a big Iran-watching embassy operation -- anyone I might contact to go in and visit those folks?

I'll be back around the 15th, and we'll have a brief window before Christmas to jam in a bunch of interviews. Not ideal, but I fear if we don't kick into gear then we'll have too many chapters off in editing. For example, I don't have secstate speaking directly now on her role in Libya decision, or the two Af/pak processes.

cheers,  
David

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | sanger@nytimes.com

--

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Phone: 202-862-0322 | sanger@nytimes.com

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 02, 2012 5:35 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Sanger with Einhorn

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**SensitivityCode:** Sensitive

They met at 2 p.m. and spoke all Iran all the time. Spurred Sanger to remind me (in front of Bob) that he wants to speak with Wendy. I said we were working on it or something vague like that.

It was all book oriented except for the beginning David wanted to ask a **question in reporter mode**:

Has Bob ever heard of Iran developing a missile with a range of 10,000 km? Reason for his question was that his colleague Ethan Bronner (Jerusalem) has been covering the annual security conference in Herzliya where Vice Premier Moshe Yaalon among others spoke today. Yaalon apparently said it was a good thing that the Iranian base blew up earlier because Iran was working there on a missile with a range of 10K km "which could reach the U.S." Ethan called David to ask if anyone's heard of such a missile with that range.

Bob said that he did not have anything on that, and that we all know they have been working on space launch vehicles (essentially long range rockets) but we don't think they are near acquisition of a missile with a range like that. He was unaware of active development of a missile with that kind of range – do they aspire to such a missile? Probably.

Sanger: any indication of cooperation with North Korean on such a thing?

Bob: there's a long history of cooperation with NK on missiles, but not of that range, medium-range.

---

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

**RELEASED IN FULL****Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 2:45 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Frey, Marie Ann  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger's book project

Will check and get back...

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 02:26 PM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

I'll let Ben try to work this out with Sanger but any of the times you suggest seem fine, provided David is around.

---

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 1:14 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

What day did you have in mind. Currently Mr. Einhorn is available Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday (January 23, 24, 26 and 27) 2:30 p.m. and later. On Wednesday, January 25, he is available 10:30 a.m. and later. Please let me know. Thanks, MarieAnn

*MarieAnn Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 9:10 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

Yes, let's try to schedule next week, + Ben Chang who is also tracking Sanger's requests

---

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 8:36 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Hammer,

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Good morning. Please excuse my delay in responding. Mr. Einhorn is on travel this week (January 15-20). He will be in the office the week of the 23<sup>rd</sup>. Do you want to schedule something for that week? Thanks, MarieAnn

*MarieAnn Frey*  
S/SANAC, Rm. 3214  
Telephone: 202-736-7052

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:11 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Cking in, will Bob be traveling next week or can we firm this appointment up? If he's traveling, can we look at the week of the 23<sup>rd</sup>? Sanger is abroad all this week.

---

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:58 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Hammer,

Although not confirmed, Mr. Einhorn may be on travel the week of January 16. We can pencil something in and if he does travel it will have to be rescheduled if that is acceptable. If that is all right the times provided would still be good with the exception of Monday, January 16 which is a holiday. Thanks,

*MarieAnn Frey*  
S/SANAC, Rm. 3214  
Telephone: 202-736-7052

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:54 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Go figure, Sanger just told me he is traveling week of Jan 9, can we try the following week of 17<sup>th</sup>?

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

---

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:52 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Hammer,

Mr. Einhorn currently available as follows:

Monday, January 9:  
2:30 – 5:00 p.m.

Tuesday, January 10:  
2:30 – 5:00 p.m.

Wednesday, January 11:  
10:30 a.m. – 5:00 p.m.

Thursday, January 12:  
1:30 – 5:00 p.m.

Friday, January 13:  
11:00 a.m.-2:30 p.m.

I hope this information helps. Please let me know which time is chosen. Thanks, MarieAnn

*MarieAnn Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:45 AM  
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Can you give me a date and time pls for week of Jan 9 – seeing Sanger today so wanted to relay/try to lock in.

---

**From:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 2:37 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

sure

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 1:05 PM  
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Perfectly understandable – can we tentatively put something on the schedule the week of Jan 9?

---

**From:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 12:46 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

I'd be happy to do it, Mike, but I'm in Israel and China next week, my schedule for the remainder of this week is impossible, and I'm taking leave Christmas-New Years week. Can do it early January.

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:47 AM  
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

Bob – David is writing a book on the Obama administration's foreign policy and, before he sits down with the Secretary – hopefully in January, we'd like to have him start talking to folks (Jake, Bill Burns, Kurt, you, possibly others). He is obviously looking to talk to you about Iran. Might you have time later this week Thurs-Fri or early next week? NSS is cool with us engaging. This would be on background. Thanks, let me know. Mike

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**RELEASED IN FULL****Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Khan, Naveed J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 2:15 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin; Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** RE: Meeting with Legal Adviser Koh

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

Ok, thank you.

*Naveed J. Khan  
Personal Assistant to Legal Adviser Harold Hongju Koh  
Office of the Legal Adviser, Room 6421*

*Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20520  
Ph: 202-647-9598  
Fax: 202-647-7096  
email: [khannj@state.gov](mailto:khannj@state.gov)*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 2:15 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Khan, Naveed J  
**Cc:** Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** Re: Meeting with Legal Adviser Koh

Yes, on for 2:30. I'll bring Sanger up.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 02:05 PM  
**To:** Khan, Naveed J  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** RE: Meeting with Legal Adviser Koh

I believe so, Chang was going to be staffing it so will let him reply.

---

**From:** Khan, Naveed J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 1:29 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** Meeting with Legal Adviser Koh

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

Hi, Mike,

Is tomorrow at 2:30 ok for this meeting? I thought I had responded to you but if I didn't, I apologize. Please let me know if it is ok for tomorrow.

Thanks,

Naveed

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 9:43 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

Harold - can you provide us a time next week Jan 17-20, half hour, will be on background, either I or Ben Chang will sit in. Sanger has talked with Jake, will see Bill on the 19<sup>th</sup> and the Secretary later in the month. Thx, Mike

*Naveed J. Khan  
Personal Assistant to Legal Adviser Harold Hongju Koh  
Office of the Legal Adviser, Room 6421*

*Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20520  
Ph: 202-647-9598  
Fax: 202-647-7096  
email: [khannj@state.gov](mailto:khannj@state.gov)*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Zieseniss, Mireille L  
**Sent:** Friday, March 16, 2012 5:00 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin; Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger with P now 23rd

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

Blocked both times on your calendar (3:00 and 4:00).

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

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 16, 2012 4:50 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Zieseniss, Mireille L  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger with P now 23rd

And you've got 5 to pre-brief before

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

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

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 16, 2012 12:59 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin; Zieseniss, Mireille L  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger with P now 23rd

Ok

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

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 16, 2012 12:50 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Zieseniss, Mireille L  
**Subject:** Sanger with P now 23rd

Either 3 or 4 pm. Will confirm.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

**RELEASED IN FULL****Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 24, 2012 12:50 PM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

Odd. I thought we did re: Wednesday below. But life is fluid: I will reach out to Sanger again – is there time available tentatively on Friday when Bob is back?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 24, 2012 12:36 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Chang,

I'm sorry although it was originally believed that Mr. Einhorn would be in town this week, he has gone on travel with Under Secretary Sherman. He will not return until Friday. After I gave the times when Mr. Einhorn was available, no one ever got back to me with a date/time when Mr. Sanger was available to meet to firm up the meeting. So this request on gone no further. Thanks, MarieAnn

*MarieAnn Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 24, 2012 12:27 PM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Any progress on scheduling David Sanger with A/S Einhorn this Wednesday?

Thank you!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 19, 2012 6:17 PM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann; Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Sanger is available Wednesday. What time works best for you for an hour? Thanks!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 1:14 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

What day did you have in mind. Currently Mr. Einhorn is available Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday (January 23, 24, 26 and 27) 2:30 p.m. and later. On Wednesday, January 25, he is available 10:30 a.m. and later. Please let me know. Thanks, MarieAnn

*Marie Ann Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 9:10 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Yes, let's try to schedule next week, + Ben Chang who is also tracking Sanger's requests

---

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 8:36 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Hammer,

Good morning. Please excuse my delay in responding. Mr. Einhorn is on travel this week (January 15-20). He will be in the office the week of the 23<sup>rd</sup>. Do you want to schedule something for that week? Thanks, MarieAnn

*Marie Ann Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:11 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Cking in, will Bob be traveling next week or can we firm this appointment up? If he's traveling, can we look at the week of the 23<sup>rd</sup>? Sanger is abroad all this week.

---

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:58 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Hammer,

Although not confirmed, Mr. Einhorn may be on travel the week of January 16. We can pencil something in and if he does travel it will have to be rescheduled if that is acceptable. If that is all right the times provided would still be good with the exception of Monday, January 16 which is a holiday. Thanks,

*Marie Ann Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:54 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Go figure, Sanger just told me he is traveling week of Jan 9, can we try the following week of 17<sup>th</sup>?

---

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:52 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A

**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Hammer,

Mr. Einhorn currently available as follows:

Monday, January 9:  
2:30 – 5:00 p.m.

Tuesday, January 10:  
2:30 – 5:00 p.m.

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Thursday, January 12:  
1:30 – 5:00 p.m.

Friday, January 13:  
11:00 a.m.-2:30 p.m.

I hope this information helps. Please let me know which time is chosen. Thanks, MarieAnn

*MarieAnn Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:45 AM  
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Can you give me a date and time pls for week of Jan 9 – seeing Sanger today so wanted to relay/try to lock in.

---

**From:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 2:37 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

sure

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 1:05 PM  
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Perfectly understandable – can we tentatively put something on the schedule the week of Jan 9?

---

**From:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 12:46 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

I'd be happy to do it, Mike, but I'm in Israel and China next week, my schedule for the remainder of this week is impossible, and I'm taking leave Christmas-New Years week. Can do it early January.

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:47 AM  
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

Bob – David is writing a book on the Obama administration's foreign policy and, before he sits down with the Secretary – hopefully in January, we'd like to have him start talking to folks (Jake, Bill Burns, Kurt, you, possibly others). He is obviously looking to talk to you about Iran. Might you have time later this week Thurs-Fri or early next week? NSS is cool with us engaging. This would be on background. Thanks, let me know. Mike

RELEASED IN FULL

## MEMORANDUM TO THE UNDER SECRETARY

From: Mike Hammer

Date: Thursday, March 15, 2012

Re: Interview with David Sanger of the New York Times for his book on the Obama Administration's foreign policy

Madame Under Secretary,

David is on leave from the New York Times and is writing a book on the Obama Administration's foreign policy. The book is slated to be published this June. He will meet with you in person in your office; the interview will be on background with on-the-record quotes subject to approval.

In conversations for the book with the Secretary, Deputy Secretary Burns, Jake Sullivan, and others, he has been concentrating on diplomacy in an age of austerity (particularly in the Arab world), the Arab Spring (Egypt, Libya, Syria), our pivot to Asia, Afghanistan (the future of women, dealing with Karzai, internal debate about the surge), and Iran. With you he would like to focus particularly on Iran, and will be quite keen to get your perspective on the Israelis and will want to get your assessment on the prospects for a strike on Iran. Sanger understands and accepts that these interviews are not for reporting now and are only for his book.

This briefing includes the following:

- Background and objectives of the interview
- Themes and suggested guidance
- Scenario
- Biography of David Sanger

Background and objectives of the interview

David is writing a follow-up to his book "The Inheritance, The World Obama Confronts and the Challenges to American Power" (2009). He wants to tackle two primary questions: What has been surprising about the Administration's foreign policy and engagement around the world over the last three years, and How is the Administration adjusting its foreign policy in an "age of austerity"?

Among other topics, in what he calls the realm of "surprises," he is exploring the steady strengthening of the sanctions regime on Iran to become one of the most rigorous ever. He wants to know how the President's thinking has evolved in these areas and how the Secretary has guided it and affected the final outcomes and what your role currently is in carrying the policy forward.

He is also keen to explore how the Administration is reorienting its diplomacy for an age of austerity -- how can the United States project power abroad when it is struggling at home economically? When Sanger sat down with Deputy Secretary Burns, he raised Egypt as an example: are we limited in our influence over a group like the Muslim Brotherhood when China, for example, can curry favor by offering significant financial support for large infrastructure projects, etc.? How much leverage do we have when we offer \$250 million in civilian assistance and they are spending \$2 billion to shore up the Egyptian pound? In his visit to Cairo two weeks ago (just before Deputy Secretary Burns arrived),

David Sanger/New York Times Interview - Page 1 of 6

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

Sanger met with the Muslim Brotherhood. Their first topic of conversation was about how to negotiate with the IMF, and they were quick to point out that the Chinese, Russians, and Indians have all been in to visit them.

*Our objectives for this interview are to:*

1. Discuss your role in the formulation and execution of the Administration's foreign policy, particularly Iran.
2. Illustrate the collaborative nature of the policy process and its internal coherence.
3. Underscore that the policy of engagement does not preclude the Administration from taking strong stands based on our values and interests.
4. Highlight smart power and 21<sup>st</sup> century statecraft as the tools we must develop and wield to project our influence and protect our interests in this 'age of austerity.'
5. Advance some of the Secretary's priorities: U.S. leadership in the Asia-Pacific, Afghan reconciliation, Libya and the Arab Spring more generally, and how she has focused the Department and Administration on doing business differently in diplomacy – and diplomacy's enduring importance as a national security tool, now more than ever.

Sanger has sat down for interviews with Deputy Secretary Burns (they discussed Egypt, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan), Jake Sullivan (Libya, Arab Spring, Afghan surge debate), Harold Koh (drones, cyber security), Kurt Campbell (the pivot to Asia), Rose Gottemoeller (New START and Prague agenda next steps), and Tom Donilon and others at the NSC. He traveled to Cairo where he met with Anne Patterson as well.

**Themes and suggested guidance**

- The Obama Administration's policy of engagement has been first and foremost to secure and promote U.S. interests abroad and keep Americans safe and prosperous at home.
- Engagement has not meant passivity nor acquiescence – rather, we have forged new and different ways to promote cooperation when we have shared interests and develop constructive methods to address disagreements when we do not.
- This has also meant engaging with partners and allies to influence and pressure those who threaten the international community or their own people. This approach to engagement leverages partnerships to maximize the impact of our actions as well as reduce the burden on the United States – in terms of human and material costs.

**American leadership**

- Dramatic recent changes in international landscape have profound implications for American security and prosperity. The rise of emerging powers, the transformations of the Arab Awakening, the changing political and social dynamics facilitated by new technologies, the speed, complexity and scope of global challenges from proliferation to climate change – all of these developments demand renewed American leadership.

- The sources of America's greatness are more durable than many realize. Our military is by far the strongest and our economy is by far the largest in the world. Our workers are the most productive and our universities are the gold standard. And our commitment to universal human rights is unwavering.
- American leadership is still revered – and required – around the world. But leading the world in the years ahead will take the same hard work, clear-eyed choices, and commitment to shared service and sacrifice that built our country's greatness in the first place – even if we must often lead in new ways.

### Age of Austerity

- Economic troubles and political gridlock at home have the potential to undercut our global leadership. In Washington, leaders have to get serious about taking the necessary steps President Obama has outlined to get our economy growing and end the culture of political brinksmanship.
- We've lived through times of anxiety before. But each time, American entrepreneurs and innovators proved the naysayers wrong. Our people and leaders built a resilient economy at home and a global order of institutions and norms that protected not just our own interests but the good of all humanity. That was exceptional leadership from an exceptional country.
- Some argue that the United States can no longer afford to engage with the world. In fact, we can't afford *not* to. For example, KORUS will support 70,000 American jobs. The increase in our capacity to issue visas overseas that the President just announced will support multiple industries here at home. From opening new markets for American businesses to breaking up terrorist plots and bringing the wars of the last decade to a successful close, our work abroad holds the key to our prosperity and security at home.

### Iran

- Iran insists that its nuclear program is peaceful. It can demonstrate that by being transparent with the P5+1, with the IAEA and with the international community.
- We will continue to hold Iran accountable to its international nuclear obligations. We call on Iran to fully cooperate with the IAEA and engage with the IAEA on substance rather than process without further delay.

*On P5+1/Russian reports that next round is "last chance":*

- As the Secretary has said, "We want to begin discussions with Iran. They insist that their nuclear program is purely peaceful and if that's the case, then openness and transparency, not only with the P5+1 but also with the IAEA and the Security Council and the international community, is essential."
- The venue and timing of the talks has yet to be established; EU High Representative Ashton and her staff are working out the modalities.

*On Ahmadinejad, internal Iranian politics:*

David Sanger/New York Times Interview - Page 3 of 6

- The Secretary, in testimony before Congress, has noted the intense personality clashes and debates inside Iranian leadership circles. We continue to see those happening.

*On Japan's designation of Bank Tejarat:*

- We welcome the Government of Japan's decision to designate Bank Tejarat [TEH-jah-rat] for the bank's role in supporting Iran's illicit nuclear program. This decision adds Bank Tejarat to Japan's list of bilateral sanctions, which includes over 100 other Iranian institutions and individuals identified as off-limits. The United States designated Bank Tejarat in January. [Note: The EU designated Tejarat on January 23, though sanctions would not take effect until March 23.]
- This action demonstrates the determination by the international community to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.
- This step is separate from, but in concert with, other efforts by the international community to put pressure on Iran to return to the negotiating table.

*On Parchin, IAEA:*

- We continue to judge Iran's cooperation with the IAEA by its actions not its statements.
- As the IAEA Director General made clear in his latest report to the Board of Governors, Iran has failed to address any of the IAEA's concerns related to the possible military dimensions of its nuclear program and repeatedly denied the Agency access to Parchin. According to last November's IAEA report, suspected high-explosives experiments related to a nuclear weapons program are alleged to have occurred at Parchin.

**Scenario for Monday, March 19**

- 1:00 p.m. Interview with David Sanger in your office (escorted by Ben Chang from PA)
- 1:30 p.m. Interview concludes

**Biography of David Sanger**



**DAVID SANGER**  
**CHIEF WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT**  
**THE NEW YORK TIMES**

David E. Sanger is Chief Washington Correspondent for The New York Times and is one of the newspaper's senior writers. He is also the author of the best-selling book *The Inheritance: The World Obama Confronts and the Challenges to*

David Sanger/New York Times Interview - Page 4 of 6

*American Power*, which Sanger wrote as a writer in residence at the Center for a New American Security. While he is at work on a successor book, Sanger is the first National Security and the Press fellow at Harvard's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.

In nearly three decades at The New York Times, he has reported from New York, Tokyo and Washington, covering a variety of issues surrounding foreign policy, globalization, nuclear proliferation, Asian affairs and, since 2001, the Bush and Obama presidencies. Twice he has been a member of Times reporting teams that won the Pulitzer Prize. Before covering the White House, Mr. Sanger specialized in the confluence of economic and foreign policy, and wrote extensively on how issues of national wealth and competitiveness have come to redefine the relationships between the United States and its major allies. He was correspondent and then bureau chief in Tokyo for six years. In 1994, he took up the position of chief Washington economic correspondent, and covered a series of global economic upheavals, from Mexico to the Asian economic crisis. He was named a senior writer in March 1999, and White House correspondent later that year. He was named Chief Washington Correspondent in October 2006. Mr. Sanger joined the Times in the Business Day section, specializing in the computer industry and high-technology trade. In 1986 he played a major role in the team that investigated the causes of the space shuttle Challenger disaster. The team won the 1987 Pulitzer Prize for national reporting. He was a member of another Pulitzer-winner team that wrote about the Clinton administration's struggles to control exports to China. In 2007, the New York Times received the DuPont Award from the Columbia Journalism School for "Nuclear Jihad: Can Terrorists Get the Bomb?" a documentary featuring Mr. Sanger and his colleague William J. Broad. In 2004, Mr. Sanger was the co-recipient of the Weintal Prize for diplomatic reporting for his coverage of the Iraq and Korea crises. He also won the Aldo Beckman prize for coverage of the presidency. In both 2003 and 2007 he was awarded the Merriman Smith Memorial Award for coverage of national security strategy. He also shared the American Society of Newspaper Editor's top award for deadline writing in 2004, for team coverage of the Columbia disaster. Mr. Sanger is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Aspen Strategy Group.

Drafted by: Ben Chang, PA/FO, x7-6417  
Cleared by: MHammer, PA /FO, x7-6607

David Sanger/New York Times Interview - Page 6 of 6

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

RELEASED IN FULL

**Lieberman, Dean**

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**From:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 22, 2012 12:39 AM  
**To:** Zieseniss, Mireille L; Bradley, Maryam AM  
**Subject:** Fw: Sanger Interview

Hello - I don't have FOB access at the moment, and don't know if this appointment is on his calendar or not for Fri at 1pm, as there were a lot of changes to the timing off this. Would one of you be kind enough to check to see if its there and add, if necessary? Thank you! We are either taking a 1200 or 1300 acela so will be back in office around 1500 or 1400. Thanks.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 21, 2012 07:39 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Cc:** PA Special Assistants  
**Subject:** Fw: Sanger Interview

Ben - P confirming below, you'll bring David up to P, right?

---

**From:** Morris, Margo T  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 21, 2012 07:00 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Sanger Interview

Hi Mike,

Just wanted to confirm you will meet with Wendy 2:45 p.m. on Friday, followed by interview with David Sanger at 3. Is that okay with you? Depending on the condition of Wendy's office, we may have to find an alternate location for the interview. An air conditioning unit on the roof leaked and soaked rug. There are industrial blowers and dehumidifiers in there. I'll keep you posted.

Margo Morris  
Personal Assistant  
Under Secretary for Political Affairs  
Department of State  
202 647-2471

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**RELEASED IN FULL****Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:20 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

OK I'll figure it out – I'll handle it.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:19 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

Can you then take this on pls, I will have left for Miami that morning – or you can try to push it to Thurs or Fri

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:16 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

I am out through Wednesday but let me check – if you're out, I could probably come in by 2:30. Harold and Sanger, two of my favorite people.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:13 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

Will you be back and able to sit-in, if so – I'll pass this off to you to nail down.

**From:** Khan, Naveed J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:10 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju; Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

Mike,

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

Would 2:30 pm on Wednesday, Jan 18<sup>th</sup> be ok?

Naveed

*Naveed J. Khan  
Personal Assistant to Legal Adviser Harold Hongju Koh  
Office of the Legal Adviser, Room 6421*

*Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20520  
Ph: 202-647-9598  
Fax: 202-647-7096  
email: [khannj@state.gov](mailto:khannj@state.gov)*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:03 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A; Khan, Naveed J  
**Subject:** David Sanger's book project

Sure. Adding my office to figure out a time

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 9:43 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

Harold - can you provide us a time next week Jan 17-20, half hour, will be on background, either I or Ben Chang will sit in. Sanger has talked with Jake, will see Bill on the 19<sup>th</sup> and the Secretary later in the month. Thx, Mike

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RELEASED IN FULL

**Lieberman, Dean**

---

**From:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 22, 2012 3:40 PM  
**To:** Smith, Dana S (PA)  
**Cc:** Pettaway, Joanne M (PACE); Zieseniss, Mireille L; Bradley, Maryam AM  
**Subject:** R Senior Staff Mtg

Dana - Mike is going to be at U/S Sherman's interview with David Sanger tomorrow (Friday) afternoon and will most likely not be able to attend the R senior staff meeting. He asked if you are able to attend? It is at 3:00pm. Thanks, Dean

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RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 18, 2012 4:30 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: are you doing KOH today with Sanger ?

Done!

Covered three main areas:

Drones

Reconciliation w/ Taliban, talks

Cybersecurity - particularly if there's a legal framework being developed on the offensive side...

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 18, 2012 02:32 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** are you doing KOH today with Sanger ?

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

**RELEASED IN FULL**  
**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:26 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

Got it.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:26 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

Yes – 3:30 pm and you'll be sitting in, contact is Colleen Neville in D(B) staff

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:24 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

Got it. Has D(B) on the 19<sup>th</sup> been nailed down?

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---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:23 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

Yes on background, SAO, and only for book reporting

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:22 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

"on background" – just checking that's the case; only this one or are any of these on the record?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:20 AM  
**To:** Khan, Naveed J; Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

As I'll be on travel next week Wed-Fri, Ben Chang will follow up to lock up the date, he's cking with Sanger on whether your proposed time works.

---

**From:** Khan, Naveed J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:10 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju; Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

Mike,

Would 2:30 pm on Wednesday, Jan 18<sup>th</sup> be ok?

Naveed

*Naveed J. Khan  
Personal Assistant to Legal Adviser Harold Hongju Koh  
Office of the Legal Adviser, Room 6121*

*Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20520  
Ph: 202-647-9598  
Fax: 202-647-7096  
email: [khannj@state.gov](mailto:khannj@state.gov)*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:03 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A; Khan, Naveed J  
**Subject:** David Sanger's book project

Sure. Adding my office to figure out a time

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 9:43 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

UNCLASSIFIED

Harold - can you provide us a time next week Jan 17-20, half hour, will be on background, either I or Ben Chang will sit in. Sanger has talked with Jake, will see Bill on the 19<sup>th</sup> and the Secretary later in the month. Thx, Mike

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Sent:** Friday, January 13, 2012 1:25 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** PA Special Assistants  
**Subject:** Sanger Materials  
**Attachments:** Sanger Bio.docx; Recent Sanger Clips.docx

**AttachmentsClassification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

For your note to D(B) re: Sanger, here what I pulled together last week:

--Bio  
--Recent clips with summary of them at the top

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REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

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**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Valliani, Amira  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 11:02 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

He's kicking off a roundtable at 3pm and should only take 15 minutes, but sometimes he's a talker. Why don't we plan for 3:15, with the caveat that actual start time will be closer to 3:20 or 3:25?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:59 AM  
**To:** Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

A bit on the short side but we make have to have another chat. Any way we can start earlier- say 3:15, Sanger will be in the building finishing up with Kurt.

---

**From:** Valliani, Amira  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:58 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

45 minutes – he's meeting with S at 4:15. How's that sound?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:58 AM  
**To:** Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

You rock – how much time does Jake have if we start at 3:30 ?

---

**From:** Valliani, Amira  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:57 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

Yes – all set!

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:57 AM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

Sanger can do 3:30 today – we're set then, right?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:50 AM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

Will ck, think he can.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

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**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:49 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

Can he do a little later this aft? Amira, I'm sending Sheba to the Kurt roundtable so I could do 330.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:38 AM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Valliani, Amira  
**Subject:** FW: Flight delay

Amira - heads up, see below, Sanger won't make it, let me know if we can reschedule this week.

---

**From:** Sanger, David [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:32 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Flight delay

Jake, mike

With apologies, us air cancelled my 10 am flight out of boston. They put me on an 11 15 delta, arriving around 1240. That messes us up big time. Any flexibility in schedule? I'll also be in dc all week.

Let me know what works for you.

David

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:HammerMA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 08:22 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

I've chatted with Jake and Kurt and they should have time this week - can we proceed with scheduling? Any times that don't work for you before I start trying to land these? Burns is on travel and I'm trying to pin down Einhorn as well.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 6:51 PM  
**To:** 'dasang@nytimes.com'  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Ok - will try to set up some apptms starting Weds and do best we can with Secretary, I realize we are getting down to the wire but scheduling is a bear, how deep into Jan can we go?

---

**From:** David Sanger [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 06:36 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Mike,

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

I'm in Vienna -- spent the day with the Iran inspectors -- and flying back tomorrow. Around rest of week -- weds, thus, friday -- and all next week except Monday. So let's try to do Jake, Kurt, Einhorn and others on the list in the next few days.

On Dubai, not hearing from you I skipped it. But I'll be in Egypt week of Jan. 8 -- one reason I'd like to lock in the sec state quick -- and could do it then.

many thanks.

cheers,  
David

On Mon, Dec 12, 2011 at 11:04 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

We are looking for a hard date to schedule you with the Secretary early in the new year and perhaps you can at least come in to chat with Jake, others when you get back from your trip later this week or early next. Are you still planning to stop in Dubai this week?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 11:19 AM  
**To:** '[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)'

**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Sounds like a plan. We'll see if I can link you up with our team in Dubai.

---

**From:** David Sanger [<mailto:dasang@nytimes.com>]  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 10:36 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Dubai: Would be around Dec. 13.

On the Sec., she knows I'm writing the book, so at most I'll just remind her that at some point soon I'd love to get this going. I'm with you -- we want to do Jake, Burns, etc. first.

cheers,  
David

On Sat, Dec 3, 2011 at 10:09 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Leave it up to you if you want to raise with the Secretary. We'd like for you to chat with Jake and others before you connect with her. Challenge has been synching up between your traveling and Jake's. Indeed it will be a small window after the 15th but guess we'll have to try then.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Let me ck on Dubai, do you have a rough sense when you actually will be there?

---

**From:** David Sanger [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 02, 2011 02:53 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** coupla book things

Mike,

Greetings from across the street.

I'll be at the Brookings Saban forum all weekend, and I see we have the secstate at lunch. If we chat, should I remind her of this project and that time is getting short, or hold my fire?

Also, I'm headed to India at the end of next week, and may stop in Dubai on the way home on Iran related stuff. That's where you guys have a big Iran-watching embassy operation -- anyone I might contact to go in and visit those folks?

I'll be back around the 15th, and we'll have a brief window before Christmas to jam in a bunch of interviews. Not ideal, but I fear if we don't kick into gear then we'll have too many chapters off in editing. For example, I don't have secstate speaking directly now on her role in Libya decision, or the two Af/pak processes.

cheers,  
David

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: [202-862-0322](tel:202-862-0322) | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: [202-862-0322](tel:202-862-0322) | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 2:52 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin; Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Confirmed. Reminder: if recording we need to clear with TJ Lunardi in DS.

**RELEASED IN FULL**

*Mary L. Dubose  
Personal Assistant to  
Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
Tel: (202) 647-8636  
Fax: (202) 647-6047*

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 2:47 PM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Confirming Sanger on Thursday at 4:15. He may want to bring a research/book assistant as he did for sit-down with Jake...

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 11, 2012 08:52 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin; Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Ok. Thanks.

*Mary L. Dubose  
Personal Assistant to  
Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
Tel: (202) 647-8636  
Fax: (202) 647-6047*

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 11, 2012 2:49 PM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Have not heard back yet. My hunch is yes as he seemed flexible from the outset. Can we go ahead and fix?

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 11, 2012 02:14 PM

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**To:** Chang, Benjamin; Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Do we know if 4:15pm will work?

*Mary L. Dubose*  
 Personal Assistant to  
 Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
 Tel: (202) 647-8636  
 Fax: (202) 647-6047

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 6:25 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Will check...

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 6:24 PM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean; Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

+ chang, who is in direct contact with Sanger and will be sitting in on it. Ben- can you ck, suspect it will be just fine.

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 6:23 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill  
**Importance:** High

The Deputy now has a meeting with the Secretary during this time. Is it possible to change this meeting to 4:15pm on the 19<sup>th</sup>?

*Mary L. Dubose*  
 Personal Assistant to  
 Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
 Tel: (202) 647-8636  
 Fax: (202) 647-6047

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 05, 2012 9:11 PM  
**To:** Neville, Colleen C; Dubose, Mary L

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Cool, thx -- will let Ben know. FYI -Sanger will be in Cairo next week doing research for his book, hope Bill doesn't think Sanger is stalking him.

---

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 05, 2012 09:08 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Dubose, Mary L  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Mike,

Sorry to miss you but OK for Ben to join.

If you can get me the paper on the 17<sup>th</sup>, that would be great. thanks!

Colleen

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 05, 2012 11:30 AM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

The 19<sup>th</sup> at 3:30 works for Sanger. Since I'll be out, I would propose that Ben Chang sit in, he sat in on other interviews Sanger did -- with Jake. We should of course ask Bill if he is ok with that, the purpose is so we can summarize for S for her sit-down with Sanger later what issues have been discussed. Alternatively, Bill could give us a read-out afterwards if he prefers to do it one-on-one. Finally, Colleen -- do you still want us to send the briefing paper for this on Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> (sounds ominous) or now that it has been pushed back get it to you on the 17<sup>th</sup>?

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 10:03 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

The Deputy will be on travel Jan 24 -- Jan 31.

Mary L. Dubose  
Personal Assistant to  
Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
Tel: (202) 647-8636  
Fax: (202) 647-6047

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 9:57 AM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Just realized I will be in Miami 18-20<sup>th</sup> and I'll like to be at this session w/ Bill, any chance we could find time with Sanger the following week?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 8:09 AM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Let me ck w/ Sanger

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 07:59 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Good morning Mike,

The Deputy Secretary will not return from his travel until 7:55pm on the 17<sup>th</sup> now. We will have to change the date and time of the interview. Is it possible to do it on the 19th at 3:30pm?

Thanks, Mary

*Mary L. Dubose  
Personal Assistant to  
Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
Tel: (202) 647-8636  
Fax: (202) 647-6047*

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 4:24 PM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Thank you!

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 02:48 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Time is locked in on the Deputy's schedule.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 11:01 AM  
**To:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Dubose, Mary L; Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Sanger can do 17<sup>th</sup> at 3-4, can we pls lock in. We'll coordinate/send up prep materials. Mike

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

---

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Monday, December 19, 2011 8:14 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Dubose, Mary L; Kidd, Patricia E  
**Subject:** FW: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Mike,

For the Sanger interview -the 17<sup>th</sup> from 3-4pm is prob the best time. If it has to be on the 18<sup>th</sup>, we can do it at 10:00am - 11:00am.

Let us know if this works for Sanger.

As for Friedman, I'm going to flag for the boss next week when he's back in town so let's hold off on contacting him for now.

Thanks!

Colleen

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 3:36 PM  
**To:** Zeya, Uzra S; Neville, Colleen C  
**Subject:** NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Uzra - as I mentioned, David Sanger of NYT, is writing a book on the Obama administration's foreign policy. We are coordinating with NSS, who has already spent time with him and supports Sanger's requests to interview the Secretary, Bill and others. Before he sits down with the Secretary - probably in late January - we hope we might find time for him to talk with Bill. David is most focused on Iran, N Korea, China, Pakistan, the Arab Spring and wants to also hear about the Secretary's role on Libya. He is coming at it with the broad question - how have we tried to sustain American power when we are in economic decline - and how have we dealt with the "power shift" to China. We are having Sanger meet Jake and Kurt next week and Einhorn in early January. If Bill is willing, it would be super to schedule in early-to-mid January. The session would be on background as a Senior Administration official. Anything on the record would be subject to our approval. I think we would need a solid 45 minutes. Look forward to hearing from you. Mike

RELEASED IN FULL

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 8:24 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Great- that's fine with me. Ill stop by then  
 Thanks

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 08:16 PM  
**To:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

115 would be better

---

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 07:40 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Thanks mike. I can swing by tomorrow – would 12:30 work for you?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 4:47 PM  
**To:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Zeya, Uzra S  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

I think we should do Tom Friedman next – problem with him is that often he is on travel but if we have a window we can check if he is around. Otherwise, maybe we could do a chat with Fred Hiatt and Jackson Diehl of WaPo or Jerry Seib of WSJ. Happy to discuss further tomorrow before our PA bash at 2 pm, or Mon.

---

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 3:57 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Zeya, Uzra S  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Thanks Mike. Uzra or I will get back to you on Sanger.

I also wanted to chat with you and/or your team about other PD scheduling for Jan (such as pitching D on another OTR interview with a David Ignatius type) and also looking ahead for 3 months or so. I'm here tomorrow and Monday and also the week between the holidays. Let me know if you all have some time then or in early Jan.  
 Thanks!

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

Colleen

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 3:36 PM

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**To:** Zeya, Uzra S; Neville, Colleen C**Subject:** NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Uzra – as I mentioned, David Sanger of NYT, is writing a book on the Obama administration's foreign policy. We are coordinating with NSS, who has already spent time with him and supports Sanger's requests to interview the Secretary, Bill and others. Before he sits down with the Secretary – probably in late January – we hope we might find time for him to talk with Bill. David is most focused on Iran, N Korea, China, Pakistan, the Arab Spring and wants to also hear about the Secretary's role on Libya. He is coming at it with the broad question – how have we tried to sustain American power when we are in economic decline – and how have we dealt with the "power shift" to China. We are having Sanger meet Jake and Kurt next week and Einhorn in early January. If Bill is willing, it would be super to schedule in early-to-mid January. The session would be on background as a Senior Administration official. Anything on the record would be subject to our approval. I think we would need a solid 45 minutes. Look forward to hearing from you. Mike

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 29, 2011 1:48 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Thanks – sorry to bug you while you're on leave!

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 29, 2011 1:47 PM  
**To:** Neville, Colleen C; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Ok + Dean

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 29, 2011 01:43 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Mike,

With Monday the 16<sup>th</sup> being a holiday, we'd appreciate the prep materials by Friday afternoon so the Deputy can review over the weekend. Thanks!

Colleen

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 11:01 AM  
**To:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Dubose, Mary L; Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Sanger can do 17<sup>th</sup> at 3-4, can we pls lock in. We'll coordinate/send up prep materials. Mike

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Monday, December 19, 2011 8:14 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Dubose, Mary L; Kidd, Patricia E  
**Subject:** FW: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Mike,

For the Sanger interview -the 17<sup>th</sup> from 3-4pm is prob the best time. If it has to be on the 18<sup>th</sup>, we can do it at 10:00am – 11:00am.

Let us know if this works for Sanger.

As for Friedman, I'm going to flag for the boss next week when he's back in town so let's hold off on contacting him for now.

Thanks!

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Zieseniss, Mireille L  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 21, 2011 4:14 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; PA Special Assistants  
**Subject:** RE: Can someone come to Jake's office

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

On my way.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

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

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 21, 2011 4:12 PM  
**To:** PA Special Assistants  
**Subject:** Can someone come to Jake's office

To escort Sanger down in a couple mins pls.

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 3:28 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Will try

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 3:27 PM  
**To:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Sanger said we do have all month but is pushing for the earlier the better. He'll see Jake and Kurt on Tuesday and Bill hopefully in early January.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:42 AM  
**To:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Got it

---

**From:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:42 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger's book project

Would be good to know if we have all month

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 09:39 AM  
**To:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

I asked him and he did not address – let me ping him again but I think we will need to get this done in January.

---

**From:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:38 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger's book project

Do we have a hard deadline for him? Trying to get HRC's early 2012 press priorities on the radar

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 13, 2011 07:35 PM

**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

Jake - We'd like to have him start talking to folks for his book on the Obama administration's foreign policy before he sits down with the Secretary – hopefully in January. Might you have time later this week Thurs-Fri or early next week? He is also looking to talk to Kurt, Einhorn and we hope to have him sit down with Bill as well. We should discuss what you should focus on before we sit down with him. David is most focused on Iran, N Korea, China, Pakistan, Arab Spring and wants to also hear about her role on Libya. He is coming at it with the broad question – how have we tried to sustain American power when we are in economic decline – and how have we dealt with the “power shift” to China. Right up your/S's alley.

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 16, 2012 12:59 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Sanger with P now 23rd

I am at a PA bureau office off-site from noon to 4:30 p.m.

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior  
Reviewer**

RELEASED IN FULL

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 25, 2012 8:47 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger's book project

Mr. Benjamin,

I'm sorry his Friday is very full and he would like to wait until next week. I am not in today. If it is alright, will be happy to send you some times tomorrow. Thank you, MarieAnn

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 24, 2012 12:50 PM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Odd. I thought we did re: Wednesday below. But life is fluid: I will reach out to Sanger again -- is there time available tentatively on Friday when Bob is back?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 24, 2012 12:36 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Chang,

I'm sorry although it was originally believed that Mr. Einhorn would be in town this week, he has gone on travel with Under Secretary Sherman. He will not return until Friday. After I gave the times when Mr. Einhorn was available, no one ever got back to me with a date/time when Mr. Sanger was available to meet to firm up the meeting. So this request on gone no further. Thanks, MarieAnn

*Marie Ann Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 24, 2012 12:27 PM

**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Any progress on scheduling David Sanger with A/S Einhorn this Wednesday?

Thank you!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 19, 2012 6:17 PM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann; Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Sanger is available Wednesday. What time works best for you for an hour? Thanks!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 1:14 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

What day did you have in mind. Currently Mr. Einhorn is available Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday (January 23, 24, 26 and 27) 2:30 p.m. and later. On Wednesday, January 25, he is available 10:30 a.m. and later. Please let me know. Thanks, MarieAnn

*MarieAnn Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 9:10 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Yes, let's try to schedule next week, + Ben Chang who is also tracking Sanger's requests

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 8:36 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Hammer,

Good morning. Please excuse my delay in responding. Mr. Einhorn is on travel this week (January 15-20). He will be in the office the week of the 23<sup>rd</sup>. Do you want to schedule something for that week? Thanks, MarieAnn

*MarieAnn Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:11 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Cking in, will Bob be traveling next week or can we firm this appointment up? If he's traveling, can we look at the week of the 23<sup>rd</sup>? Sanger is abroad all this week.

---

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:58 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Hammer,

Although not confirmed, Mr. Einhorn may be on travel the week of January 16. We can pencil something in and if he does travel it will have to be rescheduled if that is acceptable. If that is all right the times provided would still be good with the exception of Monday, January 16 which is a holiday. Thanks,

*MarieAnn Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:54 AM

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Go figure, Sanger just told me he is traveling week of Jan 9, can we try the following week of 17<sup>th</sup>?

---

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:52 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Hammer,

Mr. Einhorn currently available as follows:

Monday, January 9:  
2:30 – 5:00 p.m.

Tuesday, January 10:  
2:30 – 5:00 p.m.

Wednesday, January 11:  
10:30 a.m. – 5:00 p.m.

Thursday, January 12:  
1:30 – 5:00 p.m.

Friday, January 13:  
11:00 a.m.-2:30 p.m.

I hope this information helps. Please let me know which time is chosen. Thanks, MarieAnn

*Marie Ann Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:45 AM  
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Can you give me a date and time pls for week of Jan 9 – seeing Sanger today so wanted to relay/try to lock in.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

---

**From:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 2:37 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

sure

SBU  
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 1:05 PM  
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Perfectly understandable – can we tentatively put something on the schedule the week of Jan 9?

---

**From:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 12:46 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

I'd be happy to do it, Mike, but I'm in Israel and China next week, my schedule for the remainder of this week is impossible, and I'm taking leave Christmas-New Years week. Can do it early January.

SBU  
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:47 AM  
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

Bob – David is writing a book on the Obama administration's foreign policy and, before he sits down with the Secretary – hopefully in January, we'd like to have him start talking to folks (Jake, Bill Burns, Kurt, you, possibly others). He is obviously looking to talk to you about Iran. Might you have time later this week Thurs-Fri or early next week? NSS is cool with us engaging. This would be on background. Thanks, let me know. Mike

**RELEASED IN FULL****Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Hegendorfer, Daryl R  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 11:19 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sitting down soon with Sanger for his book project

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

30 minutes

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 11:19 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Hegendorfer, Daryl R  
**Cc:** Patel, Nirav S  
**Subject:** RE: Sitting down soon with Sanger for his book project

By the way, how much time does Kurt have?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:50 AM  
**To:** Hegendorfer, Daryl R  
**Cc:** Patel, Nirav S  
**Subject:** RE: Sitting down soon with Sanger for his book project

Cool, see you then

---

**From:** Hegendorfer, Daryl R  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:49 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Patel, Nirav S  
**Subject:** RE: Sitting down soon with Sanger for his book project

Yes, we are still on. Thx

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:49 AM  
**To:** Hegendorfer, Daryl R  
**Cc:** Patel, Nirav S  
**Subject:** RE: Sitting down soon with Sanger for his book project

We still on, if so, I'll bring him up at 2 pm. Sanger coming alone – no research assistant

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 5:52 PM  
**To:** Hegendorfer, Daryl R  
**Cc:** Patel, Nirav S  
**Subject:** RE: Sitting down soon with Sanger for his book project

I've pitched it to Sanger, sure he'll say fine to 2 pm Tues, we are meeting Jake Sullivan just prior. Sanger may bring his research assistant.

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**From:** Hegendorfer, Daryl R  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 5:47 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Patel, Nirav S  
**Subject:** RE: Sitting down soon with Sanger for his book project

Very good; thanks!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 5:47 PM  
**To:** Hegendorfer, Daryl R  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: Sitting down soon with Sanger for his book project

Let's do 2 next Tues, he's already coming to see Jake just before, thx

---

**From:** Hegendorfer, Daryl R  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 5:38 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sitting down soon with Sanger for his book project

Mr. Hammer,

We've had a cancellation mid-day tomorrow, and Kurt could meet with David Sanger at 12:20 that day (Thursday). Otherwise, I can also offer 1:30 or 2:00 next Tuesday.

BTW, we do already have a book chat set up with David in EAP in the first part of January.

Let me know whether you'll reach out to David, or whether I should directly.

Best,  
Daryl

*Daryl Hegendorfer (Ms)  
Personal Assistant/Scheduler  
for Assistant Secretary Campbell  
Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs  
Department of State  
tel. (202) 647-9596*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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**From:** Campbell, Kurt M  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 12:29 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Hegendorfer, Daryl R  
**Subject:** RE: Sitting down soon with Sanger for his book project

We will set it up.. Daryl, important to do. Best, Kurt.

Dr. Kurt M. Campbell  
Assistant Secretary of State  
East Asian & Pacific Affairs

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**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:38 AM  
**To:** Campbell, Kurt M  
**Subject:** Sitting down soon with Sanger for his book project

Kurt – as I mentioned, we'd like to have David start talking to folks for his book on the Obama administration's foreign policy before he sits down with the Secretary – hopefully in January. Might you have time later this week Thurs-Fri or early next week? David is also looking to talk to Bill, Jake, and Einhorn. David will want to talk to you about the pivot, and zero in on N Korea and China. He is coming at it with the broad question – how have we tried to sustain American power when we are in economic decline – and how have we dealt with the "power shift" to China. Right up your alley. Let me know when you might have some time. Cheers, Mike

**RELEASED IN FULL****Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 2:49 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Time is locked in on the Deputy's schedule.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 11:01 AM  
**To:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Dubose, Mary L; Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Sanger can do 17<sup>th</sup> at 3-4, can we pls lock in. We'll coordinate/send up prep materials. Mike

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Monday, December 19, 2011 8:14 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Dubose, Mary L; Kidd, Patricia E  
**Subject:** FW: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Mike,

For the Sanger interview -the 17<sup>th</sup> from 3-4pm is prob the best time. If it has to be on the 18<sup>th</sup>, we can do it at 10:00am – 11:00am.

Let us know if this works for Sanger.

As for Friedman, I'm going to flag for the boss next week when he's back in town so let's hold off on contacting him for now.

Thanks!

Colleen

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 3:36 PM  
**To:** Zeya, Uzra S; Neville, Colleen C  
**Subject:** NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Uzra – as I mentioned, David Sanger of NYT, is writing a book on the Obama administration's foreign policy. We are coordinating with NSS, who has already spent time with him and supports Sanger's requests to interview the Secretary, Bill and others. Before he sits down with the Secretary – probably in late January – we hope we might find time for him to talk with Bill. David is most focused on Iran, N Korea, China, Pakistan, the Arab Spring and wants to also hear about the Secretary's role on Libya. He is coming at it with the broad question – how have we tried to sustain American power when we are in economic decline – and how have we dealt with the "power shift" to China. We are having Sanger meet Jake and Kurt next week and Einhorn in early January. If Bill is willing, it would be super to schedule in early-to-mid January. The session would be on background as a Senior Administration official. Anything on the record would be subject to our approval. I think we would need a solid 45 minutes. Look forward to hearing from you. Mike

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

RELEASED IN FULL

**NOTES ON RECENT SANGER CLIPS****News Reporting**

- In November and December 2011, Sanger wrote exclusively on Iran for the Times (with one exception, an obituary for Kim Jong-il), including reporting on Iran's threat to block oil in response to sanction, the drone crash in Iran, and the IAEA report.

**Analytical Pieces**

- In two recent "news analyses" for the Times on Iran (see below), he discusses in depth how the Obama administration is "deliberately taking a back seat" vis-a-vis the IAEA on Iran-related intelligence, as the U.S. is understood to have lost credibility given Iraq in 2003. He also discusses how cyberweapons, i.e. Stuxnet, are part of the administration's focus on new and cheap technology which can avoid boots on the ground. Two questions he raises in these pieces are: (a) how much more delay can be bought with our covert campaign of assassination and sabotage and (b) what would a parallel containment strategy to the USSR in 1949 look like?
- In a "Washington Memo" piece from July, he analyzed the global ramifications of the debt-ceiling debate in Washington, concluding that the political climate has "eroded America's already diminishing aura as the world's economic haven" and has "chipped away at the global authority of President Obama." The core question he sees foreigners asking is: what changed in American politics that part of the country's political elite are suddenly willing to risk the nation's reputation as a safe investment?

**Recent Analytical Pieces**

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Washington Memo: In World's Eyes, Much Damage is Already Done.....	8

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

## News Analysis: U.S. Hands Back as Inspectors Prepare Report on Iran's Nuclear Program

November 7, 2011

WASHINGTON — An imminent report by United Nations weapons inspectors includes the strongest evidence yet that Iran has worked in recent years on a kind of sophisticated explosives technology that is primarily used to trigger a nuclear weapon, according to Western officials who have been briefed on the intelligence.

But the case is hardly conclusive. Iran's restrictions on inspectors have muddled the picture. And however suggestive the evidence about what the International Atomic Energy Agency calls "possible military dimensions" of Iran's program turns out to be, the only sure bet is that the mix of sleuthing, logic and intuition by nuclear investigators will be endlessly compared with the American intelligence agencies' huge mistakes in Iraq in 2003.

Just as it was eight years ago, the I.A.E.A., which was conceived as a purely technical organization insulated from politics, is about to be sucked into the political whirlpool about how the world should respond to murky weapons intelligence. Except this time everything is backward: It is the I.A.E.A., which punched holes in the Bush administration's claims about Iraq's nuclear progress, that today is escalating the case that Iran has resumed work on bomb-related technology, after years of frustration over questions that have gone unanswered by that government.

For its part, the Obama administration, acutely aware of how what happened in Iraq undercut American credibility, is deliberately taking a back seat, eager to make the conclusions entirely the I.A.E.A.'s, even as it continues to press for more international sanctions against Iran. When the director of the agency, Yukiya Amano, came to the White House 11 days ago to meet top officials of the National Security Council about the coming report, the administration declined to even confirm he had ever walked into the building.

The final touches are still being put on the report and its critical annex, where some of the investigative details will be laid out, which may be released as early as Wednesday. But already Russia and China have sent a diplomatic protest to Mr. Amano, urging him to not to make details of the evidence public.

"Russia and China are of the opinion that such kind of report will only drive Iran into a corner," they wrote in the note, which was obtained by The New York Times and is a rare instance of those countries commenting jointly.

One of the crucial pieces of intelligence information that officials say the I.A.E.A. is weighing for the report concerns activity at a military base called Parchin. The officials briefed on the intelligence, speaking on condition of anonymity because the report has not yet been released, say the experts identified a structure there that some believe is a testing capsule for what is called an "implosion device." Such devices use the detonation of a sphere of conventional explosives to create a blast wave that compresses a central ball of nuclear fuel into an incredibly dense mass, starting a chain reaction that ends in a nuclear explosion.

The report also details how Iran was aided by a Russian scientist who gave lectures in the country. But it was unclear whether he knew he was helping work on a nuclear weapons program.

Iran has admitted in the past that it works on explosives at Parchin, and seven years ago it briefly allowed I.A.E.A. inspectors into the site to look around. But it insisted the work was entirely on conventional weapons, and the inspectors found no evidence to contradict those statements. "We took environmental samples, saw equipment, and didn't notice any nuclear signatures at that stage," said Olli Heinonen, the former chief inspector at the agency, who is now at Harvard. "Most of the high-explosive test installations we saw were still under construction."

But something has changed in the ensuing years. The new Parchin intelligence emerged from a series of satellite photographs, documents, records of equipment sales and interviews with defectors and outside experts whom the Iranians appeared to have consulted. Some of that information came from the United States, Israel and Europe; the agency says it is publishing only information it could confirm.

Such accusations are always risky. Secretary of State Colin L. Powell came to regret the case he made about mobile biological weapons labs and other suspected sites in Iraq, and that is one reason the Obama administration wants the I.A.E.A. to take the lead. It has credibility that Washington does not.

Experts will be examining the I.A.E.A. report to determine whether it contradicts a 2007 National Intelligence Estimate on Iran, published by the Bush administration, which concluded that Tehran suspended intense work on how to design and produce a nuclear weapon in 2003. Since then the report has been widely criticized as flawed. But the question is whether the agency has identified evidence that such work has resumed. News reports published from the agency's Vienna headquarters and Europe say the I.A.E.A. document will cite evidence that Iran has built a large steel container for testing high explosives applicable to the development of nuclear arms.

Parchin is important because it would be hard for Iran to explain a "peaceful" use for implosion experiments. Weapons based on implosion are considered advanced models compared with the bomb that the United States dropped on Hiroshima. In 2009, senior staff members of the I.A.E.A. warned that Iran had sufficient information to design and build an implosion device.

But implosion is not easy: It requires casting conventional explosives into special shapes that can focus a blast on a nuclear core rather than letting its energies dissipate in many directions. The castings are known as explosive lenses — and their creation was a breakthrough that let the scientists at Los Alamos build the world's first atom bomb.

"Critical Assembly," a 1993 history of that World War II project, called the team's explosive testing full of "ambiguous steps, and numerous failures." Historians say the canyons of Los Alamos echoed with scores of test explosions.

*This article has been revised to reflect the following correction:*

Correction: November 9, 2011

An article on Monday about the International Atomic Energy Agency's findings concerning Iran's nuclear program misspelled the given name of the agency's director. He is Yukiya Amano, not Yukia.

### **News Analysis: America's Deadly Dynamics with Iran**

November 6, 2011

COMMUTING to work in Tehran is never easy, but it is particularly nerve-racking these days for the scientists of Shahid Beheshti University. It was a little less than a year ago when one of them, Majid Shahriari, and his wife were stuck in traffic at 7:40 a.m. and a motorcycle pulled up alongside the car. There was a faint "click" as a magnet attached to the driver's side door. The huge explosion came a few seconds later, killing him and injuring his wife.

On the other side of town, 20 minutes later, a nearly identical attack played out against Mr. Shahriari's colleague Fereydoon Abbasi, a nuclear scientist and longtime member of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps. Perhaps because of his military training, Mr. Abbasi recognized what was happening, and pulled himself and his wife out the door just before his car turned into a fireball. Iran has charged that Israel was behind the attacks — and many outsiders believe the "sticky bombs" are the hallmarks of a Mossad hit.

Perhaps to make a point, Mr. Abbasi, now recovered from his injuries, has been made the director of Iran's atomic energy program. He travels the world offering assurances that Iran's interest in nuclear weapons is peaceful.

Even for the Iranian scientists who get to work safely, life isn't a lot easier. A confidential study circulating through America's national laboratories estimates that the Stuxnet computer worm — the most sophisticated cyberweapon ever deployed against another country's infrastructure — slowed Iran's nuclear progress by one to two years. Now it has run its course. But there is no reason to believe the attacks are over.

Iran may be the most challenging test of the Obama administration's focus on new, cheap technologies that could avoid expensive boots on the ground; drones are the most obvious, cyberweapons the least discussed. It does not quite add up to a new Obama Doctrine, but the methods are defining a new era of nearly constant confrontation and containment. Drones are part of a tactic to keep America's adversaries off balance and preoccupied with defending themselves. And in the past two and a half years, they have been used more aggressively than

ever. There are now five or six secret American drone bases around the world. Some recently discovered new computer worms suggest that a new, improved Stuxnet 2.0 may be in the works for Iran.

"There were a lot of mistakes made the first time," said an American official, avoiding any acknowledgment that the United States played a role in the cyber attack on Iran. "This was a first-generation product. Think of Edison's initial light bulbs, or the Apple II."

Not surprisingly, the Iranians are refusing to sit back and take it — which is one reason many believe the long shadow war with Iran is about to ramp up dramatically. At the White House and the C.I.A., officials say the recently disclosed Iranian plot to kill the Saudi ambassador to the United States — by blowing up a tony Georgetown restaurant frequented by senators, lobbyists and journalists — was just the tip of the iceberg. American intelligence officials now believe that the death of a Saudi diplomat in Pakistan earlier this year was an assassination. And they see evidence of other plots by the Quds Force, the most elite Iranian military unit, from Yemen to Latin America.

"The Saudi plot was clumsy, and we got lucky," another American official who has reviewed the intelligence carefully said recently. "But we are seeing increasingly sophisticated Iranian activity like it, all around the world." Much of this resembles the worst days of the cold war, when Americans and Soviets were plotting against each other — and killing each other — in a now hazy attempt to preserve an upper hand. But Iran is no superpower. And there are reasons to wonder whether, in the end, this shadow war is simply going to delay the inevitable: an Iranian bomb or, more likely, an Iranian capability to assemble a fairly crude weapon in a matter of weeks or months.

For understandable reasons, this is a question no one in the Obama administration will answer publicly. To admit that Iran may ultimately get a weapon is to admit failure; both George W. Bush and Barack Obama vowed they would never let Iran achieve nuclear arms capability, much less a bomb. Israelis have long argued that if Iran got too close, that could justify attacking Iran's nuclear sites. Reports in Israel last week suggested that such a pre-emptive attack is once again being debated.

The worries focus on renewed hints from top Israeli officials that they will act unilaterally — even over American objections — if they judge that Iran is getting too close to a bomb. (It is worth noting that they have made similar noises every year since 2005, save for a brief hiatus when Stuxnet — which appears to have been a joint project of American and Israeli intelligence — was doing its work.)

To many members of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government — and, by the accounts of his former colleagues, to the Israeli leader himself — the Iran problem is 1939 all over again, an "existential threat."

"WHEN Bibi talks about an existential threat," one senior Israeli official said of Mr. Netanyahu recently, "he means the kind of threat the United States believed it faced when you believed the Nazis could get the bomb."

Israelis worry that as Iran feels more isolated by sanctions and more threatened by the Arab Spring, which has not exactly broken Tehran's way, it may view racing for a bomb as the only way to restore itself to its position as the most influential power in the Middle East. The fate of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi may strengthen that impulse.

"One should ask: would Europe have intervened in Libya if Qaddafi had possessed nuclear weapons?" the Israeli defense minister, Ehud Barak, said on army radio last week, referring to the Libyan leader's decision to give up his program in 2003. "Would the U.S. have toppled Saddam Hussein if he had nuclear weapons?"

To many in the Obama administration, though, the Iranian threat seems more akin to 1949, when the Soviets tested their first nuclear device. That brought many confrontations that veered toward catastrophe, most notably the Cuban Missile Crisis. But ultimately the Soviets were contained. Inside the Pentagon and the National Security Council, there is a lot of work — all of it unacknowledged — about what a parallel containment strategy for Iran might look like.

The early elements of it are obvious: the antimissile batteries that the United States has spent billions of dollars installing on the territory of Arab allies, and a new Pentagon plan to put more ships and antimissile batteries into the Persian Gulf, in cooperation with six Arab states led by Saudi Arabia. It was the Saudi king who famously advised American diplomats in the cables revealed by WikiLeaks last year that the only Iran strategy that would work was one that "cut off the head of the snake."

The big hitch in these containment strategies is that they are completely useless if Iran ever slips a bomb, or even some of its newly minted uranium fuel, to a proxy — Hezbollah, Hamas or some other terrorist group — raising the problem of ascertaining a bomb's return address. When the Obama administration ran some tabletop exercises soon after coming to office, it was shocked to discover that the science of nuclear forensics was nowhere near as good in practice as it was on television dramas. So if a bomb went off in some American city, or in Riyadh or Tel Aviv, it could be weeks or months before it was ever identified as Iranian. Even then, confidence in the conclusion, officials say, might be too low for the president to order retaliation.

The wisdom of a containment strategy has also taken a hit since the revelation of the plot to kill the Saudi ambassador. Emerging from a classified briefing on the plot, a member of Congress said what struck him was that "this thing could have gotten Iran into a war, and yet we don't know who ordered it." There is increasing talk that it could have been a rogue element within the Quds Force. If so, what does that say about whether the Iranian leadership has as good a hand on the throttle of Iran's nuclear research program as Washington has long assumed?

That issue may well come to a head this week after the International Atomic Energy Agency, the nuclear watchdog that has been playing a cat-and-mouse game with Iran's nuclear establishment for a decade now, issues what may be one of its toughest reports ever.

If the leaks are an accurate predictor of the final product, the report will describe in detail the evidence the I.A.E.A. has amassed suggesting that Iran has conducted tests on nuclear trigger

devices, wrestled with designs that can miniaturize a nuclear device into the small confines of a warhead, and conducted abstruse experiments to spark a nuclear reaction. Most likely, the agency will stop short of accusing Iran of running a bomb program; instead, it will use the evidence to demand answers that it has long been refused about what it delicately calls "possible military dimensions" of the nuclear program.

Much of the work on those "possible military dimensions" is done, the I.A.E.A. believes, by scientists who have day jobs at Iran's major universities, including one just across the street from what is believed to be the nuclear project's administrative center. Among the scientists was Mr. Abbasi, the survivor of last November's bomb attack, who was named in 2007 to the United Nations' list of Iranian scientists subject to travel bans and economic sanctions because they were believed to be central to the bomb-development effort.

Mr. Abbasi, according to people familiar with the I.A.E.A.'s investigation, worked on calculations on increasing the yield of nuclear explosions, among other problems in manufacturing a weapon. He was a key scientist in the Iranian covert nuclear weapons program headed by Mohsen Fakhrizadeh, an academic and strong supporter of Iran's nuclear weapons program. For the past decade, Mr. Fakhrizadeh has run programs — with names like "Project 110" and "Project 5," they seem right out of a James Bond movie — that the West believes are a shell game hiding weapons work. Suspicions have been heightened by Iran's refusal to allow him or his colleagues to be interviewed by the United Nations' nuclear inspection teams. And since last year's attacks — and another this past summer — Mr. Fakhrizadeh has gone completely underground.

No one expects the United Nations' revelations of the evidence to prompt more action against Iran. Most governments have had access to this evidence for a while. The Iranians will say it is all fabrication, and because the agency will not reveal its sources, that charge could stick. The Chinese and the Russians have already protested to the I.A.E.A. head, Yukiya Amano, that revealing the evidence will harden Iran's position. They oppose any new sanctions.

While the Obama administration may act unilaterally to shut down transactions with Iran's central bank, officials concede that the only economic step that could give the mullahs pause would be a ban on Iranian oil exports. With oil already hovering around \$93 a barrel, no one in the administration is willing to risk a step that could send prices soaring and, in the worst case, cause a confrontation at sea over a blockade.

For all the talk about how "all options are on the table," Washington says a military strike isn't worth the risk of war; the Israelis say there may be no other choice. But they have said "this is the last chance" every year since 2005.

All of which raises the question: how much more delay can be bought with a covert campaign of assassination, cyberattacks and sabotage?

Some more, but probably not much. It has taken the Iranians 20 years so far to get their nuclear act together — far longer than it took the United States and the Soviets in the '40s, the Chinese and the Israelis in the '60s, the Indians in the '70s, and the Pakistanis and the North Koreans in

more recent times. The problem is partly that they were scammed by Abdul Qadeer Khan, the Pakistani who sold them his country's discards.

The assassination and the sabotage have taken a psychological toll, making scientists wonder if every trip to work may be their last, every line of code the beginning of a new round of destruction. Stuxnet was devilishly ingenious: it infected millions of computers, but did damage only when the code was transferred to special controllers that run centrifuges, which spin at supersonic speed when enriching uranium. When operators looked at their screens, everything looked normal. But downstairs in the plant, the centrifuges suddenly spun out of control and exploded, like small bombs. It took months for the Iranians to figure out what had happened.

But now the element of surprise is gone. The Iranians are digging their plants deeper underground, and enriching uranium at purities that will make it easier to race for a bomb. When Barack Obama was sworn into office, they had enough fuel on hand to produce a single weapon; today, by the I.A.E.A.'s own inventory, they have enough for at least four. And as the Quds Force has shown, sabotage and assassination is a two-way game, which may ratchet up one confrontation just as Americans have been exhausted by two others.

*David E. Sanger is the chief Washington correspondent of The New York Times.*

#### **Washington Memo: In World's Eyes, Much Damage is Already Done**

July 31, 2011

WASHINGTON — With the deal reached Sunday night, the United States has a good chance of escaping the debt limit showdown with its credit rating intact.

The United States government may not be so lucky with its reputation.

Even before negotiations went down to the wire on Sunday night, the bitterness, division and dysfunction that resounded around the world in recent weeks as the United States veered toward default did more than just fuel a perception that Washington is approaching Japan-like levels of political gridlock. Among foreign leaders and in global markets, the political histrionics have eroded America's already diminishing aura as the world's economic haven and the sole country with the power to lead the rest of the world out of financial crisis and recession.

It has chipped away at the global authority of President Obama, who was celebrated abroad when he came to office as a man who would end an era of American unilateralism. Now the topic of discussion in other capitals is whether the Age of Obama is giving way to an Age of Austerity, one that will inevitably reduce America's influence internationally.

Mr. Obama has all but acknowledged as much in recent weeks, as he paired his decision to withdraw the "surge" troops from Afghanistan by next September with a repeat of his declaration that "it is time to focus on nation building here at home." His decision to commit few new American financial resources to supporting the Arab Spring and his insistence that NATO allies

must bear the brunt of operations in Libya were deliberate reminders that times have changed, and that America can no longer afford either new Marshall Plans or new wars.

But the brush with default has added a new dimension.

It has left America's creditors and allies alike wondering what had changed in American politics that a significant part of the country's political elite was suddenly willing to risk the nation's reputation as the safest place for the rest of the world to invest.

It raised questions about whether the United States now faces brinkmanship over a variety of issues between an emboldened conservative movement and a president whose authority is under challenge. And for all the talk on the right about "American exceptionalism," especially among members of the Tea Party, it put doubts in the minds of many about whether America's military and economic dominance is something the country is still willing to pay for — and will always survive.

The new head of the International Monetary Fund, Christine Lagarde, seemed to give voice to that concern when she noted on CNN that in the past there was always "a positive bias towards the United States of America, towards Treasury bills." The events of the past few weeks, she said delicately, are "probably chipping into that very positive bias."

Jeffrey Garten, a professor at the Yale School of Management and the author of several books about American power in the era of globalization, said on Sunday that the challenge for the United States will not end with this crisis.

"Even if the deal passes muster with the credit rating agencies, there is still a huge problem," he said.

"The problem is that we need both a fiscal strategy and a growth strategy," he said. "And what you hear around the world is that no one is convinced we do — that we have a pathway to making the debt sustainable and to dealing with everything from our infrastructure to our education system. It seems obvious to everyone that we haven't done anything, but veer around to avoid catastrophe."

Warnings about American decline are nothing new of course — they have permeated American politics since Vietnam, save for a brief period in the mid-1990s after the fall of the Soviet Union, when America briefly enjoyed its status as the world's only superpower.

The fears may be premature today as well. With Europe consumed by its own economic crises, from the long-running drama in Greece to new fears about Italy, and with Japan inwardly focused on recovering from the earthquake and tsunami, investors found that there were few other places for the world to go. That helped explain why there has been no real run on the dollar, or on American debt — there is no place to flee.

"The lucky thing for us is that we are in a race with Europe and Japan for 'most financially irresponsible superpower,' " Walter Russell Mead, a professor at Bard College and author of

many works on the waxing and waning of American power, said on Sunday. "And right now, the Europeans and Japanese have substantial advantages in that race."

That leaves China, which emerged the fastest and healthiest from the financial crisis of 2008 and 2009, as the only credible alternative on the world scene.

Leaders there have done everything they can to exploit the deadlock in Washington. They have used their official Xinhua news service to criticize the United States for "dangerously irresponsible" conduct that risks strangling the fragile economic recovery of not only the United States but the world as a whole. (The statement may sound patronizing, but it echoes criticism the United States issued to Mexico and Asia in the 1990s and to Europe more recently.)

It is all part, of course, of a Chinese campaign to advertise their own economic model as a superior one. But many global investors fear that the Chinese themselves are hardly immune from the kind of pressures that have frozen the Greek Parliament and the United States Congress from confronting underlying problems.

Part of the problem in the debate over the relationship between America's debt and its power is that there are at least two camps — and the Obama administration (and many Republicans) have a foot in each of them.

One camp repeats versions of the argument put most bluntly by Adm. Mike Mullen, the departing chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who reminds interviewers regularly that "the most significant threat to our national security is our debt."

Over time, he fears, cuts in the defense budget could hollow out the military and leave little for the development of a range of new technologies like advanced drones and cyberweapons that are needed for modern-day confrontations.

Traditional hawks in the Republican Party, chief among them Senator John McCain of Arizona, agree with him. Many in the Tea Party — a more populist bunch who contain a strain of isolationism — do not, arguing that just as America needs smaller government at home, it needs a smaller military footprint abroad.

There is another argument, though, which has less to do with American hard power than American soft power. Mr. Obama and his secretary of state, Hillary Rodham Clinton, came to office arguing that one way to avoid wildly expensive wars like those of the last decade was to invest in the remaking of failed societies. But a decade after the Sept. 11 attacks, that concept — that America must invest abroad for its own safety — is losing support fast. Mr. Obama has made clear that he has no enthusiasm for "nation building" projects in Afghanistan that go on for years or are unsustainable. They may be well intentioned, he has told aides, but they are too expensive.

Similarly, many inside the White House and Congress question whether the United States can afford to play its traditional role as the lender and spender of last resort in global financial crises. The idea of putting together a global package to spur the world economy — as Mr. Obama did

just two years ago in London, with European and Chinese help — seems to be a huge stretch in today's environment of austerity.

As Mr. Garten puts it, "the lesson of the debt limit crisis is that if there is another financial calamity, we're operating without a safety net. Get used to it."

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**S3717 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE***June 5, 2012***SECURITY LEAKS****RELEASED IN FULL**

Mr. MCCAIN. Madam President, over the past few months there has been a disturbing stream of articles in the media and common among them, they cite elite, classified, or highly sensitive information in what appears to be a broader effort by the administration to paint a portrait of the President of the United States as a strong leader on national security issues--information for which there is no legitimate reason whatsoever to believe should be in the public domain. Indeed, the release of this information in these articles harms our national security and puts in danger the lives of the men and women who are sworn to protect it.

What price did the administration apparently pay to proliferate such a Presidential persona--highly valued in an election year? Access. Access to senior administration officials who appear to have served as anonymous sources divulging extremely sensitive military and intelligence information and operations.

With the leaks that these articles were based on, our enemies now know much more than they did the day before they came out about important aspects of our Nation's unconventional offensive capabilities and how we use them. Such disclosures can only undermine similar ongoing or future operations and, in this sense, compromise our national security. For this reason, regardless of how politically useful these leaks may have been to the President, they have to stop. These leaks have to stop.

The fact that this administration would aggressively pursue leaks perpetrated by a 22-year-old Army private in the Wikileaks matter and former CIA employees in other leaks cases but apparently sanction leaks made by senior administration officials for political purposes is simply unacceptable. It also calls for the need for a special counsel to investigate what happened.

I am also pleased to report that Chairman Carl Levin has agreed, at my request, to hold a hearing on these leaks in the Senate Armed Services Committee. The Senate Armed Services Committee has a responsibility here, and I am grateful that Chairman Levin has agreed to hold a hearing.

In the latest of the recently published articles--published on June 1, 2012, just a few days ago--the New York Times documented in rich detail the President's secret

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

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decision to accelerate cyber attacks on Iran's nuclear enrichment facilities with a computer virus that came to be known as Stuxnet. The author of the article, Mr. David Sanger, clearly states that former and current American officials spoke to him but refused to do so on the record because the program is both highly classified and parts of it are ongoing. I repeat, the administration officials discussed a most highly classified operation that is both highly classified and still ongoing, an operation that was clearly one of the most tightly held national security secrets in our country until now. And I might point out to my colleagues that this is all about the Iranian effort to acquire nuclear weapons, which is one of the most difficult national security challenges this Nation faces.

Other recent articles divulged critical and classified information regarding U.S. plans to expand the secret drone campaign against terrorists in Yemen and the Horn of Africa. One of these pieces was a sorry excuse for journalism that the New York Times published on May 29, 2012, which Charles Krauthammer rightly observed should have been entitled "Barack Obama--Drone Warrior."

Finally, there was a recent so-called article about the so-called "kill list"--the highly classified list of counterterrorism targets against whom the President has authorized lethal action--in other words, to kill. It was reported in that article on May 29, 2012, in the New York Times that David Axelrod, the President's chief political adviser--who is running the reelection campaign as we speak--began attending the meetings in which this list was discussed. I repeat, the President's campaign manager was present and attending the meetings where lists of possible people to be eliminated through drone strikes was discussed and decisions were made. The only conceivable motive for such damaging and compromising leaks of classified information is that it makes the President look good.

These are not the only times I have been frustrated about national security-related leaks coming from this administration. The administration similarly helped journalists publish some of the highly sensitive tactics, techniques, and procedures that enabled our special operations forces--including the classified name of the unit involved--to carry out the operation to kill Osama bin Laden last year. It is entirely possible that this flurry of anonymous boasting was responsible for divulging the identity of Dr. Shakil Afridi, the Pakistani doctor who assisted us in our search for Osama bin Laden and whose public exposure led to his detention and a 33-year prison sentence in Pakistan. His name was divulged by members of the administration, and he has been basically given a death sentence, a 33-year sentence in prison in Pakistan. Our friends are not the only ones who read the New York Times; our enemies do, too.

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Let me be clear. I am fully in favor of transparency in government. I have spent my entire career in Congress furthering that principle. But what separates these sorts of leaks from, say, the whistleblowing that fosters open government or a free press is that these leaks expose no violations of law, abuses of authority, or threats to public health or safety. They are gratuitous and utterly self-serving.

These leaks may inhibit the Nation's ability to employ the same or similar measures in its own defense in the future. How effectively the United States can conduct unmanned drone strikes against belligerents, cyber attacks against Iran's nuclear program, or military operations against terrorists in the future depends on the secrecy with which these programs are conducted. Such activities are classified or enormously sensitive for good reason--in many cases, for reasons related to operational security or diplomacy. Their public disclosure should have no place in how this or any other administration conducts itself. These are the kinds of operations and intelligence matters no one should discuss publicly, not even the President.

With this in mind, I call on the President to take immediate and decisive action, including the appointment of a special counsel, to aggressively investigate the leak of any classified information on which the recent stories were based and, where appropriate, to prosecute those responsible. A special counsel will be needed because the articles on the U.S. cyber attacks on Iran and expanded plans by the United States to use drones in Yemen were sourced to--and I quote from the articles--"participants in the [cyber-attack] program" and "members of the [P]resident's national security team." In the cyber attacks article, in particular, the author stated that "current and former American officials" spoke to him anonymously about the program because "the effort remains highly classified and parts of it continue to this day."

What could be worse?

The suggestion that misconduct occurred within the executive branch is right there in black and white and is why a special counsel is needed.

As part of this investigation, this special counsel should also scrutinize the book from which the New York Times cyber attacks article was adapted, which was just released yesterday, for other improper or illegal disclosures.

Where classified information regarding cyber operations was leaked, the President should assess any damage that those leaks may have caused to national security and how that damage can be mitigated.

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In my view, the administration should be taking these leaks, apparently perpetrated by senior administration officials, as seriously as it pursued those made by relatively low government personnel such as the Army private in the WikiLeaks matter or the former CIA employee who provided the New York Times with classified information about U.S. attempts to sabotage the Iranian nuclear program. The failure of the administration to do so would confirm what today is only an inference--that these leaks were, in fact, sanctioned by the administration to serve a pure political purpose.

As I continue to closely monitor developments in this matter, I hope to be proved wrong.

There is a Wall Street Journal article, "FBI Probes Leaks about Cyberattacks by U.S." I am glad the FBI is going to probe that. It says Mr. Sanger, in an appearance on CBS News "Face the Nation," suggested that deliberate White House leaking "wasn't my experience."

He added:

I spent a year working on the story from the bottom up and then went to the administration and told them what I had. Then they had to make some decisions about how much they wanted to talk about . . . I'm sure the political side of the White House probably likes reading about the President acting with drones and cyber and so forth. National security side has got very mixed emotions about it because these are classified programs.

Mr. Sanger again is authenticating that senior members of the White House and our intelligence community decided to talk to him about classified programs. Their motivation for doing so--perhaps we don't know particularly at this time, but I don't think one could argue that these articles have all conveyed the impression that the President is a very strong warrior in carrying out his responsibilities as Commander in Chief, something I have disputed as far as Iraq, Afghanistan, and other national security issues, which I will discuss on another day.

I don't know how one could draw any conclusion but that senior members of this administration in the national security arena have either leaked or confirmed information of the most highly classified and sensitive nature. Some of these leaks have concerned ongoing operations. Since they were highly classified and sensitive information, that classification was there for a reason--the reason being that if that information was classified, it could harm our national security.

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These are very serious actions on their part. They are very serious actions when ongoing operations in the war against terror and the issue of Iranian acquisition of nuclear weapons could trigger attacks either by Israel or the United States to prevent such an eventuality. We now find leaks which have exposed, not only to the American people but to the Iranians as well, exactly what American activity is of the most sensitive nature. This is not a proud day for the United States of America.

I ask unanimous consent that following the remarks of Senator Chambliss, he and I be permitted to engage in a colloquy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CASEY). Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Disturbance in the Visitors' Galleries)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. President, I wish to thank my friend from Arizona for his very direct comments on this very sensitive issue. As vice chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, I can say without a doubt that these ongoing leaks of classified information are extraordinarily harmful to our intelligence operations.

Every day we ask our intelligence officers and agents to be out there on the frontlines, putting their life in harm's way, gathering information, meeting sources, and using a variety of highly sensitive collection techniques. Depending on where these officers are around the world, the operating environment can be both dangerous and downright hostile. This means they have to be as much or more on guard to ensure that operations don't get blown and their own lives and the lives of our sources are not jeopardized.

But each time classified information shows up in the media, the intelligence community's ability to do these dangerous assignments becomes that much more difficult. Not only do these leaks tell our enemies how we do our jobs and therefore how they can block or impede our efforts, but with each leak our friends and allies are left to wonder how much they can trust us with their own secrets.

These are not hypothetical concerns. Senator McCain alluded to a couple of anecdotes. Also, a few weeks ago, in the middle of an ongoing operation, we all--friends and enemies alike--learned the details of efforts to disrupt an al-Qaida plot

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to bomb a civilian aircraft. Up to that point, most Members of Congress knew nothing about this operation. That is how sensitive we were told it was. Unfortunately, rather than quietly recognize our--and, frankly, our partners'--successes and move on with the business of protecting the American people, some in the administration apparently decided that scoring political points in an election year outweighed protecting our intelligence operations as well as our liaison relationship with our intelligence partners around the world.

Whether we could have learned more from an operation that was cut short by this leak will now never be known, but we have been warned by some of our allies they will think twice before they share highly classified information with us.

Unfortunately, the leak of the airline plot was no isolated incident. From kill lists and bin Laden movies to cyber warfare, it appears nothing is off-limits, nothing is too secret, no operation is too sensitive, and no source is too valuable to be used as a prop in this election year posturing. The doctor associated with the bin Laden operation appears to be paying the price for this posturing. Following public disclosures of his involvement, he has been sentenced to 33 years in prison--a true life sentence of 33 years in prison in Pakistan. This hardly provides incentive for anyone else to help us.

These disclosures--whether quietly sanctioned or not--are simply unacceptable, and they are against the law. This administration reminds us repeatedly that they are prosecuting more people for leaking classified information than ever before, and I support that effort. But just as we hold ordinary government employees accountable for violating their oaths to protect our Nation's secrets, we must also hold the most senior administration officials accountable. Recently, the FBI began an investigation into the scenario surrounding this latest bomb plot, and I applaud the FBI's efforts. Following the public disclosure in the press reports on comments made by senior administration officials, I sent a letter to Director Mueller and asked him to please include this aspect of these leaks in his investigation. I received a letter back today that he is indeed going to do that, and I applaud that. I don't know whether the reports are true. I have no idea. But if they are, they are serious violations of the law having been conducted by senior administration officials.

Beyond that, we still have to do more. So today I join with my good friend Senator McCain from Arizona in calling for the appointment of a special counsel to investigate this pattern of recent leaks. Leaks should never be tolerated, but leaking for political advantage is especially troubling. There must be swift and clear

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accountability for those responsible for playing this dangerous game with our national security.

The Senator from Arizona has been around here a lot longer than me. He has been involved in the world of national security for many years, both on the frontline himself as well as a Member of this body.

Has the Senator from Arizona ever seen anything as egregious as the purported leaks that are coming from this administration on these highly classified and sensitive number of programs that we have seen in the last few days and weeks?

Mr. MCCAIN. As my colleague well knows, the leaks are part of the way the environment exists in our Nation's capital, and leaks will always be part of the relationship between media and both elected and appointed officials. I understand that. I think my colleague would agree there have been times where abuses have been uncovered and exposed because of leaks so this information was made public, and we have always applauded that.

There has also continuously been a problem of overclassification of information so government officials don't have to--be it Republican or Democratic administrations--discuss what is going on publicly.

But I have to tell my friend, I do not know a greater challenge that the United States faces in the short term than this entire issue of Iran acquiring nuclear weapons. The President of the United States said it would be "unacceptable." We all know the Israelis are going through an agonizing decisionmaking process as to whether they need to attack Iran before they reach "breakout," which means they have enough parts and equipment to assemble a nuclear weapon in a short period of time.

Here we are exposing something that, frankly, I was never told about. I was never informed of Stuxnet, and it is ongoing, at least according to the media reports. So aren't the Iranians going to learn from this? I would ask my colleague, aren't the Iranians going to become more and more aware?

Drone strikes are now one of the leading methods of going after al-Qaida and those radical terrorists who are intent on destroying America. So now al-Qaida and our enemies, both real and others who plan to be, are very aware of the entire decisionmaking process in the White House.

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I guess the most disturbing part--and I would ask my friend--it is one thing to have a private, in the WikiLeaks matter, who had access to it, low-level members of certain agencies, one in the CIA who I know was prosecuted, but this is, according to the articles that are written, the highest levels in the White House are confirming this classified information and maybe even volunteering it, for all we know.

But there, obviously, has been a very serious breach of perhaps the two most important challenges we face: the Iranian nuclear process and, of course, the continued presence and efforts of al-Qaida to attack America.

I wonder if my friend from Georgia would agree that these are two of the most challenging national security issues America faces.

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. President, I think my friend from Arizona is exactly right. There have been rumors of the drone program for actually a couple years now, maybe back almost into some period back into the Bush administration. As a member of the Intelligence Committee, we were always told--and rightfully so--this is a covert program and we simply cannot discuss it. So we never have. Now we pick up the newspaper, and over the last several weeks we have seen the President of the United States discussing the drone program. We have seen the Attorney General of the United States discussing the drone program. We have seen the National Security Adviser discussing the drone program. Yet, technically, we as Members of Congress--particularly members of the Intelligence Committee--cannot talk about this because they are covert programs.

So there is simply no question but that our enemy is better prepared today because of these various leaks and public disclosures.

Let me move to the other issue the Senator has talked about, though, the issue of the nuclear weaponization of Iran. There is no more important national security issue in the world today. It is a daily discussion at the United Nations, it is a daily discussion at the Pentagon, it is a daily discussion in Israel and in virtually every part of the Middle East that we cannot allow for the country of Iran to become nuclear weaponized. Here, all of a sudden, we see public disclosure, whether all of it is true or not, in a newspaper article on the front page of an American newspaper, detailing a purported program of attack against that Iranian program.

What are our friends in the intelligence community to think? What are our friends in Israel to think? How much cooperation are they going to now give us from the standpoint of disclosing information to the U.S. Intelligence community on any program if they can expect that--if this is, in fact, true--what they tell us is going to

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be on the front page of the New York Times? Not only that, but it is not coming from some private who went on the Internet and found a bunch of classified documents. It is coming from statements made, supposedly, by high-level administration officials.

It puts us in a real--not a quandary. This is not a quandary. It puts us in a position of having to defend ourselves with our allies over certain statements that purportedly are made by high senior administration officials. I simply can never remember a scenario of information being leaked where we have the level of administration officials that now supposedly have made these comments, and they are quoted by name in some instances.

Mr. MCCAIN. Could I finally add, the disturbing aspect of this is that one could draw the conclusion, from reading these articles, that it is an attempt to further the President's political ambitions for the sake of his election at the expense of our national security. That is what is disturbing about this entire situation.

I see our friend from Oregon is waiting to illuminate us, so I yield the floor. I thank my friend from Oregon for his patience.

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**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**To:** Harold Hongju Koh; "Mary-Christy Fisher"  
**Subject:** FW: McCain Floor statement on Leaks  
**Date:** Thursday, June 07, 2012 3:29:02 PM  
**Attachments:** McCain on Leaks.docx

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RELEASED IN FULL

**From:** Adams, David S  
**Sent:** Thursday, June 07, 2012 3:27 PM  
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Subject:** McCain Floor statement on Leaks

As discussed at the morning meeting, McCain's remarks are attached. You'll also see Sen. Chambliss piling on for good measure. He's the Ranking Republican on the Senate Intel Committee.

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**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin; Khan, Naveed J  
**Cc:** Gahan, Kimberly A; Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project  
**Date:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 11:29:14 AM

RELEASED IN FULL

Sure. I will use my basic cleared stump speech points on legal aspects of a smart power approach to international law

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 11:21 AM  
**To:** Khan, Naveed J; Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Gahan, Kimberly A; Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

David is on for Wednesday 18 January at 2:30 p.m. He has a hard pass, so I can just meet him at C Street and bring him up to your office.

He says that he will get us a list of topics before then, but that "much of it will focus on the legal issues surrounding new tools, from drones to cyber..." He is also interested in your view of "how the administration approaches these issues in comparison to past administrations."

Thanks!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:20 AM  
**To:** Khan, Naveed J; Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

As I'll be on travel next week Wed-Fri, Ben Chang will follow up to lock up the date, he's cking with Sanger on whether your proposed time works.

**From:** Khan, Naveed J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:10 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju; Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger's book project

Mike,

Would 2:30 pm on Wednesday, Jan 18<sup>th</sup> be ok?

Naveed

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*Naveed J. Khan  
Personal Assistant to Legal Adviser Harold Hongju Koh  
Office of the Legal Adviser, Room 6421*

*Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20520  
Ph: 202-647-9598  
Fax: 202-647-7096  
email: khannj@state.gov*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:03 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin; Gahan, Kimberly A; Khan, Naveed J  
**Subject:** David Sanger's book project

Sure. Adding my office to figure out a time

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 9:43 AM  
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

Harold - can you provide us a time next week Jan 17-20, half hour, will be on background, either I or Ben Chang will sit in. Sanger has talked with Jake, will see Bill on the 19<sup>th</sup> and the Secretary later in the month. Thx, Mike

**Quanrud, Pamela G**

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**Subject:** NYT's Sanger Interview

**Start:** Thu 1/19/2012 4:15 PM

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**End:** Thu 1/19/2012 5:15 PM

**Recurrence:** (none)

**Organizer:** Burns, William J

**Categories:** Yellow Category

PA Benjamin Chang will sit in.

Was at 3:30pm; Was 1/17 at 3:00pm

book project

The session would be on background as a Senior Administration official. Anything on the record would be subject to our approval. (Mike Hammer)

Mike Hammer/Colleen Neville



RE: NYT's Sanger  
book project ...

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RELEASED IN FULL

**Morris, Margo T**

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**Subject:** David Sanger, NYTimes  
**Start:** Fri 3/23/2012 3:00 PM  
**End:** Fri 3/23/2012 3:45 PM  
**Recurrence:** (none)  
**Organizer:** Sherman, Wendy R

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NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**Lakhdhir, Kamala S**

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**From:** Sherman, Wendy R  
**Sent:** Friday, March 16, 2012 12:48 PM  
**To:** Morris, Margo T  
**Subject:** RE: David Sanger, NYT

RELEASED IN FULL

Fine

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**From:** Morris, Margo T  
**Sent:** Friday, March 16, 2012 12:05 PM  
**To:** Sherman, Wendy R  
**Subject:** David Sanger, NYT

Wendy,

I am moving David Sanger from Monday schedule at his request because he too has to catch a plane in the afternoon. He wants to come on Friday late in the afternoon (3 p.m.). Are you comfortable with that because it is a) late in the week and b) late in the day to do something like this.

Margo Morris  
Personal Assistant  
Under Secretary for Political Affairs  
Department of State  
202 647-2471

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TUESDAY DECEMBER 20, 2011

Staff:	Principal Deputy Director	Sheba Crocker	202-647-2372 (o)
	Deputy Director	Ed Lacey	202-787-8937 (c); 202-647-3580 (o)
	Chief of Staff	Marisa McAuliffe	202-436-5587 (c); 202-647-1965 (o)
	Scheduler	Amira Valliani	202-615-3826 (c); 202-647-2972 (o)

Weather

Washington, DC: High 48 / Low 43, Few Showers

9:30AM S/P STAFF MEETING  
10:00AM S/P 7311

10:00AM S/P REGIONAL STAFF MEETING  
10:45AM S/P 7311

11:00AM MEETING WITH SHEBA CROCKER AND ED LACEY  
12:30PM S/P 7311

12:30PM MEETING WITH MR. SANGER  
1:15PM S/P 7311

1:30PM MEETING WITH RONAN FARROW AND LAUREN BAER  
2:00PM S/P 7311

3:00PM USCIB ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION  
3:30PM Room 7318

3:45PM MEETING WITH DICK SOKOLSKY, DAN KURTZ-PHELAN AND  
JEREMY SHAPIRO  
4:15PM S/P 7311

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**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 02, 2012 11:42 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Yes. Room 3214. Thanks,

*Marie Ann Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 02, 2012 11:41 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

See you this afternoon. Room 3214?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 01, 2012 11:38 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Hi,

Sadly no. Mr. Einhorn is booked solidly before and after his meeting with Mr. Sanger. As he will be out of the building prior to the meeting, I have my fingers crossed that he will return as scheduled. Thank you, MarieAnn

*Marie Ann Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

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**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 01, 2012 11:21 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Hello – quick question: David just emailed me that he has a 3 p.m. at the White House and if there were any chance to start just a tad earlier say 1:45 p.m. If not, no worries. Thank you!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Friday, January 27, 2012 11:51 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Yes, I have put in on the calendar. Will anyone be accompanying Mr. Sanger? Will he require escort?  
Thanks.

*Marie Ann Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, January 27, 2012 10:50 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger's book project

Thursday from 2-3 ok?

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Friday, January 27, 2012 10:13 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Chang,

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Good morning. Currently, the following times are available next week:

Monday, January 30  
4:00 p.m.

Tuesday, January 31  
3:00-5:00 p.m.

Wednesday, February 1  
10:00-12:00 a.m.  
3:00-5:00 p.m.

Thursday, February 2,  
10:00-11:00 a.m.  
1:30-3:00 p.m.

Friday, February 3  
11:00 a.m. – 3:00 p.m.

Please let me know which time would work for Mr. Sanger. Thanks, MarieAnn

*MarieAnn Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 25, 2012 12:01 PM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Look forward to seeing what is available and then I will run by Sanger. Thank you!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 25, 2012 8:47 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger's book project

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Mr. Benjamin,

I'm sorry his Friday is very full and he would like to wait until next week. I am not in today. If it is alright, will be happy to send you some times tomorrow. Thank you, MarieAnn

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 24, 2012 12:50 PM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Odd. I thought we did re: Wednesday below. But life is fluid: I will reach out to Sanger again – is there time available tentatively on Friday when Bob is back?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 24, 2012 12:36 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Chang,

I'm sorry although it was originally believed that Mr. Einhorn would be in town this week, he has gone on travel with Under Secretary Sherman. He will not return until Friday. After I gave the times when Mr. Einhorn was available, no one ever got back to me with a date/time when Mr. Sanger was available to meet to firm up the meeting. So this request on gone no further. Thanks, MarieAnn

*Marie Ann Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 24, 2012 12:27 PM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

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Any progress on scheduling David Sanger with A/S Einhorn this Wednesday?

Thank you!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 19, 2012 6:17 PM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann; Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Sanger is available Wednesday. What time works best for you for an hour? Thanks!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 1:14 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

What day did you have in mind. Currently Mr. Einhorn is available Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday (January 23, 24, 26 and 27) 2:30 p.m. and later. On Wednesday, January 25, he is available 10:30 a.m. and later. Please let me know. Thanks, MarieAnn

*MarieAnn Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 9:10 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED

Printed By: Frey, Marie Ann  
Page 5 of 9

CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED

Page 6 of 9

Yes, let's try to schedule next week, + Ben Chang who is also tracking Sanger's requests

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 17, 2012 8:36 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Hammer,

Good morning. Please excuse my delay in responding. Mr. Einhorn is on travel this week (January 15-20). He will be in the office the week of the 23<sup>rd</sup>. Do you want to schedule something for that week? Thanks, MarieAnn

*MarieAnn Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 10, 2012 10:11 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Cking in, will Bob be traveling next week or can we firm this appointment up? If he's traveling, can we look at the week of the 23<sup>rd</sup>? Sanger is abroad all this week.

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:58 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Hammer,

Although not confirmed, Mr. Einhorn may be on travel the week of January 16. We can pencil something in and if he does travel it will have to be rescheduled if that is acceptable. If that is all right the times provided would still be good with the exception of Monday, January 16 which is a holiday. Thanks,

*MarieAnn Frey*  
*S/SANAC, Rm. 3214*  
*Telephone: 202-736-7052*

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Printed By: Frey, Marie Ann  
Page 6 of 9

CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED

Page 7 of 9

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:54 AM  
**To:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Go figure, Sanger just told me he is traveling week of Jan 9, can we try the following week of 17<sup>th</sup>?

**From:** Frey, Marie Ann  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:52 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Saeed, Ferial Ara; Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Mr. Hammer,

Mr. Einhorn currently available as follows:

Monday, January 9:  
2:30 – 5:00 p.m.

Tuesday, January 10:  
2:30 – 5:00 p.m.

Wednesday, January 11:  
10:30 a.m. – 5:00 p.m.

Thursday, January 12:  
1:30 – 5:00 p.m.

Friday, January 13:  
11:00 a.m.-2:30 p.m.

I hope this information helps. Please let me know which time is chosen. Thanks, MarieAnn

*Marie Ann Frey*  
S/SANAC. Rm. 3214  
Telephone: 202-736-7052

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Printed By: Frey, Marie Ann  
Page 7 of 9

CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED

Page 8 of 9

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:45 AM  
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Can you give me a date and time pls for week of Jan 9 – seeing Sanger today so wanted to relay/try to lock in.

**From:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 2:37 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

sure

SBU  
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 1:05 PM  
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

Perfectly understandable – can we tentatively put something on the schedule the week of Jan 9?

**From:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 12:46 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Frey, Marie Ann; Saeed, Ferial Ara  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger's book project

I'd be happy to do it, Mike, but I'm in Israel and China next week. my schedule for the remainder of this week is impossible, and I'm taking leave Christmas-New Years week. Can do it early January.

SBU  
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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Page 8 of 9

CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED

Page 9 of 9

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:47 AM  
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J  
**Subject:** Sanger's book project

Bob – David is writing a book on the Obama administration's foreign policy and, before he sits down with the Secretary – hopefully in January, we'd like to have him start talking to folks (Jake, Bill Burns, Kurt, you, possibly others). He is obviously looking to talk to you about Iran. Might you have time later this week Thurs-Fri or early next week? NSS is cool with us engaging. This would be on background. Thanks, let me know. Mike

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Page 9 of 9

RELEASED IN FULL

# February 02, 2012

Thursday

February 2012							March 2012						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
				1	2	3	4				1	2	3
5	6	7	8	9	10	11		4	5	6	7	8	9
12	13	14	15	16	17	18		11	12	13	14	15	16
19	20	21	22	23	24	25		18	19	20	21	22	23
26	27	28	29					25	26	27	28	29	30
												31	

2 Thursday		Notes
<b>Groundhog Day: United States</b>		
7 am		
8 00		
9 00		
10 00		
11 00		
12 pm		
1 00		
2 00	David Sanger Rm. 3214	
3 00		
4 00		
5 00	<b>REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer</b>	
6 00		

Einhorn, Robert J

1

7/24/2013 9:25 AM

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

RELEASED IN PART B6

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 1:58 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

I'll check

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 01:46 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

We can now offer Sanger 3/16 at 130 pm. Let me know if he screams.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 01:09 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

Gave Wendy a heads up, she's cool with deflecting today and then scheduling upon her return. Waiting for a time on her schedule. We'll need to do a memo, with background for it.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:09 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Such baloney.

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:08 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

"

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

Ben,

Greetings from the bottom of my book-writing hole. I realized yesterday that we never closed the loop on Wendy, who appears in the book during her Israel visit in December and some of its follow-ups. I know what she'd do to me if I had accounts of her meetings -- from the other side! -- that I didn't run by her, and I'd benefit greatly from her analysis of the situation, since she came to it with fresh eyes. Time is short, but can you see if she can slip me into her schedule?

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

thanks,

David

"

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:08 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Geez...This has to do more on the NOW and not for his book, correct?

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:07 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Done, and FYI he hopes for a call with her this afternoon before she travels... I can hold him off but he may ping you I suspect (or maybe not).

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 11:21 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Do tell him Wendy is travelling

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 10:25 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

OK, I'll keep Sanger in a holding pattern.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 10:17 AM

**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Wendy is about to go on a trip so timing is unfortunate, but yes, I'd have to ask her first.

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 9:38 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Sanger wants Wendy

Want me to set-up, do you want to float by P first...?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

B6

---

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 01, 2012 6:10 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Wendy

Ben,

Greetings from the bottom of my book-writing hole. I realized yesterday that we never closed the loop on Wendy, who appears in the book during her Israel visit in December and some of its follow-ups. I know what she'd do to me if I had accounts of her meetings -- from the other side! -- that I didn't run by her, and I'd benefit greatly from her analysis of the situation, since she came to it with fresh eyes. Time is short, but can you see if she can slip me into her schedule?

thanks,  
David

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

RELEASED IN PART B6

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 4:58 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

Checking...

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 4:51 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

We can lock 1:30 on Mon 19th, let me know if sanger agrees.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 03:54 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

Ok - will ck on Mon, Wendy can't do that Thurs, wonder what happened to the urgency?

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 03:40 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

No screams, actually appreciated, but said he he's at random house in NYC at 2:30 that afternoon. He asked if either that Thursday (3/15) or the next Monday (3/19) are available...

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 1:46 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

We can now offer Sanger 3/16 at 130 pm. Let me know if he screams.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 01:09 PM

**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

Gave Wendy a heads up, she's cool with deflecting today and then scheduling upon her return. Waiting for a time on her schedule. We'll need to do a memo, with background for it.

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**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:09 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Such baloney.

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:08 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

"

Ben,

Greetings from the bottom of my book-writing hole. I realized yesterday that we never closed the loop on Wendy, who appears in the book during her Israel visit in December and some of its follow-ups. I know what she'd do to me if I had accounts of her meetings -- from the other side! -- that I didn't run by her, and I'd benefit greatly from her analysis of the situation, since she came to it with fresh eyes. Time is short, but can you see if she can slip me into her schedule?

thanks, .

David

"

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:08 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Geez...This has to do more on the NOW and not for his book, correct?

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:07 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Done, and FYI he hopes for a call with her this afternoon before she travels... I can hold him off but he may ping you I suspect (or maybe not).

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 11:21 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Do tell him Wendy is travelling

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 10:25 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

OK, I'll keep Sanger in a holding pattern.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 10:17 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Wendy is about to go on a trip so timing is unfortunate, but yes, I'd have to ask her first.

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 9:38 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Sanger wants Wendy

Want me to set-up, do you want to float by P first...?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

B6

---

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 01, 2012 6:10 PM

**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Wendy

Ben,

Greetings from the bottom of my book-writing hole. I realized yesterday that we never closed the loop on Wendy, who appears in the book during her Israel visit in December and some of its follow-ups. I know what she'd do to me if I had accounts of her meetings -- from the other side! -- that I didn't run by her, and I'd benefit greatly from her analysis of the situation, since she came to it with fresh eyes. Time is short, but can you see if she can slip me into her schedule?

thanks,  
David

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

RELEASED IN PART B6

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 13, 2012 5:02 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Sanger: amb ford

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

Sanger wants to move time with Wendy, get S transcript, and see Ford...

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

B6

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 13, 2012 4:56 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: amb ford

Ben,

A coupla things:

B6

would you check with wendy's office and see if there is any chance she could see me weds or thurs? [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] I would still  
 do Wendy if its the only choice, but if you can call over there, I'd be grateful.

Still haven't seen the syria transcript from the secretary, and that chapter goes back to publisher 9 am tomorrow.

any news on amb. ford?

thanks and sorry for the long list.

David

On Mon, Mar 12, 2012 at 1:45 PM, David Sanger <[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)> wrote:  
 Ben,

we're at the point in the libya/syria chapter where I'm writing about amb. ford, his grand adventure in what seems now like a long time ago in the syria crisis, etc. And I realized he's probably here! Any chance I can get at him, in person, by phone, over coffee, in next few days? Would make that section a lot richer.

also, if that secstate transcript shows up, pls. send.

thanks,  
 David

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

--

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Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

RELEASED IN PART B6

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 13, 2012 5:55 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger: amb ford

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

Will flag for P staff w/ Margo.

Ford – I'm at my desk if you can or whenever (I'm in no hurry; Sanger is).

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 13, 2012 5:53 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger: amb ford

Well – can you flag for Wendy's staff pls – Margo should be able to re-schedule. We never talked Ford.

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 13, 2012 5:02 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Sanger: amb ford

Sanger wants to move time with Wendy, get S transcript, and see Ford...

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

B6

---

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 13, 2012 4:56 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: amb ford

Ben,

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

A coupla things:

B6

would you check with wendy's office and see if there is any chance she could see me weds or thurs? [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] I would still  
 do Wendy if its the only choice, but if you can call over there, I'd be grateful.

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thanks and sorry for the long list.

David

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Ben,

we're at the point in the libya/syria chapter where I'm writing about amb. ford, his grand adventure in what seems now like a long time ago in the syria crisis, etc. And I realized he's probably here! Any chance I can get at him, in person, by phone, over coffee, in next few days? Would make that section a lot richer.

also, if that secstate transcript shows up, pls. send.

thanks,  
David

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

RELEASED IN PART B6

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Sanger, David [dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 05, 2012 12:30 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Egypt

Great. Many thanks. Just for efficiency sake could u see if we can set up einhorn, danny and koh that same week that we're meeting burns? I know I'll be here all week crashing chapters, so I'll be very flexible on timing.

Who should I contact at embassy cairo?

David

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:HammerMA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 05, 2012 11:38 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: Egypt

- 1) Ok - Burns locked for 19<sup>th</sup>, I'll be on travel but Ben Chang will facilitate.
- 2+3) I'll let you sort out directly with Embassy Cairo whether to include Kirkpatrick and the other requests you have on mil attaches
- 4) Einhorn, Danny and Koh should all be doable when you return
- 5) Still waiting on a date for S but we know the need to do as soon as possible, think they are still trying to sort out her travel for this month and then we can lock in a date.

B6

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 05, 2012 7:58 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Egypt

Mike,

Thanks for running all this interference. Hope the return from vacation hasn't been too brutal.....

Coupla things:

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

- 1) Burns on the 19th is fine. I've got it down.
- 2) On Amb. Patterson, many thanks. For my money, one of the smartest ambassadors in the business; can't wait to hear her. Yes on the ground rules -- same as with Jake and the others. One request: If possible, could I bring along David Kirkpatrick, an old Washington bureau colleague and now our Cairo bureau chief? He understands the background rules as well, but I get the sense that he hasn't spent much time with the ambassador and it's always nice if a parachuting Washingtonian can facilitate that. And he is a very smart guy.
- 3) I can do this directly with the embassy if you pass on an email address for their PAO, but I'd also like to talk to either the military attache, or the pol/mil team, just to get a sense of what it's been like to deal with SCAF.
- 4) On our outstanding list of folks to see, we still have Einhorn, and I'd like to add Danny Benjamin (old friend

from college) and Harold Koh (who taught my wife in law school). Danny on Yemen and other CT challenges; Harold on some of the legal issues surrounding drone strikes, rules of war, which he was made point man on. (White House has suggested he's the best on those issues.)

5) The Secretary: Any word on dates? I've got to have 80 percent of the copy for this book in to publisher by mid-February, which is why I'm pressing. I'll be able to tinker after that, but I want her in more of the narrative, and that means getting her voice in. Also, Jake has suggested some areas where he thinks she has interesting stuff to say, including on Arab Spring/Libya/Syria.

cheers,  
David

On Wed, Jan 4, 2012 at 12:19 PM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

David – Anne Patterson would be happy to see you next week and she or her staff will be in touch – I gave them your email. I told her this reporting is for your book and will be on background. By the way, the Burns date is sliding to Jan 19<sup>th</sup> at 3:30, does that work for you?

B6

---

**From:** David Sanger [redacted]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 03, 2012 6:28 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Egypt

In Cairo all next week

Sent from my iPhone

On Jan 3, 2012, at 6:20 AM, "Hammer, Michael A" <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Happy New Year to you - only one more college application to go, can't wait to be done. I'll ck with Patterson and let you know -- how long will you be in Cairo. Burns is set for 17th at 3 pm.

---

**From:** David Sanger [<mailto:dasang@nytimes.com>]  
**Sent:** Monday, January 02, 2012 08:52 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Egypt

Mike,

Hope you had a good holiday, and are headed to a great new year, with lots of good news from the college lottery. (This can't be over soon enough....)

We've had good sessions with Jake, who has been engaging, funny and candid. Saw Kurt as well, and we have a few others to try to get to, including Bill Burns if he's back.

A reminder that next week (starting the 8th) I'll be in Egypt, to be as up-to-date as possible on the Arab Spring chapter. Would love to see Amb. Patterson, who knows me a bit from Pak days, and anyone else at the embassy who would be good, including the military attaches, who may have some insights into what's motivating the Egyptian military to act as it has. Can you see what's possible? I'll be staying at the Marriott in Zamalek.

You can assure them all we can work out background rules.

All the best,  
David

On Tue, Dec 20, 2011 at 10:52 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

202 647-6607 office // 202 736-4656 direct – actually can you do Jake at 3:30 today ?? He just made time, I say you seize the chance.

---

**From:** Sanger, David [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:46 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** What is you phone number

---

**From:** Sanger, David  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:40 AM  
**To:** 'HammerMA@state.gov' <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)>  
**Subject:** Re: Flight delay

I know. This has been the ill fated meeting. Fine for kurt, and asst is not coming along. Thought it might be more candid if its just me and kurt, and u of course if u are joining. I have a state press badge.

I can probably make it around 1. Should we get started with jake or try tomorrow or thurs?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:33 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Ugh – but you'll still make the Campbell mtg at 2 pm? If so, what's your researcher's name, contact info, so we can clear you guys in?

---

**From:** Sanger, David [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:32 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Flight delay

Jake, mike

With apologies, us air cancelled my 10 am flight out of boston. They put me on an 11 15 delta, arriving around 1240. That messes us up big time. Any flexibility in schedule? I'll also be in dc all week.

Let me know what works for you.

David

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 08:22 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

I've chatted with Jake and Kurt and they should have time this week – can we proceed with scheduling ? Any times that don't work for you before I start trying to land these? Burns is on travel and I'm trying to pin down Einhorn as well.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 6:51 PM  
**To:** 'dasang@nytimes.com'  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Ok - will try to set up some apptms starting Weds and do best we can with Secretary, I realize we are getting down to the wire but scheduling is a bear, how deep into Jan can we go?

---

**From:** David Sanger [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 06:36 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Mike,

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

I'm in Vienna -- spent the day with the Iran inspectors -- and flying back tomorrow. Around rest of week -- weds, thus, friday -- and all next week except Monday. So let's try to do Jake, Kurt, Einhorn and others on the list in the next few days.

On Dubai, not hearing from you I skipped it. But I'll be in Egypt week of Jan. 8 -- one reason I'd like to lock in the sec state quick -- and could do it then.

many thanks.

cheers,

David

On Mon, Dec 12, 2011 at 11:04 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

We are looking for a hard date to schedule you with the Secretary early in the new year and perhaps you can at least come in to chat with Jake, others when you get back from your trip later this week or early next. Are you still planning to stop in Dubai this week?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 11:19 AM  
**To:** '[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)'

**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Sounds like a plan. We'll see if I can link you up with our team in Dubai.

---

**From:** David Sanger [<mailto:dasang@nytimes.com>]  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 10:36 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Dubai: Would be around Dec. 13.

On the Sec., she knows I'm writing the book, so at most I'll just remind her that at some point soon I'd love to get this going. I'm with you -- we want to do Jake, Burns, etc. first.

cheers,  
David

On Sat, Dec 3, 2011 at 10:09 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Leave it up to you if you want to raise with the Secretary. We'd like for you to chat with Jake and others before you connect with her. Challenge has been synching up between your traveling and Jake's. Indeed it will be a small window after the 15th but guess we'll have to try then.

Let me ck on Dubai, do you have a rough sense when you actually will be there?

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**From:** David Sanger [<mailto:dasang@nytimes.com>]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 02, 2011 02:53 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** coupla book things

Mike,

Greetings from across the street.

I'll be at the Brookings Saban forum all weekend, and I see we have the secstate at lunch. If we chat, should I remind her of this project and that time is getting short, or hold my fire?

Also, I'm headed to India at the end of next week, and may stop in Dubai on the way home on Iran related stuff. That's where you guys have a big Iran-watching embassy operation -- anyone I might contact to go in and visit those folks?

I'll be back around the 15th, and we'll have a brief window before Christmas to jam in a bunch of interviews. Not ideal, but I fear if we don't kick into gear then we'll have too many chapters off in editing. For example, I don't have secstate speaking directly now on her role in Libya decision, or the two Af/pak processes.

cheers,  
David

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Phone: [202-862-0322](tel:202-862-0322) | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

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--

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NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 10, 2012 11:04 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

RELEASED IN PART B6

Thanks

Apparently he (DS) has not received yet...

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 10, 2012 10:31 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

[REDACTED] PIR was going to provide Sanger the transcript, not sure if he did. We haven't addressed quotes yes, is David ping you about it?

B6

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 10, 2012 09:22 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

Good morning.

[REDACTED]  
Quick Sanger question as I lost the thread right as everything was happening. Did you reply re: transcript and quotes...? Thanks.

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 07, 2012 11:56 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Sanger asking for transcript of his sit-down with S. may I send? Also asking status of quotes he sent for approval...

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 07, 2012 11:35 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Yes, I think it is locked for Mon the 19<sup>th</sup> at 1 pm.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 07, 2012 10:19 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Were you able to check...?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 3:55 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

Ok - will ck on Mon, Wendy can't do that Thurs, wonder what happened to the urgency?

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 03:40 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

No screams, actually appreciated, but said he he's at random house in NYC at 2:30 that afternoon. He asked if either that Thursday (3/15) or the next Monday (3/19) are available...

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 1:46 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

We can now offer Sanger 3/16 at 130 pm. Let me know if he screams.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 01:09 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

Gave Wendy a heads up, she's cool with deflecting today and then scheduling upon her return. Waiting for a time on her schedule. We'll need to do a memo, with background for it.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:09 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Such baloney.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:08 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

"

Ben,

Greetings from the bottom of my book-writing hole. I realized yesterday that we never closed the loop on Wendy, who appears in the book during her Israel visit in December and some of its follow-ups. I know what she'd do to me if I had accounts of her meetings -- from the other side! -- that I didn't run by her, and I'd benefit greatly from her analysis of the situation, since she came to it with fresh eyes. Time is short, but can you see if she can slip me into her schedule?

thanks,

David

"

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:08 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Geez...This has to do more on the NOW and not for his book, correct?

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:07 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Done, and FYI he hopes for a call with her this afternoon before she travels... I can hold him off but he may ping you I suspect (or maybe not).

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 11:21 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Do tell him Wendy is travelling

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 10:25 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

OK, I'll keep Sanger in a holding pattern.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 10:17 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Wendy is about to go on a trip so timing is unfortunate, but yes, I'd have to ask her first.

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 9:38 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Sanger wants Wendy

Want me to set-up, do you want to float by P first...?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

B6

---

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 01, 2012 6:10 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Wendy

Ben,

Greetings from the bottom of my book-writing hole. I realized yesterday that we never closed the loop on Wendy, who appears in the book during her Israel visit in December and some of its follow-ups. I know what she'd do to me if I had accounts of her meetings -- from the other side! -- that I didn't run by her, and I'd benefit greatly from her analysis of the situation, since she came to it with fresh eyes. Time is short, but can you see if she can slip me into her schedule?

thanks,

David

--  
David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

RELEASED IN PART B6

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 9:52 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

OK. Will standby to hear if researcher is a go and will then reach out to clear them in.

Do you want to send any briefing materials/context to Campbell and/or Jake? Happy to draft an informal e-mail, per usual, if you think it useful.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 5:53 PM  
**To:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** FW: coupla book things

FYI – you may need to escort the researcher at 2 pm and bring her to Campbell's office on Tuesday

---

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 5:52 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

B6

Sounds good. Researcher, if she can be down here, will be for kurt only, not jake.

On secstate, let's talk tomorrow and figure out what's possible. I want to have as much of her voice, and overarching narrative, as possible.

David

On Wed, Dec 14, 2011 at 5:49 PM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Ok – 12:30, followed by Kurt at 2 pm. I'll ck on your researcher but suspect Kurt will be fine with it. CCing Dean so we can keep track of you when you come in, I'll propose lunch to Jake.

---

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 2:27 PM

B6

**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

Mike,

Let's due Jake Tuesday at 12.30, and we can have lunch if that works for him. Let me know what works for Kurt, either this week or that same day, next tuesday, unless he and Lael have already fled. My China researcher, who will be in State next year (a Pickering fellow) may be in town that day, and I'd bring her along to Kurt if he was willing.

On the secretary, obviously we'll take her when we can get her. But the later it goes, the more chapters are in editing. Af and Pak are in process now, and Iran's about to go, as is Libya, and she's an especially important player in the last two. I can edit more of her in, but it's the difference between appearing in the book and being a central to the shaping of the narrative. My hope was to do the first with her before the new year, for those chapters heading to editing, and follow up with the later ones.

cheers,  
David

On Wed, Dec 14, 2011 at 1:23 PM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Jake is available next Tues either at 0915 or at 1230, which works best for you? Einhorn will only be able to do in early January and Kurt is trying to find time this week. Bill is on travel until Dec 29.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:48 AM

**To:** 'David Sanger'  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

By the way, it looks like given the Secretary's schedule that we might not get her with you until late January – how late can we do this?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:32 AM  
**To:** 'David Sanger'  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

Ok - will be in touch.

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:31 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

B6

Mike,

I've got a 3 pm today for about an hour and a half, and a 2:30 pm tomorrow. Other than that, can make anything work. Many thanks,

David

On Wed, Dec 14, 2011 at 8:22 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

I've chatted with Jake and Kurt and they should have time this week – can we proceed with scheduling ? Any times that don't work for you before I start trying to land these? Burns is on travel and I'm trying to pin down Einhorn as well.

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**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

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On the Sec., she knows I'm writing the book, so at most I'll just remind her that at some point soon I'd love to get this going. I'm with you -- we want to do Jake, Burns, etc. first.

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after the 15th but guess we'll have to try then.

Let me ck on Dubai, do you have a rough sense when you actually will be there?

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**From:** David Sanger [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 02, 2011 02:53 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** coupla book things

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RELEASED IN PART B6

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 07, 2012 11:37 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

Ah ok cool  
Catching up on emails

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 07, 2012 11:35 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Yes, I think it is locked for Mon the 19<sup>th</sup> at 1 pm.

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**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

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**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 03:40 PM  
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**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

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**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Geez...This has to do more on the NOW and not for his book, correct?

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**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

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**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Do tell him Wendy is travelling

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**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 10:25 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

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**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

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**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 9:38 AM

**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Sanger wants Wendy

Want me to set-up, do you want to float by P first...?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

B6

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**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 01, 2012 6:10 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Wendy

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Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

RELEASED IN PART B6

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, January 06, 2012 4:34 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: follow-up

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

647-6417

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, January 06, 2012 4:31 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: follow-up

What's ur number, called before and got Abby

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, January 06, 2012 03:59 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: follow-up

Ah calling now

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, January 06, 2012 3:21 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: follow-up

Call me on bb

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, January 06, 2012 03:18 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** FW: follow-up

Sorry mike do you want me to follow-up on PAO?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

B6

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Friday, January 06, 2012 3:09 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A; Harrison, Jessica  
**Subject:** Re: follow-up

Ben,

That sounds great. I'm in frankfurt on way to cairo, and jessica joins later in the weekend. Burns now on 19th, I'm told, that right?

Also, could you send me -- or remind mike to send me today if possible -- the pao contact at Cairo embassy? Mike said someone would be in contact about meeting Anne patterson, and the pol/mil folks at embassy, but I haven't heard from anyone. Would like to ping them over the weekend.

Thanks much, and see you the week after next....

cheers,  
david

David

On Fri, Jan 6, 2012 at 2:33 PM, Chang, Benjamin <ChangBE@state.gov> wrote:

Jessica, David,

Bon voyage to Egypt! I am sure it will be a fruitful and revealing trip.

I have not forgotten your question about assistance to Pakistan figures. I should have your answer soon...

And I know you have been corresponding with Mike about time with Deputy Secretary Burns -- I will likely join you for that one, too.

Best,

Ben.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

RELEASED IN PART B6

B6

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** [REDACTED] [dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 5:56 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

great.

many thanks. know getting these ducks in a row is hard.

david

On Wed, Dec 14, 2011 at 5:52 PM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Ok - let me know on the researcher, I can have someone meet her and bring her up to Kurt's office at 2 pm

B6

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 5:52 PM

**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Sounds good. Researcher, if she can be down here, will be for kurt only, not jake.

On secstate, let's talk tomorrow and figure out what's possible. I want to have as much of her voice, and overarching narrative, as possible.

David

On Wed, Dec 14, 2011 at 5:49 PM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Ok - 12:30, followed by Kurt at 2 pm. I'll ck on your researcher but suspect Kurt will be fine with it. CCing Dean so we can keep track of you when you come in, I'll propose lunch to Jake.

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer**

B6

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 2:27 PM

**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Mike,

Let's due Jake Tuesday at 12.30, and we can have lunch if that works for him. Let me know what works for Kurt, either this week or that same day, next tuesday, unless he and Lael have already fled. My China researcher, who will be in State next year (a Pickering fellow) may be in town that day, and I'd bring her along to Kurt if he was willing.

On the secretary, obviously we'll take her when we can get her. But the later it goes, the more chapters are in editing. Af and Pak are in process now, and Iran's about to go, as is Libya, and she's an especially important player in the last two. I can edit more of her in, but it's the difference between appearing in the book and being a central to the shaping of the narrative. My hope was to do the first with her before the new year, for those chapters heading to editing, and follow up with the later ones.

cheers,  
David

On Wed, Dec 14, 2011 at 1:23 PM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Jake is available next Tues either at 0915 or at 1230, which works best for you? Einhorn will only be able to do in early January and Kurt is trying to find time this week. Bill is on travel until Dec 29.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:48 AM

**To:** 'David Sanger'  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

By the way, it looks like given the Secretary's schedule that we might not get her with you until late January – how late can we do this?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:32 AM  
**To:** 'David Sanger'  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

Ok - will be in touch.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

B6

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:31 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Mike,

I've got a 3 pm today for about an hour and a half, and a 2:30 pm tomorrow. Other than that, can make anything work. Many thanks,

David

On Wed, Dec 14, 2011 at 8:22 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

I've chatted with Jake and Kurt and they should have time this week – can we proceed with scheduling ? Any times that don't work for you before I start trying to land these? Burns is on travel and I'm trying to pin down Einhorn as well.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 6:51 PM

**To:** '[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)'  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Ok - will try to set up some apptms starting Weds and do best we can with Secretary, I realize we are getting down to the wire but scheduling is a bear, how deep into Jan can we go?

---

**From:** David Sanger [<mailto:dasang@nytimes.com>]  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 06:36 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Mike,

I'm in Vienna -- spent the day with the Iran inspectors -- and flying back tomorrow. Around rest of week -- weds, thus, friday -- and all next week except Monday. So let's try to do Jake, Kurt, Einhorn and others on the list in the next few days.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

On Dubai, not hearing from you I skipped it. But I'll be in Egypt week of Jan. 8 -- one reason I'd like to lock in the sec state quick -- and could do it then.

many thanks.

cheers,

David

On Mon, Dec 12, 2011 at 11:04 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

We are looking for a hard date to schedule you with the Secretary early in the new year and perhaps you can at least come in to chat with Jake, others when you get back from your trip later this week or early next. Are you still planning to stop in Dubai this week?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 11:19 AM  
**To:** '[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)'

**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Sounds like a plan. We'll see if I can link you up with our team in Dubai.

---

**From:** David Sanger [<mailto:dasang@nytimes.com>]  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 10:36 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Dubai: Would be around Dec. 13.

On the Sec., she knows I'm writing the book, so at most I'll just remind her that at some point soon I'd love to get this going. I'm with you -- we want to do Jake, Burns, etc. first.

cheers,  
David

On Sat, Dec 3, 2011 at 10:09 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Leave it up to you if you want to raise with the Secretary. We'd like for you to chat with Jake and others before you connect with her. Challenge has been synching up between your traveling and Jake's. Indeed it will be a small window

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

after the 15th but guess we'll have to try then.

Let me ck on Dubai, do you have a rough sense when you actually will be there?

**From:** David Sanger [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 02, 2011 02:53 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** coupla book things

Mike,

Greetings from across the street.

I'll be at the Brookings Saban forum all weekend, and I see we have the secstate at lunch. If we chat, should I remind her of this project and that time is getting short, or hold my fire?

Also, I'm headed to India at the end of next week, and may stop in Dubai on the way home on Iran related stuff. That's where you guys have a big Iran-watching embassy operation -- anyone I might contact to go in and visit those folks?

I'll be back around the 15th, and we'll have a brief window before Christmas to jam in a bunch of interviews. Not ideal, but I fear if we don't kick into gear then we'll have too many chapters off in editing. For example, I don't have secstate speaking directly now on her role in Libya decision, or the two Af/pak processes.

cheers,  
David

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: [202-862-0322](tel:202-862-0322) | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: [202-862-0322](tel:202-862-0322) | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

--  
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David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

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NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 10, 2012 11:04 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

RELEASED IN PART B6

Indeed, he's working all the angles. Said: "I've sent them a second round of quotes, and said that I assume the first round (which went out Feb. 21) had no issues; if that's wrong they should get back to me by cob Monday."

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 10, 2012 10:37 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

Alas - Sanger just pinged me about the quotes. Guess I gotta work that. Ugh

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 10, 2012 10:31 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

[REDACTED] PIR was going to provide Sanger the transcript, not sure if he did. We haven't addressed quotes yes, is David pinged you about it?

B6

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 10, 2012 09:22 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

Good morning.

Quick Sanger question as I lost the thread right as everything was happening. Did you reply re: transcript and quotes...? Thanks.

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 07, 2012 11:56 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Sanger asking for transcript of his sit-down with S. may I send? Also asking status of quotes he sent for approval...

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

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**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 07, 2012 11:35 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Yes, I think it is locked for Mon the 19<sup>th</sup> at 1 pm.

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 07, 2012 10:19 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Were you able to check...?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 3:55 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

Ok - will ck on Mon, Wendy can't do that Thurs, wonder what happened to the urgency?

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 03:40 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

No screams, actually appreciated, but said he he's at random house in NYC at 2:30 that afternoon. He asked if either that Thursday (3/15) or the next Monday (3/19) are available...

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 1:46 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

We can now offer Sanger 3/16 at 130 pm. Let me know if he screams.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 01:09 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger wants Wendy

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Gave Wendy a heads up, she's cool with deflecting today and then scheduling upon her return. Waiting for a time on her schedule. We'll need to do a memo, with background for it.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:09 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Such baloney.

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:08 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

"

Ben,

Greetings from the bottom of my book-writing hole. I realized yesterday that we never closed the loop on Wendy, who appears in the book during her Israel visit in December and some of its follow-ups. I know what she'd do to me if I had accounts of her meetings -- from the other side! -- that I didn't run by her, and I'd benefit greatly from her analysis of the situation, since she came to it with fresh eyes. Time is short, but can you see if she can slip me into her schedule?

thanks,

David

"

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:08 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Geez...This has to do more on the NOW and not for his book, correct?

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:07 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Done, and FYI he hopes for a call with her this afternoon before she travels... I can hold him off but he may ping you I suspect (or maybe not).

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 11:21 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Do tell him Wendy is travelling

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 10:25 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

OK, I'll keep Sanger in a holding pattern.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 10:17 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Wendy is about to go on a trip so timing is unfortunate, but yes, I'd have to ask her first.

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 9:38 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Sanger wants Wendy

Want me to set-up, do you want to float by P first...?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

B6

---

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 01, 2012 6:10 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Wendy

Ben,

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Greetings from the bottom of my book-writing hole. I realized yesterday that we never closed the loop on Wendy, who appears in the book during her Israel visit in December and some of its follow-ups. I know what she'd do to me if I had accounts of her meetings -- from the other side! -- that I didn't run by her, and I'd benefit greatly from her analysis of the situation, since she came to it with fresh eyes. Time is short, but can you see if she can slip me into her schedule?

thanks,  
David

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

RELEASED IN PART B6

Hammer, Michael A

**From:** [redacted] on behalf of David Sanger [dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Monday, November 28, 2011 6:18 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Jake, etc.

B6

Thanks, Mike. We've been in scheduling hell, no? When are they back? I'm up at harvard beginning of next week and then headed to India. So we should try for Friday, if they've returned by then. Or Monday morning.

And we should look on the SecState's schedule, because I think we'll want to get at least the first conversation with her in before Christmas. The Af/Pak chapters are now in editing, and she's barely in it at all. Don't want to hit the moment where stuff is beginning to be set in type.

Cheers,  
David

On Mon, Nov 28, 2011 at 10:03 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Jake is off with the Secretary to Korea and Burma today (Kurt traveling too). We'll have to see if we can move to schedule others.

---

**From:** [redacted] On Behalf Of David Sanger  
**Sent:** Monday, November 28, 2011 10:02 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Jake, etc.

Mike,

Hope you had a good Thanksgiving. How about Thursday (anytime) or Friday (except. break. or lunch) with Jake? And now that the big Asia trip is over let's see if we can get some others on the list scheduled -- Burnis, Einhorn, Kurt, etc.

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

Thanks much,

David

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | sanger@nytimes.com

--

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Phone: 202-862-0322 | sanger@nytimes.com

RELEASED IN PART B6

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Sanger, David [dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:57 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Flight delay

Great on Jake - we'll go right from Kurt

Einhorn - yes I think

B6

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:HammerMA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:53 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

Jake just offered today at 3:30 - let's do it, ok? Will lock in Burns, work on Einhorn + see if he wants to chat but think he is on leave because I originally had asked him to see you this week and think he is not back until Jan 9 week.

---

**From:** Sanger, David [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:52 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Flight delay

Jake at 2 tomorrow is terrific

Burns on 17th is fine, too.

Week of Jan 9 I'm in Cairo, but Einhorn could be week before or after. Also u shd know times doing big Iran sanctions piece this week or next so maybe if Bob is around he might wanna talk for that.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:HammerMA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:43 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

OK - let's just stick to Kurt today - will meet you at C street entrance. Jake can do 2 pm tomorrow, work for you? Also, I have you penciled in for Burns on Jan 17<sup>th</sup> from 3-4, hope that works. Also working Einhorn for week of Jan 9.

---

**From:** Sanger, David [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:40 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Flight delay

I know. This has been the ill fated meeting. Fine for Kurt, and asst is not coming along. Thought it might be more candid if it's just me and Kurt, and u of course if u are joining. I have a state press badge.

I can probably make it around 1. Should we get started with Jake or try tomorrow or Thurs?

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

1

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:HammerMA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:33 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: Flight delay

Ugh -- but you'll still make the Campbell mtg at 2 pm? If so, what's your researcher's name, contact info, so we can clear you guys in?

**From:** Sanger, David [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:32 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Flight delay

Jake, mike

With apologies, us air cancelled my 10 am flight out of boston. They put me on an 11 15 delta, arriving around 1240. That messes us up big time. Any flexibility in schedule? I'll also be in dc all week.

Let me know what works for you.

David

**From:** Hammer, Michael A [mailto:HammerMA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 08:22 AM  
**To:** Sanger, David  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

I've chatted with Jake and Kurt and they should have time this week -- can we proceed with scheduling? Any times that don't work for you before I start trying to land these? Burns is on travel and I'm trying to pin down Einhorn as well.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 6:51 PM  
**To:** 'dasang@nytimes.com'  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Ok - will try to set up some apptms starting Weds and do best we can with Secretary, I realize we are getting down to the wire but scheduling is a bear, how deep into Jan can we go?

**From:** David Sanger [mailto:dasang@nytimes.com]  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 06:36 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Mike,

I'm in Vienna -- spent the day with the Iran inspectors -- and flying back tomorrow. Around rest of week -- weds, thus, friday -- and all next week except Monday. So let's try to do Jake, Kurt, Einhorn and others on the list in the next few days.

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

On Dubai, not hearing from you I skipped it. But I'll be in Egypt week of Jan. 8 -- one reason I'd like to lock in the sec state quick -- and could do it then.

many thanks.

cheers,  
David

On Mon, Dec 12, 2011 at 11:04 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

We are looking for a hard date to schedule you with the Secretary early in the new year and perhaps you can at least come in to chat with Jake, others when you get back from your trip later this week or early next. Are you still planning to stop in Dubai this week?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 11:19 AM  
**To:** '[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)'

**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Sounds like a plan. We'll see if I can link you up with our team in Dubai.

---

**From:** David Sanger [[mailto:dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 10:36 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Dubai: Would be around Dec. 13.

On the Sec., she knows I'm writing the book, so at most I'll just remind her that at some point soon I'd love to get this going. I'm with you -- we want to do Jake, Burns, etc. first.

cheers,  
David

On Sat, Dec 3, 2011 at 10:09 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Leave it up to you if you want to raise with the Secretary. We'd like for you to chat with Jake and others before you connect with her. Challenge has been synching up between your traveling and Jake's. Indeed it will be a small window after the 15th but guess we'll have to try then.

Let me ck on Dubai, do you have a rough sense when you actually will be there?

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**From:** David Sanger [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 02, 2011 02:53 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** coupla book things

Mike,

Greetings from across the street.

I'll be at the Brookings Saban forum all weekend, and I see we have the secstate at lunch. If we chat, should I remind her of this project and that time is getting short, or hold my fire?

Also, I'm headed to India at the end of next week, and may stop in Dubai on the way home on Iran related stuff. That's where you guys have a big Iran-watching embassy operation -- anyone I might contact to go in and visit those folks?

I'll be back around the 15th, and we'll have a brief window before Christmas to jam in a bunch of interviews. Not ideal, but I fear if we don't kick into gear then we'll have too many chapters off in editing. For example, I don't have secstate speaking directly now on her role in Libya decision, or the two Af/pak processes.

cheers,  
David

--

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--

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

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Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**Hammer, Michael A**

RELEASED IN PART B5

**From:** Morris, Margo T  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 4:45 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger seeking to talk to you

Yes, that's fine. 1:30 or 2?

Margo Morris  
Personal Assistant  
Under Secretary for Political Affairs  
Department of State  
202 647-2471

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 4:43 PM  
**To:** Morris, Margo T  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger seeking to talk to you

Sanger is in NY that day and asks if the 19th would be possible (so clearly later is OK). Let me know

---

**From:** Morris, Margo T  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 01:40 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger seeking to talk to you

ok

Margo Morris  
Personal Assistant  
Under Secretary for Political Affairs  
Department of State  
202 647-2471

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 1:39 PM  
**To:** Morris, Margo T  
**Cc:** Grantham, Chris W  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger seeking to talk to you

We can offer then and if Sanger screams that is too late then revisit. Will let you know. Thx

---

**From:** Morris, Margo T  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 01:29 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Grantham, Chris W  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger seeking to talk to you

Hi Mike,

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

If it has to be next week then I would suggest Friday afternoon (3/16) around 1:30 because she all the Ambassadors here for COM conference wanting to meet, plus speaking to their Regional Conferences. So do you think that will be good enough?

Margo Morris  
Personal Assistant  
Under Secretary for Political Affairs  
Department of State  
202 647-2471

---

**From:** Sherman, Wendy R  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:56 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Grantham, Chris W; Morris, Margo T  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger seeking to talk to you

Sounds fine. Whatever you think best.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:21 PM  
**To:** Sherman, Wendy R  
**Cc:** Grantham, Chris W; Morris, Margo T  
**Subject:** Sanger seeking to talk to you

Wendy – Sanger is writing a book on the Obama Admin's foreign policy to be published this June. He has talked to scores of people, including the Secretary, Bill, Jake, Kurt, Bob Einhorn and over at NSC and other agencies. We have been cooperating with him on this project and the chats have all been on background with anything on the record to be approved by us. [REDACTED]

B5

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Shall we offer him a time upon your return ?

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

RELEASED IN PART B6

**Hammer, Michael A**

**From:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Sent:** Monday, December 19, 2011 4:19 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

Any word on if the researcher is attending / if we need to escort Sanger and/or the researcher?

If so, should I reach out to clear them in?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 5:53 PM  
**To:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** FW: coupla book things

B6

FYI – you may need to escort the researcher at 2 pm and bring her to Campbell's office on Tuesday

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 5:52 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Sounds good. Researcher, if she can be down here, will be for kurt only, not Jake.

On secstate, let's talk tomorrow and figure out what's possible. I want to have as much of her voice, and overarching narrative, as possible.

David

On Wed, Dec 14, 2011 at 5:49 PM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Ok – 12:30, followed by Kurt at 2 pm. I'll ck on your researcher but suspect Kurt will be fine with it. CCing Dean so we can keep track of you when you come in, I'll propose lunch to Jake.

B6

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 2:27 PM

**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

Mike,

Let's due Jake Tuesday at 12.30, and we can have lunch if that works for him. Let me know what works for Kurt, either this week or that same day, next tuesday, unless he and Lael have already fled. My China researcher, who will be in State next year (a Pickering fellow) may be in town that day, and I'd bring her along to Kurt if he was willing.

On the secretary, obviously we'll take her when we can get her. But the later it goes, the more chapters are in editing. Af and Pak are in process now, and Iran's about to go, as is Libya, and she's an especially important player in the last two. I can edit more of her in, but it's the difference between appearing in the book and being a central to the shaping of the narrative. My hope was to do the first with her before the new year, for those chapters heading to editing, and follow up with the later ones.

cheers,  
David

On Wed, Dec 14, 2011 at 1:23 PM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Jake is available next Tues either at 0915 or at 1230, which works best for you? Einhorn will only be able to do in early January and Kurt is trying to find time this week. Bill is on travel until Dec 29.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:48 AM

**To:** 'David Sanger'  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

By the way, it looks like given the Secretary's schedule that we might not get her with you until late January – how late can we do this?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:32 AM  
**To:** 'David Sanger'  
**Subject:** RE: coupla book things

Ok - will be in touch.

B6

---

**From:** [REDACTED] **On Behalf Of** David Sanger  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:31 AM

**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Mike,

I've got a 3 pm today for about an hour and a half, and a 2:30 pm tomorrow. Other than that, can make anything work. Many thanks,

David

On Wed, Dec 14, 2011 at 8:22 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

I've chatted with Jake and Kurt and they should have time this week -- can we proceed with scheduling? Any times that don't work for you before I start trying to land these? Burns is on travel and I'm trying to pin down Einhorn as well.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 6:51 PM

**To:** '[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)'  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Ok - will try to set up some apptms starting Weds and do best we can with Secretary, I realize we are getting down to the wire but scheduling is a bear, how deep into Jan can we go?

---

**From:** David Sanger [<mailto:dasang@nytimes.com>]  
**Sent:** Monday, December 12, 2011 06:36 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Mike,

I'm in Vienna -- spent the day with the Iran inspectors -- and flying back tomorrow. Around rest of week -- weds, thus, friday -- and all next week except Monday. So let's try to do Jake, Kurt, Einhorn and others on the list in the next few days.

On Dubai, not hearing from you I skipped it. But I'll be in Egypt week of Jan. 8 -- one reason I'd like to lock in the sec state quick -- and could do it then.

many thanks.

cheers,

David

On Mon, Dec 12, 2011 at 11:04 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

We are looking for a hard date to schedule you with the Secretary early in the new year and perhaps you can at least come in to chat with Jake, others when you get back from your trip later this week or early next. Are you still planning to stop in Dubai this week?

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 11:19 AM  
**To:** '[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)'

**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Sounds like a plan. We'll see if I can link you up with our team in Dubai.

---

**From:** David Sanger [<mailto:dasang@nytimes.com>]  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 03, 2011 10:36 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: coupla book things

Dubai: Would be around Dec. 13.

On the Sec., she knows I'm writing the book, so at most I'll just remind her that at some point soon I'd love to get this going. I'm with you -- we want to do Jake, Burns, etc. first.

cheers,  
David

On Sat, Dec 3, 2011 at 10:09 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Leave it up to you if you want to raise with the Secretary. We'd like for you to chat with Jake and others before you connect with her. Challenge has been synching up between your traveling and Jake's. Indeed it will be a small window after the 15th but guess we'll have to try then.

Let me ck on Dubai, do you have a rough sense when you actually will be there?

UNCLASSIFIED

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**From:** David Sanger [mailto:[dsang@nytimes.com](mailto:dsang@nytimes.com)]

**Sent:** Friday, December 02, 2011 02:53 PM

**To:** Hammer, Michael A

**Subject:** coupla book things

Mike,

Greetings from across the street.

I'll be at the Brookings Saban forum all weekend, and I see we have the secstate at lunch. If we chat, should I remind her of this project and that time is getting short, or hold my fire?

Also, I'm headed to India at the end of next week, and may stop in Dubai on the way home on Iran related stuff. That's where you guys have a big Iran-watching embassy operation -- anyone I might contact to go in and visit those folks?

I'll be back around the 15th, and we'll have a brief window before Christmas to jam in a bunch of interviews. Not ideal, but I fear if we don't kick into gear then we'll have too many chapters off in editing. For example, I don't have secstate speaking directly now on her role in Libya decision, or the two Af/pak processes.

cheers,

David

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: [202-862-0322](tel:202-862-0322) | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: [202-862-0322](tel:202-862-0322) | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

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--  
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Phone: 202-862-0322 | sanger@nytimes.com

UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASED IN PART B6

Hammer, Michael A

B6

From: [redacted] [dasang@nytimes.com]  
 Sent: Sunday, October 30, 2011 11:05 PM  
 To: Hammer, Michael A  
 Subject: Re: concerned in DC

B6

will do. cell is [redacted]

On Sun, Oct 30, 2011 at 11:02 PM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:  
 3ish Weds should be doable, let's reconfirm Weds am.

From: David Sanger [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
 Sent: Sunday, October 30, 2011 10:42 PM  
 To: Hammer, Michael A  
 Subject: Re: concerned in DC

Ah, the college stuff. We are in the midst, too. Not exactly fun, is it? (Thank God I went to school a few decades ago -- I'd be lucky to get into DC Community College today.)

How about Weds? Burns is giving a lunchtime talk at a USIP conference, and I'm moderating some panel thereafter on whatever happened to Mideast Peace, but we could do something around 3? That work for you?

David

On Sun, Oct 30, 2011 at 10:21 PM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:  
 Well, sounds like you are progressing nicely. I am going to be out tomorrow doing college stuff with my daughter. Let's do try to catch that coffee you mentioned at USIP later this week - you around? Cheers, Mike

From: David Sanger [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
 Sent: Sunday, October 30, 2011 09:54 PM  
 To: Hammer, Michael A  
 Subject: concerned in DC

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior  
 Reviewer

Hi Mike,

Hope all is well with you. Looking forward to our coffee in USIP-land.

I'm getting a bit concerned about the pace of our interviews -- or lack of a pace, to be more precise -- for the book. The White House is steaming away; I've seen Donilon many times and a raft of people below. Doing well at the Pentagon. But on the list I sent you starting on Sept. 12, we've scheduled nothing, and chapters are getting into final form. The magazine pieces and articles on the Secretary in recent days underscore that you guys have a story to tell, but so far, save for some stuff on Libya, she's virtually absent from the book. And I'm 50,000 words in. I had hoped that by now, end of October, I'd have covered the bases with Burns, Jake, Einhorn, Nides, Kurt, Grossman -- and we'd be well into what I suspect will have to be several sessions with the SecState.

B6

Do you want to give me a call tomorrow -- [redacted] -- and we can discuss? Or, if we've run into a blockade somewhere in State let me know where that is, and we'll figure out how to deal with it?

Many thanks, and look forward to catching up.

cheers,  
David

On Sat, Oct 1, 2011 at 10:13 PM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:  
No kiddin' - maybe Sammy can come out of retirement...what a debacle.

---

From: David Sanger [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
Sent: Saturday, October 01, 2011 10:11 PM

To: Hammer, Michael A  
Subject: Re: Checking in

Great. Hey, while you are in the DR will you scout out some decent hitting for the Red Sox? This was the most painful, inexplicable month I can remember -- and embarrassing to boot. I can't think of anything the SecState could do better for US/DR relations than getting visas for their best ballplayers....

On Sat, Oct 1, 2011 at 10:06 PM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:  
Should be doable, except for Weds as I'll be traveling with the Secretary to the DR.

---

From: David Sanger [mailto:[dasang@nytimes.com](mailto:dasang@nytimes.com)]  
Sent: Saturday, October 01, 2011 09:46 PM  
To: Hammer, Michael A  
Subject: Re: Checking in

Mike,

Hope you are doing well. Can I lure you over to the wonders of USIP for a coffee and a walkaround this week?

With UNGA done, Ahmadinejad back in his box, and the Israeli-Palestinian standoff now permanently solved, I'd like to get the State interviews for the book rolling. On my current list I'm hoping for Einhorn on Iran and North Korea sanctions; Harold Koh on some of the legal theory on the CT war, particularly on drones; Marc Grossman on reconciliation issues (in part to compare his approach to what Holbrooke laid out to me shortly before his death); Bill Burns on Arab Spring and Jake on the Grand Strategy of it all. (He does a good riff on this...), Kurt on China and the broader Asia strategy.

At the appropriate moment I'm hoping to see the secretary on a number of issues; this book will be a great place for her to define what she thinks were her biggest accomplishments, surprises and disappointments. But I think it would help that conversation if I got many of these started.

B6

I'm on  Hope to talk soon.

cheers,  
David

On Tue, Sep 13, 2011 at 10:31 AM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

What a sweet gig - USIP. Looks like a fabulous building, will have to come take a look at some point. Kennedy School ain't too bad either. We are gearing up for our yearly pilgrimage to UNGA so rather swamped but perhaps we can gather later in the week, then I'll be up in NY for 10 days or so. Cheers, Mike

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

B6

From: [REDACTED] On Behalf Of David Sanger  
Sent: Monday, September 12, 2011 5:39 PM  
To: Hammer, Michael A  
Subject: Checking in

Mike,

Hope you had a good summer, got out of here some, and avoided all hurricanes, floods and earthquakes.

I've settled in across the street from you, at USIP, and I'm well into chapter drafts for the successor book to *The Inheritance*. I've begun the interviews at the White House and your old shop has been very helpful, within the limits of everyone's crazy schedule. So now the dreaded moment is arriving: I'm at the point where I need your help in figuring out who I need to talk to, and in what order.

I know for sure I should be talking to Jake on questions of broad strategy, to Einhorn on my favorite subjects of Iran and North Korea, and to Bill Burns on how you've approached the Arab awakening. At some point -- and I'm sure this will have to be deep background -- I'd like to sit down with Mark Grossman and understand how he has redirected the effort in Afghanistan, especially on reconciliation, since Holbrooke's passing. You'll have other ideas, I'm sure, and perhaps sometime I should wander over there for a cup of coffee in the cafeteria and we can figure it out.

I had a brief conversation with the Secretary at Jim Steinberg's farewell party and she expressed a willingness to sit down and talk, and I'm eager to do that -- I'm told she was pretty terrific at the Times ed board last week. I know she has the schedule from hell. But I suspect that this book will be a place for her to lay out what she believes were the biggest accomplishments and lessons learned, and I'm sure we can figure out a comfortable way to do that with as much candor as possible.

B6

I'm always reachable on [REDACTED] Here most days except Tuesdays, when I'm teaching a course at the Kennedy School.

Thanks much and it will be great to get back in touch.

cheers,  
David

--  
David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | sanger@nytimes.com

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

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David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

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NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**RELEASED IN PART B6****Hammer, Michael A**

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**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 11:21 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

OK. Just saw the draft media note on her trip.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 11:21 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Do tell him Wendy is travelling

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 10:25 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

OK, I'll keep Sanger in a holding pattern.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

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**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 10:17 AM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** RE: Sanger wants Wendy

Wendy is about to go on a trip so timing is unfortunate, but yes, I'd have to ask her first.

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 9:38 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Sanger wants Wendy

Want me to set-up, do you want to float by P first...?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

B6

From: [REDACTED] On Behalf Of David Sanger  
Sent: Thursday, March 01, 2012 6:10 PM  
To: Chang, Benjamin  
Subject: Wendy

Ben,

Greetings from the bottom of my book-writing hole. I realized yesterday that we never closed the loop on Wendy, who appears in the book during her Israel visit in December and some of its follow-ups. I know what she'd do to me if I had accounts of her meetings -- from the other side! -- that I didn't run by her, and I'd benefit greatly from her analysis of the situation, since she came to it with fresh eyes. Time is short, but can you see if she can slip me into her schedule?

thanks,  
David

--

David E. Sanger | Chief Washington Correspondent | *The New York Times*

Phone: 202-862-0322 | [sanger@nytimes.com](mailto:sanger@nytimes.com)

RELEASED IN PART B6

**Hammer, Michael A**

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 19, 2012 12:34 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Others ready to receive you

**Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED

It was just scheduling – another meeting popped. Mary called me.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 19, 2012 12:31 PM  
**To:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Others ready to receive you

Ok - does Burns feel he has what he needs per what I said? Hopefully, it is just scheduling.

---

**From:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 19, 2012 12:28 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** RE: Others ready to receive you

...meanwhile, D(B) staff just called asking if I can move the Sanger time today to later or tomorrow. Trying to get a hold of David now...

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 19, 2012 12:27 PM  
**To:** [REDACTED]  
**Cc:** Chang, Benjamin  
**Subject:** Re: Others ready to receive you

Dude - there is only so much we can do given all you are requesting on short order, but yes, you'll get building mtgs. Adding Chang, who can work these requests.

---

**From:** Nicholas Kralev [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 19, 2012 10:54 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Others ready to receive you

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

No word yet from anyone in the building? I'm in a negotiation workshop at FSI :)

**From:** "Hammer, Michael A" <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)>  
**Date:** Wed, 18 Jan 2012 18:34:45 -0500  
**To:** <[REDACTED]>  
**Subject:** Re: Others ready to receive you

B6

You need to ask directly, not sure but they know request is coming.

**From:** Nicholas Kralev <[REDACTED]>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 18, 2012 06:20 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Subject:** Re: Others ready to receive you

B6

Thanks Mike, does this mean that they also agreed to have me stay at the respective residence?

On Wed, Jan 18, 2012 at 5:46 PM, Hammer, Michael A <[HammerMA@state.gov](mailto:HammerMA@state.gov)> wrote:

Kristie Kenney in Thailand – be in touch with IO Walter Braunohler [BraunohlerWM@state.gov](mailto:BraunohlerWM@state.gov) or deputy IO - Kristin Kneedler, [KneedlerKL@state.gov](mailto:KneedlerKL@state.gov)

Bill Kennard as USEU, waiting for him to send a contact person.

Scott Gration in Kenya, reach out to his PAO John Haynes at [HaynesJD@state.gov](mailto:HaynesJD@state.gov)

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**Quanrud, Pamela G**

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 05, 2012 11:30 AM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

RELEASED IN PART B5

The 19<sup>th</sup> at 3:30 works for Sanger. Since I'll be out, I would propose that [REDACTED]

B5

[REDACTED] Finally, Colleen – do you still want us to send the briefing paper for this on Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> (sounds ominous) or now that it has been pushed back get it to you on the 17<sup>th</sup>?

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 10:03 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

The Deputy will be on travel Jan 24 – Jan 31.

*Mary L. Dubose  
 Personal Assistant to  
 Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
 Tel: (202) 647-8636  
 Fax: (202) 647-6047*

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 9:57 AM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Just realized I will be in Miami 18-20<sup>th</sup> and I'll like to be at this session w/ Bill, any chance we could find time with Sanger the following week?

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 8:09 AM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Let me ck w/ Sanger

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 04, 2012 07:59 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Good morning Mike,

The Deputy Secretary will not return from his travel until 7:55pm on the 17<sup>th</sup> now. We will have to change the date and time of the interview. Is it possible to do it on the 19th at 3:30pm?

Thanks, Mary

Mary L. Dubose  
Personal Assistant to  
Deputy Secretary of State Burns  
Tel: (202) 647-8636  
Fax: (202) 647-6047

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 4:24 PM  
**To:** Dubose, Mary L; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** Re: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Thank you!

**From:** Dubose, Mary L  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 02:48 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A; Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Time is locked in on the Deputy's schedule.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 20, 2011 11:01 AM  
**To:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Cc:** Dubose, Mary L; Kidd, Patricia E; Lieberman, Dean  
**Subject:** RE: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Sanger can do 17<sup>th</sup> at 3-4, can we pls lock in. We'll coordinate/send up prep materials. Mike

**From:** Neville, Colleen C  
**Sent:** Monday, December 19, 2011 8:14 AM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Dubose, Mary L; Kidd, Patricia E  
**Subject:** FW: NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Mike,

For the Sanger interview -the 17<sup>th</sup> from 3-4pm is prob the best time. If it has to be on the 18<sup>th</sup>, we can do it at 10:00am - 11:00am.

Let us know if this works for Sanger.

As for Friedman, I'm going to flag for the boss next week when he's back in town so let's hold off on contacting him for now.

Thanks!

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

Colleen

**From:** Hammer, Michael A**Sent:** Thursday, December 15, 2011 3:36 PM**To:** Zeya, Uzra S; Neville, Colleen C**Subject:** NYT's Sanger book project - request to interview Bill

Uzra – as I mentioned, David Sanger of NYT, is writing a book on the Obama administration's foreign policy. We are coordinating with NSS, who has already spent time with him and supports Sanger's requests to interview the Secretary, Bill and others. Before he sits down with the Secretary – probably in late January – we hope we might find time for him to talk with Bill. David is most focused on Iran, N Korea, China, Pakistan, the Arab Spring and wants to also hear about the Secretary's role on Libya. He is coming at it with the broad question – how have we tried to sustain American power when we are in economic decline – and how have we dealt with the "power shift" to China. We are having Sanger meet Jake and Kurt next week and Einhorn in early January. If Bill is willing, it would be super to schedule in early-to-mid January. The session would be on background as a Senior Administration official. Anything on the record would be subject to our approval. I think we would need a solid 45 minutes. Look forward to hearing from you. Mike

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED

**Lakhdir, Kamala S**

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 1:09 PM  
**To:** Sherman, Wendy R  
**Cc:** Grantham, Chris W; Morris, Margo T  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger seeking to talk to you

RELEASED IN PART B5

Ok - we'll fend him off for now. Margo - any time we could propose upon Wendy's return? Need 30 mins + plus 10 for prep. We'll prepare a memo in preparation for it.

**From:** Sherman, Wendy R  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:55 PM  
**To:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Cc:** Grantham, Chris W; Morris, Margo T  
**Subject:** Re: Sanger seeking to talk to you

Sounds fine. Whatever you think best.

**From:** Hammer, Michael A  
**Sent:** Friday, March 02, 2012 12:21 PM  
**To:** Sherman, Wendy R  
**Cc:** Grantham, Chris W; Morris, Margo T  
**Subject:** Sanger seeking to talk to you

Wendy - Sanger is writing a book on the Obama Admin's foreign policy to be published this June. He has talked to scores of people, including the Secretary, Bill, Jake, Kurt, Bob Einhorn and over at NSC and other agencies. We have been cooperating with him on this project and the chats have all been on background with anything on the record to be approved by us. [REDACTED]

B5

[REDACTED]

Shall we offer him a time upon your return ?

**REVIEW AUTHORITY:** Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

NO CLASSIFICATION MARKED