

dents—indicating that these new authorities were limited to using the capture and rendition approach. There was no indication that this MON authorized kill authority, although lethal force could be used in self-defense. See NSC memo, McCarthy to CIA, Dec. 1999.

17. CIA cable, “DCI message and update on Millennium threat,” Dec. 20, 1999; NSC email, Cressey to Berger’s office and others, Dec. 23, 1999.

18. Trial testimony of Ahmed Ressam, *United States v. Mokhtar Haouari*, No. S4 00 Cr. 15 (S.D. N.Y.), July 3, 2001 (transcript pp. 536–569); July 5, 2001 (transcript p. 624); FBI report of investigation, interviews of Ahmed Ressam, May 10, 2001; May 24, 2001. Ressam’s recruitment by Abderraouf Hannachi (a Khaldan alumnus) is noted in Deposition of Ahmed Ressam, *In re: Letters Rogatory*, August 1, 2001 (S.D. N.Y.), Jan. 23, 2002 (transcript pp. 32–33). See also PBS *Frontline* broadcast, “Trail of a Terrorist,” Oct. 25, 2001 (online at www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/trail).

19. Trial testimony of Ressam, *United States v. Haouari*, July 3, 2001 (transcript pp. 570–584); FBI report of investigation, interview of Ressam, Aug. 7, 2001.

20. FBI report of investigation, interview of Ressam, May 10, 2001; Hal Bernton, Mike Carter, David Heath, and James Neff, “The Terrorist Within: The Story Behind One Man’s Holy War Against America,” *Seattle Times*, June 23–July 7, 2002 (part 11, “The Ticking Bomb”).

21. Trial testimony of Ressam, *United States v. Haouari*, July 5, 2001 (transcript p. 605); Deposition of Ressam, *In re: Letters Rogatory* (S.D. N.Y.), Jan. 23, 2002 (transcript p. 23).

22. Trial testimony of Ressam, *United States v. Haouari*, July 3, 2001; Bernton, Carter, Heath, and Neff, “The Terrorist Within,” June 23–July 7, 2002 (part 6, “It Takes a Thief”). A friend of Ressam’s, Fateh Kamel, would pay Ressam for stolen passports, credit cards and other identity documents. Kamel is now serving eight years in prison in France for activities related to association with terrorist enterprises. Bruce Crumley, “Fighting Terrorism: Lessons from France,” *Time*, Sept. 24, 2001 (online at www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,176139,00.html). Ressam testified that he also sold stolen documents to Mokhtar Haouari. See trial testimony of Ressam, *United States v. Haouari*, July 5, 2001 (transcript pp. 631–632).

23. PBS *Frontline* broadcast, “Trail of a Terrorist.” Leo Nkouna was the document broker and an illegal alien in Canada from Cameroon who failed to surrender himself for deportation in 1993. Canadian deportation order, Adjudication file no. AOT93-0077, Sept. 15, 1993. He said he obtained two genuine Canadian passports for Ressam by submitting fake baptismal certificates to Canadian authorities. CBC News broadcast, *Disclosure*, “Target Terrorism,” Mar. 26, 2002 (online at www.cbc.ca/disclosure/archives/020326_leo/resources.html). Ressam told border officials that he did not have a visa for Pakistan because he was only transiting on his way to India. FBI report of investigation, interview of Ressam, May 15, 2001, p. 7.

24. FBI case profile (part of materials provided to Dale Watson), “Abdelghani Meskini,” Feb. 8, 2000. Meskini, who spoke English, was to drive Ressam and to give him money, but Ressam never showed since he was arrested at the border. Meskini was arrested on Dec. 30, 1999, and charged with material support and interstate fraud. See Testimony of Dale Watson before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Feb. 9, 2000, pp. 11–12. On passports and visas provided by Haouari, see *United States v. Haouari*, 319 F.3d 88, 91 (2d Cir. 2002).

25. INS alien file, No. A73603119, Abdel Hakim Tizgheha. There is no record of Tizgheha’s entry into the United States.

26. Trial testimony of Ressam, *United States v. Haouari*, July 5, 2001 (transcript pp. 605–607, 613); FBI report of investigation, interview of Ressam, May 10, 2001; Opening Statement, *United States v. Ahmed Ressam*, No. CR99-666C JCC (W.D. Wash.), Mar. 13, 2001 (transcript p. 33).

27. Trial testimony of Diana Dean and Mark Johnson, *United States v. Ressam*, Mar. 13, 2001 (transcript pp. 116, 165). On the unraveling of the Ressam case, see Bernton, Carter, Heath and Neff, “The Terrorist Within,” June 23–July 7, 2002 (part 15, “Puzzle Pieces”).

28. Trial testimony of Mark Johnson, *United States v. Ressam*, Mar. 13, 2001 (transcript p. 124).

29. NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, terrorism threat at the millennium, Dec. 9, 1999.

30. NSC email, Clarke to Berger, Dec. 11, 1999.

31. Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004); George Tenet interview (Jan. 22, 2004).

32. NSC memo, Berger to President Clinton, terrorist threat at the millennium, Dec. 18, 1999.

33. NSC email, Clarke to Berger, roadmap for Small Group, Dec. 22, 1999; NSC email, Cressey to Berger and others, Dec. 23, 1999.

34. NSC memo, “The Millennium Terrorist Alert—Next Steps,” undated (attached to NSC draft memo, “Review of Terrorism Alert and Lessons Learned,” Jan. 3, 2000). In the original document, the quotation is underlined, not italicized. See also NSC memo, “Principals Meeting: Millennium Terrorism,” undated (likely Dec. 1999); NSC email, Clarke to Berger, roadmap for Small Group, Dec. 22, 1999.

35. NSC email, Clarke to Berger, roadmap for Small Group, Dec. 22, 1999.

36. Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004). See also Richard Clarke interview (Jan. 12, 2004); Roger Cressey interview (Dec. 15, 2003).

37. Trial testimony of Diana Dean, *United States v. Ressam*, Mar. 13, 2001 (transcript p. 124).