

55. CIA briefing, CTC Update, "Islamic Extremist Terrorist Threat," Jan. 5, 7, 2000; George Tenet interview (Jan. 22, 2004). Tenet described the millennium alert as probably the most difficult operational environment the CIA had ever faced.

56. NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, "Post-Millennium Soul Searching," Jan. 11, 2000.

57. NSC memo, "Review of Terrorism Alert and Lessons Learned," Jan. 3, 2000 (draft). This paper is part of a packet Clarke sent to Deputy Attorney General Thompson, copying White House officials, on Sept. 17, 2001.

58. NSC memo, McCarthy to Berger, need for new strategy, Jan. 5, 2000.

59. NSC memo, Kurtz to Berger, roadmap for March 10 PC meeting, Mar. 8, 2000.

60. NSC memo, Cressey to Berger, Summary of Conclusions for March 10, 2000, PC on Millennium After-Action Review, Apr. 3, 2000; Samuel Berger letter to the Commission, "Comments on Staff Statements 5-8," May 13, 2004, p. 9.

61. NSC memo, "The Millennium Terrorist Alert—Next Steps," undated.

62. DOS memo, Sheehan and Inderfurth to Albright, "Pakistan Trip Report—A Counterterrorism Perspective," Jan. 26, 2000; DOS cable, Islamabad 00396, "Inderfurth Delegation Meeting with General Musharraf," Jan. 24, 2000.

63. In February 2000, the CIA began receiving information about a possible Bin Ladin-associated plot to attack Air Force One with Stinger missiles if President Clinton visited Pakistan; this information was deemed credible by early March. The CIA also reviewed reported threats to the President in Bangladesh and India. CIA briefing, "Reported Plan To Attack U.S. Presidential Plane If He Visits Pakistan," Feb. 18, 2000; NSC email, Clarke to Berger, terrorism update, Feb. 29, 2000; CIA briefing, chief of CTC for the President, "Threats to the President's Visit to Asia," Mar. 2, 2000; NSC memo, Kurtz, "Summary of Conclusions of March 14, 2000 Meeting on Clinton Trip to South Asia," NSC email, Kurtz to Berger, two new threats to assassinate the President in Bangladesh, Mar. 16, 2000. Berger told us that the Secret Service was vehemently opposed to a presidential visit to Islamabad; it took the extraordinary step of meeting twice with the President and offering very serious warnings. Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004).

64. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004). President Clinton told us he offered Musharraf aid and help in improving U.S.-Pakistani relations. A conversation that day between the two leaders in the presence of several close advisers is described in DOS cable, State 073803, "Memorandum of the President's Conversation with Pervez Musharraf on March 25, 2000," Apr. 19, 2000. A third meeting was apparently held in front of additional aides. Berger told that President Clinton did not want to press the Bin Ladin issue too heavily at the main meeting because ISID (Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate) members were present. Samuel Berger interview (Jan. 14, 2004).

65. NSC email, Camp for Berger, "Musharraf's Proposed Afghanistan Trip," May 8, 2000. Clarke wrote Berger that Musharraf seemed to have "said the right things to Omar." NSC email, Clarke to Berger, May 11, 2000.

66. DOS cable, Islamabad 002902, "Summary of May 26, 2000 Meeting Between Pickering and Musharraf," May 29, 2000.

67. DOS cable, Islamabad 79983, "DCI Meets with Chief Executive General Musharraf," June 21, 2000. Musharraf agreed to create a counterterrorism working group to coordinate efforts between Pakistani agencies and the CIA. Tenet noted that he was not asking the Pakistanis to deliver Bin Ladin next Tuesday; the DCI said he was "ambitious, but not crazy."

68. DOS cable, State 185645, "Concern that Pakistan is Stepping up Support to Taliban's Military Campaign in Afghanistan," Sept. 26, 2000.

69. UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1333, Dec. 19, 2000. UNSCR 1333 also called for countries to withdraw their officials and agents from the Taliban-held part of Afghanistan. Sheehan said that the new UN sanctions were aimed at the Taliban's primary supporters: Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. Michael Sheehan interview (Dec. 16, 2003).

70. Madeleine Albright prepared statement, Mar. 23, 2004, p. 11; Madeleine Albright interview (Jan. 7, 2004).

71. Michael Sheehan interview (Dec. 16, 2003).

72. The CIA appears to have briefed President Clinton on its "Next Steps and New Initiatives" in February 2000, noting the need to hire and train the right officers with the necessary skills and deploy them to the right places, as well as to work with foreign liaison. The CIA noted in its briefing that the President should press foreign leaders to maintain pressure on terrorists. See CIA briefing materials, "Targeting the Terrorists: Next Steps and New Initiatives," Feb. 1, 2000 (for the President); NSC email, Cressey to Berger, "CT Briefing for Clinton," Feb. 8, 2000.

73. For the CTC's perspective, see CIA briefing materials, "Talking Points for the DCI for the Principals Committee meeting on Terrorism: The Millennium Alert—After Action Review," Mar. 9, 2000. Deputy Chief of CTC Ben Bonk noted in the talking points that the CTC had obligated 50 percent of its fiscal year 2000 budget by Jan. 31, 2000, spending about 15 percent of its budget directly on the millennium surge. He stated that without a supplemental, it would be impossible for the CTC to continue at its current pace, let alone increase the operational tempo. On Tenet meeting with Berger, see George Tenet interview (Jan. 28, 2004).

74. Joan Dempsey interview (Nov. 12, 2003); George Tenet interview (Jan. 22, 2004). Tenet called the supple-