

2000. CIA briefing materials, EXDIR Update, "Islamic Extremist Terrorist Threat," Mar. 6, 2000; CIA briefing materials, "CTC PowerPoint," Apr. 3, 2000. Massoud's representatives also met with Clarke, the State Department's Michael Sheehan, and CIA senior managers in Washington. CIA briefing materials, "DDO Update," May 22, 2000.

102. On Black and Clarke's positions, see Cofer Black interview (Dec. 9, 2003); Roger Cressey interview (Dec. 15, 2003). On reasons for caution, see, e.g., Strobe Talbott interview (Jan. 15, 2004).

103. See, e.g., CIA briefing materials, CTC Update for the DDCI, July 7, 2000 ("Direct engagement with Massoud will enhance our ability to report on UBL and increase retaliation options if . . . we are attacked by UBL").

104. The deputy chief for operations of CTC, "Henry," told us that going into the Afghanistan sanctuary was essential. He and Black proposed direct engagement with Massoud to the CIA's senior management, but the idea was rejected because of what "Henry" called "a question of resources"—the CIA did not have effective means to get personnel in or out of Afghanistan. When he proposed sending a CIA team into northern Afghanistan to meet with Massoud in August 2000, the idea was turned down; local helicopters were not deemed airworthy, and land access was too risky. Henry interview (Nov. 18, 2003); Henry briefing (Apr. 22, 2004).

105. The alleged attempt was reported on August 10, 2000; see CIA memo, Bonk to McCarthy and Clarke, "Attempted Interdiction of Suspect Bin Ladin's Convoy," Aug. 11, 2000. For doubts as to whether the tribals made this attempt, see Cofer Black interview (Dec. 9, 2003); Richard interview (Dec. 11, 2003).

106. The Joint Chiefs of Staff Warning Order of July 6, 1999, was still in effect. See DOD memo, "Military Response Options," Oct. 23, 2000.

107. The 13 options included B-2 bombers, missiles, AC-130 gunships, the armed UAV, and raids to capture and destroy al Qaeda leaders and targets. DOD briefing materials, Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Operation Infinite Resolve Brief," June 2000.

108. Scott Gration interview (Mar. 3, 2004). See also Scott Fry interview (Dec. 29, 2003).

109. This quotation is taken from Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, *The Age of Sacred Terror* (Random House, 2002), p. 318. President Clinton confirmed that he made this statement. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004).

110. President Clinton meeting (Apr. 8, 2004); Hugh Shelton interview (Feb. 5, 2004); William Cohen interview (Feb. 5, 2004).

111. Scott Gration interview (Mar. 3, 2004); Scott Fry interview (Dec. 29, 2003).

112. NSC memo, Clarke to CSG members, "Follow-Up to bin Ladin Review," Apr. 25, 2000. See also CIA briefing materials, "DDCI Update," Apr. 21, 2000 (J-39 "has decided to do everything possible to support CIA's UBL efforts"). This reportedly included J-39's belief that it would be able to pay for all costs—though, as it turned out, that would not be the case. CIA managers were reluctant to go ahead with either the telescope or the Predator options. Executive Director David Carey told us they saw the projects as a "distraction" that would pull personnel and resources away from other, high-priority activities, such as worldwide disruptions. The telescope program, for instance, was considered too challenging and risky for the CIA's Afghan assets; development continued through the summer, but the idea was eventually dropped. David Carey interview (Oct. 31, 2003); Scott Fry interview (Dec. 29, 2003); Scott Gration interview (Mar. 3, 2004).

113. According to Charles Allen, the CIA's senior management, especially within the Directorate of Operations, was originally averse to the Predator program mostly because of the expense—approximately \$3 million, which the directorate claimed it did not have. Charles Allen interview (Jan. 27, 2004). The argument between CIA and DOD over who would pay for proposed operations continued for months. On the CIA side see, for example, CIA briefing materials, "DDO Update," May 22, 26, 2000 (at which the DCI was told that unless funding was identified within the next 10 days, the military advised that the Predator could not be deployed that fiscal year; the military was waiting for an NSC request that it fund the projects). See also NSC memo, Clarke to Tenet, June 25, 2000 ("The other CSG agencies are unanimous that the Predator project is our highest near-term priority and that funding should be shifted to it"). Clarke noted that the CSG plan was to use DOD money to jump-start the program. On the cost-sharing agreement, see NSC memo, Kurtz to Berger, June 28, 2000; NSC memo, "Small Group agenda," June 29, 2000. Eventually, "after some pushing," the CIA found \$2 million from its funds to pay for two months of trial flights. DOD agreed to fund \$2.4 million. NSC memo, Kurtz to Berger, June 28, 2000.

114. NSC memo, Kurtz to Berger, June 28, 2000. On UAV tests, see CIA briefing materials, "DCI Update," July 14, 2000. On modifications, see NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, update, July 18, 2000.

115. NSC memo, Clarke to Berger, "Predator," Aug. 11, 2000.

116. NSC memo, Cressey to Berger, Aug. 18, 2000 (underlining in the original); NSC memo, Cressey to Berger, Aug. 21, 2000 (attaching informational memo to President Clinton).

117. NSC note, Clarke to Berger, Sept. 9, 2000.

118. John Maher III interview (Apr. 22, 2004). The CIA's Ben Bonk told us he could not guarantee from analysis of the video feed that the man in the white robe was in fact Bin Ladin, but he thinks Bin Ladin is the "highest probability person." (Bin Ladin is unusually tall.) Ben Bonk briefing (Mar. 11, 2004). Intelligence analysts seem to have determined this might have been Bin Ladin very soon after the September 28 sighting; two days later, Clarke wrote to Berger that there was a "very high probability" Bin Ladin had been located. NSC note, Clarke to Berger, "Procedures for Protecting Predator," Sept. 30, 2000.