

THE YEAR THAT BROKE AMERICA

An Immigration Crisis,
a Terrorist Conspiracy,
the Summer of *Survivor*,
a Ridiculous Fake Billionaire,
a Fight for Florida,
and the
537 Votes That
Changed Everything

ANDREW RICE



HARPER

An Imprint of HarperCollinsPublishers

THE YEAR THAT BROKE AMERICA. Copyright © 2022 by Andrew Rice. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information, address HarperCollins Publishers, 195 Broadway, New York, NY 10007.

HarperCollins books may be purchased for educational, business, or sales promotional use. For information, please email the Special Markets Department at SPsales@harpercollins.com.

FIRST EDITION

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data has been applied for.

ISBN 978-0-06-297982-7

22 23 24 25 26 LSC 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

NOTES

Abbreviations

Media

AP: Associated Press
FTP: Chuck Harder, *For the People* radio broadcast
MH: *Miami Herald*
NYT: *New York Times*
PBP: *Palm Beach Post*
WP: *Washington Post*

Reports

9/11 Commission Report: National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*, Government Printing Office, 2004, Washington, DC.
USCCR Report: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Voting Irregularities in Florida During the 2000 Presidential Election*, Government Printing Office, June 2001, Washington, DC.

Archival Collections

9/11 Commission Files: Declassified files of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, National Archives, Washington DC.
Clinton Library: Digital collection of the William J. Clinton Presidential Library and Museum, Little Rock, AR.
Miller Center: Presidential Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.
National Security Archive: The Central Intelligence Agency's 9/11 File, National Security Archive, George Washington University, declassified document collection. Posted June 19, 2012.
Reno Papers: Janet Reno Papers, University of Miami Library Special Collections.
UF Election Project: Florida Election Project Oral History Collection, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, University of Florida Digital Collections.

Criminal Investigations and Legal Proceedings

ATF Report: Report of Investigation, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, Case No. 764055 99 0015 (Title of Investigation: Diaa Mohsen).
BKA Files: Files of the Bundeskriminalamt (BKA), the German federal law enforcement agency.
FBI Timeline: FBI, "Hijackers Timeline (Redacted)," FBI Records: The Vault, vault.fbi.gov.
NAACP v. Harris: *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People et al. v. Katherine Harris et al.*, U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida, 2001.
USA v. al-Bahlul: *USA v. Ali Hamza Ahmad Suliman al-Bahlul*, U.S. Military Commission at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Case tried in 2008.
USA v. Ingram: *USA v. Kevin Ingram, Walter Kapij and Diaa Mohsen*, Case No. 01-cr-8090, U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida, 2001.

USA v. KSM: USA v. Khalid Sheikh Mohammed et al., U.S. Military Commission at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Case filed in 2008.
USA v. Moussaoui: USA v. Zacarias Moussaoui, Case No. 01-cr-455, U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia. Case filed in 2001, tried in 2006.

*Please be advised that the page numbers listed below are
associated with the hardcover edition of the book.*

Prologue: Inauguration Day

- 1 It is Inauguration Day: C-SPAN, "President George W. Bush Inaugural Ceremony," C-SPAN.org, Jan. 20, 2001.
- 2 "The underlying vibe": Hank Stuever, "Under a Shroud of Gray, Muffled Cheers and Jeers," *WP*, Jan. 21, 2001.
- 2 *Hail to the thief*: *NYT*, Jan. 21, 2001.
- 2 "We can only wonder": *NYT*, Jan. 21, 2001.
- 4 knew Gore was in trouble: Karl Rove, oral history, interviewed by Russell Riley et al., Miller Center (hereafter "Rove, Miller Center oral history").
- 4 He has promised: Nicholas Lemann, "All Together Now?," *The New Yorker*, Nov. 26, 2000.
- 4 calling his boy "Quincy": Frank Bruni, *Ambling into History* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002), p. 220.
- 4 Dubya has been reading up: George W. Bush, *Decision Points* (New York: Crown, 2010), p. 86.
- 5 "shockingly good": Hendrik Hertzberg, "Comment: The Word from W," *The New Yorker*, Feb. 5, 2001.
- 5 "My fellow citizens": George W. Bush, "President George W. Bush's Inaugural Address," Jan. 20, 2001.
- 5 *The Onion* sums it all up: "Bush: 'Our Long National Nightmare of Peace and Prosperity Is Finally Over,'" *The Onion*, Jan. 17, 2001.
- 6 "I left the White House": "Text: Former President Clinton's Farewell," *WP*, Jan. 20, 2001.
- 6 back at the White House by 11:37: Bruni, *Ambling into History*, p. 223.
- 6 a wistful Darrell Hammond: *Saturday Night Live*, Episode 495, Jan. 20, 2001, NBC.

1: Zero Zero

- 7 That day, in Germany: Passenger manifest, Turkish Airlines Flight 1662, Nov. 25, 1999, BKA Files.
- 7 Ziad Jarrah had spent: This account of Jarrah's preparations for his trip to Afghanistan was compiled from various primary and secondary sources, including *9/11 Commission Report*, July 22, 2004; witness interviews with Aysel Sengün and others, BKA Files; Terry McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005); Mary Anne Weaver, "The Indecisive Terrorist," *London Review of Books*, Sept. 8, 2011.
- 8 "The morning will come": McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers*, p. 88.
- 9 In the still hours: This description of the boat voyage primarily drawn from: Ann Louise Bardach, "Elián's Boat: The Untold Story," *George*, May 2000; Elaine De Valle, "The Deadly Voyage: How It Happened," *MH*, Dec. 13, 1999.

- 11 but when he awoke: Elián Gonzalez, interview in the documentary *Elián*, dir. Tim Golden and Ross McDonnell (Five Point Films/Jigsaw Productions, 2017).
- 11 Janet Reno spent the weekend: Janet Reno, Schedules for Nov. 20–27, 1999. Reno's schedules for 1999–2000 provided by Todd Rowley.
- 11 Reno picked up the *Herald*: Janet Reno, oral history, interviewed by Russell Riley et al., Miller Center (hereafter "Reno, Miller Center oral history").
- 12 "The ocean is a dangerous": *MH*, Nov. 26, 1999.
- 12 "Little Rafter Leaves Hospital": *MH*, Nov. 27, 1999.
- 13 "toilet paper will be totally computerized": Conan O'Brien, *In the Year 2000* . . . (New York: Riverhead Books, 1999), p. 12.
- 13 the tiny Pacific nation of Kiribati: Colin Woodard, "South Pacific Battles for Y2K Bragging Rights," *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 1, 1999.
- 14 A Manhattan hotelier: *PBP*, Nov. 28, 1999.
- 14 For the cost of \$40,000: "Planning for the Eve of 2000," CBSNews.com, April 1, 1999.
- 14 In the words of one scholar: Author interview, Chip Berlet.
- 14 "Something's coming": *FTP*, July 26, 1999.
- 14 Harder called himself: Charles Harder, *Will We Ever Learn? The Man Who Sees Tomorrow* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2009).
- 14 "They say Soviet-built nuke plants": *FTP*, Dec. 16, 1999.
- 15 "The Day the World Crashes": *Newsweek*, June 1, 1997.
- 15 a whole apocalyptic belief system: Dan Taberski (host), *Headlong: Surviving Y2K* (podcast series), 2018.
- 15 "You may be tired of Y2K": *FTP*, Oct. 25, 1999.
- 16 "'Stone-Age' conditions": "Y2K packages by Chuck Harder," chuckharder.com, 1999, archive.org.
- 16 "coming dark times": Chuck Harder, "BLACKOUT! Preparing for the Coming Dark Times. An Introductory Primer," chuckharder.com, archive.org.
- 16 Harder's own home: Author visit, 2020.
- 16 "Ladies and gentlemen": *FTP*, Dec. 13, 1999.
- 16 "Don't Be Y2Krazy": *MH*, Dec. 28, 1999.
- 17 "He *did* invent": Elaine Kamarck, oral history, interviewed by Russell Riley et al., Miller Center (hereafter "Kamarck, Miller Center oral history").
- 18 had sized Gore up: Tucker Carlson, "Devil May Care," *Talk*, September 1999.
- 18 "He's not a dunce": Author interview, Martin Peretz.
- 18 "The times just don't call": Dana Milbank, *Smashmouth: Two Years in the Gutter with Al Gore and George W. Bush* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), p. 30.
- 19 Clinton's limousine passed: *Orlando Sentinel*, Dec. 12, 1999.
- 19 "You may have noticed": Bill Clinton, Remarks to the Florida State Democratic Convention in Orlando, Florida, Dec. 11, 1999.
- 20 He prowled the stage: *Orlando Sentinel*, Dec. 12, 1999.
- 21 Gore took a typically nuanced position: *PBP*, Dec. 12, 1999.
- 21 Elián was also coming to Disney World: De Valle, "The Deadly Voyage."
- 21 Bill Clinton could see political peril: *MH*, Dec. 12, 1999.
- 22 a briefing from the CIA: 9/11 Commission Staff, "Chronology of Key Events," background binder for President Clinton and Vice President Gore's interviews, 9/11 Commission Files.
- 22 a high-level briefing memo: CIA, "Bin Ladin to Exploit Looser Security During Holidays," Senior Executive Intelligence Brief, Dec. 11, 1999, National Security Archive.

- 22 “unique opportunities”: CIA, “Millennium Threat Briefing for DCI,” Dec. 17, 1999, National Security Archive.
- 22 between five and fifteen attacks: Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars* (New York: Penguin, 2004), p. 485.
- 22 On December 14: Ahmed Ressam, witness testimony, *USA v. Haouari*, July 3, 2001. See also *9/11 Commission Report*, pp. 176–80; Richard A. Clarke, *Against All Enemies* (New York: Free Press, 2004), pp. 205–26; Garrett M. Graff, *The Threat Matrix: The FBI at War in the Age of Global Terror* (New York: Little, Brown, 2011), pp. 248–52; Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), pp. 296–99.
- 23 an editorial cartoon: Jeff MacNelly, “Freeze!,” *Chicago Tribune*, republished in the *PBP*, Dec. 31, 1999.
- 23 “the biggest asses-to-elbow”: George Tenet, deposition given to 9/11 Commission, 9/11 Commission Files.
- 23 Reno slept on a couch: 9/11 Commission Staff, interview of Frances Fragos Townsend, 9/11 Commission Files.
- 23 “Christmas is cancelled”: Graff, *The Threat Matrix*, p. 251.
- 24 “I wouldn’t be anywhere else”: *PBP*, Dec. 29, 1999.
- 24 the island’s foremost party planner: Author interview, Bruce Sutka.
- 24 thirty-pound mound of caviar: Laurence Leamer, *Mar-a-Lago* (New York: Flatiron Books, 2019), p. 138.
- 24 “That’s Stephanie Seymour”: Shannon Donnelly, “Midnight Madness,” *Palm Beach Daily News*, Jan. 2, 2000.
- 24 His teenage daughter, Ivanka: Thom Smith, “Singer, Top Chef Help Trumps Greet 2000,” *PBP*, Jan. 4, 2000.
- 25 The first humans to reach midnight: “Straddling Two Years: One Sub,” CBSNews.com, Dec. 31, 1999. Other details of celebrations from coverage in AP, *NYT*, and *MH*, Jan. 1, 2000.
- 26 an Al Qaeda operative was sitting: *9/11 Commission Report*, pp. 158–59; FBI, “Encore Investigation Update, Review and Analysis,” April 4, 2016, declassified Sept. 2021.
- 26 “We’re taking your calls”: *FTP*, Dec. 31, 1999.
- 27 That night, Kevin Ingram: This account of the New Year’s Eve party is compiled from interviews with people who attended, including Ingram, his wife at the time, Deann, and Ingram’s former colleague Jerry McMillan.
- 27 what another guest later described: Author interview, Jerry McMillan.
- 28 Sean “Puffy” Combs took the stage: “MTV 2 Large: New Year’s Eve 2000,” MTV, Dec. 31, 1999, video accessed via YouTube.
- 29 the Artist then known as: Prince, *Rave Un2 the Year 2000*, dir. Geoff Wonfor (2000), DVD, released in 2019 as part of the Prince box set *Ultimate Rave*.
- 29 he told CNN’s Larry King: Larry King interview with Prince, *Larry King Live*, CNN, Dec. 10, 1999, interview transcript accessed on prince.org.
- 30 enjoyed a quiet dinner: “Bands Deliver Standards, Surprises on New Year’s Eve,” MTV.com, Jan. 3, 2000.
- 30 was watching Times Square: Clarke, *Against All Enemies*, p. 214.
- 30 a “super-duper command post”: Reno, Miller Center oral history.
- 30 Reno and the leadership of the FBI: Louis Freeh, *My FBI* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2005), pp. 295–97.
- 30 bored technicians relaxed: *PBP*, Jan. 1, 2000.

- 30 His guests included: Josh Gerstein, "Millennial Capital," ABCNews.com, Dec. 31, 1999.
- 31 Muhammad Ali gave Reno a kiss: Author interview, Maggy Hurchalla.
- 31 "The moral arc of the universe is long": Marshall Frady, *Jesse: The Life and Pilgrimage of Jesse Jackson* (New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 1996), p. 48.
- 31 "The change of centuries": Bill Clinton, Remarks at the "America's Millennium" Celebration, Dec. 31, 1999.
- 31 "I think we dodged the bullet": Clarke, *Against All Enemies*, p. 214.
- 32 It was a balmy night: Descriptions of South Florida millennium festivities compiled from reports in the *Miami Herald*, *South Florida Sun Sentinel*, *Palm Beach Post*, and *Palm Beach Daily News*, Jan. 1, 2000.
- 32 proceeded to noodle through: Phish set list, Dec. 31, 1999, Big Cypress Indian Reservation, audio file at www.phishtracks.com.
- 32 paramedics responded: *Palm Beach Daily News*, Jan. 5, 2000.
- 32 Thousands gathered on the parade route: "Orange Bowl Parade Still a Family Tradition," *MH*, Jan. 1, 2000.
- 32 The Orange Bowl Parade was famed: Author interview, Norman Silva.
- 33 "It will welcome the United States": "Magic City Millennium," Orange Bowl Committee, 1999, p. 12. The parade program and float sketches are archived in Orange Bowl Parade Collection, Smithsonian National Museum of American History, Washington, DC.
- 33 The float sputtered: "Orange Bowl Parade Still a Family Tradition."

2: Strange Land

- 34 stroke of midnight: *MH*, Jan. 2, 2000.
- 34 packed in so tightly: *MH*, July 23, 2000.
- 35 "Two things play against Haitians": *MH*, Jan. 6, 2000.
- 36 the inspiration for the minstrel tune: T. D. Allman, *Finding Florida* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003), pp. 340–45.
- 36 "Hello, everybody": *FTP*, Jan. 4, 2000.
- 36 "maybe 3,000 people": Marc Cooper, "The Paranoid Style," *The Nation*, April 10, 1995.
- 37 "enslave us all": Chuck Harder, "The Gray Bomb," chuckharder.com, 2000, archive.org.
- 37 an exemplar of an emerging phenomenon: Michael Kelly, "The Road to Paranoia," *The New Yorker*, June 11, 1995.
- 37 "These things came from the global elite": *FTP*, July 29, 1999.
- 37 "the first globalist president": Joe Klein, "Eight Years," *The New Yorker*, Oct. 8, 2000.
- 38 "the central reality of our time": Bill Clinton, State of the Union Address, Jan. 27, 2000.
- 38 he continued to shuffle: *FTP*, Jan. 4, 2000.
- 39 "Kid is with relative": John Pogash to Arthur Strathern, email, Nov. 30, 1999, Reno Papers.
- 39 The caseworker scrawled: Adria Martinez, "Unaccompanied Minor Statement of Suitability Determination," Dec. 1, 1999, Reno Papers.
- 40 "I want my son back": Janelle Jones to Philip Busch, email, Jan. 27, 2000, Reno Papers.
- 41 Fidel excused himself: *MH*, April 13, 2000.

- 41 an honored guest: *MH*, Jan. 10, 2000.
- 41 Polls showed: AP, Dec. 15, 1999.
- 41 “Where Does He Belong?”: *Time*, Jan. 17, 2000.
- 42 “another aspect of cultural life”: *NYT*, Jan. 29, 1996.
- 43 “you don’t conform”: Richard Blow, “Janet Reno Stands Tall,” *George*, September 1999.
- 43 “dumb, dull and flat”: Jane Wood Reno, *The Hell with Politics* (Atlanta: Peachtree Publishers, 1994), p. 33.
- 43 “I saw the hurricane”: Paul Anderson, *Janet Reno: Doing the Right Thing* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 1994), p. 15.
- 43 “She could storm and rage”: “Oral History of Janet Reno,” interviewed by Hilarie Bass, five interviews held over June 25, 2005, to Jan. 31, 2008, Women Trailblazers Project, American Bar Association.
- 44 “as far west as they could go”: Anderson, *Janet Reno*, p. 22.
- 44 “What they would do”: Author interview, Ann McDade.
- 45 “When the world gets old”: Reno, *The Hell with Politics*, p. 114.
- 46 “Janet saw the end of the movie”: Author interview, former Justice Department official.

3: Kandahar

- 47 Kandahar smelled like shit: The smell of Kandahar and the configuration of its plumbing are intricately described by Osama bin Laden’s son Omar in his memoir, *Growing Up Bin Laden*, a book he cowrote with his mother, Najwa bin Laden, and Jean Sasson ([New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 2009], p. 209). Other jihadi perspectives include *Nine Lives*, by Aimen Dean (London: Oneworld, 2018); and Nasser al-Bahri (aka Abu Jandal) with Georges Malbrunot, trans. Susan de Muth, *Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al Qaeda* (London: Thin Man Press, 2013). Other scenic elements compiled from contemporary photographs and travelogues, including William Vollmann, “Across the Divide,” *The New Yorker*, May 7, 2000.
- 47 rehearses for a propaganda video: Video introduced into evidence in proceedings of *USA v. al-Bahlul*.
- 48 retrace every step of his journey: See McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers*; Anthony Summers and Robbyn Swan, *The Eleventh Day: The Full Story of 9/11 and Osama bin Laden* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2011); Staff of *Der Spiegel*, *Inside 9-11: What Really Happened* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2001); Peter Finn, “Hamburg’s Cauldron of Terror,” *WP*, Sept. 11, 2002.
- 48 a red Mercedes: Weaver, “The Indecisive Terrorist.”
- 49 a paranoid library: “Atta’s Army,” *Der Spiegel*, July 9, 2006.
- 49 ten thousand to twenty thousand: Wright, *The Looming Tower*, p. 301.
- 49 Jarrah traveled: Weaver, “The Indecisive Terrorist.”
- 50 “the Sheikh’s group”: Zacarias Moussaoui, testimony, *USA v. Moussaoui*; deposition of Saajid Badat, *USA v. Adis Medunjanin*, 2012.
- 50 “forget their pasts”: Bin Laden, *Growing Up Bin Laden*, p. 198.
- 50 Men who arrived: CIA, “Afghanistan Camps Central to 11 September Plot: Can Al Qaeda Train on the Run?,” June 20, 2003, p. 2; Dean, *Nine Lives*, p. 58.
- 50 Jarrah took the *kunya*: Yosri Fouda and Nick Fielding, *Masterminds of Terror* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2003), p. 112.
- 50 the brothers would put Hollywood movies: Wright, *The Looming Tower*, p. 303.
- 50 It is likely that Jarrah: Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, in a written deposition

- submitted into evidence as part of the trial of Zacarias Moussaoui, claimed that the four men from Hamburg “expressed a desire to fight the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan, but Bin Laden insisted that they instead proceed as soon as possible to the US.”
- 51 handbooks published by American survivalists: Reuel Marc Gerecht, “Blueprint for Terror,” *Talk*, October 2000.
 - 51 One mad bomb maker: Dean, *Nine Lives*, pp. 98–106; Bin Laden, *Growing Up Bin Laden*, pp. 229–30.
 - 51 a more isolated guesthouse: Ali Soufan, testimony, *USA v. al-Bahlul*.
 - 51 former government farm: A detailed description of the camp’s layout can be found in Coll, *Ghost Wars*, p. 391. See also Wright, *The Looming Tower*, p. 248; Bin Laden, *Growing Up Bin Laden*, p. 208; Dean, *Nine Lives*, p. 93.
 - 51 it was known as al-Matar: Badat deposition.
 - 52 his lieutenants knew him to be: Cathy Scott-Clark and Adrian Levy, *The Exile* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 5.
 - 52 “Who had a good dream?”: Al-Bahri, *Guarding Bin Laden*.
 - 52 often went hungry: Bin Laden, *Growing Up Bin Laden*, p. 223.
 - 52 sermons in which he boasted: McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers*, p. 173.
 - 53 “poorly educated peasants”: Gerecht, “Blueprint for Terror.”
 - 53 “They seemed wily”: Al-Bahri, *Guarding Bin Laden*.
 - 53 “I came to you”: McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers*, p. 88.
 - 53 “Talk yourselves into martyrdom”: As-Sahab Media Foundation, *Knowledge Is for Acting Upon*, 2006. English translation of this Al Qaeda propaganda video provided by Evan Kohlmann.
 - 54 “He had the beady gaze”: Dean, *Nine Lives*, pp. 94–95.
 - 54 whirlwind of meetings: CIA, “11 September: The Plot and the Plotters,” 2003, National Security Archive; “The Confession,” *Der Spiegel*, November 2003.
 - 54 claim they protested: Scott-Clark and Levy, *The Exile*, p. 4.
 - 54 Only Jarrah and Atta: Author interview, Nelly Lahoud.
 - 54 an Indian airliner landed: Yudhijit Bhattacharjee, “The Terrorist Who Got Away,” *New York Times Magazine*, March 22, 2020.
 - 55 the leadership of Al Qaeda celebrated Eid al-Fitr: This event was videotaped by Al Qaeda propagandist Ali al-Bahlul. The U.S. government later recovered raw footage and identified many Al Qaeda members who attended, including Jarrah. The footage was entered into evidence during al-Bahlul’s military commission trial. The translations of bin Laden’s sermon are likewise from the evidence presented at that proceeding.

4: The Wall Street Project

- 57 “You get out of the limo”: American Express advertisement, *New York*, Dec. 20, 1999, p. 137.
- 57 On a winter day in 1999: C-SPAN, “Wall Street Project,” Jan. 14, 1999, C-SPAN .org.
- 58 Arrayed before the stage: Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, 2nd Annual Wall Street Project conference agenda, archive.org.
- 58 Jackson described the Wall Street Project: George Packer, “Trickle Down Civil Rights,” *New York Times Magazine*, Dec. 12, 1999; David Whitford, “Jesse Shakes the Money Tree,” *Fortune*, June 21, 1999; Peter Boyer, “Man of Faith,” *The New Yorker*, Oct. 22, 2001; Karin Stanford, “Reverend Jesse Jackson and the Rainbow PUSH Coalition: Institutionalizing Economic Opportunity,” in Stanford and Ollie Johnson

- III, eds., *Black Organizations in the Post-Civil Rights Era* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002).
- 59 “If you want to carve out”: David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross* (New York: Vintage, 1988), p. 616.
- 59 “Jesse, I want you to come”: Frady, *Jesse*, p. 227.
- 61 “We will go from discussing Monica”: Amy Feldman, “Clinton Bringing Cash to Jackson Confab,” *New York Daily News*, Jan. 15, 2000.
- 61 on the cover of *Forbes*: *Forbes*, March 1999.
- 62 “Kevin was more or less”: Author interview, Jerry McMillan.
- 62 Ingram was at the stock exchange gala: Author interview, Deann Prince.
- 62 “Everybody was treating him”: Author interview, friend of Sparkle’s from the modeling world.
- 63 “the Black version of Gordon Gekko”: Author interview, Philmore Anderson.
- 63 Ingram came from Philadelphia: Author interview, Kevin Ingram.
- 63 A brilliant but troubled man: Author interview, Karen Ingram.
- 63 Kevin would hint to friends: Leah Nathans Spiro, “Wall Street’s Soldier of Fortune,” *Talk*, November 2001.
- 63 determined to be suicide: Germaine Ingram, letter to Judge Donald Middlebrooks regarding Kevin Ingram’s sentencing, Nov. 19, 2001. Ingram’s older sister told the judge that although she had heard that he had “attributed our father’s death to a gun battle, and that he had even claimed to be an orphan,” there was “never any serious doubt about the fact that the cause of death was suicide.”
- 64 The real excitement was in bonds: This account of the development of the mortgage bond market in the 1980s and ’90s is indebted to Michael Lewis’s personal history of his time on the Salomon Brothers trading floor, *Liar’s Poker* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989), and its post-2008 sequel, *The Big Short* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010). Two other books that inform this account are Mark Zandi, *Financial Shock* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: FT Press, 2009), and Howard Hill, *Finance Monsters* (self-published, 2014).
- 66 “They were minting money”: Author interview, Howard Altarescu.
- 66 “He was as analytical”: Author interview, former Wall Street investment bank executive.
- 66 one of only six Black bond traders: Spiro, “Wall Street’s Soldier of Fortune.”
- 66 “People tend to think of this”: “On the Edge with CMOs,” *Black Enterprise*, October 1992, p. 72.
- 66 A friend later quipped: Spiro, “Wall Street’s Soldier of Fortune.”
- 67 “Kevin walks in”: Author interview, Howard Altarescu.
- 67 Ingram was married: Demetra Ingram, letter to court regarding Kevin Ingram’s sentencing, June 14, 2005.
- 67 “When I started at Goldman”: Author interview, former Goldman Sachs investment bank executive. It should be noted that some other contemporaries of Ingram’s remember no such culture of modesty at Goldman Sachs.
- 68 “difficult to manage”: Jon Corzine, quoted in Spiro, “Wall Street’s Soldier of Fortune.”
- 68 he was told to wait: William Cohan, *Money and Power: How Goldman Sachs Came to Rule the World* (New York: Doubleday, 2011), pp. 423–24.
- 68 “I guess I’m not the chosen one”: Landon Thomas Jr., “Ex-Goldman Trader Stung in Arms Plot, Shocks Colleagues,” *New York Observer*, July 2, 2001.
- 68 sometimes disappeared: Author interviews, former Goldman Sachs colleagues; Spiro, “Wall Street’s Soldier of Fortune.”
- 69 back at the World Trade Center: Affidavit of ATF agent Stephen Barborini, *USA*

- v. Ingram*, Doc. No. 25, filed June 29, 2001; ATF Report No. 39, June 22, 1999.
- 69 related to Egypt's deposed royal family: Author interview, Diaa Mohsen.
- 69 a high-stakes table: "Link Diagram #1," ATF, Intelligence Division, Intelligence Summary, updated March 15, 1999; author interview, Benjamin Seaman.
- 69 "a certain amount of cash": Affidavit of ATF agent Stephen Barborini.
- 70 "My offices are at Two World Trade": Recorded telephone call between Kevin Ingram and Randy Glass, June 15, 1999.
- 70 the details of which are in dispute: In a contemporaneous internal report, ATF agents running the sting operation record that the confidential informant (CI), Glass, "told Ingram that the money was from illegal arms deals and he wanted [the] money laundered. The CI even showed pictures of the CI holding various arms (ATF props)" (ATF Report No. 39, June 22, 1999). In his sworn affidavit, ATF agent Stephen Barborini alleges that after Glass told him the money was from arms deals, Ingram asked him to "retract that statement" before proceeding with the \$100,000 transaction. Mohsen alleged in an interview with ATF agents after his arrest that he and Glass had disclosed in their initial talks that the money was coming from arms deals, and Ingram replied, "I don't want to know." To this day, Ingram denies ever being told anything about arms deals. Todd Petrie, a former undercover federal agent who posed as an accountant for the arms syndicate, told the author that he never explicitly discussed the origin of the funds with Ingram in their subsequent conversations about moving funds. "The representations were made through the informant [Glass] that we moved munitions illegally," Petrie said. "So I really didn't have to reinforce that when I met him." Although ATF records disclosed via FOIA indicate Glass secretly recorded the initial World Trade Center meeting, no tape or transcript of it has been made publicly available.
- 70 He told Glass he was forming offshore shell companies: Recorded phone calls between Ingram and Glass, June–August 1999.
- 70 "IAM Global Money Fund": Spiro, "Wall Street's Soldier of Fortune." Ingram claims he has no recollection of proposing to create any such entity and says it would be outside his realm of financial expertise.
- 70 "He explained to me": Recorded phone call between Ingram and Glass, June 26, 1999.
- 71 "It's going to be": Recorded phone call between Ingram and Glass, July 13, 1999.

5: Baseball Man

- 72 "It's King Kong": *Big League Challenge*, ESPN, 2000. TV special accessed via YouTube, Oct. 5, 2016.
- 73 Canseco was Mr. Miami: Jose Canseco, *Juiced: Wild Times, Rampant 'Roids, Smash Hits, and How Baseball Got Big* (New York: ReganBooks, 2005); Jose Canseco, *Vindicated: Big Names, Big Liars, and the Battle to Save Baseball* (New York: Simon Spotlight Entertainment, 2008). Although Canseco's credibility was challenged when his memoirs were published, much of what he claimed about the prevalence of performance-enhancing drugs was confirmed by subsequent investigations, including George Mitchell's official *Report to the Commissioner of Baseball* on steroid use (New York: MLB, 2007).
- 73 financed by his hometown's cocaine cowboys: Tim Elfrink and Gus Garcia-Roberts, *Blood Sport* (New York: Dutton, 2014), p. 7.
- 73 called him "the Chemist": Howard Bryant, *Juicing the Game* (New York: Viking, 2005), p. 190.
- 73 added twenty-five pounds of muscle: Canseco, *Juiced*, p. 50.

- 74 "Look at his arms": Jerome Holtzman, "'Look at His Arms' . . . Scouts Go Ga-Ga over Rookie Slugger Canseco," *Chicago Tribune*, April 3, 1986.
- 74 He was a steroid user, too: Mark McGwire refused to answer questions about allegations of steroid usage when he testified under oath before a congressional committee in 2005. In 2010, he admitted that he had used performance-enhancing drugs during an injury-marred period in the early 1990s (*NYT*, Jan. 11, 2010). McGwire has continued to deny Canseco's claim that he used steroids as a young player for the A's.
- 74 Canseco would later claim: Canseco, *Juiced*, p. 74.
- 74 he looked like a wholesome white boy: Canseco, *Juiced*, pp. 76–80.
- 75 "What the hell have you been doing?": Canseco, *Juiced*, p. 215. Other accounts of this locker room conversation, with slight variations in wording, appear in Bryant, *Juicing the Game*, and Mark Fainaru-Wada and Lance Williams, *Game of Shadows* (New York: Gotham Books, 2006).
- 75 "I told him everything I knew": Canseco, *Vindicated*, p. 36; Fainaru-Wadu and Williams, *Game of Shadows*, reports that Bonds started to experiment with steroids well before the locker room encounter in 2000. In 2011, a jury found Bonds guilty of obstruction of justice in a case connected to an investigation of his alleged steroid use. The conviction was later overturned.
- 75 his teammates would discreetly seek out his expertise: Canseco, *Juiced*, p. 263.
- 75 he believed that, if used properly: Canseco, *Juiced*, p. 3.
- 76 "Bombastic Bushkin": Lois Romano and George Lardner Jr., "Bush's Life-Changing Year," *WP*, July 25, 1999. This article was the first in a seven-part series, "The Making of George W. Bush."
- 76 "I never dreamed of being president": Carlson, "Devil May Care."
- 77 champagne unit: Jean Edward Smith, *Bush* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2016), p. 17.
- 77 "chased a lot of pussy": Mark Updegrove, *The Last Republicans* (New York: HarperCollins, 2017), p. 13.
- 77 Lee Atwater was a liquor-drinking: John Brady, *Bad Boy: The Life and Politics of Lee Atwater* (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1997).
- 77 working for a rival Republican: Roger Stone and another partner in the firm were consultants to Jack Kemp, a former NFL quarterback and congressman.
- 77 "I said, 'How can we trust you?': Evan Smith, "George, Washington," *Texas Monthly*, June 1999.
- 77 "If someone throws a grenade at our dad": Bush, *Decision Points*, p. 43.
- 78 "If I'm disloyal": Romano and Lardner, "The Making of George W. Bush," *WP*, July 31, 1999.
- 78 "He was itching to go": Romano and Lardner, "The Making of George W. Bush," *WP*, July 25, 1999.
- 78 an office in between Atwater and Roger Ailes: Smith, *Bush*, pp. 48–49.
- 78 Dubya would spend his days: Nicholas Lemann, "The Redemption," *The New Yorker*, Jan. 31, 2000.
- 78 Bush was Atwater's "alter ego": Smith, *Bush*, p. 53.
- 78 A furious Dubya called up: Evan Smith, "George, Washington."
- 79 Atwater later claimed that he realized the effectiveness: Brady, *Bad Boy*, p. 181.
- 79 "make Willie Horton his running mate": *NYT*, Jan. 13, 1991.
- 79 At a rally in California: Brady, *Bad Boy*, p. 189.
- 79 Atwater had once cracked: Evan Smith, "George, Washington."
- 79 "George went up as Sonny Corleone": Updegrove, *The Last Republicans*, p. 196.
- 80 "anchors him clearly as a Texas businessman": Romano and Lardner, "The

- Making of George W. Bush.” *WP*, July 31, 1999.
- 80 The Rangers were a miserable franchise: Joe Nick Patoski, “Team Player,” *Texas Monthly*, June 1999.
- 80 personally contributed just \$600,000: Smith, *Bush*, p. 60.
- 81 One time, late in an extra-inning game: Milbank, *Smashmouth*, p. 320.
- 81 “A blockbuster”: T. R. Sullivan, “Get Ready for Another Star in Town,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, Sept. 2, 1992.
- 81 tired of the never-ending chaos: Bryant, *Juicing the Game*, pp. 107–9.
- 81 Shortly after he joined the team: Canseco, *Juiced*, p. 133–36. In his book, Canseco names three players on the Rangers he claimed to have instructed: Rafael Palmeiro, outfielder Juan Gonzalez, and catcher Ivan Rodriguez. At a congressional hearing held in the wake of the publication of Canseco’s book, Palmeiro wagged his finger and declared under oath, “I have never used steroids. Period.” Five months later, he was suspended after testing positive for steroids. Juan Gonzalez also denied using steroids. But as described in the Mitchell Report, in 2001, Canadian border patrol officers would find steroids and syringes in a search of a duffel bag belonging to Gonzalez. Gonzalez has continued to maintain he never used steroids. Rodriguez, who went on to become a Hall of Fame catcher, declared in his autobiography, “I never took steroids.” No evidence beyond Canseco’s account has ever surfaced against him.
- 82 “Before long,” Canseco later wrote: Canseco, *Juiced*, p. 136. Elfink and Garcia-Roberts would later describe the Rangers as “Team Zero” for the epidemic of steroid use in baseball during the 1990s (*Blood Sport*, p. 62).
- 82 Who knows what Bush observed: In *Juiced*, Canseco notes that Bush and the team management would have seen his teammates “getting bigger before their eyes, starting within weeks after I joined the team” (pp. 133–34). Bush has always denied he was aware of any steroid use by Rangers players during his tenure as team owner.
- 82 Its centerpiece was his personal collection: Milbank, *Smashmouth*, p. 315.
- 82 he replied: “Nolan Ryan”: Carlson, “Devil May Care.”
- 82 “I have always been underestimated”: Roger Simon, *Divided We Stand* (New York: Crown, 2001), p. 98.
- 83 “Nobody needs to tell me”: Carlson, “Devil May Care.”
- 83 “I know who I am”: Paul Burka, “The Man Who Isn’t There,” *Texas Monthly*, February 2004.
- 83 “The man dyes his hair”: Bruni, *Ambling into History*, p. 30.
- 83 “you can’t win”: Bush, *Decision Points*, p. 53.
- 83 “family values don’t stop at the Rio Grande”: Smith, *Bush*, p. 104.
- 84 more than one hundred fifty convicts to the death chamber: “Executions by State,” Death Penalty Information Center, deathpenaltyinfo.org.
- 84 “‘How bad can I be?’”: Updegrove, *The Last Republicans*, p. 280.
- 84 “I’m coming to learn”: Allison Adato, “Anchor Astray,” *George*, May 2000.
- 84 “Bush brought both of his hands”: Seth Mnookin, “The Charm Offensive,” *Brill’s Content*, September 2000.
- 85 “the second-handsomest man”: Lemann, “The Redemption.”
- 85 “He came, he said, he accomplished”: Lemann, “The Redemption.”
- 85 “I’m not interested in the people”: Evan Smith, “George, Washington.”
- 85 For every stop in this campaign: Joshua Bolten, oral history, interviewed by Russell Riley et al., Miller Center (hereafter “Bolten, Miller Center oral history”).
- 85 “I’m amazed”: Frank Bruni, “The Bushes Talk of History and How It Favors Their Son,” *NYT*, July 8, 2000.
- 86 Poppy started arranging for his geopolitical education: Smith, *Bush*, pp. 98–99.

- 86 “In the big boys’ game”: Bob Woodward, *State of Denial* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006), p. 5.
- 86 who surprised him with a pop quiz: Terry Neal, “Bush Falters in Foreign Policy Quiz,” *WP*, Nov. 5, 1999.

6: The Magic City

- 87 awoke to a front-page article: Bill Carter, “Television’s New Voyeurism Pictures Real-Life Intimacy,” *NYT*, Jan. 30, 2000.
- 87 called it “Camp Elián”: *MH*, April 7, 2000.
- 88 One day, a newspaper writer: *MH*, Jan. 12, 2000.
- 88 the cultural critic Frank Rich: Frank Rich, “The Age of the Mediathon,” *New York Times Magazine*, Oct. 29, 2000.
- 88 the second-biggest celebrity story: *MH*, April 20, 2000.
- 88 He was locally renowned: *MH*, Jan. 12, 2000.
- 89 “the monster that tyrannizes”: *MH*, Jan. 8, 2000.
- 89 “He is surrounded”: *PBP*, Jan. 10, 2000.
- 89 “Elián said to me”: *MH*, Jan. 9, 2000.
- 89 “the highest levels”: Rebecca Sanchez-Roig to numerous recipients, email, Dec. 17, 1999, Reno Papers.
- 90 one of only sixteen women: Anderson, *Janet Reno*, p. 37.
- 90 She warned Janny: Reno, *The Hell with Politics*, p. 175.
- 91 “Whoever you are”: Anderson, *Janet Reno*, p. 68.
- 91 Reno watched the smoke rise: “Oral History of Janet Reno.”
- 92 The Reverend Jesse Jackson flew down: Anderson, *Janet Reno*, p. 81.
- 92 Reno would sometimes sing: Tom Junod, “Janet Reno Is Innocent,” *Esquire*, October 2000.
- 92 Joan Didion wrote: Joan Didion, *Miami* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987).
- 93 The militants had aged: T. D. Allman, *Miami: City of the Future* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1987), p. 270.
- 93 “He has a father”: *MH*, Jan. 7, 2000.
- 94 “What we want”: *PBP*, Jan. 6, 2000.
- 94 As a plane flew overhead: *MH*, Jan. 13, 2000.
- 94 That evening, Juan Miguel appeared: *MH*, Jan. 14, 2000.
- 95 “What I want is to go: *MH*, Jan. 15, 2000.
- 96 “Janet Reno Is a Man”: *MH*, Jan. 9, 2000.
- 96 “an old maid who prefers men”: Anderson, *Janet Reno*, p. 153.
- 96 “At a certain point”: Liza Mundy, “Punch Lines: What Is It About Janet Reno that So Fascinates and Confounds and Even Terrifies America,” *WP*, Jan. 25, 1998.
- 97 referred to her as “the Martian”: Jane Mayer, “Janet Reno, Alone,” *The New Yorker*, Dec. 1, 1997.
- 97 also had a hideaway apartment: Author visit, 2019.
- 98 “Far beyond the moon and stars”: Rosemary Wells, *Voyage to the Bunny Planet* (New York: Viking Books for Young Readers, 1992).
- 99 “The things that went on”: Author interview, Lula Rodriguez.
- 99 On a Saturday afternoon: *MH*, Jan. 23, 2000.
- 99 “They flew to Washington”: *MH*, Jan. 23, 2000.
- 100 That Monday: *MH*, Jan. 25, 2000.
- 100 CBS announced: *MH*, Jan. 26, 2000.
- 101 “Well,” Elián informed them: *MH*, Feb. 8, 2000.

- 102 As the family arrived: *MH*, Jan. 27, 2000.
- 102 Elián called in to Radio Mambí: *MH*, Jan. 27, 2000.
- 102 “My grandson is different”: *MH*, Jan. 28, 2000.
- 102 The grandmothers flew home: *MH*, Jan. 31, 2000.
- 102 “mystery of bonding”: *MH*, Jan. 29, 2000.
- 102 She was troubled: Jeanne O’Laughlin, “Why I Changed My Mind About Elian,” *NYT*, Feb. 1, 2000.
- 103 “I was shocked”: *MH*, March 31, 2000.
- 103 a new sign appeared: *MH*, March 31, 2000.

7: For the People

- 104 After my first article was published: *New York Observer*, March 6, 2000.
- 105 nowhere near as rich: In 2000, Trump claimed he was worth \$5 billion, while Forbes estimated his net worth at \$1.6 billion. But a skeptical *Wall Street Journal* article suggested his fortune fell “far short” of either figure, pointing out a pattern of exaggerations in Trump’s estimates of the value of his assets (*WSJ*, Jan. 19, 2000). Five years later, journalist Tim O’Brien, author of the biography *TrumpNation*, would report that sources familiar with Trump’s finances estimated his true net worth to be in the range of \$150 million to \$250 million. Trump filed a libel lawsuit against O’Brien. In a deposition, Trump admitted that his estimate of his net worth “fluctuates, and it goes up and down with markets and with attitudes and with feelings, even my own feelings.” The suit was dismissed in 2009.
- 105 a story in the *National Enquirer*: “Get Ready for President Trump? Poll Shocker,” *National Enquirer*, Aug. 3, 1999.
- 106 “Everywhere you look”: Matt Labash, “Body Slam,” *Weekly Standard*, Aug. 9, 1999.
- 107 “If it rains”: Matt Labash, “Roger Stone, Political Animal,” *Weekly Standard*, Nov. 5, 2007.
- 107 the *National Enquirer* revealed: Jeffrey Toobin, “The Dirty Trickster,” *The New Yorker*, June 2, 2008.
- 107 Stone was also helping: Andrea Bernstein and Ilya Marritz, “A Front Group, a Lawsuit and a Private Investigator: How Trump Rigged the System to Delay Gambling in New York,” *WNYC.org*, Oct. 20, 2016.
- 107 calling him “butt boy”: Author interview, former consultant to Trump.
- 108 “Our way of life is ending”: *FTP*, Nov. 30, 1999.
- 108 “beach ball with legs”: Author interview, Keith Alan.
- 108 Since the summer: “Chuck Harder update, July/August 2000,” [chuckharder.com, archive.org](http://chuckharder.com/archive.org).
- 109 he began broadcasting: Neely Tucker, “Shooting from the Lip,” *Fort Myers News-Press*, Oct. 18, 1987.
- 109 “Naturally, the elite media”: Harder, *Will We Ever Learn?*
- 109 aired on hundreds of stations: Bob Davis, “Bashing Big Business Becomes Business for Talk-Show Host,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 16, 1996.
- 109 “He is the king”: Morris Dees with James Corcoran, *Gathering Storm* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), p. 114.
- 109 in White Springs: Monica Davey, “A Big Voice,” *Tampa Bay Times*, June 9, 1996.
- 110 “workingman’s PBS”: Cooper, “The Paranoid Style.”

- 110 *For the People* club: William Freivogel, "Talking Tough," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 10, 1995.
- 111 "The wackiest people": Author interview, former Reform Party official.
- 111 "Why should his legacy": Maureen Dowd, "Trump L'Oeil Tease," *NYT*, Sept. 19, 1999.
- 112 obliged the would-be president: Adam Nagourney, "President? Why Not? Says a Man at the Top," *NYT*, Sept. 25, 1999.
- 112 "This is what this country": Ian Goldstein, "Five of David Letterman's Best Late Night Donald Trump Takedowns," *Vulture*, March 28, 2017.
- 112 One Sunday morning: Tim Russert interview with Jack Gargan, *Meet the Press*, NBC, Oct. 10, 1999.
- 113 "favor is a positive thing": James Bennet, "The Cable Guys," *New York Times Magazine*, Oct. 24, 1999.
- 113 "the greatest architect": Lisa Birnbach, "Mi Casa Es Su Casa," *New York*, Feb. 12, 1996.
- 113 homespun party leaders: Brian Crowley, "Trump Woos Reform Leaders with Soiree at Mar-a-Lago," *PBP*, Jan. 15, 2000.
- 114 "It was hilarious": Author interview, former Reform Party official.

8: The Life

- 115 At around eleven o'clock: ATF Report No. 45, Aug. 6, 1999.
- 115 Ingram called from the road: Recorded telephone call between Kevin Ingram and Randy Glass, Aug. 4, 1999.
- 115 bringing their tennis gear: Recorded telephone call between Kevin Ingram and Randy Glass, Aug. 3, 1999.
- 115 That was how they first connected: Author interview, Kevin Ingram.
- 116 Glass owned a jewelry store: Indictment, *USA v. Randy Glass*, U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida, filed June 19, 1998.
- 116 Didi had come to Glass: ATF Report No. 108, June 26, 2001.
- 116 maybe stolen a few of the diamonds: ATF Report No. 109, Oct. 2, 2001.
- 116 passing off phony Picassos: ATF Report No. 40, July 1, 1999.
- 116 truckload of stolen Minolta copiers: ATF Report Nos. 45–49, Aug. 6–31, 1999.
- 116 plundered Egyptian antiquities: Dale Armstrong, "Case Study: Operation Sphinx," *Firearms Trafficking: A Guide for Criminal Investigations* (Augusta, GA: Prudens Group Consulting, 2018), p. 326.
- 116 lived a charmed life: Author interview, Benjamin Seaman.
- 116 pulled up in the Ferrari: ATF Report No. 45, Aug. 6, 1999.
- 116 He had flown in from the West Coast: Author interview, Dick Stoltz.
- 116 "I'm a financial engineer": Landon Thomas Jr., "Kevin Ingram Pal Questioned About Bin Laden," *New York Observer*, Oct. 1, 2001.
- 116 He diagrammed on the whiteboard: Spiro, "Wall Street's Soldier of Fortune."
- 117 Glass presented \$250,000: ATF Report No. 45, Aug. 6, 1999.
- 117 gave Ingram a bank account number: Affidavit of ATF agent Stephen Barborini.
- 117 Ingram and Didi drove back: Affidavit of ATF agent Stephen Barborini.
- 117 went out to a strip club: Thomas, "Kevin Ingram Pal Questioned About Bin Laden."
- 117 Glass had promised: Author interview, Dick Stoltz; ATF Report No. 52, Oct. 12, 1999.
- 117 finalize the settlement: Stipulation and order of dismissal, *Deutsche Bank v. Ingram*, U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York, case closed Aug. 5, 1999.

- 117 “I wasn’t particularly shocked”: Author interview, former Goldman Sachs executive.
- 118 “He was a golden boy”: Author interview, Yves Jadot.
- 118 Ingram first glimpsed her: Author interviews, Kevin Ingram and Deann Prince. Sparkle also describes her first encounter with Kevin in thinly veiled fashion in a romance novel (D. A. Prince, *Disastrously Fabulous* [self-published, 2016]).
- 118 “If you like what you see”: Author interview, Deann Prince.
- 118 “He was a little arrogant”: Author interview, friend of Sparkle’s from the modeling world.
- 119 The first use of *google* as a verb: Virginia Heffernan, “Just Google It: A Short History of a Newfound Verb,” *Wired*, Nov. 15, 2017.
- 119 a swashbuckling megalomaniac: David Enrich, *Dark Towers: Deutsche Bank, Donald Trump, and an Epic Tale of Destruction* (New York: Custom House, 2020), pp. 44–48.
- 119 “Let’s kick Goldman’s ass”: Enrich, *Dark Towers*, p. 72.
- 119 “It was a totally cowboy mentality”: Author interview, former Deutsche Bank colleague of Ingram’s.
- 120 an unexplored niche: Author interview, Mike Offit; Enrich, *Dark Towers*, pp. 72–73.
- 120 multimillion-dollar bonus: Spiro, “Wall Street’s Soldier of Fortune.”
- 120 “Kevin’s life was a gamble”: Author interview, friend of Sparkle’s from the modeling world.
- 121 a silent investment: Author interview, Frank Cilione.
- 121 “a ghetto fabulous place”: Author interview, Jay Norris.
- 121 big weekend nights: This description is based in part on a review of archival issues of *Tastemakers*, a nightlife magazine published by Jay Norris.
- 121 Simmons’s beach wedding: Nancy Jo Sales, “The Mix Master,” *New York*, May 10, 1999.
- 121 “We would always kick their ass”: Author interview, former Wall Street investment bank executive.
- 122 “Russell knows the market”: Sales, “The Mix Master.”
- 122 discovered on the shore: Ronald Kessler, *The Season* (New York: HarperCollins, 1999), p. 191.
- 122 “ignorant of Black culture”: “Meet the First Babes,” *George*, February/March 2000.
- 122 Ingram had recruited: Enrich, *Dark Towers*, pp. 73–77.
- 123 commemorated the transaction: Enrich, *Dark Towers*, pp. 76–77.
- 124 “at about a hundred twenty miles per hour”: Author interview, Philmore Anderson.
- 124 “Instead of having a couple of cups”: Author interview, Frank Cilione.
- 124 “Sometimes you’re too smart”: Author interview, Jerry McMillan.
- 125 a diagnosis of bipolar disorder: Dr. Amar Das, “Psychiatric Evaluation and Treatment Summary,” Nov. 23, 2001, filed in a probation violation proceeding in U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York, 2004 (Docket No. 04-261).
- 126 raised some eyebrows: Author interview, Karen Ingram.
- 126 Ingram’s department lost: Christopher O’Leary, “From ARMs to Arms,” *Investment Dealers’ Digest*, June 25, 2001.
- 126 he would have to fire him: Thomas, “Ex-Goldman Trader Stung in Arms Plot.”
- 127 a \$10 billion merger: Enrich, *Dark Towers*, pp. 65–66.
- 127 a rumor ripped across: Author interviews, Mike Offit and Jerry McMillan.

- 127 “challenging the finance culture”: Whitford, “Jesse Shakes the Money Tree.”
- 127 Jackson later told a journalist: Kenneth Timmerman, *Shakedown: Exposing the Real Jesse Jackson* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2002), p. 327.
- 127 Ingram sobbed: Spiro, “Wall Street’s Soldier of Fortune.”
- 127 Deutsche Bank alleged: Leslie Wayne, “From Riches to Relative Rags,” *NYT*, Oct. 27, 2001.
- 128 He wanted to reopen: Kevin Ingram, affidavit, *Zoran Chanin v. Kevin Ingram*, New York State Supreme Court, filed May 18, 2001.
- 128 ignoring his lawyer’s bills: Complaint, *Broach & Stulberg LLP v. Kevin Ingram*, New York State Supreme Court, filed Nov. 19, 1999.
- 128 “Kevin became a pretty damn good”: Author interview, Jerry McMillan.
- 129 “I am the main man”: Author interview, Diaa Mohsen.
- 129 a construction company called BIA: Thomas, “Kevin Ingram Pal Questioned About Bin Laden.”
- 130 represented Egypt in the Olympics: “Defendant’s Objections to Pre-Sentence Investigation Report,” *USA v. Diaa Mohsen*, U.S. District Court for Southern District of Florida, Document No. 94, filed Jan. 30, 2002.
- 130 brother was a retired army general: ATF Report No. 107, June 19, 2001.
- 130 on a trip to Egypt: ATF Report No. 50, Sept. 22, 1999; ATF Report No. 108, June 26, 2001; ATF Report No. 110, Oct. 9, 2001.
- 130 “Hi . . . from Africa”: Email from Kevin Ingram to Zoran Chanin, Sept. 7, 1999, filed as an exhibit in *Chanin v. Ingram*.
- 130 connected to a Florida billionaire: Author interview, Kevin Ingram.
- 130 as large as \$300 million: ATF Report No. 52, Oct. 12, 1999.
- 131 Didi told Glass that Ingram was “shaking”: ATF Report No. 49, Aug. 31, 1999.
- 131 “You know when you get a horse”: Recorded telephone call between Diaa Mohsen and Randy Glass, July 26, 1999.
- 131 Ingram received around \$6 million: Timmerman, *Shakedown*, p. 327.
- 132 “Let me ask you a question”: Recorded telephone call between Diaa Mohsen and Randy Glass, Aug. 5, 1999.
- 132 Glass later claimed that in their initial meeting: ATF Report No. 39, June 22, 1999. See detailed discussion in notes to chapter 4, “The Wall Street Project.”
- 132 “don’t mix the two things”: Recorded telephone call between Diaa Mohsen and Randy Glass, Aug. 16, 1999.
- 133 “Remember the guy”: Recorded telephone call between Diaa Mohsen and Randy Glass, July 8, 1999.

9: The Force of Things

- 134 “This is a good place”: Raw video and a translation of Jarrah’s martyrdom statement was introduced into evidence in proceedings of *USA v. al-Bablul*. The footage was never incorporated into a propaganda video.
- 136 “Joy kills the heart”: McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers*, p. 61.
- 136 *la force des choses*: Marc Sageman, *Turning to Political Violence: The Emergence of Terrorism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), p. 5.
- 136 But there was another force in Jarrah’s life: Aysel Sengün was extensively questioned by the Bundeskriminalamt (BKA), the German federal law enforcement agency, and those interrogations form the basis of what is publicly known about the process of his radicalization.

- 137 By the time he called: Terry McDermott and Josh Meyer, *The Hunt for KSM* (New York: Back Bay Books/Little, Brown, 2012), p. 139.
- 137 “While they use their muscles”: Written testimony of Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, *USA v. Hage et al.*, proceedings against defendant Sulaiman Abu Ghaith, filed April 2, 2014, p. 7.
- 137 later told interrogators: FBI, summary of interrogation of Abdul Aziz Ali, *USA v. KSM*, filed Nov. 27, 2017.
- 137 He hatched plots: Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, statement to military commission at Guantanamo Bay, March 10, 2007.
- 137 He had first pitched the concept: *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 154.
- 138 Egyptian pilot: Author interview, Nelly Lahoud.
- 138 a one-legged Yemeni jihadi: Ali Soufan, *The Black Banners* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011), p. 255.
- 138 “cover language”: Zacarias Moussaoui, testimony, *USA v. Moussaoui*.
- 138 “faculty of architecture”: CIA, “11 September: The Plot and the Plotters,” 2003, National Security Archive.
- 138 Mukhtar was under the impression: Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, written testimony, *USA v. Moussaoui*.
- 139 he was pulled aside by Emirati security officials: McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers*, pp. 186–87.
- 140 “Without trying to judge”: Aysel Sengün, statement, BKA Files.
- 140 “He wanted to make”: Sengün, statement, BKA Files.
- 141 “I couldn’t sleep last night: McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers*, p. 81.
- 141 a quiet wedding: McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers*, p. 78. The marriage was never officially registered, and Sengün appears to have considered it unofficial.
- 141 Aysel referred to it as his “rebellious” phase: Sengün, statement, BKA Files.
- 141 “We came here to Germany”: Carol Williams, “Friends of Terror Suspect Say Allegation Made No Sense,” *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 23, 2001.
- 142 He doodled pictures: McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers*, p. 188.
- 142 At night, lying beside him: McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers*, p. 187.
- 142 “The hearts of freemen”: “The Al Qaeda Manual,” 9/11 Commission Files. This book, also referred to by the title *Military Studies in the Jihad Against Tyrants*, was recovered by British police in the search of an Al Qaeda member’s home in the 1990s.
- 142 Atta composed an email: Email contained in BKA Files.
- 143 in a trade magazine called *Aerokurier*: Pascal Schreier, testimony, *USA v. Moussaoui*.
- 143 Jarrah struck the recruiter: Author interview, Pascal Schreier.
- 143 This sparked another fight: McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers*, p. 188.

10: Oscar Night

- 145 a chance encounter with inspiration: Russ Spencer, “Where You Find It,” *Salon*, March 25, 2000; Alex Koenig, “Anything but Ordinary: American Beauty Screenwriter Alan Ball on the Film’s 15th Anniversary,” *Huffington Post*, Sept. 3, 2014.
- 145 “An amazing film”: Brian Raftery, *Best. Movie. Year. Ever.: How 1999 Blew Up the Big Screen* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2019). The films featured in the 2000 Oscar ceremony were all released during the previous year. This account is indebted to Raftery’s excellent retrospective of the movies of 1999.
- 146 “I hope you’ll put me to work for you”: *PBP*, Feb. 7, 2000.
- 146 publicly mulling: Peter Biskind, “He Stars, She Stars,” *Vanity Fair*, February

2000. Beatty told Biskind that Roger Stone urged him to run before turning to Trump.
- 146 “If you had your choice”: Warren Beatty, Irving G. Thalberg Award acceptance speech, March 26, 2000.
- 147 “that plastic bag”: Alan Ball, Academy Award acceptance speech, March 26, 2000.
- 148 The thirteen-minute film: *Untitled Al Gore Documentary*, directed by Spike Jonze, Democratic National Committee, 2000, accessed via YouTube.
- 149 “One suspects that”: Louis Menand, “After Elvis,” *The New Yorker*, Oct. 26, 1998.
- 149 a book called: Katherine Boo, “The Drama of the Gifted Vice President,” *WP*, Nov. 28, 1993.
- 149 He had been groomed: This account of Al Gore’s early life and career is based primarily on the excellent biography *The Prince of Tennessee*, by David Maraniss and Ellen Y. Nakashima (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).
- 149 Family legend had it: Maraniss and Nakashima, *The Prince of Tennessee*, p. 41.
- 149 “I pointed out”: Al Gore, *The Assault on Reason* (New York: Penguin, 2007), p. 9.
- 150 “I’m going to run”: Maraniss and Nakashima, *The Prince of Tennessee*, p. 165.
- 150 He held the first congressional hearing: Al Gore, *Earth in the Balance* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1992), pp. 4–6.
- 151 “Gore comes off to me”: Richard Berke, “Campaign C.E.O.: Gore Dots the i’s that Bush Leaves to Others,” *NYT*, June 9, 2000.
- 151 “You hear folks”: Frady, *Jesse*, p. 43.
- 151 Jackson brought down the house: Maraniss and Nakashima, *The Prince of Tennessee*, p. 214.
- 152 “hustler from Chicago”: AP, April 6, 1988.
- 152 “We’re not choosing a preacher”: Frady, *Jesse*, p. 398.
- 152 Gore would privately call Jackson: Maraniss and Nakashima, *The Prince of Tennessee*, p. 236.
- 153 “Y’all know who my *real* hero is?”: Frady, *Jesse*, pp. 502–3.
- 153 “I began to doubt”: Gore, *Earth in the Balance*, p. 8.
- 154 map of the world: Roy Neel, oral history, interviewed by Russell Riley et al., Miller Center (hereafter “Neel, Miller Center oral history”).
- 154 Gore would later recall looking down: Melinda Henneberger, “Writing and Healing: Career in the Balance, Gore Focused His Energy on a Book,” *NYT*, Sept. 3, 2000.
- 154 He got rid of his ghostwriter: Neel, Miller Center oral history.
- 155 “we concentrate on form”: Gore, *Earth in the Balance*, p. 168.
- 155 “I have become very impatient”: Gore, *Earth in the Balance*, p. 15.
- 155 Today he was in New Hampshire: Ceci Connolly, “Gore Paints Himself as No Beltway Baby,” *WP*, Dec. 1, 1999.
- 156 McGlynn’s Media Literary class: Description of the *Love Canal* episode primarily drawn from: Sarah Vowell, “Eliminate the Middleman,” *This American Life*, NPR, Episode 151, Jan. 28, 2000; Mike Pride, “Just One Word,” *Brill’s Content*, March 2000.
- 157 they were hyper-attuned: Evgenia Peretz, “Going After Gore,” *Vanity Fair*, October 2007.
- 157 “I was the one who started it all”: Connolly, “Gore Paints Himself as No Beltway Baby”; Katherine Seelye, “Gore Borrows Clinton’s Shadow Back to Share a Bow,” *NYT*, Dec. 1, 1999.
- 158 3,383 toxic waste sites: Mark Raabe, letter to the editor, *WP*, Dec. 25, 1999.
- 158 tried to defend Gore: *Boston Globe*, Dec. 26, 1999.

- 158 “mad scientist”: Rove, Miller Center oral history.
- 158 “It’s not just the information”: Bolten, Miller Center oral history.
- 158 guys who led the “oppo” team: Bolten, Miller Center oral history.
- 158 constantly hangry: Kamarck, Miller Center oral history.
- 158 campaign staff was a mess: See Donna Brazile, *Cooking with Grease* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004); Robert Shrum, *No Excuses* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007); Carl Cannon, “Rotten at the Gore,” *George*, November 1999.
- 159 Karenna, who was twenty-six: Claire Shipman, “Searching for Al,” *George*, December 1999.
- 159 It was Karenna’s idea: Kamarck, Miller Center oral history; Shipman, “Searching for Al.”
- 159 Wolf convinced Gore of her insight: Michael Duffy and Karen Tumulty, “Gore’s Secret Guru,” *Time*, Nov. 1, 1999.
- 159 “full-blown tizzy”: Melinda Henneberger, “Naomi Wolf, Feminist Consultant to Gore, Clarifies Her Campaign Role,” *NYT*, Nov. 5, 1999.
- 159 “The heart of the storyline”: Shrum, *No Excuses*, p. 313.
- 159 advisers would place the blame: Richard Berke, “Gore’s Campaign Struggling to Regain Primary Energy,” *NYT*, May 15, 2000. In their memoirs, both Brazile (p. 234) and Shrum (pp. 330–31) repeat this analysis.
- 160 “It is no longer possible”: Gore, *The Assault on Reason*, p. 3.
- 160 A *Saturday Night Live* skit: *Saturday Night Live*, Episode 475, Jan. 15, 2000.
- 160 Reno appealed for calm: *MH*, March 31, 2000.
- 160 “Elian should never have been forced”: *PBP*, March 31, 2000.
- 161 “Shame on Gore”: *Los Angeles Times*, March 31, 2000.
- 161 “Just when we needed Solomon”: Mary McGrory, “How Low Can Al Go,” *WP*, April 2, 2000.
- 161 With tears streaming down her cheeks: *MH*, April 4, 2000.
- 161 Paramedics wheeled her out: *MH*, April 5, 2000.

11: The Siege

- 162 107th straight month of economic expansion: Gregg Fields, “Economic Nirvana Sets Record, Growth Expected to Continue,” *MH*, Feb. 1, 2000.
- 163 “Every time that Jeff Bezos sells”: *FTP*, Dec. 27, 1999.
- 163 Another day, he ranted: *FTP*, Jan. 11, 2000.
- 163 A study published by the Federal Reserve: Kimberly Blanton, “U.S. Families Richer, Deeper in Debt,” *Boston Globe*, Jan. 19, 2000.
- 163 “Is your job better”: *FTP*, Dec. 22, 1999.
- 164 “The *biggest* merger to date”: *FTP*, Jan. 11, 2000.
- 164 “She lives Waco”: *Newsweek*, April 24, 2000.
- 165 she lay awake at night: FBI, summary of interview with Attorney General Janet Reno, Aug. 2, 1993, Reno Papers.
- 165 “carnal wives”: John Danforth, “Interim Report to the Deputy Attorney General Concerning the 1993 Confrontation at the Mount Carmel Complex, Waco, Texas,” July 21, 2000.
- 165 “She found out on live TV”: Author interview, Richard Scruggs.
- 165 “I made the decisions”: Anderson, *Janet Reno*, p. 195.
- 166 “The United States government”: *FTP*, July 28, 1999.
- 166 a Chuck Harder fan: Freivogel, “Talking Tough.”
- 166 alternative explanations: Harder and an Oklahoma reporter would later coauthor a book entitled *Deathtrap Oklahoma City: Were Innocent Victims Used as Bait?*

- 166 “‘Ooooh, we have to take those guns’”: *FTP*, Sept. 23, 1999.
- 167 “overwhelming evidence exonerating”: Danforth, “Interim Report to the Deputy Attorney General.”
- 167 she gave a deposition: Janet Reno, deposition taken March 28, 2000, *Andrade et al. v. Chojnacki et al.*, U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas, 1996.
- 167 she kept a picture: “Oral History of Janet Reno.”
- 167 “Elián is afraid”: *MH*, April 1, 2000.
- 167 she was enraged: *MH*, March 29, 2000.
- 167 “That old bitch hag”: *MH*, April 16, 2000.
- 168 A vision of the Virgin Mary: *MH*, March 26, 2000.
- 168 “We are the only people”: *PBP*, March 31, 2000.
- 168 “We are Elián’s true family”: *MH*, April 7, 2000.
- 168 “The boy lives in Florida”: *MH*, April 12, 2000.
- 169 “Janet Reno cannot make up her mind”: *The Bulletin’s Frontrunner*, April 14, 2000.

12: One Florida

- 170 “He is God’s child”: Email from Anne Sanborn to Jeb Bush, Jan. 6, 2000, Bush email archive, Florida Center for Investigative Reporting, St. Petersburg, FL.
- 171 “Maybe when you inherit a name”: Unless otherwise noted, descriptions of the One Florida rally from *MH* and *PBP*, March 8, 2000.
- 171 “Maybe this isn’t the way”: Gerald Ensley, “It Was About Commitment—and Being Heard,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, March 8, 2000.
- 172 what he called BHAGs: Dexter Filkins, “Swamped,” *The New Yorker*, Jan. 4, 2016.
- 173 for sprinting up the stairs: Steve Bousquet, “For Jeb Bush, A Wild Ride in Year One,” *MH*, Jan. 3, 2000.
- 173 a family system called “the rankings”: Updegrove, *The Last Republicans*, p. 94.
- 173 “As far as I’m concerned”: Richard Berke, “Feeling the Burden of a Name, One Bush Focuses on Florida,” *NYT*, July 14, 2000.
- 173 “the Senator from Yale”: Smith, *Bush*, p. 13.
- 173 Jeb spoke fluent Spanish: Joel Achenbach, “The Family’s Business,” *Tropic*, *MH*, June 1, 1986. For a critical perspective on Jeb Bush’s early political career and tenure as governor, see S. V. Dáte, *Jeb: America’s Next Bush* (New York: Jeremy Tarcher/Pengjun, 2007).
- 173 at rallies in a guayabera: Dáte, *Jeb: America’s Next Bush*, p. 339.
- 174 “He is probably the most serious”: Achenbach, “The Family’s Business.”
- 174 “I want to be able to look my father”: Tom Fiedler, “Bush and Sons,” *MH*, Sept. 25, 1994.
- 174 “My father saw politics as service”: Dáte, *Jeb: America’s Next Bush*, p. 1.
- 174 “Jeb will always seem more thoughtful”: Fiedler, “Bush and Sons.”
- 174 “It turns it into a *People* magazine story”: Maureen Dowd, *Bushworld* (New York: Putnam, 2004), p. 43.
- 174 “Jeb’s my little brother”: Updegrove, *The Last Republicans*, p. 260.
- 175 “Can you believe *this*?”: Marjorie Williams, “Brothers in Arms,” *Talk*, September 2000.
- 175 “The joy is in Texas”: Smith, *Bush*, p. 79.
- 175 “But, Dad,” he said: Updegrove, *The Last Republicans*, p. 264.
- 175 The morning after the election: Jeb Bush and Brian Yablonski, *Profiles in Character* (Tallahassee, FL: Foundation for Florida’s Future, 1995), pp. 74–75.

- 175 “Bush governs like a man”: Bousquet, “For Jeb Bush, a Wild Ride in Year One.”
- 176 “We had a blind dumb faith”: Rove, Miller Center oral history.
- 176 Jeb spent the holiday: *MH*, Jan. 16, 2000.
- 176 Two Black state legislators: This account of the One Florida sit-in is based on the extensive contemporaneous press coverage in the *MH* and the *PBP*, Jan. 19–20, 2000.
- 177 “all of Jeb’s weaknesses”: Dáte, *Jeb: America’s Next Bush*, p. 188.
- 178 “white men can’t jump”: *PBP*, Feb. 12, 2000.
- 178 someone from his campaign called: *PBP*, Jan. 21, 2000.
- 179 “Rove had the charts”: Karen Hughes, quoted in Simon, *Divided We Stand*, p. 96.
- 179 Bush called his staff “crybabies”: Judd Gregg, oral history, interviewed by Mike Nelson et al., Miller Center (hereafter “Gregg, Miller Center oral history”).
- 179 “I’m looking forward to going down South”: *Journeys with George*, dir. Alexandra Pelosi (HBO Films, 2002).
- 179 “People are seeing”: Helen Thorpe, “How Bush Became a Brawler,” *George*, May 2000.
- 180 “the jungles of Africa”: “Blacks Still Not Wanted at Many Christian Colleges,” *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 17 (1997): 79–82.
- 180 Jeb personally attended: *MH*, Feb. 4, 2000.
- 180 “This is an attempt”: *PBP*, Feb. 4, 2000.
- 180 “What I concluded”: Berke, “Feeling the Burden of a Name.”
- 180 “It is wrong to discriminate”: Steve Bousquet, “Bush Says Hearings Will Not Alter Plan,” *MH*, Feb. 1, 2000.
- 181 “Remember in November”: Jake Tapper, *Down and Dirty: The Plot to Steal the Presidency* (New York: Little, Brown, 2001), p. 10.
- 181 “I am for affirmative action”: *MH*, Feb. 9, 2000.
- 181 Vote suppression was not a by-product: Erika Wood, *Florida: An Outlier in Denying Voting Rights*, Brennan Center for Justice, 2016.
- 182 initiated a massive purge: This account is based on thousands of pages of documents and depositions filed in *NAACP v. Harris*. See also John Lantigua, “How the GOP Gamed the System in Florida,” *The Nation*, April 12, 2001.
- 182 Republican Party loyalist: Dara Kam and John Lantigua, “New Law Is GOP Lawyer’s Encore,” *PBP*, Oct. 28, 2012.
- 182 “dirtbags of the nation”: Lantigua, “How the GOP Gamed the System in Florida.”
- 182 “cast a wide net”: “The Reality of List Maintenance,” USCCR Report, chap. 5.
- 182 a new version: *NAACP v. Harris*, Doc. No. 306, p. 73.
- 182 65,776 alleged felons: USCCR Report.
- 183 coworkers and family members: Deposition of John Stafford, *NAACP v. Harris*, Doc. No. 406.
- 183 misdemeanors in Texas: Deposition of Marlene Thorogood, *NAACP v. Harris*, Doc. No. 409.
- 183 20,000 other voters: Expert report of David Klausner, *NAACP v. Harris*, Doc. No. 412.
- 183 Black voters accounted for 10 percent: Expert report of David Klausner, p. 171.
- 183 “This was a first”: Deposition of Pam Iorio, *NAACP v. Harris*, Doc. No. 410.
- 183 One Black man in Tampa: USCCR Report.
- 184 one newspaper analysis: Scott Hiaasen, Gary Kane, and Eliot Jaspín, “Felon Purge Sacrificed Innocent Voters,” *PBP*, May 27, 2001. The *Post* analysis was based on a list of 42,389 possible felons identified by the state’s contractor. Roughly 20,000 of them were purged, and more than 5,000 filed appeals. Around half of those appeals resulted in exoneration. The *Post* found that at least 108 “law abiding” voters were unable to restore

their rights before the 2000 election. Nearly 1,000 more were incorrectly disqualified even though they had received clemency. Katherine Harris, who oversaw the process as Florida's secretary of state, later cited the *Post's* figure of roughly a thousand "innocent" voters to call claims of mass disenfranchisement an "egregious and unfounded attack" made by "politicians interested in wielding the sword of racial division" (Harris, *Center of the Storm* [Nashville: WND Books, 2002], pp. 176–80). But the *Post* analysis accounts only for voters who took the time to appeal or who had clear-cut clemency cases. Even if the rest were *all* ex-felons, many would have been eligible to vote in other states, and often they had been doing so in Florida until they were disenfranchised by the renewed enforcement of a nineteenth-century law designed to prevent Black citizens from participating in elections. The largest source of disenfranchisement was not the errors; it was the Florida constitution.

184 a short article on the "glitch": *PBP*, June 22, 2000.

184 "You're about to hear from my older": Williams, "Brothers in Arms."

13: Palm Beach

185 "Sometimes you play dirty": *Palm Beach Daily News*, March 4, 2001.

185 He had bought the place: Leamer, *Mar-a-Lago*, pp. 25–31.

185 hung an oil painting of himself: Les Standiford, *Palm Beach, Mar-a-Lago, and the Rise of America's Xanadu* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2019), pp. 244–45.

185 it was in Palm Beach: Frank Cerabino, "Trump's War with Palm Beach," *Politico*, Sept. 5, 2015.

186 "It's an entertainment club": Loretta Grantham, "Private Clubs of Palm Beach Very Hush Hush—Then Came Mar-a-Lago," *Palm Beach Daily News*, June 5, 1999.

186 "a kind of real-life *Love Boat*": Christopher Byron, "Behind Trump's Political Fling," *George*, February/March 2000.

187 guys like Bernie Madoff: Erin Arvedlund, *Too Good to Be True* (New York: Portfolio, 2009), p. 231.

187 some crazed financial analyst: Harry Markopolis, *No One Would Listen* (New York: Wiley, 2010).

187 Trump performed: Kessler, *The Season*, pp. 177–202.

187 Out late with a reporter: Paul Reid, "Quasi-Candidate Loves to Serve but Hates to Lose," *PBP*, Feb. 13, 2000.

187 "On takeoff": Robin Givhan, "On a Different Plane," *WP*, Dec. 23, 1999.

188 interrupted by the intrusion: Byron, "Behind Trump's Political Fling."

188 Dan Rather came: *60 Minutes II*, CBS News, Jan. 11, 2000.

189 "You control": Kermit Pattison, "Pinning Jesse Down," *George*, March 1999.

189 "Jesse Ventura, in my mind": *FTP*, Sept. 20, 1999.

189 whom he had first met: David Freedlander, "An Oral History of Donald Trump's Almost-Run for President in 2000," *New York*, Oct. 11, 2018.

190 "It's almost the late empire": Bennet, "The Cable Guys."

190 "impure thoughts": Timothy Stanley, *The Crusader* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012), p. 323.

190 "I think they should remember": *FTP*, July 29, 1999.

191 "drain this swamp": Stanley, *The Crusader*, p. 342.

191 He called the Confederate flag: AP, Jan. 19, 2000.

191 support of white nationalists: The cochairman of Buchanan's 1996 campaign quit after it was revealed he had spoken to a group of neo-Nazis. His 2000 campaign received support from the Sons of Confederate Veterans and from David Duke, the former KKK

- leader, who endorsed Buchanan and joined the Reform Party.
- 191 “I believe, and I hope”: Stanley, *The Crusader*, p. 351.
- 191 In another speech: AP, Jan. 19, 2000.
- 191 “Let me say”: *WP*, Oct. 26, 1999.
- 191 recently given an interview to *Playboy*: AP, Oct. 1, 1999.
- 192 combed the book for objectionable passages: Francis X. Clines, “Buchanan’s Views on Hitler Create a Reform Party Stir,” *NYT*, Sept. 21, 1999.
- 192 Harder welcomed Buchanan: *FTP*, Sept. 20, 1999.
- 192 He fired off: Steve Kornacki, *The Red and the Blue* (New York: Ecco, 2018), p. 410.
- 193 a *Wall Street Journal* column: Donald Trump, “America Needs a President Like Me,” *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 30, 1999.
- 193 called him a “Hitler lover”: Kornacki, *The Red and the Blue*, p. 412.
- 193 “Does being captured”: *60 Minutes II*, CBS News, Jan. 11, 2000.
- 193 bylined essay in the *National Enquirer*: Donald Trump, “Why I Should Be President,” *National Enquirer*, Nov. 9, 1999.
- 193 MSNBC host Chris Matthews gave Trump: Chris Matthews interview with Trump, *Hardball with Chris Matthews*, MSNBC, Nov. 18, 1999.

14: Sugar

- 195 a small, shabby warehouse: Author visit, 2019.
- 195 One Tuesday morning: ATF Report No. 47, Aug. 18, 1999.
- 195 connections to the Pakistani military and the ISI: ATF, Significant Activity Report, June 25, 2002.
- 195 “They’re the central intelligence”: Recorded telephone call between Diaa Mohsen and Randy Glass, July 9, 1999.
- 196 When they arrived: Author interview, Dick Stoltz; ATF Report No. 47, Aug. 18, 1999.
- 197 The tubby Pakistani: Photo appended to arrest warrant for Rajaa Ghulam Abbas, issued June 25, 2002.
- 197 Abbas called Glass: ATF Report No. 48, Aug. 24, 1999.
- 197 could probably do one hundred: ATF Report No. 49, Aug. 31, 1999.
- 197 In February 2000: ATF Report No. 64, Feb. 10, 2000.
- 197 “private people”: ATF Report No. 60, Dec. 29, 1999.
- 197 in the “north”: ATF Report No. 69, March 28, 2000.
- 197 conceal the arms as farm equipment: Author interview, Todd Petrie.
- 197 via a roundabout route: ATF Report No. 73, April 24, 2000.
- 197 a simple code: ATF Report No. 67, March 15, 2000, and No. 68, March 16, 2000.
- 198 had first approached Didi: ATF Report No. 1, Dec. 7, 1998.
- 198 come across a supplier: ATF Report No. 2, Dec. 8, 1998.
- 198 “always fucking boiling”: Recorded telephone call between Diaa Mohsen and Randy Glass, Dec. 23, 1998.
- 198 “overseas.com”: ATF Report No. 49, Aug. 31, 1999.
- 198 tried to peddle: Armstrong, “Case Study: Operation Sphinx,” pp. 326–31.
- 198 looked like a striving immigrant: “Trail of Terror,” *Dateline NBC*, reported by Chris Hansen, produced by Richard Greenberg, NBC, aired Aug. 2, 2002.
- 198 went out to dinner: ATF Report No. 44, Aug. 4, 1999; Randy Glass interview for “Trail of Terror.” For unclear reasons, Glass was not accompanied by an undercover law enforcement agent at this meeting and instead was “wired up” and sent in alone (9/11 Commission Staff, interview of Richard Stoltz, April 12, 2004). The tape recording

- proved to be unintelligible. In debriefings immediately afterward, Glass claimed that Malik and Abbas boasted of connections to Osama bin Laden at the dinner. Glass elaborated on this story after the September 11 attacks, claiming that Abbas told him, “Americans are the enemy,” and pointed to the World Trade Center as they walked out of the restaurant, saying, “The Towers are coming down” (9/11 Commission Staff, interview of Randy Glass, May 4, 2004). Dick Stoltz told the commission that Glass never mentioned this exchange before September 11, calling him a “con man who was misleading family members” of the victims for personal gain.
- 198 “Who exactly am I dealing”: Recorded telephone call between Diaa Mohsen and Randy Glass, Aug. 5, 1999.
- 199 traced back to a single imperative: ATF Report No. 64, Feb. 10, 2000.
- 199 could no longer buy: ATF, Significant Activity Report, June 25, 2002.
- 199 “Now we have our own”: ATF Report No. 52, Oct. 12, 1999.
- 199 “evident personal enthusiasm”: Steve Coll, *Directorate S: The CIA and America’s Secret Wars in Afghanistan and Pakistan, 2001–2016* (New York: Penguin Press, 2018), p. 47.
- 199 ISI operatives facilitated: Al-Bahri, *Guarding Bin Laden*.
- 200 a secret budget: ATF, Significant Activity Report, June 25, 2002.
- 200 once it “clicks”: ATF Report No. 65, Feb. 24, 2000.
- 200 a temporary obstacle: ATF Report No. 67, March 15, 2000.
- 200 an unusual summit: Coll, *Ghost Wars*, pp. 511–13.
- 200 Ziad Jarrah took his trip: “Contact Report,” created by Pascal Schreier for FFTC, exhibit, *USA v. Moussaoui*.
- 200 “We want to do business”: Faxed letter from “Ray Spears” to Mohammed Malik, sent March 27, 2000, referenced in ATF Report No. 68, March 28, 2000.
- 201 a four-page handwritten reply: Faxed letter from R. G. Abbas to “Ray Spears,” sent April 14, 2000, referenced in ATF Report No. 72, April 20, 2000.
- 201 “You must understand”: Faxed letter from “Ray Spears” to R. G. Abbas, sent April 17, 2000, referenced in ATF Report No. 72, April 20, 2000.
- 201 many generals had to approve: ATF Report No. 74, May 3, 2000.
- 201 a retired general: Author interview, Dick Stoltz; ATF Report No. 76, May 8, 2000.
- 201 officer named Farid: ATF Report No. 77, May 12, 2000.
- 202 “way off”: ATF Report No. 52, Oct. 12, 1999.
- 202 patch things up: ATF Report No. 51, Sept. 27, 1999.
- 202 “Of all the targets”: Author interview, Dick Stoltz.
- 203 approved the purchase: ATF Report No. 78, May 22, 2000.

15: Go Time

- 204 When her medication: Mundy, “Punch Lines.”
- 204 She would clasp her hands: Roger Parloff, “Fort Reno,” *American Lawyer*, March 4, 2000.
- 205 “I’m just going to go”: Author interview, Myron Marlin.
- 205 In her shaky hand: Janet Reno, meeting notes, Reno Papers.
- 205 Elián would barge into the dining room: *MH*, April 16, 2000.
- 206 Reno came out of the meeting: Author interview, Todd Rowley.
- 206 Lázaro gave a threatening statement: *MH*, April 16, 2000.
- 206 a forty-second statement: *MH*, April 14, 2000.

- 206 "You know, I've never felt important": Michael Leahy, "A Fisherman and His 15 Minutes," *WP*, April 27, 2000.
- 207 An FBI official: *MH*, April 14, 2000.
- 207 "I have done everything": *MH*, April 14, 2000.
- 207 his aides said they were "fed up": *NYT*, April 21, 2000.
- 207 "A lot of us think": *MH*, April 30, 2000.
- 207 "The resolution of the Elián case": Maureen Dowd, "Never on Sunday, Monday or . . ." *NYT*, April 19, 2000.
- 208 "We have come to rededicate": Janet Reno, Remarks at the Oklahoma City Bombing Memorial Dedication, April 19, 2000.
- 208 tense forty-five-minute conversation: *WP*, April 21, 2000.
- 208 "Operation Reunion": Reconnaissance reports and planning documents, Reno Papers.
- 209 "You think we just have cameras": *MH*, April 23, 2000.
- 209 Juan Miguel faxed a letter: *NYT*, April 26, 2000.
- 210 "It's a go": Carol Florman, interview in documentary *Elián*.
- 210 It was all over very quickly: This account of the raid was synthesized from news articles, including dozens of stories published by the staff of the *Miami Herald*, which won a Pulitzer Prize for Breaking News Reporting for its coverage.
- 210 "They're here!": *AP*, first person account of photographer Alan Diaz, April 23, 2000.
- 211 "God, how could you": *NYT*, April 23, 2000.
- 211 "She lied to this country": *AP*, April 23, 2000.
- 211 "One of the beauties of television": *NYT*, April 23, 2000.
- 211 Reno went back to her apartment: "Oral History of Janet Reno."
- 212 She read her favorite book: *MH*, April 25, 2000.
- 212 "I was confident": Bill Clinton, *My Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), p. 906.

16: Earth Day

- 213 framed poster: Bob Graham, *Intelligence Matters* (New York: Random House, 2004), p. 118.
- 213 "I remember the fierce criticism": Al Gore, Earth Day 2000 speech, April 21, 2000.
- 214 a \$125 billion package of proposals: *NYT*, June 28, 2000.
- 214 "While hammering Mr. Bush": Katherine Seelye, "Gore's Campaign, Confident on the Issues, Still Struggles with His Image," *NYT*, April 22, 2000.
- 214 read the headline: *Detroit Free Press*, April 22, 2000.
- 215 a swift and bipartisan backlash: Reaction to the Gonzalez raid in Florida, including all quotes, compiled from *MH*, April 23–24, 2000.
- 215 Six players on Miami's team: *MH*, April 26, 2000.
- 216 still held strategy sessions: Richard Berke, "Running for Office? The President Has Some Ideas," *NYT*, May 7, 2000.
- 216 From mid-May to mid-October: Melinda Henneberger and Don van Natta Jr., "Once Close to Clinton, Gore Keeps a Distance," *NYT*, Oct. 20, 2000.
- 216 never as compatible: Marjorie Williams, "Scenes from a Marriage," *Vanity Fair*, July 2001.
- 216 "correct, but not warm": Clinton, *My Life*, p. 414.
- 216 "Gore was much more linear": Kamarck, Miller Center oral history.

- 217 "There was a sandbox intensity": Klein, "Eight Years."
- 217 "the bill is coming due": Maraniss and Nakashima, *The Prince of Tennessee*, p. 291.
- 217 "Is the cigar story really in there?": Kamarck, Miller Center oral history.
- 217 "The women in the White House": Kamarck, Miller Center oral history.
- 218 Hillary appeared on the cover: Lucinda Franks, "The Intimate Hillary," *Talk*, September 1999.
- 218 "Bill and I were talking again": Sally Bedell Smith, "White House Civil War," *Vanity Fair*, November 2007.
- 219 She attended the Inner Circle Dinner: Gail Sheehy, "Cheer and Loathing in New York," *Vanity Fair*, June 2000.
- 219 "I hope that": Lynne Duke, "Roast of the Town: Hillary and Rudy Do Dinner," *WP*, March 13, 2000.
- 219 "you're really beautiful": Christine Nguyen and Cait Munro, "Once Upon a Time, Rudy Giuliani and Donald Trump Starred in the Most Bizarre Comedy Sketch Ever," *New York*, April 8, 2016.
- 219 The audience groaned: Duke, "Roast of the Town."
- 220 "aider and abettor": Barbara Olson, *Hell to Pay* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 1999), p. 5.
- 220 "You're the best": *New York Post*, May 18, 2000.
- 221 the president called up the reporter: Richard Berke, "Clinton Admits to Concerns as Gore Campaign Stumbles," *NYT*, May 14, 1999.
- 221 "She felt that would kill": Author interview, former Gore campaign adviser.
- 221 was shocked to learn: In an interview, a former campaign official who discussed the issue with Clinton recalled him saying something to the effect of "Please don't tell me that a twenty-six-year-old is the one who is preventing me from participating in the campaign."
- 221 "stand on the doorstep": Clinton, *My Life*, p. 873.
- 222 "beyond imagination": *WP*, May 22, 1994.
- 222 "He always felt very strongly": Author interview, former Gore campaign official.
- 222 "Al is not a person who likes conflict": Author interview, Martin Peretz.
- 222 "Once I focus on politics": Shipman, "Searching for Al."
- 222 the *Times* released a poll: *NYT*, May 16, 2000.
- 223 he obsessed over it with his speechwriters: Shrum, *No Excuses*, pp. 336–43.
- 224 "I think it's a way": Scene described in John Harris, *The Survivor* (New York: Random House, 2005), p. 390.
- 224 "self-righteous, sanctimonious": Jake Tapper, "Joe Lieberman's Blank Slate," *Talk*, November 2001.

17: The Breakup

- 225 The writer would later say: Freedlander, "An Oral History of Donald Trump's Almost-Run for President in 2000."
- 225 "What office has a receptionist": Author interview, Abraham Wallach.
- 225 Trump's campaign manifesto: Donald Trump and Dave Shiflett, *The America We Deserve* (New York: Renaissance Books, 2000).
- 225 a signing event: *New York Post*, Jan. 6, 2000.
- 226 "America's greatest living comedian": Walter Kirn, "Donald Trump: The Funniest Man in America," *New York*, Jan. 17, 2000.
- 226 After following around Al Gore: Michael Wolff, "How I Got Over My Al-Gore-a-phobia," *New York*, Feb. 21, 2000.

- 226 "I think it would be wrong": Michael Wolff, "Citizen Wolff," *New York*, Oct. 11, 1999.
- 226 "I think it's barbaric": Stone Phillips interview with Trump, *Later Today*, NBC News, Oct. 6, 1999.
- 226 Melania told an interviewer: Matt Labash, "A Chump on the Stump: Donald Trump Pretends to Run for President," *Weekly Standard*, Dec. 20, 1999.
- 226 For his first event: Newspaper reports from Nov. 16, 1999, including: Brian Crowley, "Trump Tests His Presidential Act on Cuban Americans," *PBP*; Carolyn Barta, "Trump on the Stump," *Dallas Morning News*; Ana Acle, "Flirting with Election Bid, Trump Does Miami," *MH*.
- 227 This was a lie: Kurt Eichenwald, "How Donald Trump's Company Violated the United States Embargo Against Cuba," *Newsweek*, Sept. 29, 2016.
- 227 "Let me ask you": Dave Barry, "He Doesn't Want to Hold Your Hand," *MH*, Nov. 16, 1999.
- 227 "Evaluating Donald's riches": Tim O'Brien, *TrumpNation* (New York: Open Road, 2005).
- 227 According to a Gallup poll: Jerry Useem, "What Does Donald Trump Really Want?," *Fortune*, April 3, 2000.
- 228 In another poll: "Trump for President?," CBSNews.com, Jan. 11, 2000.
- 228 He bragged about his friendships: *New York Post*, Oct. 15, 1999.
- 228 Simmons immediately demanded: *New York Post*, Oct. 16, 1999.
- 229 "It was strange": Author interview, Trump 2000 campaign adviser.
- 229 "She is actually naked": *The Howard Stern Show*, Nov. 9, 1999.
- 229 "Her primary function": Barry, "He Doesn't Want to Hold Your Hand."
- 229 a two-page photo spread: *Talk*, February 2000, pp. 76–77.
- 229 "I'm the only one": Byron, "Behind Trump's Political Fling."
- 230 "She's a *real* celebrity": Labash, "A Chump on the Stump."
- 230 "Hey, Donald": Labash, "A Chump on the Stump."
- 230 When the cameras rolled: *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, Dec. 7, 1999.
- 230 Walking through: Milbank, *Smashmouth*, pp. 215–16; Nathaniel Meyersohn, "Donald Trump's Trip to the Holocaust Museum," *BuzzFeed*, Oct. 21, 2016.
- 231 "Get even": *60 Minutes II*, CBS News, Jan. 11, 2000.
- 231 "I'm building a ninety-story building next to it": Labash, "A Chump on the Stump." Trump World Tower is actually seventy-two stories tall.
- 232 "I certainly like what Donald Trump is saying": *FTP*, Dec. 27, 1999.
- 233 "man-hating misandry": Kenneth Turan, "A Psycho Carves Path from Novel to Screen," *Los Angeles Times*, April 14, 2000.
- 233 In March of that year: "Bill Cosby Threatens to Sue National Enquirer," *Tallahassee Democrat*, March 8, 2000.
- 234 "I mean, terrible choice": Nagourney, "President? Why Not?"
- 234 a first-person essay: Donald Trump, "The Big Issue," *Gear*, March 2000.
- 234 remembers the article's composition: Author interview, Bob Guccione Jr.
- 235 "duty as an American citizen": AP, Oct. 20, 1999.
- 235 "Bachelor Ball": Leamer, *Mar-a-Lago*, pp. 88–92.
- 235 "It's a fantasy": Dowd, "Trump L'Oeil Tease."
- 235 One weekend in 2000: Michael Corcoran, "18 with the Trumpster!," *Maximum Golf*, August 2000.
- 236 "They seemed to be awfully chummy": Author interview, Abraham Wallach.
- 236 "Terrific guy": Landon Thomas Jr., "Jeffrey Epstein: International Moneyman of Mystery," *New York*, Oct. 28, 2002.

- 236 “like first-rate pussy”: In the original text of Corcoran’s article, this quote is rendered as “There is nothing in the world like first-class talent.” In 2017, Corcoran revealed that Trump actually used the word *pussy*, and the quote was altered by an editor in deference to Trump, an account confirmed by a second editor at the magazine (Brandy Zadrozny, “Trump Bragged: Nothing in the World Like First-Rate P**sy,” *Daily Beast*, Nov. 30, 2017).
- 236 Chuck Harder had news: *FTP*, Jan. 11, 2000.
- 237 Melania arrived at Trump Tower: *New York Post*, Jan. 27, 2000.
- 237 “Rather than being upset”: Author interview, Trump campaign source.
- 237 “He seemed like”: Author interview, Jerry Useem.
- 237 at another Reform Party rally: Useem, “What Does Trump Really Want?”; Vincent Morris, “Trump: ‘Bush Is a Dim Bulb,’” *New York Post*, Jan. 8, 2000.
- 238 “surgically enhanced beauties”: Jose Lambiet, “The Donald Looks Like a Politico—in More Ways than One,” *Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel*, Jan. 19, 2000.
- 238 “She meant a lot to me”: *New York Post*, Jan. 12, 2000.
- 238 “She’s a great girl”: *New York Post*, Jan. 11, 2000.
- 238 “She’s a one-man woman”: *New York Post* gossip item reprinted in *MH*, Jan. 14, 2000.
- 238 “Donald already has spent”: *New York Daily News*, Jan. 11, 2000.
- 238 “I will have to follow”: “Meet the First Babes.”
- 239 He took Melania to a candlelit dinner: *New York Post*, Jan. 27, 2000.
- 239 He gave Reform Party leaders the impression: Author interview, Russell Verney.
- 239 he took out the mortgage: *PBP*, June 2, 2000.
- 240 “So, waddya think”: Reid, “Quasi-Candidate Loves to Serve but Hates to Lose.”
- 240 “ashamed of this party!”: Ryan Lizza, “Earful,” *The New Republic*, Feb. 28, 2000.
- 240 “exploiters such as Donald Trump”: Adam Nagourney, “Reform Bid Said to Be a No-Go For Trump,” *NYT*, Feb. 14, 2000.
- 240 Ventura appeared at a press conference: *MH*, Feb. 12, 2000.
- 240 Mar-a-Lago held a pro-am tennis tournament: Michael Strauss, “Trump-Illic Take Pro-Am Tennis Title,” *Palm Beach Daily News*, Feb. 15, 2000.
- 241 snapped a picture with Jeffrey Epstein: “Pictured: Prince Andrew, Donald and Melania Trump at a party with billionaire paedophile Jeffrey Epstein at the President’s Florida Mar-a-Lago Club in 2000,” *Daily Mail*, Aug. 30, 2019.
- 241 “Doesn’t that sound”: *New York Post*, Feb. 17, 2000.
- 241 Trump issued a statement: “Statement of Donald J. Trump,” Feb. 14, 2000.
- 241 decrying the “fringe element”: Donald Trump, “What I Saw at the Revolution,” *NYT*, Feb. 19, 2000.
- 241 sat down on *Today*: Matt Lauer interview with Trump, *Today*, NBC, Feb. 14, 2000.

18: Circus Town

- 242 “Contrary to popular belief”: Daniel Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), p. 209.
- 242 off-season headquarters: “When the Circus Was in Town,” *Venice*, Feb. 9, 2015.
- 243 The Miami relatives were praying: *MH*, June 29, 2000.
- 243 Janet Reno learned of the decision: Janet Reno, Schedule for June 28, 2000.
- 243 “I hope everyone will accept”: Account of Elián’s departure compiled from *NYT*, June 29, 2000.
- 244 He had passed through U.S. border controls: FBI Timeline, p. 70.

- 245 “I’m trying to demystify it”: Author interview, Franck Martin.
- 245 The flying Dutchmen: Arne Kruithof, *Unbelievable!* (self-published, 2011); Rudi Dekkers, *Guilty by Association* (Sydney: Brio Press, 2011); Daniel Hopsicker, *Welcome to Terrorland: Mohamed Atta and the 9/11 Cover-up in Florida* (Mad Cow Press, 2004).
- 245 left behind a huge tax-evasion case: Dekkers, *Guilty by Association*, pp. 72–73. He writes that he was convicted but that his one-year sentence was later overturned on appeal.
- 245 He would later be imprisoned: Susan Carroll, “Flight Trainer of 9/11 Terrorists Faces Federal Drug Charges,” *Houston Chronicle*, Dec. 13, 2012. Dekkers pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy to possess with intent to distribute cocaine in 2013 and was sentenced to fifty-seven months in federal prison.
- 245 Kruithof shot a video: “FFTC and Arne Kruithof,” undated promotional video, accessed via YouTube.
- 246 “It’s newlyweds and nearly dead”: *Venice Gondolier*, March 22, 2000.
- 246 were still in New York: FBI Timeline, p. 70.
- 246 He kept around \$100,000: FBI, summary of interrogation of Abdul Aziz Ali, *USA v. KSM*.
- 246 who picked up the money: FBI Timeline, p. 71.
- 247 He smiled broadly behind his sunglasses: Fouda and Fielding, *Masterminds of Terror*, p. 131.
- 247 “I sensed pretty quickly”: Kruithof, *Unbelievable!*, p. 111.
- 247 Kruithof would often: Author interview, Franck Martin.
- 247 Jarrah told the one: Rachel Davis, testimony, *USA v. Moussaoui*.
- 247 *Saus und Braus*: Aysel Sengün, statement, BKA Files.
- 248 a country Davis had never even heard of: Rachel Davis, testimony, *USA v. Moussaoui*.
- 248 Jarrah spent the sticky Florida summer: FBI, Investigative Summary, PENTTBOM, United Airlines Flight 93, 9/11 Commission Files, p. 3216.
- 248 he drove to school: The retail geography of Venice is reconstructed from the archives of the *Venice Gondolier*, including a yearly supplement entitled “Venice Profile,” and from a tour of the town given by *Gondolier* reporter Bob Mudge.
- 248 where kids lined up at midnight: Fran Valencic, “Harry Potter Casts a Spell on Venice,” *Venice Gondolier*, July 19, 2000.
- 248 flapping from the hands of a mannequin: Ed Scott, “Mannequin Adds Wrinkle to Sign Rule,” *Venice Gondolier*, July 12, 2000.
- 248 “collision avoidance”: “Record of Stage Check Private Pilot—Stage 1, July 13, 2000,” exhibit, *USA v. Moussaoui*.
- 248 From above, he could take in: Aerial view observed by author during training flight, March 2020.
- 249 The waters off Venice: Caity Whiteaker, “Sharks Make Presence Known,” *Venice Gondolier*, June 21, 2000.

19: TruMarkets

- 250 creation of a con artist: This portrait of Randy Glass, who died in 2008, is compiled from court records, news coverage, and interviews with former ATF agents. Glass’s son, Benjamin Seaman, also contributed his recollections.
- 250 cocaine possession: John Mintz, “U.S. Reopens Arms Case in Probe for Taliban Role,” *WP*, Aug. 2, 2002.

250 some gullible marks: John Pacenti, "Taliban Showed Interest in Boca Snitch," *PBP*, Sept. 29, 2001.

250 described his philosophy: *Dateline NBC*, "Trail of Terror."

250 Glass got pinched: Indictment, *USA v. Randy Glass*.

251 "between me and you": Recorded conversation between Randy Glass and Diaa Mohsen, Dec. 7, 1998, referenced in ATF Report No. 2, Dec. 8, 1998.

251 brought up Osama bin Laden: ATF Report No. 2, Dec. 8, 1998.

251 "You don't know": Recorded conversation between Glass and Mohsen, Dec. 7, 1998.

251 "thought it was bullshit": Author interview, Steve Barborini.

251 "Randy was a wild man": Author interview, Dick Stoltz.

251 secretly dubbed copies: Author interview, Benjamin Seaman.

251 "I was a rogue": John Pacenti, "Con Man Revels in Redemption as Terror Fighter," *PBP*, Aug. 3, 2002.

252 "force of nature": Armstrong, "Case Study: Operation Sphinx," p. 328.

252 out of his own pocket: Defendant Mohsen's Notice Under Seal of Intent to Present the Defense of Public Authority, *USA v. Diaa Mohsen*.

252 alias "Robert Blake": "Trail of Terror."

252 talked up Ingram's influence: ATF Report No. 37, May 25, 1999.

252 "They set him up": Author interview, Diaa Mohsen.

253 "one of the most prolific": Pacenti, "Taliban Showed Interest in Boca Snitch."

253 "There is a pattern": Author interview, Neil Karadbil.

253 "What we have": Pacenti, "Taliban Showed Interest in Boca Snitch."

253 "a cavalcade of negotiations": Armstrong, "Case Study: Operation Sphinx," p. 328.

254 "What's the hottest thing": "40 Under 40," *Crain's New York Business*, 1997.

255 homeowners would owe: Louis Uchitelle, "Equity Shrivels as Homeowners Borrow and Buy," *NYT*, Jan. 19, 2001.

255 Ingram had experimented: Joshua Brockman, "Deutsche Bank Adds Mortgage Securities to On-line Trading System," *American Banker*, Dec. 29, 1997.

255 dashed off a memo: Gary Morgenthaller, "Investment Memorandum," Jan. 23, 2000.

256 an initial \$6.2 million: Morgenthaller Ventures, "Confidential Term Sheet," Dec. 28, 1999. Corzine's contribution reported in *NYT*, October 27, 2001.

256 "pie-in-the-sky guy": Author interview, Michael Herskovitz.

257 Ingram paid a visit: Affidavits of Charles Smart and Kevin Ingram, *TruMarkets Inc. v. Charles Smart and Visible Markets Inc.*, New York State Supreme Court, 2000.

257 "Kevin was really brilliant": Author interview, Michael Herskovitz.

257 "You never knew": Author interview, Charles Smart.

258 a sales proposal: ATF, Significant Activity Report, June 25, 2002.

258 twenty-four-page sales brochure: ATF Report No. 85, Aug. 25, 2000.

258 army chief of staff: ATF Report No. 84, Aug. 24, 2000.

258 really did appear to have ties: Author interviews, Dick Stoltz, Steve Barborini, and Dale Armstrong.

258 thought it was "crazy": ATF Report No. 78, May 22, 2000.

259 suspected he was a double agent: ATF Report No. 106, June 15, 2001.

259 Malik told the undercover ATF agents: ATF, Significant Activity Report, June 25, 2002.

259 dealers in Dubai: ATF Report No. 86, Sept. 21, 2000.

259 a fifteen-page weapons wish list: ATF Report No. 84, Aug. 24, 2000.

259 "I'm scared to death": Recorded conversation between Glass and Mohsen, Dec. 7, 1998.

259 nuclear materials could be procured: ATF, Significant Activity Report, June 25, 2002.

20: Remote Control

- 260 which he shared with the world: Teresa Wiltz and Paul Fahri, "Death Follows Ugly Scene Played Out on 'Springer,'" *WP*, June 27, 2000.
- 260 a local belly dancer: "Murder Scandal Could Kill Jerry Springer Show," *National Enquirer*, Aug. 15, 2000.
- 260 highest-rated syndicated programs: Greg Braxton, "Them's Fighting Words," *Los Angeles Times*, April 5, 1998.
- 260 This sounded good to Nan: Amended complaint for wrongful death, *Jeffrey J. Campbell v. Jerry Springer et al.*, filed in Circuit Court for Sarasota County, Florida, July 17, 2002.
- 260 The episode was to be titled: Julian Borger and Merope Mills, "A View to a Kill," *Guardian*, July 28, 2000.
- 261 paid for by the show's producers: Amended complaint, *Campbell v. Springer*.
- 261 It was an ambush: In his defense in the wrongful death litigation, Springer's attorneys produced a variety of legal waivers signed in advance by Ralf and Eleanor Panitz, including one entitled "Secrets Supplemental Consent and Release," which stated they understood that they might "learn allegations or information of which I was not previously aware" on the show and that "each SECRET may be private or personal and may be distressing to me if and when revealed to me." The wrongful death case was ultimately settled out of court.
- 261 "redheaded bitch from hell": Amended complaint, *Campbell v. Springer*. Other passages of dialogue from the *Springer* episode taken from above-cited articles in the *WP* and the *Guardian* and from Rochelle Steinhaus, "Florida v. Panitz: Talk Show Murder Trial," *Court TV*, March 1, 2002; archived article retrieved from CNN.com.
- 262 Nan appeared before a Sarasota County judge: Steinhaus, "Florida v. Panitz," March 1, 2002.
- 262 Ralf got drunk: Jennifer Sullivan, "Wife Takes Stand in Panitz Trial," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, March 16, 2002.
- 262 "To Jerry Springer": Transcript of sentencing hearing before Judge Nancy Donnellan, *Florida v. Panitz*, Circuit Court for Sarasota County, Florida, May 24, 2002, p. 20.
- 262 Based on a Swedish series: Patrick Radden Keefe, "Winning," *The New Yorker*, Jan. 7, 2019.
- 263 had pitched his concept: Mark Burnett, *Jump In!* (New York: Ballantine, 2005), p. 85.
- 263 "Outright lying is absolutely essential": "Old and New Bonds," Season 1, Episode 9, *Survivor*, created by Mark Burnett, first aired July 26, 2000. This account of *Survivor*'s first season is indebted to a series of episode recaps published in 2020 by Andy Dehnart on his blog *Reality Blurred*.
- 264 putting *Survivor* on its cover: *Newsweek*, Aug. 28, 2000.
- 264 "Machiavellian politics": Mark Burnett, *Survivor: The Ultimate Game* (New York: TV Books, 2000), p. 12.
- 264 *dramality*: Burnett, *Jump In!*, p. 93.
- 264 "It's quite a mean game": Keefe, "Winning."
- 265 "Vote Hillary Off the Island": Tish Durkin, "In GOP's Big Tent, the Hillary-Haters Obey the Gag Order," *New York Observer*, Aug. 7, 2000.
- 265 George threw a bash: Amy Wallace, "Hollywood Turns Out in Force for Party in Its Backyard," *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 18, 2000.

- 265 Chelsea Clinton showed up: Michael Wolff, "L.A. Nonstory," *New York*, Aug. 28, 2000.
- 265 Bill and Hillary kicked off their week: Unless otherwise noted, all descriptions of the DNC are based on reporting by Tish Durkin, Josh Benson, and staff of the *New York Observer*, Aug. 21, 2000. Some online news items accessed via archive.org.
- 265 state legislator named Barack Obama: David Axelrod, "Episode 108: President Barack Obama," *The Axe Files*, Dec. 26, 2016, transcript from CNN.com.
- 266 wanted to go out like Babe Ruth: Maureen Dowd, "Prudes and Playboys," *NYT*, Aug. 13, 2000.
- 266 kept his plan secret: Simon, *Divided We Stand*, p. 198.
- 266 entering the arena: "Video Recording of President William Jefferson Clinton Speaking at the 2000 Democratic National Convention," Aug. 14, 2000, accessed via YouTube.
- 266 Gore picked up 5 points: Simon, *Divided We Stand*, p. 199.
- 267 "If it means we have to hold our noses": *NYT*, Aug. 15, 2000.
- 267 toiling over his own convention speech: Shrum, *No Excuses*, pp. 348–49.
- 268 "I stand here tonight": Al Gore, DNC acceptance speech, Aug. 17, 2000.
- 268 "gained more in forty-five minutes": Author interview, Robert Shrum.
- 268 between 16 and 22 points: Shrum, *No Excuses*, p. 351.
- 268 "He's a rock star": Kevin Sack, "Gore and Company Making a Serious Play for Florida," *NYT*, Aug. 24, 2000.
- 268 "There's Al Gore": *PBP*, Sept. 1, 2000.
- 269 a champagne-colored Mercedes: Keefe, "Winning."
- 269 "Maintaining a thumb": Jan Tuckwood, "It's a Game, and It's Still Playing Us," *PBP*, Aug. 25, 2000.
- 269 "How do you stay true": Caryn James, "Critic's Notebook; Machiavelli, on a Desert Isle, Meets TV's Reality. Unreal," *NYT*, Aug. 24, 2000.
- 270 Bill Clinton was sitting: Michael Paterniti, "The Last Will and Testament of William Jefferson Clinton," *Esquire*, December 2000.
- 270 the first test: CIA, "DCI Report: The Rise of UBL and Al-Qa'ida and the Intelligence Community Response," March 19, 2000, National Security Archive, pp. 60–63; Coll, *Ghost Wars*, pp. 526–36.
- 270 "proof of concept": *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 189.
- 271 "live and prolonged coverage": Samuel Berger, "Memorandum for the President: Improving Intelligence Collection Against Usama bin Ladin," Aug. 20, 2000, Clinton Library.
- 271 "truly astonishing": *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 190; See also: Scott Swanson, "War Is No Video Game—Not Even Remotely," *Breaking Defense*, Nov. 18, 2014.
- 272 administration's secret councils: An authoritative description of the internal Clinton administration debate over the plans to kidnap or kill Osama bin Laden can be found in Coll, *Ghost Wars*, pp. 421–30 and 534–36.
- 272 "Is it stupid?": Frances Fragos Townsend, oral history, interviewed by Russell Riley et al., Miller Center (hereafter "Townsend, Miller Center oral history").
- 272 "a bunch of black ninjas": *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 189.
- 272 "We all wanted him dead": George Tenet, deposition given to 9/11 Commission, 9/11 Commission Files.
- 273 only if an Al Qaeda attack were "imminent": Coll, *Ghost Wars*, p. 426.
- 273 chances of success at 30 percent: *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 113.
- 273 "I was concerned": Janet Reno, deposition given to 9/11 Commission, 9/11 Commission Files.

- 274 haunted, in particular: Coll, *Ghost Wars*, p. 536.
- 274 nuclear submarines: Samuel Berger, "The 1993–2000 Record on Counterterrorism," confidential memo dated June 17, 2002, Reno papers.
- 274 sometimes play volleyball: Al-Bahri, *Guarding bin Laden*.
- 274 "the O.J. thing": Coll, *Ghost Wars*, p. 532.
- 274 "see it/shoot it" option: CIA, "Strategy for Eliminating the Threat from Jihadist Networks of al-Qida [*sic*]: Status and Prospect," memo sent to White House adviser Richard Clarke, Dec. 29, 2000, Clinton Library.
- 275 made an entry in his diary: Anthony Graziano, testimony, *USA v. al-Bahlul*, trial transcript p. 418.
- 275 "In October, an event may occur": Diary, Ali al-Bahlul, original and English translation introduced into evidence in *USA v. al-Bahlul*.
- 275 bearing the face of Bill Clinton: Dean, *Nine Lives*, p. 186.

21: Black September

- 276 "Eight months after": *FTP*, Aug. 5, 1999.
- 277 "This cannot be episodic": Email from Richard Clarke to Mona Sutphen, "FOR SANDY [SECRET]," Jan. 11, 2000, Clinton Library.
- 277 "worldwide political conspiracy": Clarke, *Against All Enemies*, pp. 216–18.
- 277 "one mosque to another": Janet Reno, deposition given to 9/11 Commission, 9/11 Commission Files.
- 278 The FBI catches bank robbers: Ned Zeman, David Wise, David Rose, and Bryan Burrough, "The Path to 9/11: Lost Warnings and Fatal Errors," *Vanity Fair*, November 2004.
- 278 one of at least eleven opportunities: Amy Zegart, *Spying Blind: The CIA, the FBI, and the Origins of 9/11* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 102.
- 279 "a very serious man on the telephone": FBI, summary of interrogation of Mustafa Ahmed Adam al-Hawsawi, *USA v. KSM*.
- 279 an Arab prince: Dekkers, *Guilty by Association*, p. 148.
- 279 "asshole first class": Interview with Dekkers, Oct. 21, 2001, Australian Broadcasting Corporation.
- 280 "a collective sigh": Daniel Pursell, testimony, *USA v. Zacarias Moussaoui*.
- 280 "the little terrorist": Susan Hall, testimony, *USA v. Zacarias Moussaoui*.
- 280 "enemy's excitement trap": "The Al Qaeda Manual," 9/11 Commission Files.
- 281 showing him political websites: FBI report on interview with flight school classmate of Atta and al-Shehhi (name redacted), Sept. 15, 2001.
- 281 an odd Web page: FBI report on interview with Nicole Antini, Sept. 13, 2001.
- 281 believed that Monica Lewinsky: Wright, *The Looming Tower*, p. 306.
- 281 wired \$70,000 in cash: FBI, summary of interrogation of Abdul Aziz Ali, *USA v. KSM*.
- 281 "They brought a roll": Author interview, Kendall Coleman.
- 282 received another visitor: The Bush and Gore rallies at the Sarasota airport were covered by the national and local media, including the *MH*, *AP*, and *Bradenton Herald*, as well as *The Catalyst*, a student publication of the New College of Florida, Sarasota.
- 282 a "Bush blitz": *MH*, Sept. 23, 2000.
- 283 "almost reclusive": Berke, "Feeling the Burden of a Name, One Bush Focuses on Florida."
- 283 his "Black September": James Moore and Wayne Slater, *Bush's Brain* (New York: Wiley, 2003), p. 273.

- 284 “I beat his brains in”: Gregg, Miller Center oral history.
- 284 training camp: Stuart Stevens, *The Big Enchilada* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), pp. 156–61 and 194–97.
- 284 “We’re doomed”: Stuart Stevens, interviewed by Patrick Healy, “Debacle: What Al Gore’s First Debate Against George W. Bush Can Teach Hillary Clinton,” *NYT*, Sept. 25, 2016.
- 284 Inside was a videotape: DOJ, “Former Employee of Media Consultant to Bush Campaign Charged in Leak of Debate Preparation Materials to Gore Associate,” press release, March 6, 2001.
- 284 popped the tape: Sam Stein, “The Crazy Inside Story of Al Gore’s ‘Trump Tower Moment,’” *Daily Beast*, Aug. 31, 2018.
- 284 was dressed casually: Author interview, Stuart Stevens.
- 285 a cover story: James Fallows, “An Acquired Taste: How Al Gore Learned to Love the Jugular,” *Atlantic Monthly*, July 2000.
- 285 “We felt the first debate”: Tad Devine, interviewed in Healy, “Debacle.”
- 285 For extra luck: Chris Anderson, “Al Gore Slept Here,” *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, Sept. 25, 2016.
- 286 plane rolled up: *The Catalyst*, Oct. 4, 2000.
- 286 at a dead sprint: Luke Frazza, AFP wire photo, Sept. 30, 2000. Gore’s routine of running from his aircraft to greet waiting crowds is memorably described in Nicholas Lemann, “Gore Without a Script,” *The New Yorker*, July 31, 2000.
- 286 “I’m not planning”: Richard Berke and Katharine Seelye, “Gore Says He Will Focus on Substance, Nicely, in Debate,” *NYT*, Oct. 2, 2000.
- 287 read the father’s note: Shrum, *No Excuses*, p. 355.
- 288 Coleman flunked them: *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 224.
- 288 fought with him: FBI report on interview with Ivan Chirivella, Sept. 15, 2001.

22: Hurricane Season

- 289 “I love Florida”: Harold Evans, “Bill Clinton’s Fighting Farewell,” *Talk*, December 2000/January 2001.
- 290 Clinton rambled off: Ellen Nakashima, “For One Gore Fan, Debate Was Near-Washout,” *WP*, Oct. 5, 2000.
- 291 “important to resist”: All debate quotations from transcripts archived on the Commission on Presidential Debates website, www.debates.org.
- 291 Jackson was there: Simon, *Divided We Stand*, pp. 237–39.
- 292 “world’s preeminent debater”: Simon, *Divided We Stand*, p. 233.
- 292 “steroid-crazed football player”: Stevens, *The Big Enchilada*, p. 158.
- 292 “raw, unbridled contempt”: Paul Begala, interviewed in Healy, “Debacle.”
- 292 his Harvard thesis: Lemann, “Gore Without a Script.”
- 292 final moments before: Simon, *Divided We Stand*, p. 239; Shrum, *No Excuses*, p. 355; Brazile, *Cooking with Grease*, p. 265.
- 294 Hit that harder: Shrum, *No Excuses*, p. 354.
- 294 blowing the whole election: Bruni, *Ambling into History*, p. 187.
- 295 “I bet that’s a lie”: Stevens, *The Big Enchilada*, p. 240.
- 295 “We’re going to ram”: Stevens, *The Big Enchilada*, p. 241.
- 296 “cannot do that”: Simon, *Divided We Stand*, p. 240.
- 296 “The missing desk”: Daniel Kennedy, “Note to Gore: Sarasota High Is Not a Sob Story,” *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 6, 2000.

- 296 “the pumpkin-headed sigh master”: Bruni, *Ambling into History*, p. 187.
- 296 debate parody sketch: *Saturday Night Live*, Episode 486, Oct. 7, 2000.
- 296 came the deluge: “South Florida a Disaster Area,” *MH*, Oct. 5, 2000.
- 297 a secret meeting: Jim Defede, “Collision Course,” *Miami New Times*, Nov. 23, 2000.
- 298 “From crisis comes”: Michael Grunwald, *The Swamp* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006), pp. 347–48.
- 298 General Motors introduced: Keith Bradsher, “G.M. Has High Hopes for Vehicle Truly Meant for Road Warriors,” *NYT*, Aug. 6, 2000.
- 298 the opposite effect: Shrum, *No Excuses*, p. 358.
- 299 roused from his sleep: Brazile, *Cooking with Grease*, p. 266.
- 299 a navy destroyer: *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 190.
- 299 the first time: Henneberger and van Natta, “Once Close to Clinton, Gore Keeps a Distance.”
- 300 he told Janet Reno: Reno, Miller Center oral history.
- 300 an emotional eulogy: *NYT*, Oct. 19, 2000.
- 300 most effective recruitment film: Ali Soufan, testimony, *USA v. al-Bablul*, trial transcript p. 534.
- 300 slaughtering sheep and camels: *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 236.

23: Chasing Ghosts

- 301 least prepared for: Janet Reno, deposition given to 9/11 Commission, 9/11 Commission Files. See also Jim McGee and Brian Duffy, *Main Justice* (New York: Touchstone, 1996), pp. 303–65.
- 302 two or three a day on average: Junod, “Janet Reno Is Innocent.”
- 302 “Bureau of Intelligence”: “Oral History of Janet Reno.”
- 302 “My job was to balance”: Reno, 9/11 Commission deposition.
- 303 Freeh had not spoken: Zegart, *Spying Blind*, p. 143. In *My Life*, Bill Clinton contends that Freeh had decided to “sell me down the river” to win political support from Republicans in Congress after a “whole series of missteps” at the FBI under his watch (pp. 763–64). Freeh declined to be interviewed for this book.
- 303 only about 6 percent: 9/11 Commission, “Staff Statement No. 9,” 9/11 Commission Files.
- 303 “real men don’t type”: Zegart, *Spying Blind*, p. 4.
- 303 “the joke of Washington”: Zegart, *Spying Blind*, p. 137.
- 303 Freeh didn’t even have: Zegart, *Spying Blind*, p. 4.
- 303 ordering Freeh to: Janet Reno, memorandum for FBI director Louis Freeh, “Threats to U.S. National Security Interests,” May 2, 2000, Reno Papers.
- 304 “feel that the FBI”: Reno, 9/11 Commission deposition.
- 304 the aftermath of the *Cole* attack: See Soufan, *The Black Banners*, pp. 149–270; Wright, *The Looming Tower*, pp. 365–72.
- 304 “criminal investigations of terrorism”: Email from Richard Clarke to Roger Cressey, “Considerations,” Oct. 25, 2000, Clinton Library.
- 305 “support” from Al Qaeda: CIA, DCI Counterterrorist Center, “Attack on the USS *Cole*: Preliminary Findings,” Nov. 10, 2000, National Security Archive.
- 305 “History is written”: Samuel Berger, Public Hearing Statement to the 9/11 Commission, March 24, 2004.
- 305 “didn’t really want to know”: *9/11 Commission Report*, pp. 195–96.
- 305 “Who the shit”: Clarke, *Against All Enemies*, p. 224.

- 305 a jarring outburst: Dekkers, *Guilty by Association*, p. 147.
- 306 Jarrah was in Germany: FBI Timeline pp. 94–99.
- 306 had their picture taken: Summers and Swan, *The Eleventh Day*, p. 298.
- 306 picked him up: Thorsten Biermann, statement, BKA Files.
- 307 familiar with the phenomenon: Author interview, former CIA officer.
- 307 “chasing ghosts”: Author interview, Dale Armstrong.
- 307 was curiously inaudible: 9/11 Commission Staff, interview of Richard Stoltz, 9/11 Commission Files.
- 307 controlled by Freemasons: Author interview, Diaa Mohsen.
- 307 refused to designate: Mintz, “U.S. Reopens Arms Case in Probe for Taliban Role.”
- 307 all the “three-letter agencies”: Author interviews, Dick Stoltz and other former ATF agents.
- 308 “This was not bullshit”: Author interview, Steve Barborini.
- 308 “These were ISI agents”: Author interview, Dale Armstrong.
- 308 interest in obtaining “sweet water”: The ongoing efforts to obtain nuclear material were first reported by *Dateline NBC* (Chris Hansen and Richard Greenberg, “The Most Dangerous Man in the World?,” NBC, Jan. 14, 2005) and are described most fully in ATF, Significant Activity Report, June 25, 2002.
- 308 dropped the name: Author interview, Dick Stoltz. Detail first reported by Hansen and Greenberg in “The Most Dangerous Man in the World?”
- 308 Khan also had a side business: William Langewiesche wrote a definitive two-part profile of A. Q. Khan in the *Atlantic* after the exposure of Khan’s network (“The Wrath of Khan,” November 2005; “The Point of No Return,” January/February 2006).
- 309 mentioned intercepted shipments: ATF Report No. 47, Aug. 18, 1999, and No. 48, Aug. 24, 1999.
- 309 a \$32 million order: ATF Report No. 90, Nov. 28, 2000.
- 309 “very smooth”: ATF Report No. 87, Oct. 30, 2000.
- 310 “It looked like I was kissing”: Simon, *Divided We Stand*, p. 256.
- 310 Dick Stoltz called: ATF Report No. 88, Nov. 13, 2000. In an interview, Stoltz described his procedure for handling tapes of his undercover phone calls.

24: The Numbers

- 311 Al Gore’s motorcade: Simon, *Divided We Stand*, p. 13.
- 311 *Let us in!:* MH, Nov. 7, 2000.
- 311 There was Jesse Jackson: Simon, *Divided We Stand*, p. 19.
- 311 It was Harvey Weinstein: AP, Nov. 7, 2000.
- 312 assembled on a stage: “USA: MIAMI: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: AL GORE,” AP video, accessed via YouTube.
- 312 “the future is being born”: AP, Nov. 7, 2000.
- 312 in Little Havana: Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, p. 13.
- 312 “punish the enemy”: Jeffrey Toobin, *Too Close to Call: The Thirty-Six-Day Battle to Decide the 2000 Election* (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2002), p. 146.
- 313 “going pretty wild”: Correspondents of the *New York Times*, *36 Days: The Complete Chronicle of the 2000 Presidential Election Crisis* (New York: Times Books, 2001), pp. 57–58 (hereafter *36 Days*).
- 313 “New Jersey”: Lou Dubose, *Boy Genius* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003).

- 313 craftier motive: Simon, *Divided We Stand*, p. 13.
- 313 his final day: Bruni, *Ambling into History*, pp. 198–200.
- 313 Jeb's people: Author interviews, Jeb Bush advisers.
- 314 "never live it down": AP, Oct. 11, 2000.
- 314 "I don't want to live": *PBP*, Aug. 3, 2000.
- 314 Leno ribbed Dubya: AP, Aug. 31, 2000; video accessed via YouTube.
- 314 Gore was in Tampa: Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, pp. 3–4.
- 314 first complaint call: Frank Cerabino, "How Al Gore Lost the Presidency," *PBP*, Dec. 17, 2000.
- 315 "I got scared": Cerabino, "How Al Gore Lost the Presidency."
- 316 "Everybody has to vote": Scene and dialogue reconstructed from contemporaneous notes, dated Nov. 7, 2000, taken by Nicole Antini, a twenty-two-year-old female employee of Huffman Aviation who filed a sexual harassment claim against Dekkers in 2001. Dekkers and his company settled the claim for \$15,000, without any admission of wrongdoing. He could not be reached for comment.
- 316 Marwan walked in: Huffman Aviation, "General History," Marwan al-Shehhi, *USA v. Moussaoui*.
- 316 just passed an FAA test: FBI Timeline p. 101.
- 316 manager had heard: FBI report on interview with Nicole Antini, Sept. 13, 2001.
- 316 a balding statistician: Author interview, Murray Edelman. Other elements of this account of Election Day at the Voter News Service can be found in David Moore, *How to Steal an Election* (New York: Nation Books, 2006); Alicia Shepard, "How They Blew It," *American Journalism Review*, January/February 2001; Seth Mnookin, "It Happened One Night," *Brill's Content*, Dec. 18, 2000; Warren Mitofsky and Murray Edelman, "Election Night Estimation," *Journal of Official Statistics* 18, No. 2 (2002): 165–79; Warren Mitofsky, "Voter News Service After the Fall," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 67 (2003): 45–58; Neal Ungerleider, "Voter News Service, World Trade Center, 2000," *medium.com*, Sept. 16, 2016; Leon Neyfakh, "Real Numbers," Episode 2, *Fiasco: Bush v. Gore* (Luminary Media, May 30, 2019).
- 317 all using the same color scheme: Kornacki, *The Red and the Blue*, pp. 4–5.
- 318 "out of the Atari years": The Political Staff of the *Washington Post*, *Deadlock: The Inside Story of America's Closest Election* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2001), p. 31 (hereafter *Deadlock*).
- 319 first round of exit polls: *Deadlock*, p. 31.
- 320 as Ellis squinted: John Ellis, "A Hard Day's Night: John Ellis' Firsthand Account of Election Night," *Inside.com*, November–December 2000.
- 320 "I got the smell": *Deadlock*, p. 255.
- 320 a start-up called Inside.com: Patricia Jacobus, "Web Sites Run with Early Election Results," CNET, Nov. 7, 2000.
- 321 Ellis ducked out: Ellis, "A Hard Day's Night."
- 321 "rattlettrap computer system": Roger Ailes, testimony, "Election Night Coverage by the Networks," House Committee on Energy and Commerce, Feb. 14, 2001.
- 321 "What's your gut": Gabriel Sherman, *The Loudest Voice in the Room* (New York: Random House, 2014), p. 245.
- 321 59,126: Martin Merzer and the staff of the *Miami Herald*, *Democracy Held Hostage: The Complete Investigation of the 2000 Presidential Election, Including Results of the Independent Recount* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), p. 122 (hereafter *Democracy Held Hostage*).
- 321 trying to cast her ballot: Deposition of Janice Kelly, Doc. No. 409, *NAACP v. Harris*, pp. 82–90.

- 322 more than 20 percent: *36 Days*, p. 92.
- 322 a Democratic congresswoman: David Margolick, Evgenia Peretz, and Michael Schnayerson, "The Path to Florida," *Vanity Fair*, October 2004.
- 323 ballots cast by Black citizens: USCCR Report, p. 22.
- 323 "a new low": Brazile, *Cooking with Grease*, p. 232.
- 323 "They're stealing this election": Brazile, *Cooking with Grease*, p. 277.
- 323 latest technological gadget: Shrum, *No Excuses*, pp. 371–72.
- 324 a rolling suitcase: Kamarck, Miller Center oral history.
- 324 "Fear of being wrong": Mitofsky and Edelman, "Election Night Estimation."
- 325 "Any objections?": Ellis, "A Hard Day's Night."
- 325 Election Night dinner: T. Trent Gegax, "The Inside Story," *Newsweek*, Nov. 19, 2000.
- 326 "Our guests who": Bush, *Decision Points*, p. 77.
- 326 "I'm really sorry, brother": Gegax, "The Inside Story."
- 326 rumors of a brotherly argument: Bruni, *Ambling into History*, p. 202.
- 326 "I'm not going to stay": *Deadlock*, p. 33.
- 326 "There isn't much to say": Bush, *Decision Points*, p. 77.
- 326 "He's in retreat": Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, p. 23.
- 327 the most expensive Senate race: *NYT*, Nov. 8, 2000.
- 327 cell phones in Somalia: ATF Report No. 104, May 29, 2001, and No. 108, June 26, 2001.
- 327 Clinton was doing: Gegax, "The Inside Story."
- 327 "consultant populist bullshit": Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, pp. 24–25.
- 328 Grand Hyatt's ballroom: "She Wins," *New York Observer*, Nov. 13, 2000.
- 328 at Elaine's: Frank DiGiacomo, "Glitzocracy Awaits Hillary at Elaine's on Triumphant Night," *New York Observer*, Nov. 13, 2000. See also Lloyd Grove, "The Reliable Source," *WP*, Nov. 9, 2000; Mitchell Fink, George Rush, and Dave Goldiner, "Bill Jumps at Role as Cheerleader," *New York Daily News*, Nov. 9, 2000; Liz Smith, "People She Knew at Elaine's," *Newsday*, Nov. 9, 2000.
- 329 "You know what": Author interview, Andrew Goldman.
- 329 He was to give a speech: "New York Commercial Division Celebrates Fifth Anniversary," Metropolitan Corporate Counsel, January 2001.
- 329 stay-at-home routine: Author interview, Roger Stone.
- 330 "media and the boys": *FTP*, July 26, 1999.
- 330 "Folks didn't give us": Federal News Service, "Remarks by Patrick Buchanan, Reform Party Presidential Candidate," Nov. 7, 2000.
- 331 43,023 votes instead of 4,302: Shepard, "How They Blew It."
- 331 "Vote is strange": Moore, *How to Steal an Election*, p. 36.
- 331 a forensic autopsy: Mitofsky, "Voter News Service After the Fall."
- 331 a show of confidence: Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, pp. 27–29.
- 331 "Bush is not conceding": Moore, *How to Steal an Election*, p. 36.
- 332 colored red: Mitofsky and Edelman, "Election Night Estimation."
- 332 "Back from the ashes!": Karen Hughes, *Ten Minutes from Normal* (New York: Viking, 2004).
- 332 "Get me figures": Gegax, "The Inside Story."
- 332 *Florida, Florida, Florida*: Scott Stump, "My Strongest Memory Is Chaos: A Look Back at Election Night 2000," *today.com*, Oct. 5, 2020.
- 332 frequently comparing notes: Ellis, "A Hard Day's Night."
- 333 at 2:08, there was a breakthrough: Mitofsky and Edelman, "Election Night Estimation."

- 333 “Jebby says we got it!”: Moore, *How to Steal an Election*, p. 59. The witness, an analyst named Cynthia Talkov, repeated the story to Gabriel Sherman in an interview for *The Loudest Voice in the Room*. Ellis has denied her version of events, contending that he was too busy with his calculations to consult with Jeb on the call and pointing out that all his colleagues, including Talkov, a Democrat, signed off on the decision.
- 334 twice that number: Mitofsky and Edelman, “Election Night Estimation.”
- 334 dial-up modems were screeching: Michael McDermott, oral history, interviewed by Julian Pleasants, UF Election Project.
- 334 did not think the anomaly: Mitofsky and Edelman, “Election Night Estimation.”
- 335 “Gotta go”: Moore, *How to Steal an Election*, p. 72.
- 335 “Let’s give a tip”: Shepard, “How They Blew It.”
- 336 Al Gore was following: Shrum, *No Excuses*, p. 373.
- 336 “Never surrender”: *36 Days*, p. 4.
- 336 “It’s over”: Simon, *Divided We Stand*, p. 31; author interviews, Gore advisers William Daley and Carter Eskew.
- 336 “Let’s get this over with”: Shrum, *No Excuses*, p. 373.
- 337 “You’re a formidable opponent”: Dialogue taken from *Decision Points* (p. 78) and from Bush’s contemporaneous notes, which his former spokeswoman Karen Hughes reprints in her memoir, *Ten Minutes from Normal*.
- 337 “I don’t see it”: Hughes, *Ten Minutes from Normal*.
- 337 “Why is it so fucking close?”: David Kaplan, *The Accidental President* (New York: William Morrow, 2001), p. 29.
- 338 placed a call: Kaplan, *The Accidental President*, pp. 30–31.
- 338 “Should I call Bush?": Kaplan, *The Accidental President*, p. 13.
- 338 Weinstein showed up: Grove, “The Reliable Source.”
- 338 “still not over”: Fink, Rush, and Goldiner, “Bill Jumps at Role as Cheerleader.”
- 339 “We have to figure out”: Grove, “The Reliable Source.”
- 339 handed him a red folder: Simon, *Divided We Stand*, p. 35.
- 339 “The people of the country”: Kaplan, *The Accidental President*, p. 22.
- 339 motorcade was unusually long: Simon, *Divided We Stand*, p. 36.
- 340 By 2:55 a.m.: Linda Mason et al., “CBS News Coverage of Election Night 2000: Investigation, Analysis, Recommendations,” CBS News, January 2001, p. 22.
- 340 “Where the fuck”: Conversation recounted with slightly varying wording in Toobin, *Too Close to Call* (p. 23), Kaplan, *The Accidental President* (p. 18), and Simon, *Divided We Stand* (p. 38).
- 340 “I told the governor”: Kaplan, *The Accidental President*, p. 21.
- 341 “There are still some votes”: Stump, “My Strongest Memory Is Chaos.”
- 341 “Circumstances have changed”: *Deadlock*, p. 49.
- 342 “I was hot”: Bush, *Decision Points*, p. 78.

25: Hanging State

- 343 most notably Florida: Allman, *Finding Florida*, pp. 282–86.
- 344 snatch of sleep: David Margolick, “Brother Dearest,” *Vanity Fair*, July 2001.
- 344 “I told Jeb”: *Deadlock*, p. 257.
- 344 “We’ve been invaded”: Karl Rove, *Courage and Consequence* (New York: Threshold Editions, 2010), p. 202.
- 345 illustration of chaos theory: *36 Days*, p. 325.
- 346 “Who’s gonna deal”: Brazile, *Cooking with Grease*, p. 283.
- 346 stood on a table: Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, p. 43; author interview, Donnie Fowler.

- 346 On the flight to Tallahassee: *Deadlock*, pp. 51–53; Toobin, *Too Close to Call*, pp. 31–32.
- 347 Jesse Jackson rang: Brazile, *Cooking with Grease*, pp. 283–84.
- 347 “facing-page ballot”: Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, p. 6.
- 347 Theresa LePore, the supervisor of elections: Cerabino, “How Al Gore Lost the Presidency”; author interview, Theresa LePore.
- 348 “I was trying”: Cerabino, “How Al Gore Lost the Presidency.”
- 348 one of Gore’s lawyers: Mark Herron, oral history, interviewed by Julian Pleasants, UF Election Project.
- 349 “This is ground zero”: *PBP*, Nov. 9, 2000.
- 349 “My precious vote”: *PBP*, Nov. 9, 2000.
- 349 Bill O’Reilly grumbled: *The O’Reilly Factor*, host Bill O’Reilly, with guest Juan Williams, Fox News, Nov. 8, 2000.
- 350 “more of a LEGAL EXERCISE”: Peter Baker and Susan Glasser, *The Man Who Ran Washington: The Life and Times of James A. Baker III* (New York: Doubleday, 2020), p. 533.
- 350 “We need a PR strategy”: Toobin, *Too Close to Call*, p. 46.
- 350 met for ninety minutes: *Deadlock*, p. 73.
- 351 “He’s not called”: Bob Poe, oral history, interviewed by Julian Pleasants, UF Election Project.
- 351 “It was a war”: Mac Stipanovich, oral history, interviewed by Julian Pleasants, UF Election Project.
- 351 “I’ll be at the ranch”: Updegrove, *The Last Republicans*, p. 288.
- 351 “The lawyers are running”: *36 Days*, p. 40.
- 352 played a minor role: Matt Flegenheimer, “Before Rise as Outsider, Ted Cruz Played Inside Role in 2000 Recount,” *NYT*, Jan. 25, 2016.
- 352 Cruz sat down: Ted Cruz, *One Vote Away* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2020), pp. 167–68. In interviews, other members of the Bush legal team recalled Cruz playing a more junior role than he suggests.
- 353 “Bill Clinton’s worst nightmare”: Theodore Olson, “The Most Political Justice Department Ever: A Survey,” *The American Spectator*, September 2000.
- 353 “to purge the repugnant”: Theodore Olson, “Father Confessor to the President’s Men,” *American Spectator*, September 1999.
- 353 watched the returns: Theodore Olson, oral history, interviewed by Barbara Perry et al., Miller Center (hereafter “Olson, Miller Center oral history”).
- 353 worked in tandem: Kim Eisler, “Look Out Liberals, It’s the Olsons!,” *Washingtonian*, April 2000.
- 354 “just a group”: Mary Jacoby, “Couple at Center of ‘Conspiracy’ Theory,” *St. Petersburg Times*, Dec. 11, 2000.
- 354 “neither consciously”: *36 Days*, p. 40.
- 354 “They’re stealing the election”: Robert Zelnick, *Winning Florida: How the Bush Team Fought the Battle* (Washington, DC: Hoover Institution Press, 2001), p. 12.
- 355 “This is not a way”: Barbara Olson and Alan Dershowitz, interviewed by Matt Lauer, *Today*, NBC, Nov. 14, 2000.
- 356 “Ask Black people”: Gore campaign chairman, William Daley, quoted in *Deadlock*, p. 93.
- 356 an astounding 175,000: “Examining the Vote: The Overview,” *NYT*, Nov. 12, 2001.
- 356 There were around 64,000: *Democracy Held Hostage*, p. 9.

- 357 “battle for Stalingrad”: Zelnick, *Winning Florida*, p. 71.
- 358 called “mudballing”: Author interviews, Reeve Bright and Mary McCarty.
- 358 lose twenty-two pounds: *Democracy Held Hostage*, p. 7.
- 358 a rougher crowd: Paul Lomartire, “GOP Sent T-shirt Team of Dedicated Infiltrators,” *PBP*, Dec. 1, 2000.
- 358 “a banana republic–type situation”: *FTP*, Aug. 12, 1999.
- 359 “*For the People* reports”: Letter to the Editor, *Baxter Bulletin*, Dec. 12, 2000.
- 359 “We’re fighting for our lives!”: David Brock, “Fire on the Right,” *Talk*, February 2001.
- 359 “Bush or Revolution”: *PBP*, Nov. 22, 2000; and *PBP*, Nov. 26, 2000.
- 359 fame-hungry fisherman: *PBP*, Nov. 20, 2000.
- 359 on a “ticker”: Kaplan, *Accidental President*, p. 84.
- 359 “a test of mettle”: Michael Wolff, “A Duel in the Sun,” *New York*, Nov. 27, 2000.
- 359 “a wonderful thing”: Howard Kurtz, “On the Airwaves, Election Aftermath Is All Talk, All the Time,” *WP*, Nov. 12, 2000.
- 359 He rolled up: *PBP*, Nov. 10, 2000.
- 360 139 percent more likely: *PBP*, Nov. 13, 2000.
- 360 poor Black towns: William Cooper and Alexandra Clifton, “Glades Blacks’ Ballots Tossed More,” *PBP*, Nov. 18, 2000.
- 360 ended up with the cheaper: Joel Engelhardt, “Black Voters Angered by Election Day Hurdles,” *PBP*, Dec. 10, 2000.
- 360 “Something systematic”: *PBP*, Nov. 13, 2000.
- 360 “a political storm”: *PBP*, Nov. 12, 2000.
- 360 led the marchers: *PBP*, Nov. 14, 2000.
- 360 former grand wizard: Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, p. 161.
- 361 “We ran Jesse Jackson off!”: Author interview, Bradley Blakeman.
- 361 “Anger is not”: *36 Days*, p. 232.
- 361 radio host Tom Joyner: Radio show interview clip replayed on *Hannity and Colmes*, Fox News, Nov. 16, 2000.
- 362 He tried to pass word to Jackson: Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, p. 83.
- 362 “It is time to end”: Brazile, *Cooking with Grease*, p. 288.
- 362 making a critical mistake: Toobin, *Too Close to Call*, p. 194.
- 362 9,000 of these overvotes: Shannon Colavecchio, “Lost Votes Sting Blacks in Jacksonville,” *PBP*, Dec. 17, 2000.

26: Thanksgiving

- 363 When he got the first call: David Boies, *Courting Justice* (New York: Miramax Books, 2004), p. 358.
- 363 Boies was legendary: Portions of this chapter are drawn from Andrew Rice, “The Bad, Good Lawyer,” *New York*, Sept. 30, 2018.
- 364 Boies was in the middle: Karen Donovan, *v. Goliath: The Trials of David Boies* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007), p. 263.
- 364 “Can you get to Florida”: Toobin, *Too Close to Call*, p. 107.
- 365 sharing a bottle: Donovan, *v. Goliath*, p. 266.
- 365 “Welcome to Guatemala”: Boies, *Courting Justice*, p. 364.
- 365 “The person in charge”: Ron Klain, oral history interview, “The Bush-Gore Recount Is An Omen for 2020,” *Atlantic*, Oct. 17, 2020.
- 365 a big football game: Toobin, *Too Close to Call*, p. 129.

- 366 “Gosh, if Warren Christopher”: Bolten, Miller Center oral history.
- 366 “We all hope”: Donovan, *v. Goliath*, p. 268.
- 366 Charlie Rose shared: Donovan, *v. Goliath*, p. 229.
- 367 bar near the Capitol: Donovan, *v. Goliath*, p. 271.
- 367 a grand total of 1 vote: *PBP*, Nov. 21, 2000.
- 367 there was bedlam: *PBP*, Nov. 19, 2000; *36 Days*, pp. 104–6.
- 367 a television on the wall: Staff photo, *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*, Nov. 21, 2000.
- 367 “This was amateur hour”: Dershowitz and Olson, interviewed by Chris Matthews, *Hardball with Chris Matthews*, MSNBC, Nov. 20, 2000.
- 368 “the result that reflects”: Supreme Court of Florida, per curiam opinion, Nov. 21, 2000.
- 368 flying down to preside: *Palm Beach Daily News*, Nov. 26, 2000.
- 368 “handsome and uninhibited” royal: Shannon Donnelly, “Is He Here? Duke of York May Distract Us from Ballot Snafu,” *Palm Beach Daily News*, Nov. 12, 2000.
- 369 the potbellied developer: “A Downpour for the Donald,” *Palm Beach Daily News*, Nov. 26, 2000.
- 369 “This came out of the blue”: *PBP*, Jan. 11, 2000.
- 369 flew to Fort Lauderdale: Donovan, *v. Goliath*, pp. 283–88.
- 370 “the whole ballgame”: Zelnick, *Winning Florida*, p. 67.
- 370 a Winnebago RV: *PBP*, Nov. 23, 2000.
- 370 “Republicans will be needed”: Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, p. 259.
- 370 “air of mystery”: Nicholas Kulish and Jim VandeHei, “GOP Protest in Miami-Dade Is a Well-Organized Effort,” *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 27, 2000.
- 371 A *Time* correspondent: Tim Padgett, “Mob Scene in Miami,” *Time*, Nov. 26, 2000.
- 371 Stone criticized Dubya’s: *36 Days*, p. 56.
- 371 “Committee to Take Back Our Judiciary”: *WP*, July 11, 2003. The local Republican official, Mary McCarty, was later fined \$2,000 for election law violations. “That’s Roger Stone,” she said. “He’s a provocateur.”
- 373 their inhibitions loosened: Coverage in the *MH* and *PBP* and *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 24, 2000; *Deadlock*, pp. 138–41; Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, pp. 260–66. See also *537 Votes*, dir. Billy Corben (HBO Films, 2020).
- 373 “Thief! Thief!”: Joe Geller, oral history, interviewed by Julian Pleasants, UF Election Project.
- 374 “They’d been living”: Frank Cerabino, “Ready for Quick Fix? Turn Mess Over to Cuban-Americans!,” *PBP*, Nov. 25, 2000.
- 374 Baker has publicly stated: Toobin, “The Dirty Trickster.”
- 374 Three other Republicans: Author interviews, Al Cárdenas, Mac Stipanovich, and Mary McCarty. See also *Get Me Roger Stone*, dir. Dylan Bank, Daniel DiMauro, and Morgan Pehme (Netflix, 2017).
- 375 “He is the only living American”: *The Spin Room*, hosted by Tucker Carlson and Bill Press, CNN, Nov. 27, 2000.
- 375 Carlson received a phone call: Tucker Carlson, “Unscripted: Diary of a Talking Head,” *Talk*, February 2001.
- 375 David Boies was in the air: Boies, *Courting Justice*, p. 402.
- 375 “So I go down”: Donovan, *v. Goliath*, pp. 290–91.
- 376 an additional 784 votes: Toobin, *Too Close to Call*, p. 86.
- 376 “up to me as a lawyer”: Margaret Carlson, “Backstreet Boies,” *Time*, Dec. 4, 2000.
- 376 “He was not”: Boies, *Courting Justice*, p. 411.

- 376 “a black mark”: *36 Days*, p. 53.
- 377 “Another week”: R. W. Apple, “The Limits of Patience,” *NYT*, Nov. 12, 2000.
- 377 “a lost soul”: AP, Nov. 29, 2000.
- 377 “When does it end?”: Kaplan, *The Accidental President*, pp. 193–94.
- 377 a Vegas-style banquet: Toobin, *Too Close to Call*, pp. 158–59.
- 377 his wife’s chipotle stuffing: Lisa Getter, “Jeb Bush’s Recount Role Examined,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 14, 2001.
- 377 a backup plan: *PBP*, Nov. 28, 2000.
- 377 “a comfortable place”: Bolten, Miller Center oral history.
- 378 “The U.S. Supreme Court”: Donovan, *v. Goliath*, p. 291.
- 378 At 3:57 p.m.: FBI Timeline p. 106.

27: Fort Lauderdale

- 379 an ominous cloud: “Strange Phenomenon,” *Venice Gondolier*, Nov. 11, 2000.
- 379 Ziad Jarrah took off that morning: FFTC, “General History,” Ziad Jarrah, exhibit, *USA v. Moussaoui*.
- 380 a quiet roommate: Statements from flight school classmates, BKA Files.
- 380 “I’m angry”: McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers*, pp. 197–98.
- 381 He expressed some casual negativity: Kruihof, *Unbelievable!*, p. 123.
- 381 Saudi named Hani Hanjour: *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 226.
- 381 two-day training flight: Ziad Jarrah, navigation and weather logs, Nov. 19–20, 2000, exhibits, *USA v. Moussaoui*.
- 382 The day after Thanksgiving: ATF Report No. 90, Nov. 28, 2000.
- 383 a bottle of Tanqueray: ATF, Property Inventory, Item No. 454: “One bottle of Tanqueray gin,” Dec. 8, 2000.
- 383 wealthy Saudis were providing: ATF, Significant Activity Report, June 25, 2002.
- 383 a \$200,000 bribe: ATF, Significant Activity Report, June 25, 2002.
- 384 “Dor’s All, Folks”: James Cramer, “Bubble Trouble,” *New York*, May 1, 2000.
- 384 roughly \$30 million: Spiro, “Wall Street’s Soldier of Fortune.”
- 385 one of TruMarkets’s rivals: In 2021, investor Gary Morgenthaler pointed out that a company called MarketAxess had “built a \$16.7 billion market capitalization using the same idea, technology and business model” and “was 2nd only to Netflix in its percentage share price appreciation during the last decade.”
- 385 “key guy”: ATF, Significant Activity Report, June 25, 2002. This account of the January 2001 meeting is additionally derived from interviews with investigators and the subsequent indictment in the case *USA v. Rajaa Abbas and Abdul Malik, aka Sajaad Malik, aka Rabi Nazar Malik*. There is some mystery surrounding the true identity of the visitor. Federal investigators referred to him as “Abdul Malik,” but a former intelligence officer familiar with the region said that this was likely only a partial name. The defendants were never apprehended, and as of 2002, they were believed to be residing in Pakistan.
- 385 intended to sell: ATF, Significant Activity Report, June 25, 2002.
- 386 U.S. intelligence agency: Author interview, Dick Stoltz.
- 386 “We know it’s not bullshit”: Author interview, Steve Barborini.
- 387 Abdul flew all the way: ATF Report No. 100, Feb. 26, 2001.

28: *Bush v. Gore*

- 388 “seemed implausible”: John Paul Stevens, *The Making of a Justice* (New York: Little, Brown, 2019), p. 360.

388 a round of golf: Margolick, Peretz, and Schnayerson, "The Path to Florida."

389 "This is never going": Kaplan, *The Accidental President*, p. 202.

389 "We'll hear argument": Oral argument, *Bush v. Palm Beach County Canvassing Board*, U.S. Supreme Court, Dec. 1, 2000, accessed via oyez.org.

390 eminent legal figure: Andrew Rice, "Et tu, Tribe," *New York*, July 28, 2015.

390 "I can't recuse myself": AP, Dec. 1, 2000.

391 He could count: In Margolick, Peretz, and Schnayerson, "The Path to Florida," Margolick reports that Stevens and the other liberals, presuming the five conservatives would rule for Bush, "began drafting a dissent even before the case was argued in court."

391 Jackson locked arms: *36 Days*, p. 209.

391 "drop by" meeting: Janet Reno, Schedule for Friday, Dec. 1, 2000.

391 "I want to be very careful": DOJ, "Weekly Media Briefing with U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno," Nov. 9, 2000.

392 traveled to Jacksonville: *PBP*, Dec. 3, 2000.

392 FBI field office in Jacksonville: FBI, "Visit of the Attorney General Janet Reno to Jacksonville, Florida," memo dated Nov. 30, 2000.

392 opened an inquiry: *PBP*, Dec. 4, 2000.

392 "Welcome back": *Crossfire*, hosted by Jake Tapper and Robert Novak, CNN, Dec. 1, 2000.

393 "Ignoring votes means": *36 Days*, p. 178.

394 "Whatever the court wants": *PBP*, Dec. 1, 2000.

394 "This is boring": AP, Dec. 1, 2000.

394 he told his lawyers: Author interview, Bush legal team member.

394 "Redneck": Toobin, *Too Close to Call*, p. 203.

394 "My strategy is": Author interview, Ron Klain.

394 "They won": Donovan, *v. Goliath*, p. 299.

395 majority opinion found: Supreme Court of Florida, per curiam opinion, Dec. 8, 2000.

395 Shabbat dinner: Brazile, *Cooking with Grease*, pp. 289–90.

396 Across town at Main Justice: Eric Lichtblau and Ronald Ostrow, "Cussed at, Fussed at, Reno Shrugs, Survives," *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 19, 2001.

396 "those Russian sailors": Zelnick, *Winning Florida*, p. 138.

396 "It is sad for Florida": *NYT*, Dec. 9, 2000.

396 "fully engaged": *Deadlock*, p. 261.

396 "This judicial aggression": *36 Days*, p. 268.

397 "incurable in the public consciousness": Kaplan, *The Accidental President*, p. 238.

397 working in groups of two: *MH*, Dec. 10, 2000.

397 Klain was allowing himself: Toobin, *Too Close to Call*, p. 247.

397 around 58 votes: Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, p. 439.

398 eating a burger: Donovan, *v. Goliath*, p. 308.

398 "That's great news": Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, p. 438.

398 "I'm with the Bush-Cheney team": *MH*, Dec. 10, 2000.

398 "Forget it": *Deadlock*, p. 213.

399 tapped out a message: Toobin, *Too Close to Call*, p. 252.

399 Alzheimer's diagnosis: O'Connor's perspective conveyed in: Evan Thomas, *First: Sandra Day O'Connor* (New York: Random House, 2019), pp. 323–34.

399 nicknamed him "Flipper": Jeffrey Rosen, "Supreme Leader," *The New Republic*, June 16, 2007.

400 woke up early: Donovan, *v. Goliath*, pp. 3–4.
 400 crew from *60 Minutes*: Donovan, *v. Goliath*, p. 315.
 401 “Oh, and I thought your point”: Oral argument, *Bush v. Gore*, U.S. Supreme Court, Dec. 11, 2000, accessed via oyez.org.
 401 aggressively urging: Margolick, Peretz, and Schnayerson, “The Path to Florida.”
 402 the obvious counterargument: Stevens, *The Making of a Justice*, p. 367.
 402 She would have pointed out: Toobin, *Too Close to Call*, p. 266.
 403 “You really nailed”: Boies, *Courting Justice*, p. 447.
 403 dinner at Chin Chin: Donovan, *v. Goliath*, p. 320.
 403 “It was very hard”: Olson, Miller Center oral history.
 403 “We’re having this baby”: *New York Daily News*, Dec. 13, 2000.
 403 “Here comes our runner”: *NYT*, Dec. 13, 2000.
 404 “I’m calling Baker”: Rove, *Courage and Consequence*, p. 216.
 404 “What does it say?”: Cruz, *One Vote Away*, p. 180.
 404 “That day!”: Thomas, *First*, p. 331.
 405 dissents from the liberals: Stevens, *The Making of a Justice*, pp. 370–73.
 405 “Al Sharpton tactics”: Toobin, *Too Close to Call*, pp. 266–67.
 405 “wrong to shoot us”: Boies, *Courting Justice*, p. 451.
 406 “I do believe”: “Al Gore Concedes Presidential Election of 2000,” CNN, Dec. 13, 2000.

29: Gasparilla

407 an awkward visit: Grunwald, *The Swamp*, pp. 350–53.
 407 “a scene from a Fellini movie”: Bob Deans, “Clinton Inks \$7.8 Billion Everglades Cleanup Bill,” *PBP*, Dec. 12, 2000.
 407 “If we don’t do something”: Grunwald, *The Swamp*, p. 352.
 408 “I know America”: “Text of Bush’s Speech,” *NYT*, Dec. 13, 2000.
 408 “George W. Bush may be forgotten”: Kaplan, *The Accidental President*, p. 301.
 409 “Votes in Florida”: “USA: Formal Certification of George W. Bush Victory Wrap,” AP video, Jan. 6, 2001, accessed via YouTube.
 409 a farewell party: Williams, “Scenes from a Marriage.”
 409 Fragmentary accounts: John Harris, “Clinton and Gore Clashed Over Blame for Election,” *WP*, Feb. 7, 2000.
 409 “He’s being screwed”: Toobin, *Too Close to Call*, p. 194.
 409 likened *Bush v. Gore*: Tapper, *Down and Dirty*, p. 458.
 409 Gore who started off: Harris, *The Survivor*, p. 426.
 409 “I provided the moral energy”: Harris, *The Survivor*, p. 385.
 410 “Gee whiz”: Richard Berke, “Many Democrats Appear Skeptical of Gore’s Future,” *NYT*, Dec. 17, 2000.
 410 “worse than idle speculation”: Smith, “White House Civil War.”
 410 “was a living wreck”: Updegrove, *The Last Republicans*, p. 289.
 411 “We’ll survive this”: Paul Reid, “Father Knows Best: All Will ‘Be Fine,’” *PBP*, Nov. 30, 2000.
 411 pirate had been invented: Allman, *Finding Florida*, p. 318.
 411 “He should be grateful”: Mike Clary, “Bush Does Winter Break in Florida,” *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 27, 2000.
 411 were flying out: FBI Timeline p. 114.
 412 an angry phone call: Daniel Pursell, testimony, *USA v. Zacarias Moussaoui*.

412 amid the traffic: “9/11 Commission Briefing: Flight Training,” Jan. 13, 2004,
 9/11 Commission Files; incident first reported in *NYT*, Oct. 17, 2001.
 412 “It is the equivalent”: Dekkers, *Guilty by Association*, p. 119.
 413 due to depart: Flight records of Ziad Jarrah, BKA Files.
 413 commercial jet simulators: Receipts, Aeroservice Aviation Center, exhibits, *USA v.*
Zacarias Moussaoui.
 413 sister’s wedding: Aysel Sengün, statement, BKA Files.
 413 conflict within Jarrah: Weaver, “The Indecisive Terrorist.”
 414 “Ziad looked happy”: Kruithof, *Unbelievable!*, p. 117.
 414 a romantic getaway: FBI report on interview with Aysel Sengün, Sept. 18, 2001.
 414 She snapped a photo: BKA Files.
 414 Atta told him: *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 226.
 414 flew to Tehran: “The Confession,” *Der Spiegel*, November 2003.
 415 delighted by the election: Scott-Clark and Levy, *The Exile*, p. 45.
 415 He warned his successor: *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 199.
 415 “not some narrow”: Richard Clarke, “Presidential Policy Initiative/Review—The
 Al Qida Network,” memo to Condoleezza Rice, Jan. 25, 2001, Clinton Library.
 416 tired of briefings: Dan Eggen and Walter Pincus, “Ashcroft’s Efforts on Terrorism
 Criticized,” *WP*, April 14, 2004. Ashcroft denied the former acting FBI director’s claim
 in testimony before the 9/11 Commission.
 416 Olson received assistance: Jo Becker, *Forcing the Spring* (New York: Penguin,
 2014), pp. 41–42. As Becker’s book describes, Boies and Olson later took on a fight
 together, advocating to overturn the ban on gay marriage.
 416 Boies attended: Donovan, *v. Goliath*, p. 260.
 416 “No lawyer in memory”: Daniel Okrent, “Get Me Boies!,” *Time*, Dec. 25, 2000.
 416 “When these folks”: Rice, “The Bad, Good Lawyer.”
 417 Bill Cosby’s suggestion: Boies, *Courting Justice*, p. 488.
 417 “v. hot”: Author interview, former *Talk* editor.
 418 “afoot in Florida”: Paul Reid, “Problems with Vote No Accident, Jackson Says,”
PBP, Dec. 17, 2000.
 418 a series of stories: Robert King, “Hunt for Fraudulent Voters Triggered Confusion,
 Anger,” *PBP*, Dec. 11, 2000.
 419 “JESSE JACKSON’S LOVE CHILD”: *National Enquirer*, Jan. 30, 2001.
 419 “Jackson’s long reign”: Mary McGrory, “Scandalous Symmetry,” *WP*, Jan. 21, 2000.
 420 “wrong side of the rope line”: Jonathan Alter, *The Promise: President Obama, Year*
One (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010), p. 41.
 420 like in *Thelma and Louise*: Lichtblau and Ostrow, “Cussed at, Fussed at, Reno
 Shrugs, Survives.”
 420 “worry about the bombs”: Author interview, Myron Marlin.
 420 “a great adventure”: *NYT*, Jan. 21, 2001.
 421 And now: *Saturday Night Live*, Episode 495, Jan. 20, 2001.

30: The Sting

422 arrive in Dubai: FBI, summaries of interrogations of Abdul Aziz Ali and Mustafa
 al-Hawsawi, *USA v. KSM*.
 423 as a “Bedouin.”: Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, written testimony, *USA v.*
Moussaoui.
 423 destroy the White House: *9/11 Commission Report*, pp. 243–44; McDermott and
 Meyer, *The Hunt for KSM*, p. 142.

423 came to the Sheikh: Zacarias Moussaoui, testimony, *USA v. Moussaoui*.
 Moussaoui was an unreliable witness, but his account of how he came to volunteer seems to fit with other available evidence.

423 completely hopeless: At the Moussaoui trial, the admissions director of the Oklahoma flight school testified that while it normally required around fifteen hours of training to get a student ready for a solo flight, Moussaoui took fifty-seven hours of instruction without attaining the necessary proficiency.

423 “departed . . . seeking death”: As-Sahab Media Foundation, *Knowledge Is for Acting Upon*.

423 inquisitive young jihadis: Sahim Alwan, testimony, *USA v. al-Bahlul*.

424 arrived in Florida: FBI, Investigative Summary, PENTTBOM, April 19, 2002, 9/11 Commission Files.

424 porn videos and sex toys: FBI, investigative summary, PENTTBOM, pp. 3306–11.

424 mohamedatta@hotmail.com: FBI Timeline p. 164.

424 fleabag motel: FBI, Investigative Summary, PENTTBOM, pp. 3313–14; FBI Timeline, pp. 155–59.

424 On the morning of June 12: The arrest of Kevin Ingram is described in ATF Report No. 106, June 15, 2001. Dialogue is taken from the transcript of an ATF undercover recording made by Agent Dick Stoltz on June 12, 2001, and entered into evidence in connection with the sentencing of Walter Kapij (*USA v. Ingram*, filed Jan. 11, 2002).

425 made the decision to wrap up: ATF, Significant Activity Report, June 25, 2002.

426 sales leads in West Africa: ATF Report No. 101, March 27, 2001.

426 weapons from Vietnam: ATF Report No. 105, May 30, 2001.

427 He complained that Ingram: ATF Report No. 104, May 29, 2001, and No. 108, June 26, 2001.

427 He remembered how: Author interview, Kevin Ingram.

427 “one large unit”: ATF Report No. 104, May 29, 2001.

427 Spears told Ingram: ATF Report No. 106, June 15, 2001.

428 “long, long night”: All dialogue taken from ATF undercover recording, June 12, 2001.

430 “BIZ BIG BUSTED”: *New York Post*, June 15, 2001.

430 “I literally spat”: Thomas, “Ex-Goldman Trader Stung in Arms Plot, Shocks Colleagues.”

430 “The tragedy is”: Spiro, “Wall Street’s Soldier of Fortune.”

431 “It seemed to me”: Author interview, Jay Norris.

431 his connection to Jesse Jackson: *New York Post*, June 27, 2001.

431 an internal ATF report: ATF, Significant Activity Report, June 14, 2001.

432 “dowdy, below-the-knee”: Joseph Contreras, “Janet Versus Jeb,” *Newsweek*, Sept. 5, 2001.

432 celebrated his seventh birthday: AP, Dec. 7, 2000.

432 retreated to the basement: Stanley, *The Crusader*, p. 354.

432 renew his call: Interview with Pat Buchanan, *Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer*, CNN, Sept. 9, 2001.

433 “Globalists cannot contain”: Chuck Harder, “Nation Building . . . Here We Go Again!,” chuckharder.com, April 5, 2002.

433 unsuccessfully shopping around: Don Kaplan, “Trump Holding Cards for New ‘Billionaire’ Game Show,” *New York Post*, Feb. 9, 2001.

434 the “urban jungle”: Burnett, *Jump In!*, pp. 186–93.

old slide show presentation: Patrick Healy, “The End of the Line,” *NYT*, Aug. 25, 2012.

“You know the old saying”: David Remnick, “The Wilderness Campaign,” *The New Yorker*, Sept. 5, 2004.

their own unofficial recounts: See *NYT*, “Examining the Vote”; *Democracy Held Hostage*. The *Herald*’s subsequent analysis of the overvotes was published on the website www.overvote.net, which can still be accessed via archive.org.

just 3 votes: *Democracy Held Hostage*, p. 9.

did show clear evidence: The *Herald* study found that 97 percent of the overvotes were legally irretrievable because it would be impossible to prove which candidate the voter intended to select. But 3,146 ballots did show clear intent, generally “when voters chose a candidate and then cast a write-in vote for that same candidate.” Counting these double votes produced a theoretical net gain of 682 votes for Gore.

543,895 more votes: “2000 Presidential Popular Vote Summary,” Federal Election Commission, fec.gov. Other sources report slightly different totals.

“I could have handled”: Liza Mundy, “Mr. Resident,” *WP*, Nov. 17, 2002.

“strong basis”: USCCR Report, executive summary.

“simplest written instructions”: USCCR Report, appendix, p. 86.

dived into Florida: *Fahrenheit 9/11*, dir. Michael Moore (Dog Eat Dog Films, 2004).

“It is an action”: Roger Stone and Saint John Hunt, *The Bush Crime Family* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2016).

A muckraking leftist journalist: Greg Palast, *The Best Democracy Money Can Buy* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), pdf retrieved from “November 2017 Release of Abbottabad Compound Material,” www.cia.gov/library/abbottabad-compound.

Atta left the United States: *9/11 Commission Report*, pp. 244–45.

so he could strike: Coll, *Ghost Wars*, p. 571.

Jarrah continued to be defiant: *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 246.

an “unhappy couple”: Weaver, “The Indecisive Terrorist.”

The school in Minnesota: Clancy Prevost, testimony, *USA v. Zacarias Moussaoui*, transcript pp. 716–90.

a bitter argument: DOJ, Office of Inspector General, “A Review of the FBI’s Handling of Intelligence Information Related to the September 11 Attacks,” November 2004.

the same FBI supervisor: The DOJ inspector general’s report concluded that there were “significant problems” in the FBI’s handling of Moussaoui’s case, but that they were attributable to systemic issues rather than “intentional misconduct.” The supervisor, David Frasca, declined interview requests. “He did nothing wrong,” said an attorney who represented Frasca in the proceeding. “He got blamed for it. It wasn’t him.”

feeling very sick: Aysel Sengün, statement, BKA Files.

As Ramzi later retold it: “Translation of Ramzi Binalshibah Audio Tape—22 September 2002,” *9/11 Commission Files*.

a silver-haired Al Gore: “The Inauguration of Joseph R. Biden Jr.,” NBC News, Jan. 20, 2021.

would never really answer: Gore declined interview requests for this book.

“Red America and Blue America”: Kornacki, *The Red and the Blue*, p. 5.

“The problem was”: *Deadlock*, p. 260.

“Look, the other guy”: Mundy, “Mr. Resident.”

Epilogue: Out of Time

- 444 Ingram wakes up: Author interview, Kevin Ingram.
- 444 “far greater ramifications”: Jon Burstein, “Ex-Jeweler a Major Link in Arms Case,” *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*, Aug. 7, 2001.
- 444 stood behind him: Spiro, “Wall Street’s Soldier of Fortune.”
- 445 “great gassy flower”: Summers and Swan, *The Eleventh Day*, p. 19.
- 445 his chauffeured car: Author interview, David Boies.
- 446 Everyone above the ninety-second: Summers and Swan, *The Eleventh Day*, p. 20.
- 446 sitting in his office: Theodore Olson, interview by Larry King, “Encore Presentation: Barbara Olson Remembered,” transcript, *Larry King Weekend*, CNN, Jan. 6, 2002; FBI reports on interviews with Olson and DOJ staff members Helen Voss, Allen Ferber, and Lori Lynn Keyton, Sept. 11, 2001, 9/11 Commission Files.
- 446 “Another passenger plane”: “9/11, Second Plane Hits South Tower,” Sept. 11, 2001, archival video accessed via CNN.com.
- 448 Reno tells them: Dana Canedy, “Changed Political Climate May Aid Jeb Bush,” *NYT*, Sept. 28, 2001.
- 448 “*Taciturn* is the word”: Author interview, Julie Simon.
- 448 hotel suite in Vienna: Mundy, “Mr. Resident.”
- 449 The Sheikh is already: Scott-Clark and Levy, *The Exile*, p. 1.
- 449 The van contains: Former NCIS agent (name redacted), testimony, *USA v. al-Bahlul*, transcript pp. 648–49.
- 449 in Karachi: Scott-Clark and Levy, *The Exile*, p. 14.
- 450 “Shall we finish it”: Cockpit voice recording transcript, United Flight 93; *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 15.
- 450 A murdered woman: Summers and Swan, *The Eleventh Day*, p. 50.
- 450 “I saw the building”: Author’s notes, Sept. 11, 2001.
- 450 “Very odd”: Author interview, Jonathan Carson.
- 451 Jesse Jackson is trying: “Rev. Jesse Jackson Reflects on 9/11 and Its Impact on His Lifelong Mission,” *Eight Forty-Eight*, WBEZ (Chicago), radio interview, wbez.org.
- 451 seaside resort: AP, Sept. 12, 2001.
- 451 lecturing a group: Graham, *Intelligence Matters*, pp. x–xi.
- 451 “Don’t argue”: Scott-Clark and Levy, *The Exile*, p. 12.
- 451 “We’re going to war”: Coll, *Directorate S*, p. 35.
- 452 leaves a voice mail: Townsend, Miller Center oral history.
- 452 Jose Canseco: Rick Gano, “White Sox Escape New York on Bus,” AP, Sept. 13, 2001.
- 452 “I thought it was”: Chris De Luca, “White Sox Consider Forfeits, Hope to Get Out of N.Y.,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, Sept. 12, 2001.
- 452 “We need a good lawyer”: Author interview, Karen Donovan.
- 452 Aysel Sengün: FBI report on interview conducted by German authorities with Sengün, Sept. 18, 2001.
- 453 “Ziad is suspected”: Transcript of call between Arne Kruithof and Aysel Sengün, BKA Files.
- 453 letter from Ziad: McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers*, pp. 230–31.
- 453 Ailes dusts off: Sherman, *The Loudest Voice in the Room*, pp. 260–61.
- 454 reaches Donald Trump: “Donald Trump Call into WWOR/UPN 9 News on 9/11,” Sept. 11, 2000, accessed via YouTube.
- 454 a manifesto: Chuck Harder, “America in Terror: What Went Wrong? What to Do?,” chuckharder.com, 2001, retrieved via archive.org.

- 455 George W. Bush rises: Bush, *Decision Points*, pp. 126–30; Rove, *Courage and Consequence*, pp. 249–55; *9/11 Commission Report*, pp. 38–40.
- 455 dinner with Jeb: Robert Plunket, “The President in Sarasota: September 11, 2001,” *Sarasota Magazine*, Sept. 7, 2016.
- 455 Out of the camera shot: “September 11, 2001,” photo gallery, retrieved from the online collection of the George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum.
- 455 “Hoo!” Bush says: Summers and Swan, *The Eleventh Day*, p. 39.
- 456 He swivels around: “September 11, 2001” photo gallery, Bush Library.
- 456 “Terrorism against our nation”: Bush, *Decision Points*, p. 128.
- 456 “We’re at war”: *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 39.
- 456 instructor Kendall Coleman: Author interview, Kendall Coleman.
- 456 tears up the runway’s concrete: Summers and Swan, *The Eleventh Day*, p. 47.
- 456 of forty-five thousand feet: Bush, *Decision Points*, p. 129.