

INDEX

- Abdayev, Igor, 27, 133
AB Fashions, 86
Abidjan Freight, 164
Abramoff, Jack “Pacman,” 82
Abu Dhabi, 53, 181
Abu Sayyaf, 182
Aerocom, 207, 209, 227–228
Aeroflot, 32–33
Aerovista, 128
Afghanistan, 10, 16, 23, 45–49, 61, 129, 147–148
 Bout contracted by U.S. for, 15, 195–200, 242
 Bout employees held hostage in, 59–64
 Bout quoted about, 205–206
 drug trade, 141–142
 Rabbani government of, 46, 59, 117–118, 125, 135, 142–143, 206
 See also Taliban
Africa, 1–7, 74–75, 77, 150
 demand for automatic weapons, 36–39
 fair-governance ratings, 71
 humanitarian aid, 65–68
 as low U.S. priority, 93–97
 post–Cold War conflicts in, 8–11, 71–76, 78
 scorched-earth campaigns, 74–75
 See also individual names of countries
Ahmed, Farid, 117–123, 127, 146–148
Air Bas, 138, 192–193, 239–240, 243–244, 250–251
Air Cess, 25, 56, 78, 87, 99, 181–182
 DRC and, 148
 replaced by Air Bas, 192–193
 SaferAfrica intelligence about, 137–138, 148
 Taliban and, 123, 126, 129–136, 137–138
 UN arms embargo violations, 228–229
Air Charter Center (ACC), 81
airline personnel

- fall of communism and, 39,
 121–122
 hired by U.S., 216–217, 218
 identification of, 132–133, 139
 knowledge about cargo, 132
 Air Mobility Command (AMC),
 239, 240
 Air Pass, 56, 87, 172, 193
 AK-47s (Kalashnikov assault rifles),
 16, 36, 72, 160–161
 Al Asad (Iraq), 227
 Albania, 59–60
 Albright, Madeleine, 184
 Allison, Graham, 113
 Al Qaeda, 5, 8, 46, 50, 110, 138, 248
 Bout quoted on, 123, 205–206
 Chechnya, 206
 diamonds and, 156
 drug trafficking, 209
 Madrid bombing and, 243
 Massoud killed by, 195
 ongoing Bout operations and, 255
 September 11 attacks, 148, 180,
 194–200, 212–213, 225
Al-Quds al-Arabi (London), 141
 Amnesty International, 228
 Amputee and War Wounded Camp,
 74–75
 Angola, 10, 23, 31, 35, 58, 79, 177
 Força Aérea Popular de Angola
 (FAPA), 81
 UN intelligence on, 171, 174
 U.S. intelligence on, 95–96
 See also União Nacional para a
 Independência Total de Angola
 (UNITA)
 Antiterror Unit (AU), 161–163
 Antonov planes, 4, 17, 21–22, 32–36,
 48
 Arefee, Abdul Shakur, 121, 139
 Ariana Afghan Airways, 119–122,
 128, 134, 135, 173
 Bin Laden and, 140–141
 drug trafficking and, 141–142
 U.S. intelligence about, 138–148
 weapons trafficking and, 142–143
 Armitage, Richard, 223–224
 arms. *See* weapons
 Arms Export Control Act, 107
Arms Fixers, The, 112, 175
 Aspin, Les, 103
 Aum Shinrikyo cult, 105
 Austin, Kathi, 9, 98–99, 101, 111,
 112, 246–247, 257
 Baghdad International Airport
 (BIAP), 214–217, 221, 240–241.
 See also Iraq
 Bah, Ibrahim, 149–151, 153–155,
 167–169
 Bahari, Nasir al-, 141
 Balad Air Base (Iraq), 226–227
 Bank of Credit and Commerce
 International (BCCI), 103
 Barnes, David, 253–254
 Bart, Devos, 99
 Beacon Field Corp., 253
 Beers, Rand, 104, 193
 Belgium, 15, 41, 65, 67, 224–225,
 248, 252
 Air Cess, 124–125
 Air Charter Center (ACC), 81
 arrest warrant for Bout, 180,
 187–189, 209–210
 Occidental Airlines, 162
 “Operation Bloodstone,” 202–203
 Ostend airport activity by Bout,
 57–59, 99–101
 Ruprah arrested by, 200–202
 Belize, 209
 Bemba, Jean-Pierre, 10, 13–14,
 18–19, 21, 24, 148, 166
 Benjamin, Daniel, 110
 Berger, Samuel R. “Sandy,” 172
 Bin Laden, Osama, 5, 50, 75–76
 Ariana Afghan Airways and,
 140–141
 Chichakli and, 55

- Bin Laden, Osama (*continued*)
 rewards offered by, 208–209
 Taliban acquisition of weapons
 and, 118, 121
See also Afghanistan; Al Qaeda;
 Taliban
- Blair, Tony, 167, 175–176. *See also*
 England
- Bloomfield, Lincoln P., Jr., 236
- Bockarie, Sam “Mosquito,” 10,
 149–151
- Boies, David, 258
- Bosnia and Herzegovina, 49–51
- Bout, Alla (wife), 30, 86
- Bout, Sergei (brother), 27–28, 48, 62,
 112, 148, 208
 assets frozen by U.S., 247–248, 256
 interview of, 192
 Taliban and, 129, 133
- Bout, Viktor
 arrest warrants for, 27, 81–82,
 166–167, 174, 179–185, 187–189,
 202–210, 252
 assets frozen, 143, 233, 235, 240,
 243, 247–251, 252, 256, 259
 biographical information, 4,
 10–11, 29–32
 business acumen of, 14–18, 21–23,
 39–44, 69–71, 130, 149–153
 business competition of, 43–44
 business diversification by, 41–43,
 57–59, 69–71, 85–91, 128
 businesses registered in U.S.,
 180–182
 homes of, 26, 85–89, 150, 252–253
 identity/aliases of, 3–7, 23–25,
 29–32, 40, 90, 206
 interviews of, 17, 29, 64, 204–207,
 253, 257, 259
 as “merchant of death,” 178
 personality of, 18–23, 25–28
 planes acquired by, 32–36
 planes registered by, 39–41, 86,
 89–91, 127, 132–138, 159,
 164–167, 221, 246–247
 present-day activities of, 252–261
 Taylor and, 161–166
 as “transnational threat,” 7–11
 travel ban on, 191–192, 203
 U.S. contracts, continued reliance
 on, 237–242
 U.S. contracts confirmed, 224–230
 U.S. contracts investigated,
 231–237
 U.S. contracts monitored by jour-
 nalists, UN, 242–247
 U.S. contracts suspected, 214–224
 U.S. travel plans of, 180–185
 weapons acquired by, 36–39
See also airline personnel; *individual*
names of businesses and associates
- Bowen, Stuart, 223
- Branch Energy, 156–157
- Bremer, L. Paul, 209, 215, 219
- British Gulf International, 229–230,
 240
- Bulgaria, 38–39, 41, 47, 58, 78, 208,
 227
- Burj al Arab, 53–54
- Burkina Faso, 155–156
- Busch, Gary, 43, 85–86, 152–153
- Bush, George H. W., 113, 127, 185
- Bush, George W., 7, 11, 104, 180,
 210–211, 236
 Bout arrest and, 206–207
 Bout sanctions and, 258, 260
 foreign policy of, 193
 2000 presidential election, 184, 186
See also Afghanistan; Iraq; *individ-*
ual names of U.S. agencies
- Cage, Nicolas, 257
- Camps, Antonov An-8, 48
- Candids, Antonov An-8, 48
- cell phones, 15
- Cen Sad/Sin Sad, 75, 182
- Centrafrican Airlines, 56, 90–91,
 164–167, 190, 193

- Central African Republic (CAR),
164–167, 166–167
- Central Command (Centcom), 249,
255, 257
- Cessavia, 91
- Chandler, Michael, 10, 147
- Chapman, Keith, 226
- Chechnya, 206
- chemical weapons, 142–143
- Cheney, Dick, 222
- Chichakli, Richard, 10–11, 34, 42,
55–57, 119, 198
- Air Bas incorporated by, 148
- on Air Pass, 87, 90
- assets frozen by U.S., 247–248, 254
- Bout businesses in U.S. and,
180–182
- Bout statement by, 205
- international travel ban on,
191–192
- on Transavia, 52
- U.S. contracts with Bout and, 225
- children, as soldiers, 20, 68, 72, 73
- China, 8–11
- Christopher, Warren, 102–103
- CIA, 138, 179
- in Africa, 67, 94
- Bout identified by, 3–7
- rendition practice of, 7, 180
- on Taliban, Al Qaeda, 138–140,
142, 143
- U.S. intelligence community coop-
eration and, 108–110, 183–184,
190–191, 212, 249
- on U.S.-Bout contracts, 231–232
- Clarke, Richard A., 7, 104–110
- arrest warrant pursued, 179–185
- Bout task force assembled,
170–179
- Bush administration pursuit of
Bout, 186–187, 193, 210
- intelligence on Taliban, 144–148
- interagency cooperation and,
191–192
- on Russian corruption, 115–116
- Scheuer and, 143
- Clinton, Bill, 8, 23, 37, 169
- on Ariana Afghan Airways,
144–148
- Bosnia conflict and, 51
- Bout arrest warrant and, 179–185
- Bout task force assembled,
170–179
- early U.S. intelligence on Bout,
102–112
- foreign policy of, 193
- “Plan Colombia,” 160
- prioritization of Africa, 93–97
- See also individual names of U.S.
agencies*
- CNN, 205
- Coalition Provisional Authority
(CPA), 219, 220, 222–224, 232,
242
- cocaine, 159–161, 209
- Colombia, 159–161, 209
- coltan, 15, 151–152
- Committee on Transnational
Threats, 109–110
- Compagnie Aérienne des Grands
Lacs, 246–247, 259
- Compaore, Blaise, 155–156
- Congo, 68
- Cook, Robin, 177
- Côte d’Ivoire, 192. *See also Ivory
Coast*
- Council of Foreign Relations, 115
- Counterterrorism Security Group
(CSG), 105
- Cressey, Roger, 110, 182
- Croatia, 49–51
- Daniszewski, John, 129
- Dart, Kenneth, 114–115
- Defense Energy Support Center
(DESC), 240
- Defense Intelligence Agency, 95, 142,
199

- Democratic Republic of the Congo
 (DRC), 2, 13–14, 18–19, 21, 24,
 58, 137–138, 258
 Bout's humanitarian gestures in,
 87–88
 Goma, Bakuvu airports, 246–247
 Kabila in power, 70
See also Zaire
- Dennisenko, Sergei, 181, 192
- De Smet, Ronald, 41, 58
- De Temmerman, Luc, 197, 201
- DHL, 218–219
- diamonds, 14–16, 15, 66, 72–75, 83,
 93, 152
 Al Qaeda, 156
 “blood diamonds,” 14
 Lebanon and, 158
 Liberia and, 168
 Sierra Leone and, 72–75, 170–171
 smuggled into U.S., 183
 Zaire and, 66
- Dobby, Jerry, 182
- D'Olivera, Jan, 185, 189
- Dolphin Airlines, 228–229
- Dostum, Abdul Rashid, 126
- Doungovo, Fulbert Armand, 167
- Draulans, Dirk, 19, 21, 24, 27, 31,
 87–88, 128
- D&R Sporting Goods, 256
- drug trade, 15, 40, 73, 193
 Afghanistan and, 141–142
 Colombia and, 159–161, 209
 Taliban and, 208–209
 U.S. intelligence on, 102–110,
 211–213
- Dubai, 42, 43, 52–54, 120, 121
- East Germany, 160–161
- Emirates Bank International, 197
- end-user certificates, 9–10, 78, 161,
 207
- England, 162, 195
 Bout pursued by, 174–179
 intelligence on Bout, 96–97,
 107–110, 183, 207, 252
 intelligence-sharing with U.S., 189,
 193
 MI-6, 175–176
 “Operation Bloodstone,” 202–203
 Taylor monitored by, 167–169
- Equatorial Guinea, 9, 91, 159
- Eritrea, 255
- Escobar, Pablo, 105
- European Union (EU)
 Council of Ministers, 124–125
 protest to Russia about Bout,
 255–256
See also individual names of countries
- Evening Standard* (London), 245
- Executive Outcomes (EO), 157
- Exparc Air, 43
- Eyadema, Gnassingbe, 83
- Falcon Express Cargo Airlines, 221,
 239, 244
- Farhadi, Ravan, 142–143
- Faso, Burkina, 83–84
- FBI
 intelligence community coopera-
 tion and, 108–110, 183–184,
 190–191, 212, 249
 Ruprah and, 157–159, 195–200,
 201–202
- Federal Aviation Administration
 (FAA), 223
- Federal Express, 221, 227, 232,
 239–240
- Feingold, Russell, 223–224, 231–233,
 241–242
- Fenzel, Michael, 110
- Financial Times* (London), 219–224,
 232, 245
- Fluor, 221–222
- Flying Dolphin, 123, 126–127,
 146–148, 159, 188, 228–229
- Focus on Africa* (BBC), 150
- Força Aérea Popular de Angola
 (FAPA), 81

- Foreign Affairs*, 115, 116, 172
 Fowler, Robert, 174–175
 Frames International Travel, 226
 France, 81
 Freeh, Louis, 108
 fueling records, 225, 230, 240–241
 Fujairah, 130
- Gaddafi, Muammar, 75, 93, 94, 155, 182. *See also* Libya
 Galleoti, Mark, 33, 38
 Gambia, 166, 183
 Gambia New Millennium, 166–167
 Gbagbo, Laurent, 192
 General Service Administration (GSA), 238
 Gibraltar, 78
 gold, 208–209
 Goldblatt, Steve, 217–218
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 113–114
 Gore, Al, 184
 Great Lakes Business Company, 245–247, 259
Guardian (Manchester, England), 245
 Guevara, Ernesto “Che,” 68
 Guinea, 163, 168–169, 189–190
 Gul, Janat, 139–140
- Hain, Peter, 176–179, 202–203, 228
 Hall, Wendy, 244
 Halliburton, 221–222, 253
 Hamiedullah (Janat Gul), 139–140
 Handy, John W., 216–217, 238–239
 Harridine, Michael, 41, 91, 159
 Harrowell, Alexander, 245
 Hatfield, Frank, 223
 Hayat, Ahmet Muslem, 47
 heroin, 209
 Hezbollah, 254
 Hirsch, John, 93–97
 Hogendoorn, E. J., 99
 Hooper, Jack, 240
 Houphouët-Boigny, Félix, 84
- Human Rights Watch, 99, 118
 Hussein, Saddam, 208, 217
 Hutu, 81
- Ilyushin planes, 4, 21–22, 32–36, 48
 Inchuk, Alexei, 122
 Inderfurth, Karl “Rick,” 145
 Institute of Policy Studies, 98–99
 International Court of Justice (The Hague), 20
 International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), 143, 236
 International Peace Information Service (IPIS), 99–101
 Interpol, 27, 81–82, 174, 202, 205, 209–210, 252
 Interservices Intelligence Directorate (ISI), 118
 Iran, 58, 254
 Iraq, 197, 208, 213, 259–260
 Bout income from U.S. contracts, 226
 contracts confirmed, 224–230
 contracts exposed, 15, 219–224
 contracts investigated, 231–237
 contracts monitored by journalists, UN, 242–247
 U.S. airlift, 214–217
 Irbis, 220–230
 continued use of, 242
 fuel records, 240–241
 monitored by journalists, UN, 242–247
 replacement of, 250–251
 See also Iraq
 Islam, rise of militant factions in, 49–51, 212
 Islamov, Alexander, 38–39
 Isotrex, 253
 Israel, 254
 Italy, 166, 202, 249–250
 Ivory Coast, 83–84. *See also* Côte d’Ivoire

- Jackson, Reverend Jesse, 167
 Jammeh, Yahya A. J. J., 183
 Jet Line, Inc., 27, 133, 182, 207, 227,
 228, 253–254
 Jobe, Baba, 166–167
 Jordan, 160–161
- Kabila, Laurent, 22, 66, 70
 Kabiwar, Dinu, 226
 Kabulov, Zamir, 59–64, 61
 Kagame, Paul, 10
 Kakharov, Maridiboy, 57
 Kangunga, Alcides Lucas “Kallias,”
 83
 KAS Engineering, 78–80
 Kazakhstan, 220, 255
 KEC International, 226
 Kellogg, Brown, and Root (KBR),
 221–222, 244, 253
 Kelly, Paul V., 233
 Kerrick, Donald, 172
 Kerry, John, 103, 193, 258
 Ketov, Vladislav, 25
 Khodorkovsky, Mikhail, 114–115
Knack, 19
 Kouwenhoven, Gus, 161–162
 Kyrgyzstan, 35, 164, 189–190
 Kyrgyzstan Air Star Company
 (KAS), 35
- Lakhiyalov, Apandi, 128
 Landesman, Peter, 64
 Latif, Abdul, 47
 Lauwereins, Ronny, 58–59,
 99
 Lavrov, Sergei, 146
 Lebanon, 158, 218, 254
 Lebedev, Viktor, 243–244
 Liberia, 2, 9, 10, 15–16, 20, 73,
 76–77, 84, 91
 Belgrade shipments to, 207–208
 helicopters supplied to, 163–166
 Liberian Aircraft Register, 41
 Liberian International Shipping
 and Corporate Registry (LISCR),
 158–159, 165
 Liberian Special Security Service,
 162
 Liberians United for Reconcilia-
 tion and Democracy (LURD),
 168–169
 planes registered in, 100, 127, 159
 Ruprah and, 197, 201
 rutile mines, 167–169
 ship registry in, 158–159
 Slovak shipment to, 189–190
 UN sanctions against, 233, 235
 U.S. Senate inquiry, 224
 weapons demand in, 38–39
See also Taylor, Charles
- Libya, 75–76, 182, 208–209. *See also*
 Gaddafi, Muammar
London Sunday Telegraph, 202–203
Lord of War, 257
Los Angeles Times, 128–129, 143, 148
 on Al Qaeda, 201
 on Bout-U.S. contracts, 225, 237,
 244–245
 on Taliban, 128–129, 143, 148, 248
 Wolosky, Wechsler op-ed, 210–211
 Luanda, 31
- Madrid, Spain, 243
 Makhtoum, Sheikh Mohammed bin
 Rashid al, 53, 54
 Mankhayev, Sergei, 26, 34, 62, 122,
 135
 Mansour, Mullah Akhtar
 Mohammed, 119–122, 134
 Massoud, Ahmad Shad “Lion of the
 Panjshir,” 10, 15, 46, 59, 118, 126,
 195
 Mbeki, Thabo, 184
 McVeigh, Timothy, 106
 Melrose, Joseph, 95
 Merckx, Dirck, 188–189
 Metavia, 90
 Meyers, Joseph M. “Jody,” 210

- Military Institute of Foreign Languages (Moscow), 30–31
- Mirchev, Petar, 38–39
- Mobutu Nzanga, 22, 70, 82–83
- Mobutu Sese Seko, 10, 22, 66
- Montesinos, Vladimiro, 161
- Morgner, Andreas, 211–213, 233–237, 243, 247–248, 249, 258
- Moscow Times*, 210–211
- Mother Jones*, 244–245
- Mpano, Douglas, 258–259
- narcotics. *See* drug trade
- Nasr, Samir M., 158
- National Defense*, 216–217
- National Islamic Front (NIF), 75–76
- National Security Act, 109
- National Security Agency (NSA), 1, 3, 95–96
- National Security Council, 6–11, 104–110, 143
- Bout arrest warrant pursued, 179–185
- Bout task force assembled, 170–179
- Bush administration pursuit of Bout, 186–187, 193, 200
- intelligence on Taliban, 144–148
- interagency cooperation and, 191–192
- on Russian affairs, 115–116
- NATO, 49
- Nayhan, Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed al Saqr al, 120–122, 127, 146–147, 159
- Nayhan, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al, 53
- Newsweek*, 244–245, 257
- New York Times Magazine*, 24, 123
- Niccol, Andrew, 257
- non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 97–102, 107–110. *See also individual names of NGOs*
- Norse Air, 86–87
- Northern Alliance, 46, 125–126, 194–200. *See also* Afghanistan nuclear weapons, 38, 142, 258
- See also* weapons
- NV Trans Aviation Network Group (TAN Group), 57, 99–100
- Occidental Airlines, 162
- Odessa (airline), 152
- Ofcansky, Tom, 37, 77, 101
- Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), 211–213, 233–237, 243, 247–248, 249, 252
- Okapi Air, 152
- Oklahoma City bombing, 105–106
- Omar, Mullah, 59, 119, 121
- “Operation Bloodstone,” 202–203
- “Operation Firedump,” 245
- “Operation Jacuzzi,” 89
- “Operation Palliser,” 97
- opium, 141–142, 208–209
- organized crime, 38–39, 52–53, 56–57, 89, 102, 105, 142, 202
- See also* weapons
- Oster, Jeffrey, 219, 222–223, 231–232
- Oxfam, 72
- Pahad, Aziz, 185
- Pakistan, 63–64, 118–122, 136, 208–209. *See also* Taliban
- Pecos, 189–190
- Peleman, Johan, 9, 18, 70–71, 80, 175–179, 195, 257
- The Arms Fixers*, 112, 175
- on Bout’s Ostend operations, 99–101
- early intelligence on Bout by, 111
- on Liberia, 127
- Sergei Bout interviewed by, 192
- on UN sanctions against Bout, 233
- on U.S. contracts with Bout, 225, 245–247
- Peres, Shimon, 254
- Peru, 160–161

- Phillipines, 182
 Pickering, Thomas R., 23, 32, 34, 91, 171, 183
 on Bout and Liberia, 169
 on Bout and Taliban, 144
 on FARC, 161
 Pietersburg Aviation Services and Systems Pty., 87
 Pietersburg (South Africa) Airport, 43, 80–81, 86
 pilots. *See* airline personnel
 Piret, Olivier, 27, 87, 89
 “Plan Colombia,” 160
 “plane spotters,” 245
 Planet Air, 152
 Plaque, Lawson, 162, 164
 Poly Technologies, 238
 Popov, Dimitri, 246–247, 258–259
 Popov, Pavel, 80
 Potgeiter, Jakkie, 137–138, 148
 private military companies (PMCs), 156
 Putin, Vladimir, 115, 116, 172, 183, 206–207. *See also* Russia
 “Putin’s Plutocrat Problem” (Wolosky), 115, 116, 172

 Qassimi, Sultan bin Mohammed al, 54, 131
 Qatar, 217

 Rabbani, Burhanuddin, 46, 59, 117–118, 125, 135, 142–143, 206
 Rabbani, Mullah Muhammed, 61
 Radio Echo Moskv, 204
 Rahman, Omar Abdel, 104–105
 Ras al-Khaymah, 130
 Ray, Nancy, 240
 Reagan, Ronald, 82
 Reeves, Cindor, 150, 154, 164
 Regional Air Movement Control Center (RAMCC), 217, 220–225, 227–229, 241
 Renan, 164

 rendition, 7, 180
 Republic Air, 34, 122
 Restore Iraqi Oil (RIO), 244
 Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), 159–161
 Revolutionary United Front (RUF), 2, 20, 72–75, 93, 94, 97
 Bout’s plans for rutile, 153–155, 167–169
 UN intelligence on, 171
 Rice, Condoleeza, 186–187
 Rice, Susan, 171, 183–185
 Riggs Bank, 197
 Roberts International Airport (Liberia), 162–163, 207
 Rockman EOOD, 256
 Ruchnoy Protivotankovy Granatomyot (RPG), 16
 Ruprah, Sanjivan, 156–159, 191–192, 194–200, 200, 258
 Belgian arrest of, 200–202
 Bout plan for rutile and, 153–155, 167–169
 Italian arrest, 249–250
 Ruprah, Simi, 201
 Russia, 30–32, 34, 112–116, 173–174, 183, 210–211
 Afghanistan and, 47–49, 61, 125
 Bout arrest warrant and, 203–207, 209–210
 Bout living in, 253–255
 Cold War planes, 32–36
 Cold War weapons, 8, 16–17, 36–39, 72, 160–161
 FSB (intelligence agency), 256
 organized crime in, 38–39, 52–53, 56–57, 89, 102, 105, 142, 202
 post–Cold War conflicts and, 8–11, 71–76, 78
 “transnational threats” from, 8–11, 15
 UAE business growth and, 52–57
 on UN intelligence on Taliban, 145

- See also* USSR
- Russian Today* (television network), 259
- rutile, 153–155, 167–169
- Rwanda, 2, 19, 58, 69–71, 81, 91, 151
- coltan, 151–152
- Institute of Policy Studies on, 98
- Ruprah and, 158
- UN Security Council arms embargo, 112
- Sachs, Jeffrey, 113
- SaferAfrica, 137–138, 148
- San Air General Trading, 56–57, 164, 181, 190, 192, 229
- Sankoh, Foday, 168
- Santa Cruz Imperial, 126–127
- Saudi Arabia, 120
- Savimbi, Jonas, 10, 20, 77, 82–84, 152, 155, 171
- Scheuer, Michael, 20, 31–32, 94, 138–143, 198
- Schneidman, Witney, 1–8, 105, 171–174, 184–185, 257
- Sellers, Cameron, 240–241
- Sellers, Mason, 217–218
- Semenchenko, Andrei, 57
- Semenchenko Group, 57
- September 11 attacks, 148, 180, 194–200, 212–213, 225. *See also* Al Qaeda
- Sharjah, 6, 26–27, 42, 80, 131, 178, 187, 191–192
- as air hub for Taliban, 120–122
- Ariana Afghan Airways, 144–145
- Bout businesses in, 45, 51–57, 54–57, 85, 89–91, 134
- contractors hired by U.S. from, 226
- International Airport, 55–57
- Sharpatov, Vladimir, 26, 47–49, 60–64, 125
- Sheridan, Brian, 103, 198
- Sherin, Victor, 118, 122
- ships, 158–159
- Sidorenko, Alexander Zakharovich, 26, 30, 31, 43–44, 52
- Sierra Leone, 2, 10, 20, 72–75, 77, 93, 127
- Bout plan for rutile and, 153–155, 167–169
- British troops in, 175–179
- UN peacekeepers in, 170–172
- UN Special Court for, 156, 250
- U.S. intelligence about, 95
- Sierra Rutile Company, 153
- Simon, Steven, 110
- Sin Sad, 182
- Sirrs, Julie, 142, 145
- Skyair, 162
- Slovakia, 38–39, 162, 189–190
- Smith, Gayle, 8, 110, 170–172, 237
- Smolensk Rocket and Artillery School, 35
- Somalia, 16, 76, 93, 254–255
- South Africa, 76, 80–81
- Bout arrest warrant pursued by U.S., 180, 184–185, 189–190
- Bout home in, 85–89
- intelligence on Bout by, 29–30, 129, 137–138, 172–174
- Pietersburg Airport, 43, 80–81, 86
- South America, 159–161, 209
- Soviet Air Force, 39
- Soviet Union. *See* USSR
- SpAir, 34–35, 132
- Spurnov, Valery, 34–35, 132
- Standard Chartered Bank, 167, 192
- Sudan, 2, 50–51, 75–76, 140–142, 208–209
- Suwaidi, Sultan Hamad Said Nassir al, 131
- Swaziland, 9, 89–91
- Syria, 254
- Tactica, Ltd., 256
- Talbott, Strobe, 115
- Taliban, 10, 15, 23, 48–49, 59, 212–213, 248

- Taliban (*continued*)
 Bout employees taken as hostages
 by, 59–64, 92
 Bout quoted on, 123, 205–206
 drug trafficking by, 208–209
 Massoud and, 46
 planes supplied by Bout, 126–136
 Ruprah and, 194–200
 thwarted attempts to purchase
 weapons, planes, 117–122
 weapons supplied by Bout, 17–18,
 122–126
See also Afghanistan
 “Tatyana” (Bout employee), 253
 Taylor, Charles, 2, 9, 10, 15–16, 20,
 73, 76–77, 84, 91, 93
 Bout and, 161–166
 “Greater Liberia” ambition of,
 154
 international travel ban on,
 191–192
 plane registrations and, 127
 Ruprah and, 197, 201
 rutile plans, 167–169
 UN sanctions against, 233, 235
 U.S. intelligence about, 94
 U.S. Senate inquiry, 224
See also Liberia
 Temex, 207–208
 Tesic, Slobodan, 208
 Third World Relief Agency (TWRA),
 50–51
 Thomas, Michael Victor, 58
Times (London), 245
 titanium. *See* rutile
 Togo, 22, 78–80, 83
 Transavia, 57, 59–64
 Trans Aviation Global Group, Inc.,
 52
 Transavia Travel Agency, 52, 90–91,
 131, 167
 “transnational threats,” 7–11, 15,
 102–110
 Tsirolnikov, Igor, 205
 Tupelovs (planes), 32–36
 Turbiville, Graham H., Jr., 31, 38
 Turkmenistan, 114
 Uganda, 14, 91, 151, 152–153, 257
 União Nacional para a Independên-
 cia Total de Angola (UNITA), 20,
 23, 58, 77, 79, 82–84, 86, 91
 arms supplied by Bout, 137–138
 UN intelligence on, 171, 174
See also Angola
 United Arab Emirates, 42, 51–57,
 187, 191–192. *See also* Dubai;
 Sharjah
 United Islamic Courts, 254–255
 United Nations, 2, 76, 152, 164,
 174–179, 192
 arms embargoes, 49, 77, 80,
 110–112, 145, 181, 188
 Bout asset freeze, 233, 235, 252
 on coltan, 151–152
 “name and shame” campaign, 191,
 234, 247
 peacekeepers in DRC, 246
 peacekeepers in Sierra Leone, 154,
 170–172
 Security Council intelligence,
 8–11, 80, 227
 Special Court for Sierra Leone,
 156, 250
 Taliban asset freeze, 146
 UNAMSIL, 171
 on weapons supplied to
 Afghanistan, 199–200
 World Food Program (WFP),
 66–70
 United States
 Africa as low priority of, 93–97
 Bout assets frozen, 240, 243,
 247–248, 252, 256
 Bout chosen over U.S. contractors,
 241
 Bout contracts confirmed,
 224–230

- Bout contracts exposed, 15, 219–224
- Bout contracts investigated, 231–237
- Bout contracts monitored by journalists, UN, 242–247
- Bout corporations in, 81, 148, 180–182
- Bout travel plans for, 180–185
early intelligence about Bout, 102–110, 112–116
intelligence community cooperation and, 108–110, 183–184, 190–191, 212, 249
invasion of Afghanistan, 147, 148
- Iraq airlift, 214–217
- Waasenaar Arrangement, 78
weapons manufactured by, 16
See also Bush, George W.; Clinton, Bill; *individual names of agencies and agency personnel*
- Urey, Benoni, 158
- U.S. Air Mobility Command
Bout contract with, 221
- U.S. Defense Logistics Agency, 225
- U.S. Department of Defense, 129
Army, 244
Bout contracts exposed, 219–224
“excluded parties” list, 233–238
Office of Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict, 103
U.S. airlift in Iraq, 214–217
- U.S. Department of Justice, 184
- U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, 209
- U.S. Senate. *See* Feingold, Russell
- U.S. State Department, 1–8, 37, 72, 77, 144–148, 160, 233–238
Africa as low priority of, 93–97
on Bout contracts, 224, 233
Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL), 101, 193
- Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR), 101
Federal Register, 236, 243
- U.S. Transportation Command (Transcom), 238
- U.S. Treasury Department, 56–57, 129, 184
Bout assets frozen by, 240, 243, 247–248, 252
- Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, 181–182, 212, 250, 256
- Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), 211–213, 233–237, 243, 247–248, 249, 252
- USSR, 15
GRU (military intelligence), 21, 31–33, 199
KGB, 30–32
perestroika, 113
planes, 32–36
post-Cold War conflicts and, 8–11, 71–76, 78
weapons, 8, 16–17, 36–39, 72, 160–161
See also Russia
- Uzbekistan, 57
- Vakushin, Oleg, 244
- Van Cappellen, Wim, 24
- Vial, 81–82, 126, 248
- Vines, Alex, 99, 108
- Vympel Group, 256
- Waasenaar Arrangement, 78
- Walker, Christopher, 214–220, 232, 251
- Ward, Diedre, 86–87, 89–90
- Wardak, Mohammed, 139
Washington Post, 156, 201
- Waters, Brad (pseudonym), 196–202
- Waxom, 207–208
- weapons, 36–39, 41–43, 69–71, 106
AK-47s, 16, 36, 72, 160–161
chemical, 142–143

- weapons (*continued*)
- Cold War inventories, 8, 16–17, 36–39, 72, 160–161
 - early intelligence on trafficking, 98–99
 - M-16 rifles, 16, 72
 - nuclear, 38, 142, 258
 - “shadow infrastructure” of, 5
 - UN embargoes, 9, 77, 80
 - Waasenaar Arrangement, 78
 - See also* Taliban
- Wechsler, William, 110, 116, 210–211
- West Africa Air Services, 164
- Whalley, Leslie, 86
- Wilson, Edwin P., 106
- Winer, Jonathan, 37, 98, 101–104, 108, 142, 143
- Wolfowitz, Paul, 223, 231–232, 241–242
- Wolosky, Lee, 6–11, 110, 112–116, 237, 257–258
- on Bout and Taliban, 143–144
 - on Bout task force, 170–174, 177–185
- Bush administration pursuit of
- Bout, 186–190
 - op-ed essay by, 210–211
 - “Putin’s Plutocrat Problem” (*Foreign Affairs*), 115, 116, 172
 - at State Department, 193–194, 198
- World Bank, 71
- World Trade Center, 104–105. *See also* September 11 attacks
- Yakovkevs planes, 21–22, 32–36
- Yavlinsky, Grigory, 113
- Yeltsin, Boris, 47, 63, 115, 125
- Yukos, 114–115
- Yuralex Corporation, 81–82
- Zaire, 10, 22, 65–71, 68, 98. *See also* Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)
- Zarate, Juan, 129, 248
- Zawahiri, Ayman al, 197
- Zeidan, Samir, 119
- Zhuravlyov, Igor, 229