

Organization Attributes Sheet: Suri-Cartel

Author: Dustin McDaniel

Review: Phil Williams

A. When the organization was formed + brief history

- The military network headed by Desi Bouterse coalesced during the period of military rule in the 1980s. Desi Bouterse was the leader of the junta, and remained a high-level official through various periods of democratic governance in the 1990s.¹ The gun-for-drugs trade is reported to have begun in 1993, with the Brazilians, Leonardo Dias Mendonça and Luis Fernando da Costa (aka Fernando Beira-Mar), acting as intermediaries between the Surinamese and FARC's 16th Front.² Desi Bouterse was convicted in absentia of drug trafficking and money laundering in a Dutch court in 1999.³ He has never served his sentence. The Brazilians were arrested and imprisoned in the early 2000s.⁴ However, Luis Fernando da Costa is still believed to play a leading role in the operations of the Red Command (CV) from prison.⁵ In the mid 2000s, the political opponents of the Bouterse faction gained control of the government of Suriname, and began to crack down on drugs and weapons trafficking, including two prosecutions of Desi Bouterse's son (Dino Bouterse) in 2003 and 2005.⁶ There are reports of guns-for-drugs dealings between Desi Bouterse and Shaheed 'Roger' Khan of Guyana, as recently as 2006.⁷ In 2008, Dino Bouterse was released from prison.⁸ Leonardo Dias Mendonça was convicted of directing drug traffic from Colombia through Suriname and to Brazil from his prison cell during 2006-2009.⁹ However, in this last case Leonardo Dias Mendonça's Surinamese supplier was identified as Norval Rodrigues dos Santos, who has not been directly or indirectly tied to the Bouterse network.¹⁰ In 2010, Desi Bouterse was elected president of Suriname.¹¹

B. Types of illegal activities engaged in,

a. In general

- Weapons trafficking, drug trafficking, money laundering, political corruption.

b. *Specific detail: types of illicit trafficking activities engaged in*

- Uses control and influence over security services to protect weapons and drug traffickers.
- Redirects National Army weapons to the weapons-for-drugs trade.
- Steals weapons from police and military storage facilities for resale on black market.

C. Scope and Size

a. Estimated size of network and membership

- No estimates but probably substantial given the positions of the leaders.

b. Countries / regions group is known to have operated in. (i.e. the group's operating area)

- Suriname, Guyana, Brazil, Colombia, Netherlands

D. Leader Characteristics

a. Who is/are the leader(s)

- Desi Bouterse: Elected President of Suriname in 2010. Rank of Colonel in National Army. Head of military government created by coup in 1980s. Accused of war crimes during civil war against Ronnie Brunswijk's Jungle Commandos (1986-1992). MP in the parliament during 1990s, when his National Democratic Party controlled the government. Tried and convicted in absentia of drug trafficking charges by a Dutch court in 1999. Currently a suspect on trial for the "December Murders" massacre in 1982. Reportedly worked with Shaheed "Roger" Khan as late as 2006.
 - Dino Bouterse: Son of Desi Bouterse. Accused of using position in Brazilian embassy to coordinate drugs and weapons trafficking with Leonardo Dias Mendonça. Expelled from Brazil for misusing diplomatic immunity.¹² Arrested in 2003 for stealing weapons
- Information derived from several sources and searchable databases.

All research conducted according to the project manual.

from police, but later acquitted because witnesses refused to testify.¹³ Arrested again in 2005 and convicted of leading a weapons and drug trafficking ring out of the new Counter-Terrorism Unit.¹⁴ Released from prison in 2008.¹⁵

- Leonardo Dias Mendonça: Brazilian intermediary between Desi Bouterse in Suriname, FARC's 16th Front in Colombia,¹⁶ and Luiz Fernando da Costa's Red Command (CV) in Rio de Janeiro.¹⁷ Arrested in 1999, and currently imprisoned in Brazil, he has shown the ability to direct trafficking operations from within prison.¹⁸
- Melvin Linscheer: Current National Security Adviser to Desi Bouterse. Rank of Colonel in Surinamese military. Accused of war crimes during civil war. Head of security and intelligence services during periods of Desi Bouterse's governments. Reportedly assigned airfields for weapons and drug trafficking, and helped obtain weapons from the National Army.¹⁹
- Etienne Bourenveen: Rank of Colonel in the National Army. Involved in the "December Murders." Arrested in Miami in 1986 for conspiracy to smuggle drugs. Served five years of twelve-year sentence before returning to Suriname and becoming a high-level official in the Defense Ministry.²⁰ Believed to have routed Chinese weapons from army stockpiles to be traded to the FARC.²¹
- Rupert Christopher: Rank of Lieutenant in National Army. Ambassador to Brazil before being kicked out for abusing diplomatic immunity. Worked closely with Dino Bouterse in the Embassy.²²

b. Leadership timeline

- Desi Bouterse has been the main leader since the weapons for drugs trade began in 1993.²³
- Leonardo Dias Mendonça was the person in charge of coordinating transactions between the Surinamese, FARC's 16th Front, and the CV. Imprisoned since 2002.²⁴
- Some reports suggest that Luis Fernando da Costa partnered with Leonardo Dias Mendonça, and then replaced Mendonça after his arrest.²⁵
- Shaheed "Roger" Khan may have taken over Leonardo Dias Mendonça's or Luis Fernando da Costa's role after they were convicted and imprisoned in Brazil. However, Khan was arrested in 2006 and later imprisoned in the United States.²⁶

c. Leadership style (autocratic, diffuse, etc.)

- There is little information describing leadership style. However, the prevalence of military and former military personnel suggests a relatively strict hierarchy. Dino Bouterse was reportedly given orders directly from his father to relay to Leonardo Dias Mendonça.²⁷

E. Organizational Structure

a. Topology (cellular, hierarchical, etc.)

- Mixed

b. Membership – is there formal or informal membership in the organization or network? What role do informal or nonmembers play in trafficking and other criminal activities?

- The organization does not appear to have a name or to have formal membership.

c. Command and Control (decentralized or centralized)

- It appears that parts of the network are centralized; for instance, the network in Suriname is centralized under Desi Bouterse. On the other hand, it seems that parts of the network operate independently or semi-independently; for instance, the FARC operates independently, while the Brazilian and Guyana contacts appear to operate as business partners with their own independent businesses outside of Suriname.

Information derived from several sources and searchable databases.

All research conducted according to the project manual.

F. Resources

a. Financial

- Desi Bouterse has been called the richest man in Suriname, and was convicted in absentia in the Netherlands of money laundering.²⁸
- Money was laundered through a variety of businesses in the Brazilian state of Para, under Leonardo Dias Mendonça's watch.²⁹

b. Human

- There are no estimates of the number of people belonging to the group, but the number of high-level government officials implicated in the group suggests that its members are powerful and influential.

c. Logistical

i. Forgery, safe-houses, etc.

- Suriname is a safe haven from prosecution because, under its constitution, the country may not extradite its citizens.³⁰ Official government positions are used to provide immunity from prosecution overseas.
- Diplomatic missions have been used to give legal protection to agents in Brazil.³¹
- The Amazon jungle in Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, Guyana, and Suriname is used to hide airstrips, cocaine refineries, cocaine plantations, and marijuana plantations.
- Poorly governed border areas provide a social basis for trafficking activity, for instance, the informal economy that has grown up around illegal gold mining along the border of Guyana-Brazil-Suriname.

ii. Key routes

- When Leonardo Dias Mendonça was the middleman, cocaine was flown from Colombia to Suriname, making refueling stops at landing strips in Brazil. The planes would either drop the cargo off the coast of Suriname or deliver it at clandestine landing strips in the interior of Suriname. The planes would then be reloaded with weapons or cash and return to Colombia.³² The route that Mendonça was caught using from 2006-2009 took drugs from Colombia to Suriname where a portion was then sent to the Brazilian state of Para, and then shipped to Europe and the United States. It is not clear if this operation was an extension of the Suri-Cartel operations prior to Mendonça's arrest, or whether this was a newly developed network. News reports identified Norval Rodrigues dos Santos as the Surinamese contact.³³ No clear link to the Bouterse led group and this operation has been found.
- Shaheed "Roger" Khan of Guyana may have become an important middleman, after the Mendonça route was made more difficult by Brazil's policy of shooting down drug planes in Amazonas. This alternate route takes cocaine over the illegal "backtrack" routes across the border with Suriname.³⁴
- A third route uses Amazon rivers to transport cocaine to the Atlantic, and then up to the coast of Suriname or further out into the Atlantic, where the drugs are picked up by another vessel to be transported to Africa or Europe.³⁵
- There are additional reports of Surinamese weapons being trafficked to supply First Command of the Capital (PCC) in Sao Paulo, possibly through the Tri-Border Area of Paraguay.³⁶

d. Transportation

i. Land

- Cars are routinely found to be carrying cocaine near the border of Guyana and
- Information derived from several sources and searchable databases.

All research conducted according to the project manual.

Suriname.
ii. Sea
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small boats are used to traffic drugs and weapons on rivers to the oceans, where they are transferred onto larger ships.
iii. Air
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small planes are used to transport drugs and weapons through hidden landing strips in the Amazon, or by dropping cargoes at preordained locations in the jungle or off the coast.
iv. Intermodal container
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No information found
G. Trafficking Methods and Modalities
a. Corruption
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bribery of government officials has been an essential component of the network.
b. Concealment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No specific information
c. Deception
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leonardo Dias Mendonça was found to be using upwards of 50 different cell phones, which were smuggled into prison, over a period of 3 years. In general, the network from 2006-2009 was very careful to create complicated communications to deceive law enforcement.³⁷
d. Circumvention (avoiding border entry points)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of rivers with little or no government presence. • Use of hidden landing strips in the jungle. • Dropping of goods from airplanes into the Amazon jungle or off the coasts of Suriname or Guyana.
H. Prior / Existing Relationships
a. Other criminal organizations (cooperative and conflictual)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FARC 16th Front • Fernandinho Beria-Mar Gang/Red Command (CV) • Shaheed “Roger” Khan • First Command of the Capital (PCC)³⁸
b. Corrupt politicians, law enforcement , political parties and other state entities, etc.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Democratic Party • National Army • Police • Diplomats
c. <i>Specific detail: Any alliances / past dealings with terrorist groups.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence of repeated interaction with FARC’s 16th Front. • Recent electoral alliance formed with a political coalition led by former guerilla commander and convicted drug trafficker Ronnie Brunswijk.³⁹
I. Ideological / Ethnic / Familial Orientation (if any)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The National Democratic Party, which is headed by Desi Bouterse, appears to have a standard political program for a developing country, aiming for general social and economic development.⁴⁰ The 1980s coup government had taken on some socialistic rhetoric, but Bouterse dismisses accusations that he’s a communist, and there is little beyond decades old rhetoric to show that the NDP is ideologically committed to leftist politics.

Information derived from several sources and searchable databases.
All research conducted according to the project manual.

J. Technical Sophistication	
•	The group is made up of a number of high-level leaders in the security services who are trained in the use of weapons and communications equipment. The network of landing strips suggests that the group has a relatively sophisticated grasp of logistics.
K. Penchant for Innovation	
•	No information found
L. Activities in United States	
a.	Includes both criminal and non-criminal activities
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Etienne Boerenveen was convicted of conspiracy to traffic drugs into Miami in 1986.⁴¹ • It has been claimed that weapons transiting Suriname on the way to Colombia came from Russian Mafia contacts in Florida.⁴² • Leonardo Dias Mendonça's second conviction for drug trafficking reportedly involved the transport of drugs from Brazil and Suriname to the United States and Europe.⁴³
b.	<i>Specific detail: trafficking activities ; logistical activities</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No information found
c.	Linkages with US groups
i.	Market/transaction links
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No information found
ii.	Stable supplier
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No information found
iii.	Franchise arrangement
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No information found
iv.	HQ and Branch office
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No information found
M. Evaluations	
a.	Strengths
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This group is extremely well integrated into the political system of Suriname, allowing it to not only disrupt investigations and prosecutions, but to take advantage of immunity for diplomatic agents and high government officials. • The group's connections with the military and security establishment allow it a steady flow of weapons from Europe, and the know-how for organizing large-scale logistical operations.
b.	Weaknesses and vulnerabilities
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Suriname is a very small country in terms of population. If neighboring countries, like Brazil, decided to intervene to stop drug and weapons trafficking through Suriname, they could easily overwhelm any formal opposition, although, it is possible that elements of the Suri-Cartel would fight as an insurgency. • The main leaders of the Brazilian members of the group are currently in prison. Although, they have continued to direct operations from behind bars.
c.	Additional insights
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •
Other Notes	
•	The main sources of information for the early period of the Suri-Cartel are from a report by the Brazilian Congress, and the court records of the prosecution of Leonardo Dias Mendonça. I have found the Congressional Report. ⁴⁴ I have not been able to find the court records for Leonardo Dias Mendonça's trial.
•	This group is the same as at least two of the Suriname groups assigned for research:

Information derived from several sources and searchable databases.
All research conducted according to the project manual.

- **Suriname Military Network** “Brazil: Neighbor Countries' Military Officers Facilitate Arms Trafficking,” *Jornal do Brasil*, January 30, 2006, OSC: LAP20060130357001; “Argentina: 'High' Military Officers Allegedly Combine Arms With Drug Trafficking,” *Clarín*, February 01, 2006, OSC: LAP20060201021001; “Argentina: Defense Minister Surprised by Brazilian Arms' Trafficking Report,” *Clarín*, February 02 and 07, 2006, OSC: FEA20060202018889; “Police Investigate Suriname-Guyana Weapons, Cocaine Trafficking Ring,” *Stabroek News*, April 12, 2006, OSC: LAP20060412334002.
- **Surinamese Weapons Trafficking Ring** “Brazil Investigates Suriname Supply of Weapons to Rio, Sao Paulo Mobs,” *Agencia Estado*, March 21, 2006, OSC: LAP20060321020003; “Brazilian Secret Service Agents in Suriname to Investigate Arms Theft,” *Stabroek News*, March 19, 2006, OSC: FBS20060324779114.

¹ Simons, Marlise. “Dutch Court Orders an Investigation of '82 Killings in Suriname,” *New York Times*, November 26, 2000. <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/26/world/dutch-court-orders-an-investigation-of-82-killings-in-suriname.html?ref=suriname>.

² Romero, Simon. “Returned to Power, a Leader Celebrates a Checkered Past,” *New York Times*, May 2, 2011. <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/03/world/americas/03suriname.html>.

³ Gosman, Eleonora. “Un capo narco reveló lazos con poderosos de Brasil,” *Clarín*, April 25, 2001. <http://edant.clarin.com/diario/2001/04/25/i-02801.htm>; Lobato, Elvira. “Para PF, Beira-Mar é subchefe de quadrilha,” *Folha.com*, April 24, 2001. <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/cotidiano/ult95u27596.shtml>.

⁴ Gosman, Eleonora. “Un capo narco reveló lazos con poderosos de Brasil,” *Clarín*, April 25, 2001. <http://edant.clarin.com/diario/2001/04/25/i-02801.htm>; Lobato, Elvira. “Para PF, Beira-Mar é subchefe de quadrilha,” *Folha.com*, April 24, 2001. <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/cotidiano/ult95u27596.shtml>.

⁵ Logan, Samuel. “Making Millions from Behind Bars,” *Security in Latin America*, November 27, 2007. <http://samuellogan.blogspot.com/2007/11/making-millions-from-behind-bars.html>.

⁶ “Surinam ex-leader’s son is jailed,” *BBC News*, August 12, 2005. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4146270.stm>; Belfor, Army. “Son of former dictator acquitted of charges in weapons theft in Suriname,” *Associated Press*, October 28, 2003.

⁷ Persaud, Janelle. “Guyana says no to Bouterse’s arrest,” *Guyana Times*, January 26, 2011. <http://65.175.77.34/guyanatimes/epaperpdf/2612011/2612011-md-hr-3.pdf>; “Shaheed ‘Roger’ Khan: drugs, dirty money and the death squad,” *Stabroek News*, August 20, 2009. <http://www.stabroeknews.com/2009/guyana-review/08/20/shaheed-‘roger’-khan-drugs-dirty-money-and-the-death-squad/>.

⁸ Romero, Simon. “Returned to Power, a Leader Celebrates a Checkered Past,” *New York Times*, May 2, 2011. <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/03/world/americas/03suriname.html>.

⁹ “Traficante que comandava quadrilha de dentro da prisão é condenado a mais oito anos,” *Ultima Instancia*, August 02, 2010. http://ultimainstancia.uol.com.br/noticia/TRAFICANTE+QUE+COMANDAVA+QUADRILHA+DE+DENTRO+DA+PRISAO+E+CONDENADO+A+MAIS+OITO+ANOS_70502.shtml; “MPF/GO: quadrilha de Leonardo Dias pega mais de cem anos de prisão,” *Alagoas Diario*, August 03, 2010.

http://www.alagoasdiario.com.br/index.php/diario_juridico/20042.html; “Duas operações da PF prendem 62 pessoas em nove Estados e no DF,” *Sindicato dos Policias Federais no Estado de Santa Catarina*, October 29, 2009. http://www.sinpofesc.org.br/index.php?opcao=ver_noticia&id_noticia=925.

¹⁰ Bittencourt, Silvana. “PF prende 62 em duas operações contra o tráfico,” *Estadão De Hoje*, October 29, 2009. <http://m.estadao.com.br/noticias/impresso,pf-prende-62-em-duas-operacoes-contr-o-traffic,458030.htm>; “Federal Police Operations Arrest 62 Suspects, Dismantle Three Cocaine Dealing Gangs,” *O Estado de Sao Paulo*, October 29, 2009, OSC: LAP20091029020004.

¹¹ Romero, Simon. “Returned to Power, a Leader Celebrates a Checkered Past,” *New York Times*, May 2, 2011. <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/03/world/americas/03suriname.html>.

¹² Cirino, Elizondo and Wawro, Geoffrey. "Latin America's Lawless Areas and Failed States," in *Latin American Security Challenges: A Collaborative Inquiry from North and South* ed. Paul D. Taylor (Newport: Naval War College 2004) 26. <http://www.usnwc.edu/Publications/Naval-War-College-Press/Newport-Papers/Documents/21-pdf.aspx>.

¹³ "International Narcotics Control Strategy Report," *The Department of State*, 2005; Belfor, Arny. "Son of former dictator acquitted of charges in weapons theft in Suriname," *Associated Press*, October 28, 2003; "Frontiers: Suriname's seismic moment," *Stabroek News*, June 24, 2010. <http://www.stabroeknews.com/2010/guyana-review/06/24/frontiers-suriname-s-seismic-moment/>.

¹⁴ Romero, Simon. "Returned to Power, a Leader Celebrates a Checkered Past," *New York Times*, May 2, 2011. <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/03/world/americas/03suriname.html>.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Pinheiro, Alvaro de Souza, "Narcoterrorism in Latin America: A Brazilian Perspective," *JSOU Report 06-4*, 2006: 23; "Arms For Drugs and Trouble in the Hague," *Intelligence Newsletter*, no.79, May 4, 1998: 37; Schonenberg, Regine. "Drug Trafficking in the Brazilian Amazon," *Globalisation, Drugs and Criminalization: Final Research Report on Brazil, China, India and Mexico*, UNESCO/UNODC, 2002: Part 2, Chapter 6, 186-191.

¹⁷ Ortiz, Román D., "Insurgent Strategies in the Post-Cold War: The Case of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, vol. 25, 2002: 127-43, 139; "Department of Justice Hands Down Drug Indictments Against FARC Terrorists," *Drug Enforcement Administration*, March 18, 2002. <http://www.justice.gov/dea/pubs/pressrel/pr031802.html>.

¹⁸ Logan, Samuel. "Making Millions from Behind Bars," *Security in Latin America*, November 27, 2007. <http://samuellogan.blogspot.com/2007/11/making-millions-from-behind-bars.html>.

¹⁹ Cirino, Elizondo and Wawro, Geoffrey. "Latin America's Lawless Areas and Failed States," in *Latin American Security Challenges: A Collaborative Inquiry from North and South* ed. Paul D. Taylor (Newport: Naval War College Naval War College 2004) 28. <http://www.usnwc.edu/Publications/Naval-War-College-Press/Newport-Papers/Documents/21-pdf.aspx>; "Arms For Drugs and Trouble in the Hague," *Intelligence Newsletter*, no.79, May 4, 1998: 37.

²⁰ "Suriname: Arms-For-Drugs Deals Rise," *Miami Herald*, September 12, 1999. <http://www.mapinc.org/drugnews/v99/n994/a06.html>.

²¹ Cirino, Elizondo and Wawro, Geoffrey. "Latin America's Lawless Areas and Failed States," in *Latin American Security Challenges: A Collaborative Inquiry from North and South* ed. Paul D. Taylor (Newport: Naval War College Naval War College 2004) 28. <http://www.usnwc.edu/Publications/Naval-War-College-Press/Newport-Papers/Documents/21-pdf.aspx>.

²² Vermaat, Emerson. "Watch Suriname's Desi Bouterse," *PipeLineNews.org*, June 28, 2010. <http://www.pipelinenews.org/index.cfm?page=vermaat6.28.10.htm>; "Suriname: Arms-For-Drugs Deals Rise," *Miami Herald*, September 12, 1999. <http://www.mapinc.org/drugnews/v99/n994/a06.html>.

²³ Schonenberg, Regine. "Drug Trafficking in the Brazilian Amazon," *Globalisation, Drugs and Criminalization: Final Research Report on Brazil, China, India and Mexico*, UNESCO/UNODC, 2002: Part 2, Chapter 6, 190.

²⁴ Hall, Kevin G. "Brazilian drug lord sentenced to 23 years for cocaine trafficking," *Knight Ridder*, January 23, 2003.

²⁵ Logan, Samuel. "Beyond the DEA's Presence in Suriname," *International Relations and Security Network*, August 15, 2006. <http://www.samuellogan.com/articles/beyonds-the-deas-presence-in-suriname.html>.

²⁶ Persaud, Janelle. "Guyana says no to Bouterse's arrest," *Guyana Times*, January 26, 2011. <http://65.175.77.34/guyanatimes/epaperpdf/2612011/2612011-md-hr-3.pdf>; "Shaheed 'Roger' Khan: drugs, dirty money and the death squad," *Stabroek News*, August 20, 2009. <http://www.stabroeknews.com/2009/guyana-review/08/20/shaheed-roger-khan-drugs-dirty-money-and-the-death-squad/>.

²⁷ Vermaat, Emerson. "Watch Suriname's Desi Bouterse," *PipeLineNews.org*, June 28, 2010. <http://www.pipelinenews.org/index.cfm?page=vermaat6.28.10.htm>.

²⁸ "Suriname elects former coup leader," *Al Jazeera*, July 20, 2010. <http://english.aljazeera.net/news/americas/2010/07/20107205116955850.html>; Simons, Marlies. "Dutch Court Orders an Investigation of '82 Killings in Suriname," *New York Times*, November 26, 2000. <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/26/world/dutch-court-orders-an-investigation-of-82-killings-in-suriname.html?ref=suriname>.

-
- ²⁹ Schonenberg, Regine. "Drug Trafficking in the Brazilian Amazon," *Globalisation, Drugs and Criminalization: Final Research Report on Brazil, China, India and Mexico*, UNESCO/UNODC, 2002: Part 2, Chapter 6, 188-190.
- ³⁰ "International Narcotics Control Strategy Report," *The Department of State*, 2011; "Surinam ex-leader's son is jailed," *BBC News*, August 12, 2005. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4146270.stm>; Stone, Hannah. "Comeback of Suriname's 'Narco-President,'" *In Sight: Organized Crime in the Americas*, May 4, 2011. <http://www.insightcrime.org/insight-latest-news/item/865-the-comeback-of-surinames-narco-president>.
- ³¹ Cirino, Elizondo and Wawro, Geoffrey. "Latin America's Lawless Areas and Failed States," in *Latin American Security Challenges: A Collaborative Inquiry from North and South* ed. Paul D. Taylor (Newport: Naval War College Naval War College 2004) 26. <http://www.usnwc.edu/Publications/Naval-War-College-Press/Newport-Papers/Documents/21-pdf.aspx>.
- ³² Cirino, Elizondo and Wawro, Geoffrey. "Latin America's Lawless Areas and Failed States," in *Latin American Security Challenges: A Collaborative Inquiry from North and South* ed. Paul D. Taylor (Newport: Naval War College Naval War College 2004) 27-28. <http://www.usnwc.edu/Publications/Naval-War-College-Press/Newport-Papers/Documents/21-pdf.aspx>; Schonenberg, Regine. "Drug Trafficking in the Brazilian Amazon," *Globalisation, Drugs and Criminalization: Final Research Report on Brazil, China, India and Mexico*, UNESCO/UNODC, 2002: Part 2, Chapter 6, 186-191.
- ³³ Bittencourt, Silvana. "PF prende 62 em duas operações contra o tráfico," *Estadão De Hoje*, October 29, 2009. <http://m.estadao.com.br/noticias/impresso,pf-prende-62-em-duas-operacoes-contra-o-trafico,458030.htm>; "Federal Police Operations Arrest 62 Suspects, Dismantle Three Cocaine Dealing Gangs," *O Estado de Sao Paulo*, October 29, 2009, OSC: LAP20091029020004.
- ³⁴ "Suriname pulls plug on Corentyne backtrack route," *Stabroek News*, October 7, 2007. <http://www.stabroeknews.com/2007/news/stories/10/07/suriname-pulls-plug-on-corentyne-backtrack-route/>.
- ³⁵ "Cocaine traffickers develop new routes from Brazil," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, December 16, 2005.
- ³⁶ "Brazil Investigates Suriname Supply of Weapons to Rio, Sao Paulo Mobs," *Agencia Estado*, March 21, 2006, OSC: LAP20060321020003; "Brazilian Secret Service Agents in Suriname to Investigate Arms Theft," *Stabroek News*, March 19, 2006, OSC: FBS20060324779114.
- ³⁷ Ladislau, Waldiléia. "Investigação da PF e do MPF levanta suspeita de corrupção no sistema prisional," *O Popular*, November 30, 2009. <http://www.mp.go.gov.br/portalweb/1/imprimir/noticia/0ea4b1d9c43181e17aeb1baef337fc5a.html>.
- ³⁸ "Polícia Federal investiga desvio de armas do Exército do Suriname para traficantes," *O Estado de S. Paulo*, March 21, 2006. <http://www.cee-chile.org/resumen/brasi/bra201-250/sembra231.htm>.
- ³⁹ "Former dictator, rebel forge alliance in Suriname," *Associated Press*, June 3, 2010.
- ⁴⁰ "NDP Program," *NDP.sr*, 2010. <http://www.ndp.sr/programma-00.htm>; "Address by His Excellency Mr. Desiré Delano Bouterse," *65th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, September 25, 2010. <http://www.unmultimedia.org/tv/webcast/2010/09/suriname-general-debate-65th-session.html>.
- ⁴¹ "Suriname: Arms-For-Drugs Deals Rise," *Miami Herald*, September 12, 1999. <http://www.mapinc.org/drugnews/v99/n994/a06.html>.
- ⁴² Ortiz, Román D., "Insurgent Strategies in the Post-Cold War: The Case of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, vol. 25, 2002: 139; Gosman, Eleonora. "Mafias de Colombia y Brasil, unidas en la conexión Surinam," *Clarín*, July 13, 2000. <http://edant.clarin.com/diario/2000/07/13/i-03201.htm>; Vranckx, An. "European arms exports to Latin America: An inventory," *IPIS Background Report*, March 2005: 30-37. www.ipisresearch.be/download.php?id=68.
- ⁴³ "Leonardo Dias Mendonça pega mais 8 anos de prisão," *Diário da Manhã*, July 31, 2010. <http://www.mp.go.gov.br/portalweb/1/noticia/59e6e4d5f9bafd14cec2eafd33493930.html>.
- ⁴⁴ Pimenta, Paulo. "Relatório Da Comissão Parlamentar De Inquérito Destinada A Investigar As Organizações Criminosas Do Tráfico De Armas," *Câmara dos Deputados*, November 2006. http://www.soudapaz.org/Portals/0/Downloads/Relatorio_Comiss%C3%A3o%20Parlamentar%20de%20Inqu%C3%A9rito%20das%20Armas.pdf.