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## CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHINGTON, DC 20515

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COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
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PARTNERSHIP

CHAIRMAN, HOUSE DEMOCRACY

The Honorable Gina Haspel Director, Central Intelligence Agency Washington, D.C. 20505

## Dear Director Haspel:

I am writing to request information relating to activities under the CIA's Rendition, Detention, and Interrogation (RDI) program that were conducted in North Carolina and relied upon the private citizens and public infrastructure of North Carolina. This information is essential to help my constituents and the broader public understand key elements of the RDI program that have not been examined in previous reports or investigations.

From 2016 to 2018, an important citizen-led inquiry was conducted into these activities by the non-governmental, non-partisan North Carolina Commission of Inquiry on Torture (NCCIT). This commission conducted a thorough investigation of the role of the state of North Carolina, its citizens, and its infrastructure in the RDI program, but lacked access to federal government records or classified information.

In September 2018, the NCCIT published its report, *Torture Flights: North Carolina's Role in the CIA Rendition and Torture Program. Torture Flights* concludes that RDI inflicted illegal and immoral secret detention and torture on dozens of individuals without regard for guilt or innocence; that it damaged the global standing of the U.S. and harmed our strategic relationships; that the program relied heavily on North Carolina's private citizens and its public infrastructure; and that renditions were not simply transportation, but rather themselves constituted cruel and often torturous treatment.

*Torture Flights* recommends numerous specific actions by local, state, and federal authorities to enhance transparency and promote accountability for the RDI program; to provide acknowledgement, redress, and reparations; and to prevent such wrongful acts from ever occurring again. In addition, *Torture Flights* raises a number of important questions, and I write to request the answers:

1) Rendition to foreign custody: There has never been an accounting of the individuals who were forcibly rendered by the CIA to countries including Syria, Egypt, Morocco, and Libya, where in some cases they were tortured by security forces. While U.S. Attorney John Durham examined the interrogations of 101 detainees, his report to the Department of Justice remains classified, and thus it is unknown whether it sheds light on renditions to foreign custody. Such renditions were not within the scope of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) investigation, which produced the "Committee Study of the Central"

Intelligence Agency's Detention and Interrogation Program," and thus the number of people subjected to them, their experiences, and their fates remain unknown. Based on the limited information available to the public, these renditions appear to have been an integral part of the RDI program. Our questions are:

- a) During RDI, how many were rendered in total to foreign custody? To which nations were they rendered?
- b) Of these, were there cases in which detainees were rendered to nations of which they were not citizens?
- c) How many were rendered aboard aircraft based in North Carolina (one with tail number N379P, later renumbered to N8068V and then N44982, and the other with tail number N313P, later renumbered to N4476S)?
- d) What was the fate of those prisoners during RDI, and what is known of their current whereabouts?
- e) Of the total number, how many were ultimately convicted of an offense through the receiving nation's criminal justice system?
- 2) The RDI role of private contractors, in particular Aero Contractors: *Torture Flights* describes two parallel aviation programs integral to RDI. The first, which started in 2001 shortly after 9/11, relied on at least two jet aircraft based in Smithfield and Kinston, North Carolina, and operated by the private aviation firm Aero Contractors, Ltd. (Aero). Aero pilots flew at least 30 of 62 known rendition circuits, where one or several prisoners were transported during a circuit. *Torture Flights* contains a list of 49 prisoners rendered in Aero-operated planes, of whom 34 were included in the SSCI report and 15 were not because they were never held at a CIA black site (Annex A, enclosed).

While the above information has been compiled from the accounts of journalists, academics, and human rights organizations, much remains unknown about Aero's role. Please provide:

- a) A complete list of rendition missions flown by Aero;
- b) Confirmation that the 49 prisoners listed in *Torture Flights* (Chapter 4) were transported by Aero Contractors, including dates and locations (see enclosed Annex A);
- c) Information as to whether any of the following procedures were used by either CIA officers or private contractors in preparation for or during the transport of those prisoners aboard Aero-operated flights: involuntary cavity searches, involuntary sedation, involuntary sensory deprivation, or physical violence such as beatings, kicking, or painful restraint; also, a description of such procedures, who developed them, and whether they received training;
- d) A list of missions flown by Aero Contractors for the purpose of servicing CIA black sites, which may or may not have included prisoner transport;
- e) A record of the purpose of and passengers on the over 77 missions flown by N379P and N313P during RDI that appear similar to rendition missions but for which passengers have not yet been identified (Annex B, enclosed); and
- f) Confirmation whether federal funds were provided to Aero Contractors during RDI (2002-2008), and if so, what they were used for.

- 3) The current activities of Aero Contractors: To date, there has been no inquiry into the activities of Aero Contractors, even though its role in rendering prisoners for torture has been well established. The firm continues to operate from its headquarters in a specially protected corner of the Johnston County Airport. Please answer these questions:
  - a) Is there a contractual relationship between any federal agency and Aero Contractors? If so, what are the terms, when was it entered into, and what is the end date, if any?
  - b) Is Aero Contractors currently involved in forcible transport of detainees either within or outside the United States? Are other private North Carolina companies participating with them?

I stress that these inquiries reflect no partisan intent. Administrations of both parties bear responsibility for the failure to date to seek accountability for what will surely live in history as one of the darkest parts of the United States' human rights record.

Among the disturbing consequences of the lack of accountability for grave human rights abuses conducted during the RDI program is that such abuses might recur. We must act officially to lift the continuing veil of secrecy that shrouds RDI, to acknowledge forthrightly the violations that occurred, and to provide appropriate redress. Until we take these official steps, our nation will live under a moral cloud, and we are at risk of repeating these shameful acts.

Sincerely,

David E. Price

Member of Congress

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ANNEX A. The 49 prisoners so far known to have been transported for the CIA by Aero Contractors, and whether they appear in the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) report. More information in Torture Flights, Chapter 4, www.nctorturereport.org.

Nbr.	Prisoner	Rendition Circuit Dates	Aircraft tail number	Rendered To-From	In SSCI Report
1	Jamil Qasim Saeed Mohammed	Oct. 15-24, 2001	N379P	Pakistan to Jordan	No
2	Mohamed el-Zery	Dec. 18-20, 2001	N379P	Sweden to Egypt	No
3	Ahmed Agiza	Dec. 18-20, 2001	N379P	Sweden to Egypt	No
4	Mohammed Saad Iqbal Madni	Jan. 9-15, 2002	N379P	Indonesia to Egypt	No
	•	Apr. 8-14, 2002	N379P	Egypt to Afghanistan	
5	Ali al-Hajj al-Sharqawi	Feb. 6-16, 2002	N379P	Pak./Afgh. to Jordan	Yes
	-	Jan. 5-10, 2004	N313P	Jordan to Afghanistan	
6	Mamdouh Habib	Apr. 8-14, 2002	N379P	Egypt to Afghanistan	No
7	Abdul Halim Dalak	May 11-15, 2002	N379P	Pakistan to Syria	No
8	Omar Ghramesh	May 11-15, 2002	N379P	Pakistan to Syria	No
9	Abou Elkassim Britel	May 22-26, 2002	N379P	Pakistan to Morocco	No
10	Mohamedou Ould Slahi	Jul. 17-23, 2002	N379P	Jordan to Afghanistan	No
11	Binyam Mohamed	Jul. 17-23, 2002	N379P	Pakistan to Morocco	Yes
		Jan. 15-28, 2004	N313P	Morocco to Afghanistan	
12	Umar Faruq	Sep. 11-19, 2002	N379P	Indonesia to Egypt	Yes
		Sep. 27-30, 2002	N379P	Egypt to Afghanistan	
13	Hassan bin Attash	Sep. 11-19, 2002	N379P	Afghanistan to Jordan	Yes
		Jan. 5-10, 2004	N313P	Jordan to Afghanistan	
14	Ramzi bin al-Shibh	Sep. 11-19, 2002	N379P	Afghanistan to Morocco	Yes
		Feb. 6-13, 2003	N379P	Morocco to Poland	
		Jun 3-7, 2003	N379P	Poland to Morocco	
		Sep. 20-25, 2003	N313P	Morocco to Guantanamo	
15	Abd al-Salam al-Hilah	Sep. 27-30, 2002	N379P	Egypt to Afghanistan	Yes
16	Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri	Nov. 12-18, 2002	N379P	Afghanistan to Thailand	Yes
		Jun 3-7, 2003	N379P	Poland to Morocco	
		Sep. 20-25, 2003	N313P	Morocco to Guantanamo	
17	Bisher al-Rawi	Dec. 8-17, 2002	N379P	The Gambia to Afghanistan	Yes
18	Jamil el-Banna	Dec. 8-17, 2002	N379P	The Gambia to Afghanistan	Yes
19	Pacha Wazir	Dec. 8-17, 2002	N379P	Morocco to Afghanistan	Yes
20	Ibn Sheikh al-Libi	Feb. 6-13, 2003	N379P	Egypt to Afghanistan	Yes
		Nov. 13-23, 2003	N313P	Afghanistan to Guantanamo	
21	Khaled Sheikh Mohammed	Mar. 1-9, 2003	N379P	Afghanistan to Poland	Yes
		Sep. 20-25, 2003	N313P	Poland to Romania	
22	Abu Yasir al-Jaza'iri	Mar. 23-28, 2003	N379P	Afghanistan to Poland	Yes
		Sep. 20-25, 2003	N313P	Poland to Romania	
		Oct. 24-30, 2003	N379P	Romania to Jordan/Afgh.	
23	Laid Saidi	May 14-24, 2003	N379P	Malawi to Afghanistan	Yes
24	Walid bin Attash	Jun 3-7, 2003	N379P	Afghanistan to Poland	Yes
		Sep. 20-25, 2003	N313P	Poland to Romania	

25	Ammar al-Baluchi	Jun 3-7, 2003	N379P	Afghanistan to Poland	Yes
		Sep. 20-25, 2003	N313P	Poland to Romania	
26	Hiwa Rashul	Jul. 1-10, 2003	N379P	Iraq to Afghanistan	Yes
		Oct. 24-30, 2003	N379P	Afghanistan to Iraq	
27	Saifullah Paracha	Jul. 1-10, 2003	N379P	Thailand to Afghanistan	No
28	Asadallah	Jul. 21-25, 2003	N379P	Afghanistan to Egypt	Yes
29	Samr al-Barq	Jul. 27-Aug. 1, 2003	N379P	Afghanistan to Poland	Yes
		Sep. 20-25, 2003	N313P	Poland to Romania	
		Oct. 24-30, 2003	N379P	Romania to Jordan	
30	Sanad al-Kazimi	Aug. 11-18, 2003	N379P	UAE to Afghanistan	Yes
31	Saleh Qaru	Sep. 5-13, 2003	N379P	Jordan to Afghanistan	Yes
32	Abu Zubaydah	Sep. 20-25, 2003	N313P	Poland to Romania	Yes
33	Mohamed Bashmilah	Oct. 24-30, 2003	N379P	Jordan to Afghanistan	Yes
34	Aso Hawleri	Oct. 24-30, 2003	N379P	Afghanistan to Iraq	Yes
35	Mustafa al-Hawsawi	Nov. 13-23, 2003	N313P	Afghanistan to Guantanamo	Yes
36	Mohammed al-Asad	Jan. 5-10, 2004	N313P	Djibouti to Afghanistan	Yes
37	Saleh Di'iki	Jan. 15-28, 2004	N313P	Morocco to Afghanistan	Yes
38	Jamal Boudraa	Jan. 15-28, 2004	N313P	Afghanistan to Algeria	Yes
39	Khaled el-Masri	Jan. 15-28, 2004	N313P	Macedonia to Afghanistan	Yes
40	Hassan Ghul	Jan. 15-28, 2004	N313P	Iraq to Afgh. then Romania	Yes
41	Mohamed Ibrahim	Jan. 15-28, 2004	N313P	Afghanistan to Romania	Yes
42	Khaled al-Maqtari	Jan. 20-29, 2004	N8068V	Iraq to Afghanistan	Yes
43	Abdel Hakim Belhadj	Mar. 6-14, 2004	N313P	Thailand to Libya	No
44	Fatima Bouchar	Mar. 6-14, 2004	N313P	Thailand to Libya	No
45	Yunus Rahmatullah	Mar. 6-14, 2004	N313P	Iraq to Afghanistan	No
46	Amanatullah Ali	Mar. 6-14, 2004	N313P	Iraq to Afghanistan	No
47	Abu 'Abdallah	Mar. 6-14, 2004	N313P	Iraq to Afghanistan	Yes
48	Gouled Dourad	Mar. 6-13, 2004	N8068V	Djibouti to Afgh. or Morocco	Yes
49	Mustafa Salim Ali el-Madaghi	Mar. 23-26, 2004	N8068V	Mauritania to Morocco	No

ANNEX B. Dates of 77 suspicious circuits flown by two aircraft operated by Aero Contractors and used extensively by the CIA for rendering prisoners to be tortured. These suspicious circuits included locations that appear frequently in other confirmed rendition circuits, but in these 77 cases the mission remains to be determined. Flight logs with locations at http://www.nccit.org/aeroflightlogs.

	Aircraft's main base	Year					
Aircraft tail number		2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	
•							
	Johnston Co. Airport,						
N379P*	Smithfield, NC	14-19 Sept.	8-11 Mar.	10-18 Jan.	12-17 Feb.	4-10 Jun.	
		22-29 Sept.	16-19 Mar.	29 Jan 2 Feb.	8-9 Apr.		
		5-12 Oct.	26 Mar 3 Apr.	23-28 Feb.	4-18 May		
		28 Oct 6 Nov.	29 Jul 2 Aug.	1-11 May	19-15 Jun.		
		7-10 Nov.	16 Aug.	14-24 May	7-9 Jul.		
		13-17 Nov.	23-26 Aug.	25-29 May	11-22 Jul.		
		7-10 Dec.	11-20 Oct.	21-25 Jul.	26-28 Jul.		
		12-14 Dec.	6-10 Nov.	11-18 Aug.	15-18 Sep.		
			20-23 Nov.	5-13 Sep.	_		
			20-23 Dec. 30 Dec 2 Jan.	16-25 Sep.			
			2003	2-7 Dec.			
				12-20 Dec.			
	Global						
N313P**	TransPark, Kinston, NC		22-25 Nov.	10-14 Jan.	6-9 Feb.	16-20 Jan.	
			30 Nov 6 Dec.	30 Jan 10 Feb.	15-21 Feb.	5-16 Feb. 29 Apr 7	
			14-24 Dec.	13-28 Feb.	2-5 Mar.	May	
				10-16 Mar.	20-28 Apr.		
				27-31 Mar.	8-11 May		
				13-16 Apr.	12-15 Jun.		
				4-9 May	22 Jun 1 Jul.		
				13-21 May	30 Jul 1 Aug.		
				30 May - 3 Jun.	2-10 Sep.		
				12-16 Jun.	22-28 Oct.		
				6-11 Jul.			
				22-25 Jul.			
				5-9 Aug.			
				13-16 Aug.			

22-27 Aug. 2-7 Sep. 16-30 Oct. 13-23 Nov. 30 Nov. - 12 Dec. 13-17 Dec. 26-31 Dec.

 $<sup>\</sup>ast$  A Gulfstream V jet, renumbered in December 2003 to N8068V and in December 2004 to N44982.

<sup>\*\*</sup> A Boeing business jet, renumbered in November 2004 to N4476S.