Delivery of Evidence to Shannon Garda Station by Shannonwatch human rights activists on 18 March 2011 concerning breaches of Irish and international laws resulting from the transit of armed U.S. troops and CIA associated aircraft in connection with wars and military aggression in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere, and in connection with unlawful detention and torture of prisoners at Guantanamo prison and elsewhere.

Please note that this information should be retained by the Gardai at Shannon for at least one year or until the alleged crimes being reported are fully investigated and those culpable are prosecuted. All the items submitted on 18 March 2011 should eventually be returned to Shannonwatch phone 086 3539911 / 087 8225087 or email shannonwatch@gmail.com. See also www.shannonwatch.org.
1. **Introduction:** The following is a listing of evidence concerning the use of Shannon airport for refuelling aircraft associated with, and complicit in, the U.S. so-called extraordinary rendition programme, and as well as with war crimes known to have been committed in Afghanistan, Iraq and elsewhere. This evidence is been provided to Gardai at Shannon Garda Station Co Clare by peace activists on 18 March 2011, on the eve of the 8th anniversary of the beginning of the Iraq war.

2. The reason that we find it necessary to provide this evidence and information is that we have observed a culpable failure on behalf of Gardai stationed at Shannon airport to carry out their duties of crime prevention, and their duties to investigate and prosecute individuals involved in serious crimes being committed at and/or facilitated at Shannon airport. On multiple occasions, peace and human rights activists at Shannon airport have presented evidence and information to Gardai at Shannon and requested that they investigate and search particular aircraft and occurrences at Shannon airport in relation to the transit of armed US troops on their way to and from the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan, and in relation to the US Government extraordinary rendition programme that involved the torture of prisoners. On all these occasions as far as we are aware no adequate investigations or searches were carried out, if indeed any such searches ever occurred. The Gardai frequently responded to such search requests by stating that they would not carry out such searches unless they were presented with concrete evidence that the aircraft or the individuals associated with them were involved in crimes. The following is part of a report prepared by Dr. Edward Horgan on one such incident that took place on the approach road to Shannon airport on 14 November 2010.

“I asked Garda Sergeant Noel McMahon, the Garda in charge, to search the US military Hercules aircraft that was present at the airport, in case it was carrying unauthorised munitions such as depleted uranium, or US soldiers who were guilty of war crimes. He informed me that he could not do so unless I produced evidence to justify such a search. He said that if I produced such evidence he would consider the matter. I informed him that it was the job of the Gardai to investigate potential crimes and collect evidence and again asked him to search the US warplane to collect such evidence. He said the Gardai would not do so. I then informed him that I would then go and get some evidence, and attempted to walk towards the airport but was prevented from doing so by Gardai. I told Sgt McMahon that he was contradicting himself, by asking me first to get evidence and then preventing me from getting it. I informed him that I would try and get such evidence in the future. I also reminded him that on 24 June 2004, when I had requested the Gardai at Shannon to arrest war criminal George W Bush when he visited Shannon airport, they had refused to do so, and this individual had subsequently admitted that he authorised the torture of prisoners at Guantanamo and elsewhere. Garda Sergeant McMahon refused to comment further and asked me to make a written request to have the aircraft searched if I wished to do so, and this would be passed up to his superiors. I subsequently went to Shannon Garda station at about 15.30 pm, and made a verbal request to Garda Clear to have the Hercules aircraft searched.

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16. Bush, George W., Decision Points – This book provides the following evidence that is relevant to US military and CIA use of Shannon airport. On page 169 of the book, former US President George W Bush confirms that in 2002 he approved the use of torture by US government agents including the CIA. “Another technique was waterboarding, a process of simulated drowning. ... I knew that an interrogation programme this sensitive and controversial would one day become public. ... I approved the use of the interrogation techniques.”
She then discussed the matter with her superior the Station Sergeant and returned to say that my request to have the aircraft searched had been refused.”

3. Likewise, on 9 January 2011 a similar request was made by Edward Horgan and Margaretta Darcy to Garda Sergeant Noel McMahon to search and investigate a particular US military aircraft at Shannon airport. He refused to do so but did request that the peace activists should get evidence on any alleged criminal activity concerning such aircraft, and present such evidence to the Gardai at Shannon Garda Station, and that they would then consider whether the Gardai would search such aircraft. It is partly in response to such requests for evidence of criminal activity at Shannon airport that human rights activists who are part of the NGO Shannonwatch are submitting the attached schedule of evidence. However, is so doing we are also complying with our legal, constitutional and civic duties to prevent crimes and to protect human rights.

4. We also wish to state in the strongest terms that we reject the repeated statements by Gardai at Shannon airport that they cannot or are not obliged to search and investigate such incidents and such aircraft at Shannon airport, without first been given “concrete” evidence by members of the public that unlawful activity either is in progress at Shannon airport or has occurred at Shannon in the past. We wish to assert that it is the primary duty of the Gardai to acquire such evidence themselves, and to take all possible and practicable measures to prevent such crimes in the first instance, and to fully investigate any reports that such crimes may have been committed, and to prosecute any individuals who may have committed or been complicit in such crimes.

5. On 30 November 2007 peace activists Edward Horgan and Conor Cregan were arrested when they requested Gardai at Shannon to search a suspected aircraft, N478GS at Shannon that had known association with the US extraordinary rendition programme. See reports on this incident on Indymedia.ie2. It would have been far more appropriate on that occasion for the Gardai to arrest the crew and passengers of this aircraft and carry out a thorough search and investigation of this aircraft.

6. On 30 Oct 07 Edward Horgan observed CIA associated aircraft N475LC at Shannon, and asked Gardai at Shannon to investigate and search this aircraft. They refused to do so and when asked why, Edward Horgan was informed by Garda Karen Fitzgerald that they were not searching such planes because of instruction from the Attorney General to the Gardai. It was later confirmed to me verbally by a senior Garda officer that the Attorney General had issued a letter of advice to the Gardai on the matter of searching US military and CIA aircraft at Shannon airport, but we have not seen a copy of this letter so far, and if it does exist we would question its legality and constitutionality.

7. A further important reason for presenting this evidence to the Gardai is contained in the Programme for Government 2011-2016, agreed between the governing coalition parties, Fine Gael and Labour.3.”We will enforce the prohibition on the use of Irish airspace, airports and related facilities for purposes not in line with the dictates of international law.”

2 http://www.indymedia.ie/article/85297.
3 Irish Programme for Government 2011-2016 - Foreign Affairs (p. 58).
8. **Arrests of Peace activists at Shannon airport (not complete list)**


   b. 29/01/2003 Mary Kelly arrested and charged with damage to US Navy aircraft at Shannon airport. Conviction quashed by Court of Criminal Appeal in February 2011.

   c. 03/02/2003 Five Catholic Workers, Ciaron O’Reilly, Damien Moran, Nuin Dunlop, Karen Falon and Deirdre Clancy arrested and charged with damage to US Navy aircraft at Shannon airport. Found not Guilty by Jury in Dublin Trial.

   d. 25/06/2004 Edward Horgan, Aron Baker and Eibhlinni Hir arrested in boat on Shannon Estuary during visit by US President Bush.

   e. 04/03/2005 Arrest of Edward Horgan at Shannon airport –

   f. 17/09/05 Four peace activists arrested for participating in protest at Terminal building at Shannon. Complaint by Edward Horgan Inappropriate Search of Peace activists Conor Cregan and Mags Liddy –

   g. 22/12/2005 Edward Horgan detained by airport security at Shannon airport.

   h. 12/09/06 Edward Horgan prosecuted by Garda Broderick on alleged obstruction of traffic at Shannon. Case subsequently dismissed.

   i. 30/11/07 Edward Horgan and Conor Cregan arrested at Shannon Airport because they requested Gardai to search CIA associated aircraft N478GS.

9. **Partial List of complaints to Gardai and other authorities concerning issues at Shannon and requests of searches and investigation of U.S. military and CIA aircraft at Shannon** (details of complaints attached):

   a. 21/06/2003 Edward Horgan complaint concerning behaviour of Superintendent Kerin on 12/4/03 and 21/6/03.

   b. 05/07/03 Conor Cregan complaint concerning inappropriate behaviour by D/Sgt Michael Houlihan on same date.


   d. Copy of Statement by Tim Hourigan to Gardai at Shannon on 7 OCT 2004.

   e. 11/02/2005 Edward Horgan request to search and investigate aircraft at Shannon and US armed soldiers to Garda Sergeant Noel McMahon.
f. Letter to Edward Horgan from Sgt Noel McMahon stating that DDP had directed no prosecution from my complaints dated 20/11/2004 and 11/02/2005

g. 24/11/2005 Edward Horgan request to search and investigate aircraft at Shannon to Garda Mark O’Shea

h. 01/12/2005 Edward Horgan request to search and investigate aircraft at Shannon to Garda Cathal Ryan

i. 06/12/2005 Edward Horgan request to search and investigate aircraft at Shannon to Garda Bryan McCarthy

j. 12/12/2005 Complaint to Superintendent John Kerin re inappropriate behaviour of Gardai at Shannon airport and failure to investigate crimes

k. 12/01/2006 Request to Garda Jason O’Flaherty to search US aircraft at Shannon

l. 15/06/2006 Edward Horgan requested search of two aircraft carrying US troops at Shannon airport – statement taken by Garda Kennedy

m. Letter of complaint by Edward Horgan to Garda Commissioner Noel Conroy dated 12 May 2006

n. 11/08/06 Edward Horgan statement to D/Supt Brendan Cloonan re complaint to Garda Commissioner

o. 30/10/2007 Edward Horgan requested Garda Pat Harte and Karen Fitzgerald to search of CIA associated aircraft N475LC at Shannon airport – statement taken by Garda Edward Henderson

p. Edward Horgan request to search and investigate aircraft at Shannon to Garda Ciaran Kennedy

q. Letter of complaint by Edward Horgan to Garda Sergeant John O’Sullivan dated 10 May 2005

r. 24/11/2005 Edward Horgan request to search and investigate aircraft at Shannon to Garda Mark O’Shea

s. Letter from Garda Sgt Noel McMahon on decision of DDP not to prosecute re US soldiers carrying arms at Shannon airport

t. Letter of complaint on behalf of Edward Horgan to Company Secretary AerRianta dated 10 July 2003

u. Letter of complaint by Edward Horgan to Mr Gordon Holmes, Chairperson Garda Siochana Complaints Commission dated 21 July 2004

v. 01/12/05 Edward Horgan request to search and investigate aircraft at Shannon to Garda Cathal Ryan

w. 06/01/2006 Edward Horgan letter to Minister for Justice Michael McDowell re US military and CIA use of Shannon airport
x. 03/04/2006 Edward Horgan request to search and investigate aircraft at Shannon to Garda Seamus Lyons

y. 06/05/2006 Edward Horgan request to search and investigate Israeli Air Force aircraft at Shannon

z. 21/08/2006 Edward Horgan letter to Sergeant Dermot O’Connor requesting further investigation into use of Shannon airport in rendition of prisoners

aa. 20/01/2007 Edward Horgan request to search and investigate aircraft at Shannon to Garda Shane Power


c. 18/12/2007 Letter to Edward Horgan from Inspector Kennedy stating no action on complaint re Garda Coleman

dd. 07/11/2007 Edward Horgan request to search and investigate aircraft at Shannon to Garda Gary Farrell


ff. 18/12/2007 Letter to Edward Horgan from Inspector Kennedy stating that Gardai will not be taking any action on my complaint dated 03/12/2007

gg. 03/04/2008 Letter by Edward Horgan requesting arrest of US President Bush if he arrived at Shannon airport.

hh. Letter by Edward Horgan to DPP Mr James Hamilton concerning summons over incident on 18 June 2008

ii. Letter by Edward Horgan to Judge Timothy Lucey concerning summons over incident on 18 June 2008

jj. 20/04/2008 Edward Horgan requested Gardai at Shannon to search of CIA associated aircraft N475LC at Shannon airport – statement taken by Garda Shane Power

kk. 08/04/2009 Dr CoilinOhAiseadha letter of complaint to Sergeant in Charge Shannon Garda Station concerning misbehaviour by Gardai at Shannon on 15 November 2008

ll. 30/06/2009 Letter from Inspector Tom Kennedy to Edward Horgan – Gardai will not be taking any action re complaint made on by Edward Horgan on 30/06/2009 requesting gardai to search and investigate US Navy aircraft reg no 0048

mm. 27/03/2009 Complaint by Dr CoilinOhAiseadha to Garda Ombudsman Commission

nn. 27/03/2009 Complaint by Edward Horgan to Garda Ombudsman Commission concerning incident on 18/06/2008 and subsequent court hearings involving Edward Horgan
10. **International Conventions binding on Ireland on War and Torture (cite particular sections relevant to Shannon airport issue).** Copies of these conventions are being given to the Gardai at Shannon airport so as to ensure that they cannot in the future claim that they were not aware of the provisions of these conventions, even though it should be self-evident that the Gardai have a solemn duty to make themselves aware of such international law requirements. It is also an accepted principle of law that “ignorance of the law is no excuse for not complying with the law.”

   a. Geneva Conventions on War 1949 – Geneva Conventions Act 1962 (including duties towards the TREATMENT OF PRISONERS OF WAR and the PROTECTION OF CIVILIAN PERSONS IN TIME OF WAR

   b. Hague Convention V on Neutrality 1907

   c. Universal Declaration of Human Rights

   d. European Convention on Human Rights


   g. UN Convention Against Torture

11. **Irish Legislation relevant to US military use of Shannon airport**

   a. Bunreacht na h-Eireann

   b. Air transport and Navigation Act

   c. Criminal Justice (UN Convention Against Torture) Act, 2000

   d. All Irish criminal and common law legislation concerning assault, crimes of aggression, and public safety

12. **Other Legal Documents and other reports**

   a. Irish Programme for Government 2011-2016 - Foreign Affairs

   b. Court of Criminal Appeal Judgement DPP v Mary Kelly

   c. Catholic Workers Jury Trial acquittal

   d. High Court Injunction by AerRianta against (ConorCregan, Edward Horgan and nineteen others), 2003 No. 1468P

   e. Report of European Parliament TDIP Committee Doc No. 8

   f. Submission by Edward Horgan to European Parliament TDIP Committee
g. Report to Joint Oireachtas Committee on Foreign Affairs by Shannon peace activists 20 December 2005.

h. Transcript of proceedings of Joint Oireachtas Committee on Foreign Affairs on 20 December 2005

i. Copy of report by Edward Horgan to Garda Commissioner

j. Report by Edward Horgan to Garda Inspectorate Kathleen O’Ttoole

k. Report by Council of Europe presented by Senator Dick Marty into involvement of Council of Europe states in the extraordinary rendition programme

l. Amnesty International USA report “Below the Radar”

m. Amnesty International Ireland Report “Breaking the Chain: Ending Ireland’s Role in Rendition

n. Amnesty International Report: “State of Denial” Europe’s role in rendition and secret detention


p. Amnesty International Report – 800 Secret CIA Flights in and out of Europe 5 Dec 2005


r. List of peace activists prosecuted by Gardai at Shannon while trying to expose unlawful activity at Shannon airport

s. List of documents discovered by Edward Horgan from Department of Foreign Affairs

t. United Nations report on Extraordinary Rendition

u. Books by Kurnaz Murat, and others

v. Wikileaks cables on rendition

w. Submissions to IHRC, UPR report Shannonwatch 2011,


y. Reports based on Shannonwatch database.

z. Trial Transcripts DPP v. Mary Kelly

aa. Report by Edward Horgan on Arrests at Shannon airport on 30 Nov 2007

bb. Notes on arrest trial and acquittal of Edward Horgan, Aaron Baker and EibhlinniHir resulting from boat incident on Shannon Estuary on 24 June 2004


hh. Wikileaks Iraq: data journalism maps every death.


jj. The Responsibility of the US in Contaminating Iraq with Depleted Uranium by Prof Souad N. Al-Azzawi

kk. Complaint by Edward Horgan to Clare Co. Council concerning safety at Shannon airport

ll. Human Rights Watch Report – At a Crossroads – Human Rights in Iraq Eight Years after the US-led Invasion – 2010


oo. UN Economic and Social Council – Situation of Detainees at Guantanamo Bay – 15 Feb 2006

pp. Flight Logs of Learjet 35 aircraft Reg no. N54PA

13. Arrests and trials of peace activists

   a. Edward Horgan 12 Sept 2007 – Charge of obstructing traffic at Shannon airport – charge struck out at Ennis District Court


15. Photos and other relevant evidence:

16. Wikileaks evidence:

a. Statement of claim, affidavits, and supporting documents full judgement document
b. Judgement decision on breach of international law
c. Transcript of Trial on 4 April 2003 Day 1
d. Transcript of Trial on 4 April 2003 Day 2
e. Transcript of Trial on 4 April 2003 Day 3
f. Transcript of Trial on 4 April 2003 Day 4
g. File of Documents obtained by High Court Discovery in Horgan v. Ireland, that show that Irish neutrality was respected very strictly up until about 1999 during the Kosovo War, when Cruise Missiles were authorised to pass through Shannon airport. In the meantime over 2 million armed US soldiers have passed through Shannon, and war materials through Shannon have included Patriot Missiles, and attack helicopters.

18. Published books that contain evidence relevant to US military and CIA use of Shannon airport.

a. Abuelaish, Izzeldin, I shall not hate: This book provides the following evidence that is relevant to US military and CIA use of Shannon airport. Shannon airport has been used to transport weapons of war, including attack helicopters between the United States and Israel both before and during the Israeli the various military attacks on Gaza, during which serious crimes against humanity were committed. This book gives details of one such crime in particular, when the author’s three daughters were killed in their home by an Israeli tank shell. The author is a medical doctor. "Bedroom furniture, schoolbooks, dolls, running shoes, and pieces of wood were splintered in a heap, along with body parts … I found Mayar’s body on the ground, she’d been decapitated. There was brain matter on the ceiling, girl’ hands and feet on the floor as if dropped there by someone who had left in a hurry. Blood spattered the whole room, and arms in familiar sweaters and legs in pants that belonged to these beloved children leaned at crazy angles where they had blown off the torso."

Many similar incidents occurred in Afghanistan and Iraq when civilians homes and wedding festivals were destroyed in aerial bombings.

c. Begg, Moazzam, Enemy Combatant – A British Muslim’s Journey to Guantanamo and Back. Moazzam Begg was abducted in Pakistan, imprisoned and tortured in Afghanistan, and then transported to Guantanamo. We do not yet know what route his transfer aircraft, but it may have travelled through Shannon airport. At Baghram airbase “someone … gave me drugs to swallow. The next time I remembered anything was in a daze in Guantanamo.” P.193.

d. Biehler, Gernot, International Law in Practice, An Irish Perspective. This is an important academic book by the late Professor Gernot Biehler, Professor of International Relations at Trinity College Dublin. It deals in considerable detail with the High Court Constitutional case No. 2003/3739P, Edward Horgan v. An Taoiseach, The Minister for Foreign Affairs, The Government of Ireland, Ireland and the Attorney General.


f. Grey, Stephen, Ghost Plane; The Inside Story of the CIA’s Secret Rendition Programme. P. 178-9: “Abu Omar was rapidly transhipped onto the Gulfstream. This plane took off for Cairo at 7.52 p.m. (local time) and landed at 12.32 a.m. (local time). The plane returned to the US the following day, refuelling at Shannon Airport in Ireland.”

g. Guy, Ann, Depleted Uranium. This book provides substantial information on the hazards of depleted uranium munitions. The Irish Department of Transport is believed to have given a US air cargo company, Murray Air a licence to transport depleted uranium munitions through Shannon Airport.

h. Harry Browne, Hammered by the Irish.

i. Kurnaz, Murat, Five Years of my Life. This the documented story of Murat Kurnaz, German resident of Turkish origin, arrested in Pakistan in October 2001, and transported to Guantanamo with no military or terrorists Khadr, a child of fifteen years of age who was arrested in Afghanistan in 2003, and transferred to Guantanamo prison in December 2002 and allegedly tortured on several occasions. We do not yet know what route his transfer aircraft, probably a Hercules C 130, took, but it may have travelled through Shannon airport. “The flight must have lasted 27 hours. Somewhere we made a stopover. We weren’t able to move for the entire flight.”

j. Mills, Nicholas, The New Killing Fields

k. Murray, Craig, Murder in Samarkland: A British Ambassador’s Controversial Defiance of Tyranny in the War on Terror. This book is an example of a high level government official who felt obliged to speak the truth and to challenge his government’s involvement in illegal wars and torture. Garda officer’s at Shannon airport should do likewise.
i. Paglen, Trevor, Blood Spots on the Map – The Dark Geography of the Pentagon’s Secret World. Trevor Paglen has completed valuable research into the US torture rendition programme, and into secret US prisons and other secret military installations around the world;

m. Paglen, Trevor, Torture Taxi; This book includes references to the use of Shannon airport in connection with the extraordinary rendition programme.

n. Shephard, Michelle, Guantanamo’s Child: This the documented story of Omar Khadr, a child of fifteen years of age who was arrested in Afghanistan in 2003, transferred to Guantanamo prison and allegedly tortured on several occasions. On October 28 2002, Omar Khadr was transported from Bagram airbase prison in Afghanistan to Guantanamo prison in Cuba. We do not yet know what route his transfer aircraft, probably a Hercules C 130, took, but it may have travelled through Shannon airport.

o. Torture: Journal on Rehabilitation of Torture Victims and Prevention of Torture, Volume 15, No. 2-3, 2005. This is just one of many publications dealing with the damage done to individuals by torture.


q. Bush, George W., Decision Points: This book provides the following evidence that is relevant to US military and CIA use of Shannon airport.

   i. On page 169 of the book, former US President George W Bush confirms that in 2002 he approved the use of torture by US government agents including the CIA. "Another technique was waterboarding, a process of simulated drowning. … I knew that an interrogation programme this sensitive and controversial would one day become public. … I approved the use of the interrogation techniques."

   ii. Tenet, George [CIA Director] asked if he had permission to use enhanced interrogation techniques, including waterboarding, on Khalid Sheik Mohammed. … 'Damn right' I said."

   iii. Human Rights Watch have reported that: "the CIA has acknowledged 'waterboarding' him 183 times while holding him in secret custody in 2002 and 2003. Waterboarding, a torture technique in which a prisoner is made to believe he is drowning, violates both the federal anti-torture statute and the War Crimes Act."

   iv. On 24 June 2003, while US President George W Bush was on an official visit to Shannon airport, Edward Horgan and other peace activists made requests to Garda Sergeant Mckeon that he should arrest US President George W Bush due to the war crimes, including torture that he had authorised in Afghanistan, Iraq and elsewhere. Sergeant Mckeon and other Gardai at Shannon failed to act on this request, or to
investigate whether George W Bush or other US military and intelligence officials transiting through Shannon airport have been involved in war crimes and other serious criminal acts. 

r. Rogers A.P.V. International Law: Law on the Battlefield, This book provides background legal information on war crimes and breaches of the laws of war and international laws, which would allow Gardai to evaluate and investigate whether some US soldiers and their superiors who transit through Shannon airport may have been guilty of war crimes.

s. Frederick, Jim, Black Hearths: One Platoon’s decent into madness in Iraq’s Triangle of Death: This book written by a US journalist explains in great detail a particular crime against an Iraqi family, whose daughter was gang-raped by US soldiers, and the family then murdered to cover up the crime. It is written from an American perspective and tries to explain the inexplicable. Some of the soldiers who committed these crimes are likely to have travelled through Shannon airport on their way to Iraq, in breach of the Hague Convention V on Neutrality.

t. Stafford-Smith, Clive (2008) Bad Men: Guantanamo Bay and the Secret Prisons. Clive Stafford Smith is a legal advisor to several detainees and former detainees at Guantanamo and works with the NGO, Reprieve.


Conclusion: Please note that this list of evidence and supporting documentation and information is not a complete list of all the information available. The Gardai and state authorities have access to far more additional sources of information, but have so far failed either access this information or to act appropriately on this information.

Shannonwatch will provide additional information to the Gardai as we acquire this information.

Signed:

Edward Horgan 18 March 2011

John Lannon 18 March 2011