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THE HONORABLE RONALD B. LEIGHTON

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF WASHINGTON**

JULIANNE PANAGACOS, ET AL.,)	NO. 3:10-cv-5018 RBL
)	EXPERT REPORT (Preliminary)
Plaintiffs,)	FOR DR. CHRISTOPHER H. PYLE
)	
v.)	On behalf of Plaintiffs
)	
)	
JOHN J. TOWERY; THOMAS R. RUDD))	
CLINT COLVIN; CITY OF OLYMPIA)	
TOR BJORNSTAD, et al.,)	
)	
Defendants.)	
_____)	

**EXPERT REPORT (PRELIMINARY) FOR DR. CHRISTOPHER H. PYLE
on behalf of Plaintiffs**

Panagacos v. Towery, [3:10-cv-5018](#) RBL et al-
Expert Report for Christopher Pyle, on behalf of Plaintiffs
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I. Background and expertise

Portions of my background and expertise are listed here. My full curriculum vitae was produced in the Disclosure of Expert Witnesses, Docket #207, and is reproduced in Exhibit A. A more complete list of my publications is provided in Exhibit B.

Education: B.A. (Bowdoin College 1961), LL.B. (Columbia Law School, 1964), MA, Public Law and Government (Columbia University Graduate Faculties, 1966), Ph.D. Political Science (Columbia Graduate Faculties, 1974).

Education in Constitutional Law: Courses with Athern P. Daggett, Herbert Wechsler, Telford Taylor, Louis Henkin, Louis Lusky, Alan F. Westin, Clement Vose.

Professor and Teacher of Constitutional Law, 1967-present: Columbia University (Supreme Court), John Jay College of Criminal Justice (Constitutional Law, Civil Liberties, Administrative Law), Mount Holyoke College (Constitutional Law, Civil Liberties, Rights of Privacy), Harvard Law School (Rights of Privacy). Also taught Investigative Legal Principles to Army intelligence agents at the U.S. Army Intelligence School.

Publications: *Army Surveillance of Civilians: A Documentary Analysis*. Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, 1972; author/editor (with Richard M. Pious) of *The President, Congress, and the Constitution* (1984); *Military Surveillance of Civilian Politics* (1986); and *The Constitution under Siege: Presidential Power and the Rule of Law* (2011) (with Richard M. Pious). Also analyzed Army intelligence’s interrogation practices in the course of writing *Getting Away with Torture: Secret Government, War Crimes, and the Rule of War* (2009).

1 **Other related work:** Consultant, Senate Committee on Government Operations
2 (Privacy Act of 1974) and Office of Technology Assessment (privacy).

3 **Military intelligence:** Captain, Army Intelligence and Head, Legal Section, Department
4 of Counterintelligence, U.S. Army Intelligence School, 1967-1968. In 1970, I disclosed Army's
5 spying on civil rights and anti-war protesters in award-winning articles for *Washington Monthly*.
6 I was a consultant/investigator for Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights (1970-1974)
7 (the Ervin subcommittee) and Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (1974-1976) (Church
8 Committee); author of *Military Surveillance of Civilian Politics* (1986). Expert witness before
9 Judiciary Committees of House and Senate on constitutional issues, including military
10 surveillance of civilian politics, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, and the Posse
11 Comitatus Act of 1878.

12

13 **II. Summary of Opinions**

14 1. **Targeting of civilian dissenters for their political beliefs.** In 2005, NBC
15 brought me more than 1,600 post-9/11 "suspicious activity reports" prepared by Army
16 intelligence for the Counterintelligence Field Activity Unit (CIFA), a 1,000-man Pentagon unit
17 of intelligence analysts. They wanted me to compare the activities and reports of this program,
18 code named TALON, to the program I investigated for two Senate committees in the 1970s.
19 TALON and the Field Activity Unit were shut down in 2006 after its disclosure on the NBC
20 Nightly News.

1 These dates are relevant to the disclosures in this case. John Jacob Towery's
2 surveillance was not directed at foreign intelligence activities, but at U.S. peace activists
3 protesting the shipment of military equipment from Fort Lewis, outside of Tacoma, in the
4 civilian Port of Olympia in 2006. It is my understanding that in response to Discovery requests,
5 Mr. Towery admitted that he had infiltrated and reported on a civilian peace group called Port
6 Militarization Resistance (PMR) while a civilian employee of Army intelligence in early 2007
7 even though the group had a code of non-violence and had not engaged in, or planned, any
8 violent activity. This action would appear to exceed the Army's authority, because it is is
9 forbidden, by the Posse Comitatus Act of 1878 to enforce civilian law against civilians.

10 It is also my understanding, from evidence gathered through Discovery and Washington
11 State Public Records Act requests (which have been disclosed to Defendants), that an attempt is
12 being made to conceal the Army's involvement by suggesting that Towery's infiltration was
13 really carried out on behalf of civilian agencies, including the state Fusion Center and the Pierce
14 County Sheriff's Office. The following evidence and documents appear to show that is not true:

15 Lt. Adamson claims to have recruited Towery to infiltrate and spy on PMR for the Pierce
16 County Sheriff's Office and the Fusion Center in Tacoma, in June 2007. He claims this in a
17 memo produced in January 2011 pursuant to a Washington State Public Records Act request and
18 also produced by Defendants Rudd (in his Initial Disclosures) and Towery (in his Discovery
19 responses). But this supposed "recruitment" by a civilian law enforcement agency occurred
20 after Towery had already infiltrated, in February 2007, an attorney-client listserv set up for the
21 defense of several of PMRs participants in a 2006 protest. Towery admitted to this infiltration

1 in his Discovery responses. It also occurred, according to Plaintiffs, after Towery attended a
2 demonstration at the Port of Tacoma in March 2007 and another at the Port of Grays Harbor in
3 May 2007 (recorded on video).

4 In 2007, Towery was given a Certificate of Achievement by the Army for his
5 “outstanding duty” in reporting on the activities of anti-war protestors. In that certificate he is
6 identified as an employee of the Army’s Directorate of Emergency Services, not a civilian
7 agency. In my experience, is highly unlikely that the Army would give him such recognition if
8 he had been working for a civilian agency. In addition, his superior at DES, Thomas Rudd,
9 informed him by an e-mail dated July 24, 2008, that he (Rudd) had obtained authority from the
10 Army to pay him overtime for the work he was planning to do the following weekend. That
11 work involved observing and infiltrating a conference held at the Evergreen State College in
12 Olympia, WA – a conference of civilians planning protests at the Democratic and Republican
13 National Conventions later that summer. This is precisely the sort of work that Army
14 intelligence did at the Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1968 and which it promised
15 Congress it would never do again. The Army does not need to know any protester’s identity in
16 order to secure a convention hall, in the remote possibility that it might be called upon to do so.

17 In my opinion, based on 35 years of research, the Army targeted PMR and the other
18 organizations because of bureaucratic overreach and perhaps because they were becoming
19 persuasive with civilian port authorities.¹ To protect convoys in the state of Washington, it is
20 not necessary for the Army to know the names of attorneys on a protest group’s listserv or to

¹ The ports of Olympia and Grays Harbor have not accepted a military shipment since the protests ended in those locations, in 2007.

1 attend meetings of civilians on a college campus. Towery and his superiors exceeded their legal
2 authority, which they should have known from Army regulations adopted during the Watergate
3 era, when disclosures of similar spying on civilians forced the Army to abolish the U.S. Army
4 Intelligence Command and to destroy all its records on civilian politics.

5 2. **History.** This targeting of individuals has been reflected in the Army's
6 intelligence gathering since at least the early part of the twentieth century. As an investigator
7 for the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, I interviewed 125 of the
8 Army's own agents who engaged in the surveillance of civilian politics. I also read and
9 summarized the Army computerized reports and round-up lists in order to write two book-length
10 reports for that committee. (See, in particular, *Army Surveillance of Civilians: A Documentary*
11 *Analysis*. Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, 1972. In 1974 and 1975, I also
12 investigated the relationship between Army intelligence and police "red squads" for the Senate
13 Select Committee on Intelligence (Church Committee).) And in 2005, I read more than 1,600
14 "suspicious activity reports" about civilians (e.g. Quakers in Lakeland, FL) sent to the Pentagon
15 by Army units like Towery's before that operation was shut down after it was disclosed, with
16 my help, by NBC-television.

17 The information collected by the Army about the plaintiffs in this case resemble the mug
18 books (which the Army called "blacklists") created back in the 1960s to keep track of people
19 "who might cause trouble for the Army."² They contained the picture, name, close associates,

² Christopher H. Pyle, *Military Surveillance of Civilian Politics, 1967-1970* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), p. 72.

1 and political profile of each suspect person.³ It is worth noting that the people on these
2 blacklists, like the Rev. Martin Luther King and the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, were
3 considered suspect by the Army even though they were committed to non-violent protest
4 activity. Towery says in his Army statement that Chris Adamson asked him to gather
5 information about criminal activity on political groups and individuals, including Plaintiffs –
6 thereby violating the Posse Comitatus Act – even though there was no evidence of criminal
7 activity.⁴ When Adamson approached Towery and asked him to investigate PMR and the
8 individuals associated with it for criminal activity, Towery was already investigating PMR and
9 attending their First Amendment-protected events and meetings in his professional capacity for
10 and with the knowledge of the Army (same sworn statement, 8/6/09, pp. 1-2), and continued to
11 get paid to do so, according to the emails between Towery and Rudd (overtime pay, dated 24
12 July and 25 July, 2008). Like Dr. King, they were suspected on the basis of their politics alone
13 and, I might add, the normal animus that bureaucracies feel when their activities are being
14 criticized by protest groups. It is this animus against protest politics, as well as the natural desire
15 to practice their tradecraft, that leads intelligence agents to exceed their authority.

16 But whether these records were kept for future use as round up lists or just to illustrate
17 military briefings, they created the capacity – along with other lists and data swapping – for a

³ At least two of the Plaintiffs in the instant case were also placed on a domestic terrorist watch list.

⁴ “Occasionally he [Chris Adamson] would contact me and ask me to see if I could find out about some particular criminal activity that had occurred. For example, on one occasion he asked me to find out what information that I could about an instance where some protesters had rolled over and destroyed a police car. On another occasion he asked me whether I had heard any information about a particular individual who was suspected of starting a fire.” Towery Sworn Statement for Army Internal Investigation 8/6/09, p. 2.

1 domestic police state. Given the routine exchange of information between military and civilian
2 intelligence agencies, it is likely that Towery's surveillance on behalf of the Army contributed to
3 repeated stops and false arrests of many of the plaintiffs.⁵

4 From World War I, Army intelligence partnership with the Justice Department and the
5 American Protective League in anticipation of a Bolshevik Revolution in the US (War Plans
6 White); to World War II (loyalty police, surveillance of president's wife); through the Cold War
7 (security clearance investigations and NSA), civil rights and anti-war movements (Operations
8 GARDEN PLOT, STEEP HILL, CABINET MAKER, CABIN GUARD), infiltration of
9 demonstrations (and sowing of disinformation), use of a bogus news organization at 1968
10 Democratic National Convention, the FBI round-up lists, FBI COINTELPRO harassment of
11 protesters (leading to fatalities); the CIA CHAOS program; NSA watchlists, Foreign
12 Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 (from Church Committee findings); and to the present day
13 of post 9/11 investigations of "suspicious activities" (SARs), Northern Command's
14 collaboration with state fusion centers; post 9/11 bulk seizure of virtually all domestic American
15 telephone calls, meta-data, and e-mails by NSA; disregard by NSA of probable cause
16 requirement of the Fourth Amendment (Snowden documents), the U.S. military has had a long
17 history of spying on citizen politics.

18 During the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s, the military kept close tabs
19 on political protesters, following them from place to place, attending their meetings, and

⁵ Including but not limited to: Brendan Dunn – four arrests between 2006-2009; Jeff Berryhill – five arrests between 2006-2009. This does not include the times that other Plaintiffs were arrested or stopped or the times that these aforementioned Plaintiffs were detained.

1 circulating daily and sometimes hourly reports on their activities and whereabouts.⁶ According
2 to Discovery documents supplied by the Defendants, many such reports were prepared by John
3 Towery, and the information he provided as a result of his infiltration of the plaintiffs' inner
4 circles, were shared with the Army and various local police departments. For the preparation or
5 aid of these reports, John Towery was specifically commended by the garrison commander,
6 Charles H. Jacoby Jr., Lieutenant General, U.S. Army Commanding on December 12, 2007. The
7 language of the reports often evinces the animus towards protesters mentioned above.

8 In short, there is a long and well-documented pattern of military surveillance of anti-war
9 groups like the Plaintiffs who were then subjected to arrest by civilian police in connection with
10 their political, not criminal, activity. This was particularly true around political party
11 conventions.

12 3. **Overreach.** From 35 years of teaching about decision-making in large
13 organizations, I have concluded that every bureaucracy wants to make maximum use of its
14 skills. If the skill is surveillance, then the bureaucracy will exaggerate the threat posed by
15 protest groups. In all my research and experience, intelligence agencies have never been content
16 to secure facilities and operations; they must imagine conspiracies and exaggerate threats.
17 During World War I, this took the form of the "spark theory of revolutions." Any sympathy for
18 socialism or communism was seen as a potential spark that would ignite the dry tinder of
19 political discontent, leading to violent revolution. This kind of mindset is particularly true of
20 military intelligence, whose leaders, trained for battle, tend to think in terms of "us" versus

⁶ Christopher H. Pyle, *Military Surveillance of Civilian Politics, 1967-1970* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), p. 70.

1 “them.” Historically, Army intelligence has always overreacted to domestic dissent, collecting
2 information on lawful political activity for “fear” that even non-violent groups like Quakers will
3 turn violent, despite the Quakers’ centuries-old commitment to pacifism. In my own case, the
4 Army’s assistant chief of staff for intelligence put me on President Nixon’s “enemies list,”
5 which meant a punitive tax audit, because he thought that I must be working for the “ChiComs”
6 -- Chinese Communists. It did not occur to him that he had no authority to put me down for a tax
7 investigation, or any other reprisal, just because I happened to criticize his bureaucracy’s
8 overreaching.

9 4. **Lack of restraint.** So long as Army intelligence can operate in secret, it has no
10 reason to minimize privacy invasions. Intelligence agencies exist to collect information, not
11 restrain collection. They are not content to guard facilities or clear streets; they imagine a need
12 to identify the “enemy” for mug books, round-up lists, and impressive briefings. And, because
13 ideas about “war” permeate their thinking, they presume that the end of “victory” will justify
14 almost any means, particularly if the means can be kept secret. Accordingly, they tend to assume
15 that protesters have no constitutional rights that intelligence agents (as opposed to law
16 enforcement personnel) need respect. Nor does the intelligence bureaucracy punish excessive
17 collection. No one’s career will be advanced by limiting the agency’s mandate to spy, and the
18 very absence of curbs will encourage agents to spy to excess. The individuals and organizations
19 who exceed their authority are not “bad” people. They don’t intend to create a police state in the
20 process of developing that capability. As Justice Brandeis would say, they are “men of zeal, well
21 meaning but without understanding.”

1 In particular, they don't understand why we have a First and a Fourth Amendment to the
2 federal Constitution or that the Constitution applies to them. They are members of the military.
3 The goal of the military is to seek out and destroy the enemy. They are not trained in law
4 enforcement functions in the same way that law enforcement personnel are so trained, to provide
5 a balance between the goal of stopping crime and maintaining civil liberties. Rather, their goal
6 is simply to seek and destroy, by any means necessary, in order to win the war. When those
7 skills are applied in a peacetime setting to U.S. citizens, the result is a loss of civil liberties.

8
9 5. **Chilling effect.** For all of these reasons, this activity of military surveillance
10 chills the targeted citizens' activities and concomitantly, their rights, particularly under the First
11 Amendment. In *Laird v. Tatum*, 408 U.S. 1 (1972), I wrote an amicus brief on behalf of former
12 intelligence agents, supporting the court of appeals' holding that a "present fear of future harm"
13 at the hands of a secret intelligence agency was enough to give the targets of political
14 surveillance standing to sue. I invited the former agents whom I had interviewed for Senate
15 committees to sign the brief with me, but of those 125 former agents, only 28 agreed. The rest,
16 who had all supplied Congress with unclassified information on a confidential basis, were afraid
17 to go public, even though they were by then civilians. Filing a brief in the Supreme Court is
18 lawful activity, but a "present fear of future harm" deterred them from doing so. This was the
19 "chilling effect" at work and the reason why much government wrongdoing goes undisclosed.

20 In the same way, Plaintiffs allege that many of their supporters have been chilled in the
21 engagement of their civil rights. They say that participants in PMR have dropped out of

1 activism and no longer attend demonstrations. They further allege that PMR itself disintegrated
2 over the harassment of various members, including Plaintiffs, the surveillance revelations and
3 the ongoing repression of the group by the military and other Fusion Center agencies. And they
4 add that many of the Plaintiffs or their supporters have moved away from Olympia and Tacoma
5 in significant part because of the same police and military actions towards them personally and
6 towards PMR. PMR has apparently not organized or held a demonstration since 2009, the year
7 of the “outing” of John Jacob Towery.

8 6. **Fusion Centers.** The Department of Homeland Security used the Congressional
9 reports and investigation of 9/11 to push for and fund over 75 centers for “information-sharing,
10 collection, and analysis” around the country, now called Fusion Centers. They are regional
11 collaborations of every level of law enforcement from the FBI to local police departments, with
12 no oversight, no accountability, and no limits on the intrusion on privacy. They justify their
13 existence by claiming to be seeking out and preventing terrorism, but there aren’t that many
14 terrorists to justify the enormous scale of the fusion center network, and they are virtually
15 useless.

16 The Army and National Guard intelligence groups all work with and within many of the
17 fusion centers set up around the country. In the 1970s, bureaucratic jealousies limited
18 interagency cooperation and functioned as a kind of checks and balances. But now cooperation
19 has blurred the lines between state and federal authority, and between military and civilian
20 jurisdictions in ways that would have alarmed the Founders. Today, scores of federal and state

1 agencies have become all part of a huge, secret surveillance network, effectively circumventing
2 Fourth Amendment protections against unlimited search and seizure.

3 After the Counterintelligence Field Activity – the Pentagon’s “fusion center” – was
4 abolished in response to NBC’s disclosures, the approximately 290 analysts at the Army’s
5 Northern Command linked up with the state fusion centers to collect similar information at less
6 cost and political risk.

7 In September 2007, General Colin Powell addressed the question “What is the greatest
8 threat facing us now?” “People say it’s terrorism,” he said, but it’s not. “The only thing that can
9 destroy us is us.” As an example, he cited the current enthusiasm for creating “a terror-industrial
10 complex,” which, of course, is what fusion centers and the companies that service them
11 represent. “[W]e have to be careful,” Powell said, “that we don’t get so caught up in trying to
12 throw money at [the terrorism problem] that we’re essentially creating an industry that will only
13 exist as long as you keep the terrorist threat pumped up. Let’s make sure that we are spending
14 money on the right things, and not just spending money to spend money.”

15 I testified before the Massachusetts legislative Joint Committee on Public Safety and
16 Homeland Security in 2009. In that testimony, I stated: “Reading the TALON intelligence
17 reports in 2005 was, for me, like reading the entrails of a vacuum cleaner –a Hoover vacuum
18 cleaner that indiscriminately sucks up all the suspicions of a frightened society. Some of the
19 reports are about people photographing military bases, gazing at mothballed ships, or viewing
20 highway overpasses. Others are about the loss of military uniforms, usually at the dry cleaners,
21 or missing parking stickers. Still others are about anti-war activity, like a meeting of Florida

1 Quakers who were planning to protest military recruitment at a local high school. Of course, the
2 Pentagon's fusion center wasn't charged with monitoring anti-war activity. It was supposed to
3 watch out for "foreign influence and manipulation," but you never can tell when al Qaeda might
4 infiltrate the Quakers."

5 According to documents obtained by Plaintiffs in Public Records Act requests and
6 released to the Defendants, the Washington Fusion Center itself identified two of the plaintiffs
7 and two other active participants in PMR as domestic terrorists and disseminated their
8 information nationally and perhaps internationally. Because of Towery and the Fusion Center's
9 activities, participants in PMR were specifically identified and targeted when they traveled
10 elsewhere, both to other cities within Washington and outside of the state, to participate in
11 demonstrations, resulting in further unjustified arrests and harassments, in places as far away as
12 Sacramento, Denver, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and San Francisco.

13

14 This is a Preliminary Report based on the documents I have seen to date. It is my
15 understanding that the Defendants may release additional documents from the Army. If so, I
16 would appreciate the opportunity to revise this Report in light of those disclosures.

17

18 Respectfully submitted,

19 Christopher H. Pyle*

20 December 5, 2013

21

1 /s/ CHRISTOPHER H. PYLE

2 Christopher H. Pyle

3 Professor of Politics, Mt. Holyoke College

4 *To confirm this electronic signature you may call me at (413) 532-3627 or e-mail me at

5 cpyle@mtholyoke.edu.

EXHIBIT A

Curriculum Vitae

Christopher H. Pyle

2013

CURRICULUM VITAE

Christopher H. Pyle

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PRESENT POSITION:

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PERSONAL INFORMATION:

Born: Plymouth, Mass., November 24, 1939
Married; two children
Citizenship: United States
Military Service: Army, 1966-1968; Captain

EDUCATION:

B.A. Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, 1957-1961
LL.B. Columbia Law School, New York, N.Y., 1961-1964
M.A. Columbia University (Public Law and Government),
1964-1966
Ph.D. Columbia University (Political Science), 1968-1974

EMPLOYMENT:

1973-1976. Assistant Professor, Department of Government, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York. (Graduate and undergraduate teaching).

1975-1976. Consultant, Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, U.S. Senate (Sen. Frank Church, Chairman)

1974. Consultant, Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate (Sen. Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Chairman)

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1971-1974. Consultant, Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate (Sen. Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Chairman)

BOOKS:

Military Surveillance of Civilian Politics, 1961-1971 (New York: Garland Publishing Company, 1986). 443 pp.

The President, Congress, and the Constitution (New York: The Free Press, 1984). (with Richard M. Pious). 443 pp.

Extradition, Politics, and Human Rights (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001). 464 pp.

Getting Away with Torture: Secret Government, War Crimes, and the Rule of Law (Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, 2009). 337 pp. Arabic edition, 2012).

The Constitution under Siege: Presidential Power versus the Rule of Law (Carolina Academic Press, 2010). 372 pp.

WORK IN PROGRESS:

The Best Government Money Can Buy (book on campaign finance reform)

“Campaign Finance Reform” (article with Michael Altman)

CONGRESSIONAL REPORTS:

Army Surveillance of Civilians: A Documentary Analysis. Report by the Staff of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 92nd Cong., 2nd Sess. (1972). 97 pp. (With Lawrence M. Baskir)

Military Surveillance of Civilian Politics A Report to the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 93rd Cong., 1st Sess. (1973). 150 pp. (With the staff of the Subcommittee).

CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY:

Panagacos v. Towery, [3:10-cv-5018 RBL](#) et al-
Expert Report for Christopher Pyle, on behalf of Plaintiffs
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"The Domestic Intelligence Community." Statement and testimony published in *Federal Data Banks, Computers, and the Bill of Rights*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 92nd Cong., 1st Sess. (1971), pp. 147-183.

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"COINTELPRO, Preventive Action, and Proposals for Reform." Statement and testimony, published in *FBI Oversight*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives (1976), Part III, pp. 352-373, pp. 389-406.

"The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Bill of 1977 (S.1566)." Statement published in *Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Intelligence and the Rights of Americans, Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. Senate, 95th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1978), pp. 87-106.

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"The Extradition Act of 1982: An Analysis of H.R. 5227.11 Statement published in *Extradition Reform Act of 1981*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Crime, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 97th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1982), pp. 202-206.

"Terrorism and the Political Crimes Defense to Extradition." Statement published in *Extradition Reform Act of 1981*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Crime, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 97th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1982), pp. 209-215.

"Extradition, Political Crimes, and the Rule of Non-Inquiry." Statement for the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, 97th Cong., 2nd Sess., July 22, 1982. 42 pp.

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"Extradition Opponents of British Rule," *Irish Echo*, Aug. 3, 1985, p. 21.

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Briefs for plaintiffs in *Pyle v. South Hadley School Committee*, U.S. District Court, U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit, and the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, 1993-1996 (with William C. Newman and John Reinstein, American Civil Liberties Union). (Successful lawsuit challenging censorship of students.)

“The Supreme Court’s VMI ruling could apply to all-women colleges,” *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, Northampton, MA., Sept. 21-22, 1988, p. 8.

“Women’s Colleges: Is Segregation by Sex Still Justifiable after *United States v. Virginia?*,” *77 Boston University Law Review* 209-271 (April 1997) (also delivered as a paper, New England Political Science Association Meetings, New London, Conn., May 3, 1997).

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“Mission Accomplished,” *Dissident Voice*, May 14, 2009.

“Independence Day, July 4, 1776-2008,” *New York Times*, July 3, 2009.

“Obama’s Shameful Decision on Torture,” *Providence Journal*, May 22, 2009.

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“The Secret Court: Is it Constitutional?,” *Global Research*, August 6, 2013.

“The Right to Remain Silent in an Age of Mass Surveillance,” *Counterpunch*, August 22, 2013.

AWARDS:

Articles in the *Washington Monthly* received the George S. Polk and Sidney Hillman Awards for 1971 and 1970 respectively.

John W. Burgess Distinguished Fellow, 1973-1974. Columbia University.

Russell Sage Foundation Grant (to study police intelligence activities), 1974.

Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, Mount Holyoke College (to study American political thought), 1980.

National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend (to study the theory of rights), July-August, 1980.

Institute for the Study of World Politics Grant (to write book on *Extradition, Political Crimes, and American Law*), 1983-1984.

Fulbright Fellowship, University College, Dublin, Republic of Ireland, January-April, 1984 (to teach American politics).

Travel Grant (to Italy), American Council of Learned Societies, December 1987.

National Endowment for the Humanities, Summer Stipend (for book on *Extradition Politics, and Human Rights*), July-August, 1988.

Fulbright Fellowship, Universidad Complutense, University of Madrid, Spain, January-April, 1989 (to teach American political thought).

Luther Mcnair Award from the American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts (for contributions to civil liberties), 2004.

Civil Rights Award, Council on American-Islamic Relations, Cleveland Chapter, April 2008.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES:

Consultant, NBC Television News. "First Tuesday" documentary film on military surveillance of civilian politics, "The Man from Uncle Sam," broadcast on December 8, 1970.

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Participant, Conference on Data Bank Legislation, Institute for Computer Research, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, October 24-26, 1971.

Participant, Anglo-American Conference on Private Rights and Freedom of the Individual, the Ditchley Foundation, Ditchley Park, Enstone, England, April 7-10, 1972,

Participant, Second International Conference, "Man and the Computer," L'Institute de la Vie, Bordeaux, France, September 11-16, 1972. Paper on "The Impact of Political Data Banks on Individual Liberties in the United States," published by L'Institute de la vie, Paris, France, 1973.

Participant, Conference on Government Secrecy, Committee for Public Justice and the Arthur Garfield Hays Civil Liberties Program, New York University Law School, New York, NY, May 18-19, 1973.

Participant, Conference on Privacy in a Free Society, Annual Chief Justice Earl Warren Conference on Advocacy in the United States, The Roscoe Pound, American Trial Lawyers Foundation, Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 7-8, 1974.

Member, Privacy Committee, The American Civil Liberties Union, 1972-1974.

Co-organizer (with Richard E. Morgan), Conference on FBI Charter Reform, American University, January 17-18, 1975.

Participant, Conference on Presidential Power, Institute for Public Affairs, Duke University, January 23-24, 1976. Conference on FBI Reform, Committee for Public Justice, February 31 and March 18, 1976.

Participant, American Political Science Association Convention, Chicago, Illinois, September 4, 1976. Paper on "Terrorism, Crime Control, and Civil Liberties." 53 pp.

Commentator on privacy implications of proposed federal tax data bank. Comments published in *A Preliminary Analysis of the Tax Administration System* (Washington, DC.: Office of Technology Assessment, March 1977), Appendix 10, pp. 195-197.

Consultant, The Police Foundation. Project on FBI Domestic Intelligence, April-June, 1977.

Commentator, National Bureau of Standards. Study of Personal Record Keeping Practices, June-July, 1977.

Consultant, The Twentieth Century Fund. Study of Domestic Intelligence in America. August-September, 1977.

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Panelist, New England Political Science Association Meeting, Boston College, April 7, 1978. Paper on "Freedom of Expression: Dangers to It and from It." 10 pp.

Commentator, Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress. Study of the FBI's computerized criminal history system. (NCIC). Comments published in *Preliminary Report by the Office of Technology Assessment of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's National Crime Information Center (NCICI)*. Compiled for the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 95th Cong., 2 Sess. (1978), pp. 173-176.

Consultant, CBS Television News. Documentary film on year 1968, spring -summer 1978. Broadcast August 25, 1978.

Consultant, Council of the Americas. International Human Rights, Fall, 1978.

Member, Advisory Panel on the National Crime Information Center, office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress. April-September, 1979.

Panelist, New England Political Science Association Meeting, Durham, New Hampshire, April 6, 1979. Paper on "Towards a Constitutional Right to Protect confidential Sources." 10 pp.

Expert witness, *United States Government v. Kember and Budlong*, Bow Street Magistrates Court, London, England (extradition and political crimes), May 24, 1979. Affidavit, 14 pp.

Commentator for the American Civil Liberties Union. Statutory Analysis of proposed FBI Charter. July 1, 1979, 47 pp.

Commentator, "The CIA on Campus," Panel at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 31, 1979.

Participant, Workshop on Law, Intelligence, and National Security. American Bar Association, Standing Committee on Law and National Security, Washington, DC, December 11-12, 1979.

Participant, Seminar on "The Rights of Man and of Citizens," sponsored by the American Political Science Association, June-August, 1980 (on grant from National Endowment for the Humanities) Washington DC, Paper on "The Evolution of Rights from Status to Contract to Personhood." 47 pp.

"Notice of Searches and Covert Entries." Memorandum of law for the American Civil Liberties Union, April 7, 1980. 17 pp.

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Discussant, Panel on "Freedom of Information, Privacy and Sunshine". Baruch College, City University of New York, March 12, 1981.

Discussant, Panel on "Federal Courts as Administrative and Legislative Agencies." American Political Science Association Convention, New York, September 5, 1981.

Consultant, Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress. "Assessment of Alternatives for a National Computerized Criminal History System," September, 1981.

Speaker, "The Crime of Naming Names." Symposium on Freedom of Information, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York, December 15, 1981.

Consultant to the law firm of Canan, Burns & O'Toole, Washington, D.C., political surveillance litigation, 1982.

Contributor of draft legislation (17 pp.) and a draft committee report (44 pp.) on extradition law for the American Civil Liberties Union, April 1983.

Member, Advisory Panel on Polygraph validity and Reliability, Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress, 1983.

Participant, Conference on "Problems of Police Control in Western Democracies," sponsored by the Council on European Studies and the German Marshall Fund, Berlin, West Germany, July 8-9, 1983.

Commentator, extradition legislation. Subcommittee on Crimes, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, Summer 1983.

Fulbright Fellowship, University College, Dublin, Republic of Ireland. January - April 1984.

"The Criminal Justice Bill and the Minister's Amendments," Analysis prepared for members of the Irish Parliament, April 3, 1984. 18 pp.

Lecture, "The Supergrass Problem in America." To Faculty of Political Science, Queens University, Belfast, Northern Ireland, March 8, 1984.

-- Lecture, "Extradition and the Political offence: *McGlinchey* and Beyond," Lecture in International Law, Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland, April 10, 1984.

Panelist, "Polygraph Validity: Asking the Wrong Questions." Paper presented at the Meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, New York, New York, May 29, 1984. 8 pp.

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Speaker, "The Evolution of Rights." Keynote speech, Law Librarians of New England Annual Meeting, Western New England Law School, October 19, 1984.

Witness, "If Lie Detectors Were Accurate." Statement and testimony before the Honorable Robert Abrams, New York State Attorney General, and other officials of the State of New York at a public hearing on the use of polygraphs, Rochester, New York, March 21, 1985. 8 pp.

Participant, Workshop on Surveillance, Technology and Civil Liberties, Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress, May 17, 1985.

Speaker in opposition to the U.S. - U.K. Supplementary Extradition Treaty before the Section on Individual Rights and Responsibilities, the Section on Criminal Justice, and the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association, Baltimore, MD. February 9-11, 1986.

Panelist, "Terrorism and Civil Liberties." Panel on Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy, sponsored by the Five College International Relations Program and the Five College Program on Peace and World Security Studies, Mount Holyoke College, April 1, 1986.

Panelist, "From Extradition to Abduction: Legislative Responses to Terrorism," Paper delivered at the Meetings of the American Society for International Law, Washington, DC, April 12, 1986. (Published in 1986 Proceedings of the American Society of International Law), 14 pp.

Panelist, "The Anglo-American Extradition Treaty Amendment," Paper delivered at the 24th Annual Meeting of the American Committee for Irish Studies, Boston College, May 10, 1986. 10 pp.

Organizer, Conference on Women and the Law, Mount Holyoke College, November 8-10, 1986. (conference for 200 alumnae attorneys organized with Susan Pouncey).

Participant, Conference on First Use Nuclear Weapons: Who Decides?," Sponsored by the Federation of American Scientists, Airlie House, Warrenton, VA, November 15 and 17, 1986.

Participant, Five College Faculty Seminar on the Humanities (1984-1985).

Participant, Faculty Seminar on Privacy and Technology, Harvard-M.I.T. (1985-1986).

Participant, Symposium on Terrorism, Institute for Peace and International Security, Chronkite Center, Harvard University, December 17, 1986.

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Co-teacher (with John H. F. Shattuck), Rights of Privacy Course, Harvard Law School, spring semesters, 1987, 1988.

Participant, Conference on Arms Control and Intelligence, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas, Austin, TX, March 3, 1987.

Panelist, "Divergent Traditions in Civil Liberties: The United Kingdom and the United States." Paper delivered at the Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL., Sept. 3, 1987. 50 pp.

Speaker, "Who is a Terrorist?" Annual Meeting, American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law, Ottawa, Canada, October 16, 1987.

Panelist, "*In re McMullen* and the Constitutionality of the U.S.- U.K. Supplementary Extradition Treaty." Paper delivered at the International Law Weekend organized by the International Law Association, the Foreign Law Association, The American Society of International Law, and the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, at the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, November 7, 1987.

Panelist, "Divergent Traditions in Civil Liberties: The United Kingdom and the United States." Paper delivered at the Meetings of the Northeastern Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, November 14, 1987. 52 pp. (Same paper delivered at the APSA meetings, September 3, 1987).

Panelist, "Teaching International Criminal Law to Undergraduates." Paper delivered at Conference on Teaching International Criminal Law, Istituto Superiore Internazionale di Scienze Criminali, Siracusa, Siracusa, Italia, December 8, 1987. 10 pp.

Panelist, "Comments on The Constitution and Democratic Education." Delivered at the Five College Seminar on Teaching About the Constitution, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA, February 19-20, 1988. 6 pp. Reproduced in Teaching About the Constitution: What Every Student Should Know (University of Massachusetts, February, 1988).

Panelist, "Terrorism and Civil Liberties: Liberal versus Authoritarian Approaches to Extradition, Abduction, and Exclusion of Alleged Terrorists." Paper delivered at the Meetings of the New England Political Science Association, Cambridge, MA, April, 15, 1988. 25 pp.

Chair, Panel on "Can We Teach Democracy in a Non-Democratic Classroom?", Conference on Teaching the Constitution, University of Massachusetts, April 28, 1988.

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Lecturer, "What is Special About American Politics," for Students of Sanyo Women's College, Okayama, Japan, at Mount Holyoke college, South Hadley, MA, July 19, 1988.

Lecturer, "The Concepts of Time and Progress in Irish Thought," Northeastern University, Irish Studies Program, Boston, MA, August 21, 1988.

Lecturer, "Are the IRA Terrorists?", Hampshire College, Amherst, MA. November 15, 1988.

Lecturer on American Politics and American Political Thought as Fulbright Professor in Political Philosophy, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Political Science and Sociology, Complutense University of Madrid, Madrid, Spain, January - March 1989. 322 pp. Volume on file, Department of Political Science, Complutense University.

Lecturer, "George Bush and the Election of 1988," Asociacion Cultural Hispano-Noreamericana, Madrid, Spain, March 8, 1989.

Lecturer, "Checks and Balances in American Politics," and "Privacy and the Press in the United States," School of Journalism, University of Navarre, Pamplona, Spain, April 11 and 12, 1989.

Keynote Address, "Why Bother (with International Exchanges)?," Toledo Seminar, Commission for Educational Exchange between the United States and Spain, April 14, 1989.

Lecturer, "What is Special About American Politics?," for students of the Tokyo Women's Christian University of Tokyo, Japan at Hampshire College, August 15, 1989, Aug. 7, 1990, and August 6, 1991.

Participant, Workshop on Integrity Testing, Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress, June 12, 1989.

Member, National Advisory Board, Center for National Security Studies, Washington, DC, 1989.

Lecturer, "Who Is a Terrorist?," Saint Joseph's University, Philadelphia, PA, March 3, 1990.

Commentator, Genetic Monitoring and Screening in the Workplace, Office of Technology Assessment, United States Congress, Spring 1990.

Member, Board of Contributors, *Transcript-Telegram*, Holyoke, MA 1991-1993. (opinion articles).

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Presenter, Teaching Workshop: "Impersonating History in a 17th Century Wilderness" (with students from Mount Holyoke College), Annual Conference, New England American Studies Association, Pine Manor College, Brookline, MA, April 26, 1991.

Panelist, "The Use of the Military in Drug Law Enforcement," Conference on Crime, Health, Drugs, and Prohibition, The Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, May 9, 1992.

Participant, Conference on Constitutional Government and Military Intervention After the Cold War, Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, DC, Sept. 18-19, 1992.

Participant, drafting sessions, Committee on Extradition and Human Rights, International Law Association, Rockefeller Center, Bellagio, Italy, March 1994, February 1996.

Participant, International Law Association Biennial Meetings, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1994, Helsinki, Finland, 1996, Taipei, Taiwan, 1998. Reports of Committee on Extradition and Human Rights.

Chair, Panel on Issues in Contemporary Legal Theory, New England Political Science Association, Portland, Maine, May 5-6, 1995.

Paper presenter, New England Political Science Association Meetings, New London, Conn., May 2-3, 1997 (paper on "Women's Colleges: Is Segregation by Sex Still Justifiable?")

Interview, ABC-TV "Turning Point," re alleged role of military in the assassination of Martin Luther King, May 23, 1997.

Lecturer, "Disturbing Images: Censorship and Sally Mann," Gallery Talk, Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, April 22, 1999.

Participant, Conference on American Political Thought, Aspen Institute, Wye River Plantation, Maryland, July 22-30, 2000.

Expert witness, deportation hearing, U.S. Immigration Court, Newark, NJ, August 2000.

Paper, "Civil Discourse," New England Political Science Association Meetings, Hartford, Conn., May 6, 2000, 135 pp.).

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Speaker, "Gotcha Journalism," Meetings of Investigative Reporters and Editors Association, New York, N.Y., June 2, 2000 (subsequently broadcast on National Public Radio).

State Coordinator, Silent March Against Gun Violence, 1997-2000.

Speaker, "Inventing America, The Perennial Search for a Usable Past," Forefathers' Day Address, Pilgrim Society, Plymouth, MA., Dec. 21, 2001, 18 pp. Published in *Pilgrim Society Notes*, Spring 2002.

Speaker, "Civil Liberties and the War on Terrorism." Muskie Archives, Bates College, Lewiston, ME, February 6, 2003.

Lecturer, "Terrorism, War and Civil Liberties." Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, MA, March 27, 2003.

Speaker, "Regime Change in America," Human Rights Commission, Jones Library, Amherst, MA, April 22, 2003,

Interview, BBC-TV documentary on Patriot Act, June 30, 2003.

Speaker, "Your Rights at Risk," Berkshire Win Without War, Great Barrington, MA, June 16, 2003.

Speaker, "Patriot Act in Context," Agawam Public Library, Agawam, MA, June 19, 2003.

Speaker, "Putting the Brakes on Domestic Spying," Introduction to Traprock Conference on Protecting our Civil Liberties, Greenfield Community College, Greenfield, MA, July 15, 2003. (rebroadcast, Pacifica Radio).

Speaker, "Patriot Acts I and II." Opening panel at Conference on Protecting our Civil Liberties, Greenfield Community College, Greenfield, MA, July 26, 2003.

Speaker, "Towards a More Intelligent Counter-Terrorism Policy," Greenfield Community College, Greenfield, MA, July 26, 2003.

Speaker, "The Patriot Act in the Eyes of Patriots," Madison Institute, Madison, WI. October 11, 2003.

Speaker, "Civil Society and Freedom of Expression in the United States," To Library Administrators from Kyrgyzstan, Institute for Training and Development, Amherst, MA, April 6, 2004.

Panagacos v. Towery, [3:10-cv-5018 RBL](#) et al-
Expert Report for Christopher Pyle, on behalf of Plaintiffs
LAWRENCE A. HILDES
P.O. BOX 5405
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(360) 715-9788
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Attorney for Plaintiffs

Speaker, "McCarthyism: Then and Now," Address to the American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, Suffolk Law School, Boston, MA, May 24, 2004.

Lecturer, "Toleration in the United States," to delegation from the Republic of Georgia, Institute for Training and Development, Amherst, MA, May 26, 2004.

Speaker, "The Intelligence Revolution," Association of Former Intelligence Officers, Northampton, MA, July 24, 2004.

Lecturer, "Freedom of Religion in America," Program in Cultural and Religious Pluralism in Uzbekistan and the United States, Institute for Training and Development, Amherst, MA, April 25, 2005.

Lecturer, "The Evolving Logic of American Liberties," American Studies Program, Institute for Training and Development, Amherst, MA, June 30, 2005.

Speaker, "Terrorism and Civil Liberties – Torture," The Amherst Club, Amherst, MA, October 4, 2005.

Speaker, "Civil Liberties in the United States – A Personal View," Bolivian Winter Institute, Institute for Training and Development, Amherst, MA, Jan. 11, 2006.

Speaker, "Domestic Spying and Presidential Power," SAGE Community Forum, Amherst, MA, January 19, 2006.

Commentator, "The Forest for the Trees," a film by Bernadine Mellis, Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art, North Adams, MA, March 17, 2006.

Speaker, "Firemen at Our Door: *Fahrenheit 451* and Our Present Crisis," Odyssey Book Shop, South Hadley, MA, March 27, 2006.

Panelist, "Restoring the Rule of Law," ACLU Emergency Town Meeting (with Rep. James P. McGovern), Clark University, Worcester, MA, April 11, 2006.

Panelist, "What Will Our Country Stand For?," Pioneer Valley Coalition Against Secrecy and Torture, Northampton, MA, April 19, 2006.

Speaker, "Human Rights in an Age of Terrorism," Five Colleges Learning in Retirement Program, Northampton, MA, April 28, 2006.

Speaker, "A Constitutional Crisis," Applewood, Amherst, MA, May 23, 2006.

Panagacos v. Towery, [3:10-cv-5018 RBL](#) et al-
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Panelist, “Domestic Spying and Civil Liberties,” ACLU Regional Town Meeting (with Rep. John W. Olver), Berkshire Community College, Pittsfield, MA, June 1, 2006.

Interviews with 60 print reporters and 111 radio and television shows, on torture and the intelligence agencies, 2006.

Lecturer, “The Evolving Logic of American Liberties,” Fulbright Program, Institute for Training and Development, Amherst, MA, July 3, 2006.

Lecturer, “The Constitution and the National Security State,” Fulbright Program, Institute for Training and Development, Amherst, MA, July 3, 2006.

Lecturer, “The Constitution and the National Security State,” Pakistani Scholars Program, Institute for Training and Development, Amherst, MA, July 31, 2006.

Speaker, “A Nation that Tortures,” Remarks for a Panel on “Legal and Moral Principles in a Time of Terror,” Massachusetts School of Law, Andover, MA, October 25, 2006.

Speaker, “Ducking Torture: The Treatment of Terrorist Suspects,” Worcester Chapter, American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, November 9, 2006.

Speaker, “The National Security State,” Amherst College, Amherst, MA, November 16, 2006.

Presenter, “The Military Commissions Act,” Board of Directors, ACLU of Massachusetts, Boston, MA, November 27, 2006.

Speaker, “Why Torture?,” Unitarian Universalist Society of Amherst, MA, April 15, 2007.

Lecturer, Beijing Language and Culture University: “Civil Liberties in the United States,” “The Evolving Language of American Rights, I & II, and “Church-State Relations in the United States,” Beijing, China, May 23-24, 2007.

Speaker, “The Evolving Logic of American Liberties,” Institute for Training and Development, Amherst, MA, July 2007.

Speaker, “Torture: It’s Not Just for Dictators Any More,” Forum on Torture and the Abuse of Power, Old South Meeting House, Boston, MA, April 2, 2008.

Keynote speaker, “A Republic, If We Can Keep It,” Council on American-Islamic Relations, Cleveland, OH, April 20, 2008.

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Lecturer, "Secret Government and the Rule of Law," Cleveland-Marshall School of Law, Cleveland, OH, April 21, 2008.

Lecturer, "Free Speech and Civil Discourse," and "Free Speech and National Security," Institute for Training and Development, Amherst College, Amherst, MA, June 30, 2008.

Lecturer, "The Soul of Our Nation," and "The Heritage We have Forgotten." Lectures to the American Studies Summer Institute, John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, MA, July 7, 2008.

Speaker, "What Should Be Done?," Address to Conference on Planning for the Prosecution of High Level American War Criminals, Massachusetts School of Law, September 13, 2008.

Lecturer, "Secret Government, War Crimes, and the Rule of Law," Institute for Training and Development," Amherst College, Amherst, MA, February 4, 2009.

Speaker, "Hooverism," ACLU Membership Conference, University of Massachusetts, Boston, February 7, 2009.

Speaker, "Obama's Tortured Response to Torture," Unitarian Society of Amherst, June 2, 2009.

Lecturer, "Free Speech and Civil Discourse" and "Explaining Torture." Lectures to visiting scholars, Institute for Training and Development, Amherst, MA, June 29, 2009.

Lecturer, "Obama's Response to Torture," Institute for Training and Development, Amherst, MA, July 28, 2009.

Speaker, "Under the Radar," World Affairs Council, Springfield, MA, October 7, 2009.

Lecturer, "Getting Away with Torture," Rose Nader Memorial Lecture, Northwestern Connecticut Community College, Winsted, CT, October 27, 2009.

Participant, "Communities of Trust," Fusion Center Roundtable, Department of Homeland Security, Roxbury, MA, Dec. 2, 2009.

Speaker, "Taking on Big Brother: Then and Now," Membership Conference, American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, University of Massachusetts, Boston, February 6, 2010.

Speaker, "Restoring the Rule of Law," Conference on the Imperial Presidency, Einstein Forum, Potsdam, Germany, March 18-21, 2010.

Commentator, Film on “The Most Dangerous Man in America: Daniel Ellsberg and the Pentagon Papers,” Bill of Rights Defense Committee, Northampton, MA, April 28, 2010.

Lecturer, “The National Security State and the Rights of Foreigners,” Institute for Training and Development, Amherst, MA, July 8, 2010.

Debate, “Should South Hadley police acquire tasers?”, Debate with South Hadley Police Chief David Labrie, Bill Newman Show, February 11, 2011;
(similar debate, “Know Your Town,” South Hadley High School, February 28, 2011).

Lecturer, “The Legacy of James Otis,” The Bostonian Society, Old State House, February 23, 2011.

Speaker and panelist, “Intelligence Revolutions and the New Normal,” Netherlands Intelligence Studies Association, Netherlands Defence Academy, Rijswijk, Netherlands, May 27-28, 2011.

Lecturer, “The National Security State, 2011,” Institute for Training and Development, July 6, 2011.

Lecturer, “Domestic Spying, Torture, and the Rule of Law,” Berkshire Community College, October 24, 2011.

Speaker, “Recollections of Henry Hornblower and the Arrival of Mayflower II,” Plimoth Plantation, November 5, 2011.

Lecturer, “The National Security State, 2012,” Institute for Training and Development, February 22, 2012.

Speaker, “Our Eroding Civil Liberties,” Unitarian-Universalist Society of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA, March 17, 2013.

Interviews with 25 radio and television programs on Edward Snowden and NSA’s domestic intelligence activities, June and July 2013.

Speaker, “Edward Snowden, NSA, and the Constitution,” Loomis House, South Hadley, MA, August 19, 2013, and “Edward Snowden, NSA, and Democracy,” The Odyssey Book Shop, August 21, 2013.

Board, Offices

Moderator, Fire District No. 2, South Hadley, MA, 1981-.

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Member, Awards Committee, the Petra Foundation, 1996-1999; chair, 1999-2002.

Trustee, Pilgrim Society, Plymouth, Mass. 1995-2000.

Member, Woodbridge Street Historic District Study Commission, South Hadley, MA, 2003-2005.

Member, Board of Directors, ACLU of Massachusetts, 2006 - 2012.

Member, Board of Directors, Petra Foundation, 2003-2010, Chair, 2005-2009.

Member, Advisory Board, Bill of Rights Defense Committee, 2006-2008.

Scholarly Fellow, Pilgrim Society, Plymouth, Mass. 1995-.

South Hadley Town Meeting member, 2009-2012.

EXHIBIT B

List of Publications

Christopher H. Pyle

Panagacos v. Towery, [3:10-cv-5018](#) RBL et al-
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Books:

- *Extradition, Politics, and Human Rights* (2001) [ISBN 1-56639-823-1](#)
- with Richard Pious, *The President, Congress and the Constitution* (1984) [ISBN 0-02-925380-2](#)
- *Military Surveillance of Civilian Politics, 1967-1970 (American legal and constitutional history)* (Garland Press, 1986) [ISBN 0-8240-8290-7](#)
- *Getting Away with Torture: Secret Government, War Crimes, and the Rule of Law* (Potomac [Books Inc.](#) (2009) [ISBN 1-59797-387-4](#); [ISBN 978-1-59797-387-8](#))
- with Richard Pious, *The Constitution under Siege* (2010)

Articles:

- ["Be afraid, be very afraid, of spying by U.S. Army"](#), *Canton Rep.*, 2003
- ["Extradition, Politics, and Human Rights"](#), Temple University
- ["The Intelligence Revolution"](#),
- "LBJ's Civil Rights Shake up." *New Leader*, Oct. 11, 1965, pp. 1 6 (with Richard E. Morgan).
- *The Warning of Legal Rights. A Manual for Counterintelligence Agents.* Baltimore, Md.: U.S. Army Intelligence School, 1969.
- "CONUS Intelligence: The Army Watches Civilian Politics." *Washington Monthly*, January 1970, pp. 4 16.
- "CONUS Revisited: The Army Covers Up." *Washington Monthly*, June 1970, pp. 49 58.
- "Brief of a Group of Former Army Intelligence Agents, Amici Curiae." Submitted to the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of Laird v. Tatum, 408 U.S. 1 (1972). 38 pp.
- "The Impact of Political Data Banks on Individual Liberties in the United States." Published by L'Institute de la Vie, Paris, France, 1973.
- "Spies Without Masters: The Army Still Watches Civilian Politics." *Civil Liberties Review*, August 1974, pp. 38

- "A Bill to Bug Aliens." Nation, May 29, 1976, pp. 645 648.
- "Legal Bugging? Pros and Cons of S. 3197." Nation, July 31, Aug. 7, 1976, pp. 73 74. (Reply to Senator Kennedy's response to May 29 article.)
- Book review. Morton Halperin, et al., The Lawless State: The Crimes of the U.S. Intelligence Agencies (Penguin, 1976). Policy Studies Journal, Vol. 5, (Summer 1977), p. 512.
- "Authorized Spying." New York Times, July, 11, 1977.
- "Gutting the Fourth Amendment," Inquiry, 1978, pp. 5 8.
- "Tightening the Controls on the FBI," Newsday, Sept. 17, 1979, p. 41.
- Book review. Athan Theoharis, Spying on Americans (Temple 1978). Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 94, (Fall 1979), pp. 542 544.
- Book review. David O'Brien, Privacy, Law, and Public Policy (Praeger, 1979). American Political Science Review, Vol. 75, (March 1981), pp. 206 207.
- "Justice Was Lenient With FBI, Tough on Scientologists." Newsday, March 23, 1981, p. 38.
- "Why Reagan's Pardon of FBI Officials Errs in Fact and Fairness." Newsday, April 20, 1981, p. 41.
- "Soldiers Aren't Cops." New York Times, June 28, 1981, p. E 21.
- "Emergency Detention and American Law: Some Observations and Remedies." Statement and testimony for the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Dec. 9, 1981. 19 pp.
- "Politics Has No Place in Our Extradition Law." New York Times, Jan. 11, 1982, p. A18.
- "Ruining Extradition." New York Times, Aug. 11. 1982, p. A23.
- "The Invasion of Privacy," in Gerald Benjamin, ed., The Communications Revolution in Politics (New York: Academy of Political Science, 1982), pp. 131 142.

- "Lie Detectors: These Test Are Meant to Scare People," USA Today, Feb. 17, 1983, p. 10A.
- "Let's Hold Diplomats Accountable For Acts." USA Today, April 1, 1983, p. 10A.
- "Managing by Intimidation." First Principles, March/April 1983, pp. 12, 10 11. (lie detector program)
- "The Radical Pilgrims," Washington Post, July 16, 1983, p. A22. (Pautucket nativity scene case)
- "Textbook Censors: Central Purchasing Leads to Dull Books," USA Today, Aug. 9, 1983, p. 8A.
- "Secrecy Rules: Lifetime Censorship Corrupts Constitution," USA Today, Oct. 27, 1983, p. 10A.
- "U.S. Must Remain a Political Haven," Newsday, Nov. 3, 1983, p. 78.
- "Nativity Scenes: Our Pilgrim Fathers Would Dismantle Them." USA Today, Dec. 16, 1983, p. 10A
- "Noonan's Law." Focus article. Sunday Independent (Ireland) April 1, 1984, p. 7. (On proposed criminal justice bill.)
- "The Criminal Justice Bill and the Minister's Amendments." Prepared for members of Dail Eireann, April 3, 1984. 18 pp. and published as "Interrogators and Snitches Act," The Irish Times, April 30, 1984, p. 11.
- "To Surrender Political Offenders: The Political Offense Exception to Extradition in United States Law," 16 New York University Journal of International Law and Politics, pp. 169 210 (1984) (with Barbara A. Banoff).
- Book review. Mark Yudof, When Government Speaks: Politics, Law, and Government Expression in America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 100, (Summer 1985), pp. 329 330.
- "The Case Against Sending Rebels Home in Chains." New York Times, July 19, 1985, p. A26.
- "Extradition Opponents of British Rule," Irish Echo, Aug. 3, 1985, p. 21.

- "Polygraph Validity: Asking the Wrong Questions," *Society*, (September/October 1985), pp. 54 55.
- "Remarks on Extradition, Panel on International Cooperation in the Prevention and Suppression of Terrorism," *Proceedings, Eightieth Meeting of the American Society of International Law*, Washington, DC, April 9 12, 1986 (published, 1989), pp. 390 395.
- "A Do Nothing Extradition Treaty," *The Washington Post*, May 15, 1986, p. A20.
- "Falling Into an Extradition Trap," *The Wall Street Journal*, May 22, 1986, p.30.
- "Changing the Rules," *Boston Irish News*, September, 1986, p. 5. (U.S. U.K. extradition treaty)
- "Defining Terrorists," *Foreign Policy*, September, 1986, pp. 63 78.
- "Disputing the Constitution," *College Teaching*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (September, 1987), pp. 123 125.
- "The Political Offense Exception," Ch. 6 in M. Cherif Bassiouni, *Legal Responses to International Terrorism: U.S. Procedural Aspects* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1988), pp. 181 202.
- Letter, "Abducting Suspects Breaks All Laws," *New York Times*, June 28, 1990, p. A 24.
- Letter, "In Doherty Case, Politics Ruled, Not Justice," *New York Times*, Feb. 19, 1992, p. A 20.
- "The Essence of America: To Get Out of Life Alive," *Transcript-Telegram*, Holyoke, MA., June 15, 1992, p. 6.
- Book reviews, J. Edgar Hoover: *The Man and the Secrets*, by Curt Gentry, and *From the Secret Files of J. Edgar Hoover*, by Athan Theoharis. ed., *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 107, No. 2 (Summer 1992), 366-67.
- "A writer who's fed up with attacks," *Transcript-Telegram*, Holyoke, MA, Sept. 15, 1992, p. 6.
- "Their sons challenge censorship in school," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, Northampton, MA, June 9, 1993, p. 6 (with Cynthia Pyle).

- “Vulgarity may be, like beauty, in the eye of the beholder,” Sunday Republican, Springfield, MA, Sept. 11, 1994, p. 33.
- “Feelings high, facts low on death penalty,” Sunday Republican, Springfield, MA, Sept. 17, 1995, p. B2.
- Briefs for plaintiffs in *Pyle v. South Hadley School Committee*, U.S. District Court, U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit, and the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, 1993-1996 (with William C. Newman and John Reinstein, American Civil Liberties Union). (Successful lawsuit challenging censorship of students.)
- “The Supreme Court’s VMI ruling could apply to all-women colleges,” Daily Hampshire Gazette, Northampton, MA., Sept. 21-22, 1988, p. 8.
- “Women’s Colleges: Is Segregation by Sex Still Justifiable after *United States v. Virginia?*,” 77 Boston University Law Review 209-271 (April 1997) (also delivered as a paper, New England Political Science Association Meetings, New London, Conn., May 3, 1997).
- “End this now,” Providence Journal-Bulletin, March 23, 1988, p. B5 (and other papers)(Clinton impeachment effort).
- “You need a very heavy reason to impeach,” Providence Journal, Sept. 25, 1998.
- “When You’re Starr You Can’t Stop,” Washington Times, Aug. 26, 1998.
- “House shows disrespect for the country’s flag,” Roanoke Times, Roanoke, VA, July 7, 1999, p. 4 (and other papers).
- Book review of *Keeping the People’s Liberties* by John Dinan. Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 114, No. 2 (Summer 1999), p. 330.
- “Irresponsible Journalists Are Jeopardizing Serious Investigations by the Press,” Chronicle of Higher Education, Jan 7, 2000, pp. B9-B10.
- “South Hadley should fix current system,” Daily Hampshire Gazette, Northampton, MA., March 30, 2000, A10; “Town meeting offers citizens most input,” Sunday Republican, Springfield, MA., April 2, 2000, B3 (same article).
- “Executive order violates basic rights,” Daily Hampshire Gazette, Northampton, MA, Nov. 22, 2001, p. A6. (and other papers.)

- “Military tribunals would be mistake,” Sunday Republican, Springfield, MA, Dec. 16, 2001, p. B3. (and other papers.)
- “Tribunal myths debunked,” Baltimore Sun, Dec. 16, 2001, p. 3F. (and other papers.)
- “The Trouble with tribunals,” Daily Hampshire Gazette, Northampton, MA, May 8, 2002, p. A6.
- “Domestic Spying Catches No One,” Los Angeles Times, June 9, 2002. (and other papers.)
- “An Army of Police at Bush’s Disposal,” Hartford Courant, July 28, 2002, pp. C1, C4. (and other papers.)
- “Please, no more domestic spies,” Providence Journal, Aug. 1, 2002, p. B7.
- (and other papers.)
- Book review, Terrorism and the Constitution: Sacrificing Civil Liberties in the Name of National Security by David Cole and James X. Dempsey in Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 118, No. 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 320-21.
- “Regime Change in America,” Badger Herald (Madison, WI), Oct. 10, 2003, p. 5.
- “Torture by Proxy,” San Francisco Chronicle, Jan. 4, 2004, D1, D6.
- “War on Terrorism Should Not Stoop to Torture,” Springfield (Mass.) Republican, Feb. 29, 2004.
- “The Intelligence Surveillance Complex,” Liberty, March 24, 2004, 17-22.
- “Ban on flag-burning annual trivial pursuit,” Springfield (Mass.) Republican, July 10, 2005, C5.
- “Why Should We Care About Domestic Spying?,” AXCESS News, Jan. 18, 2006, 2 pp (with Jeffrey J. Pyle).
- “Are terror suspicions getting out of hand?,” Springfield (Mass.) Republican, Jan. 1, 2006.
- “Why Should We Care About Domestic Spying?” (with Jeffrey J. Pyle), AXcess News.com, January 18, 2006.

- “Checking Big Brother,” American Prospect Online, Jan. 20, 2006, 2 pp.
- “The Lawless Ask for Our Trust,” Hampshire Gazette, Feb. 3, 2006.
- “Mission Accomplished,” Dissident Voice, May 14, 2009.
- “Independence Day, July 4, 1776-2008,” New York Times, July 3, 2009.
- “Obama’s Shameful Decision on Torture,” Providence Journal, May 22, 2009.
- “South Hadley’s Taser Debate,” Daily Hampshire Gazette, February 25, 2011, A6.
- “Tasers: Beneficial or Not?,” Town Reminder, February 25, 2011, 6.
- “Restoring the Rule of Law,” Global Dialogue (Cyprus), Vol. 12, No. 1, Winter/Spring 2012, 11 pp. and in Mittelweg 36 (Hamburg, Germany), 16 pp.
- “Barack Obama and Civil Liberties,” Presidential Studies Quarterly, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Decemer 2012), 867-880.
- “Campaign Finance Reform: Policy Recommendations,” Report to the Board of Directors, American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, April 15, 2013. 17 pp.
- “Edward Snowden: Profile in Courage,” CommonDreams, CounterPunch, Lafayette Independent, June 10, 2013.
- “Edward Snowden and the Real Issues,” Counterpunch, June 13, 2013.
- “The Secret Court: Is it Constitutional?,” Global Research, August 6, 2013.
- “The Right to Remain Silent in an Age of Mass Surveillance,” Counterpunch, August 22, 2013.

WORK IN PROGRESS:

The Best Government Money Can Buy (book on campaign finance reform)

“Campaign Finance Reform” (article with Michael Altman)

CONGRESSIONAL REPORTS

Army Surveillance of Civilians: A Documentary Analysis. Report by the Staff of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 92nd Cong., 2nd Sess. (1972). 97 pp. (With Lawrence M. Baskir)

Military Surveillance of Civilian Politics A Report to the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 93rd Cong., 1st Sess. (1973). 150 pp. (With the staff of the Subcommittee).

CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

"The Domestic Intelligence Community." Statement and testimony published in *Federal Data Banks, Computers, and the Bill of Rights*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 92nd Cong., 1st Sess. (1971), pp. 147-183.

"CONUS Intelligence: A Case of Military Overkill." Statement and testimony published in *Federal Data Banks, Computers, and the Bill of Rights*, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 92nd Cong., 1st Sess. (1971), pp. 183-243h.

"S. 2318 and the Military's Legitimate Intelligence Needs." Statement published in *Military Surveillance* Hearings before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 93rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (1974), pp. 177-189.

Statement and testimony on Proposed Privacy Legislation (eventually the Privacy Act of 1974) published in *Privacy: The Collection, Use, and Computerization of Personal Data*, Joint Hearings Before the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Privacy and Informational Systems, Committee on Government operations, and the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 93rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (1974), pp. 99-111.

"COINTELPRO, Preventive Action, and Proposals for Reform." Statement and testimony, published in *FBI Oversight*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives (1976), Part III, pp. 352-373, pp. 389-406.

"The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Bill of 1977 (S.1566)." Statement published in *Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Intelligence and the Rights of Americans, Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. Senate, 95th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1978), pp. 87-106.

The FBI Charter: A Section-By-Section Analysis." Statement for the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, November 1, 1979. 63 pp.

"Provisions of H.R. 3519 Regarding Military Assistance to Civilian Authorities," Testimony and statement for Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Crime, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 97th Cong., 1st Sess., Nov. 17, 1981. 19 pp.

"Extradition and Political Crimes." Statement for the Subcommittee on Crime, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 97th Cong., 1st Sess., Nov 17, 1981. 19 pp.

"Extradition and Political Crimes." Statement published in *Extradition Act of 1981*, Hearing Before the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 97th Cong., 1st Sess. (1982). pp. 94-112.

"The Extradition Act of 1982: An Analysis of H.R. 5227.11 Statement published in *Extradition Reform Act of 1981*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Crime, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 97th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1982), pp. 202-206.

"Terrorism and the Political Crimes Defense to Extradition." Statement published in *Extradition Reform Act of 1981*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Crime, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 97th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1982), pp. 209-215.

"Extradition, Political Crimes, and the Rule of Non-Inquiry." Statement for the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, 97th Cong., 2nd Sess., July 22, 1982. 42 pp.

"The Defense Department's Polygraph Regulations of 1982." Statement and Testimony before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 97th Cong., 2nd Sess., Dec. 9, 1982. 25 pp.

"Extradition, Political Crimes, and the U.K. Treaty," Statement and Testimony published in *United States and United Kingdom Supplementary Extradition Treaty*, Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, 100th Cong., 1st Sess., Sept. 18 and Oct. 22, 1985. pp. 95-135, 163-168, 216-220.

STATE LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY

"Reaffirming Liberty in the Age of the Patriot Act," Statement before the Joint Committee on Public Safety and Homeland Security, The Great and General Court, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, June 22, 2005.

"Fusion Centers," Statement before the Joint Committee on Public Safety and Homeland Security, The Great and General Court, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, October 21, 2009.

Panagacos v. Towery, [3:10-cv-5018 RBL](#) et al-
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Partial list of news stories where Professor Pyle was interviewed and/or quoted:

- ["Similarities seen in leaks by Snowden, Manning."](#) *The Baltimore Sun*, June 10, 2013
- ["Analysis: US Surveillance Programme Leaks"](#), *Al Jazeera*, June 10, 2013
- ["Professor Pyle on Torture on WAMC."](#) *WAMC Radio*, March 12, 2010
- ["Chris Pyle on Campaign Finance Decision."](#) Office of Communications, January 29, 2010
- ["Pyle's Book Reviewed in Palestine Chronicle."](#) *The Palestine Chronicle*, August 15, 2009
- ["Chris Pyle on Torture."](#) Office of Communications, June 5, 2009
- ["Christopher Pyle, Whistleblower Who Sparked Church Hearings of 1970s, on Military Spying of Olympia Peace Activists."](#) *Democracy Now!*, July 29, 2009
- ["Obama's shameful decision on torture."](#) *Providence Journal*, May 22, 2009
- ["Chris Pyle on Closing Gitmo."](#) Office of Communications, April 1, 2009
- ["Tuesday's vote to make history."](#) *The Republican*, November 2, 2008
- ["Yurt Construction."](#) *Flickr*, September 24, 2008
- ["Mount Holyoke Prof Attends "War Crimes" Conference."](#) Office of Communications, September 17, 2008
- ["MHC's Pyle Redrafts Declaration."](#) *Peoples Campaign for a Constitution*, July 3, 2008
- ["Former Officers Air Military Secrets at Discussion."](#) *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, April 7, 2008
- ["J-Term Adventure: MHC Students at Sea."](#) Office of Communications, December 20, 2007
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- ["Christopher Pyle."](#) Office of Communications, April 27, 2007

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EXHIBIT C
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DOCUMENTS REVIEWED

Panagacos v. Towery, [3:10-cv-5018](#) RBL et al-
Expert Report for Christopher Pyle, on behalf of Plaintiffs
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Attorney for Plaintiffs

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DOCUMENTS REVIEWED IN WRITING EXPERT REPORT

- 1) Plaintiffs' Third Amended Complaint
- 2) Defendant John Towery's responses to Discovery Requests
- 3) Defendant Thomas Rudd's Initial Disclosures
- 4) Army investigative reports, including memoranda, interviews, and other attachments as produced by Defendant Towery in his responses to discovery.
- 5) Documents received by PMR in January 2011 and posted by the City of Tacoma on its website in response to a Washington State Public Records Act Request by Tim Smith (all produced by Thomas Rudd in his initial disclosures and by John Towery in his discovery responses). This includes the reports and memoranda and notes by Chris Adamson and by John Towery, domestic terrorist listings of Brendan Dunn and Jeffery Berryhill, e-mails and notes concerning the Pitchpipe House and the video camera installed outside of it, a list of activists and where they lived, and notes on Defendant Towery's observations at a meeting at the Evergreen State College concerning planned protests at the Democratic and Republican National Conventions to take place in August and September of 2008.
- 6) Documents received by Brendan Dunn in 2009 from the City of Olympia in response to a Washington State Public Records Act Request, and produced in Plaintiffs' Initial Disclosures.
- 7) Documents received by Plaintiff from Defendant Grays Harbor County in Civil case of Chinn v. Blankenship, including: e-mail from Thomas Rudd that he and John Towery would be attending a meeting in Aberdeen, and e-mails discussing and including the list of suspect license plates and list of suspect individuals.
- 8) Documents concerning the Attorney –client listserve known as the “Oly 22” on Riseup.net, including defendant Towery's discovery responses concerning his presence on that listserve, an e-mail between Mark Fedderson and Gary Smith of the Tacoma Police Department received by Plaintiff in discovery from Grays Harbor County in Chinn v. Blankenship, and pleadings filed in that case.
- 9) Overview issued by Commander Tor Bjornstad of the Olympia Police Department in November of 2007 entitled “Port of Olympia Protests November 5, 2007-November 17, 2007
- 10) E-mail exchange between Thomas Rudd and John Towery dated July 24, and 25, 2008, entitled “Subject: Overtime for 26 July, produced by Defendant Towery in his responses to Plaintiffs' Requests for Production of Documents.

11) US Army Consolidated Operations Report for Police Investigations 4 March 2009.

Panagacos v. Towery, [3:10-cv-5018](#) RBL et al-
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PROOF OF SERVICE

Lawrence A. Hildes certifies as follows:

I am over the age of 18 years, and not a party to this action. I am a citizen of the United States.

My business address is P.O. Box 5405, Bellingham, WA 98227

On December 6, 2013, I served the following document(s) described as follows

EXPERT REPORT FOR CHRISTOPHER H. PYLE (Preliminary)
On behalf of Plaintiffs

on the following person(s) in this action at the following address(es):

- Donald L Law dlaw@lldkb.com,
- Michael D McKay mdm@mckay-chadwell.com,
- Theodore J Angelis theo.angelis@klgates.com, Pallavi Mehta
- Wahi pallavi.wahi@klgates.com
- Mark N. Bartlett MarkBartlett@dwt.com, barbaramcadams@dwt.com, Cooper, Matt"
- "Homan, Jean (Legal)" <JHOMAN@ci.tacoma.wa.us>

Attorneys for Defendants

(BY FIRST CLASS MAIL) to named Defendant by placing a true copy of the above documents in a sealed envelope with postage fully prepaid in the mail at Bellingham, WA, addressed to the person(s) above at the above address(es).

By electronic mail.

(FEDERAL) I declare under penalty of perjury that I am a member of the BAR of this court, and that the above information is true and correct.

Executed on December 6, 2013, at Bellingham, Washington.

/S/ Lawrence A. Hildes
Lawrence A. Hildes

Panagacos v. Towery, 3:10-cv-5018 RBL et al-
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