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VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR - JOHN KERRY FBI FILES

SAMPLE PAGES

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A contingent of Vietnam Veterans, active duty GI's, and other war veterans shall form an infantry unit of company strength or greater which will participate in a four day march on Sept. 4 from Morristown, N. J. to Valley Forge, Penna. culminating in a MASS RAILY on MONDAY, SEPT. 7th at VALLEY FORGE STATE PARK, Penna.

HONORARY COMMANDER

<u>Gen. Hugh B.XHester</u> <u>U. S. Army (Ret.)</u>

SPONSORS (Partial Listing)

Senator George McGovern
Senator Edmund Muskie
Rep. John Conyers, Jr.
Pauß O'Dwyer
Jane Fonda
Mark Lane
Den Suiherland

ENTERTAINMENT

N. Y., Rock Ensemble

Pick Pavey, Comedian

Philly Guerilla Theater

SPHAKERS (Partial Listing)

John Kerry
Joey Kennedy
Rev. James Bevel
Mark Jane
Jane Wonda
Don/Sutherland

For Transportation & Further Info, Contact:

N.Y.C.-N.J. AREA

Victnam Peace Parade Comm.
17 East 17 Street

New York, New York 10003

255-1075, 255-0062

ARLINGTON, VA. AREA

DonyKeese on Mike XPhalon

3514 Nonth 8 Street

(Antington, Va.

PHILADEL PHIA. PA. AREA
TRIENDS FENCE Communicies
1520 Race Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
561-4640

WASHINGTON, D. C. AREA
District of Columbia Veterans

Association
1009 New Jensey Avenue
Washington, D. C.
628-4648

BUFFALO, N./Y. AREA Steve/Hassett 716-835-2232

American Vets for Peace 803 Comstock Avenue Synacuse, New York

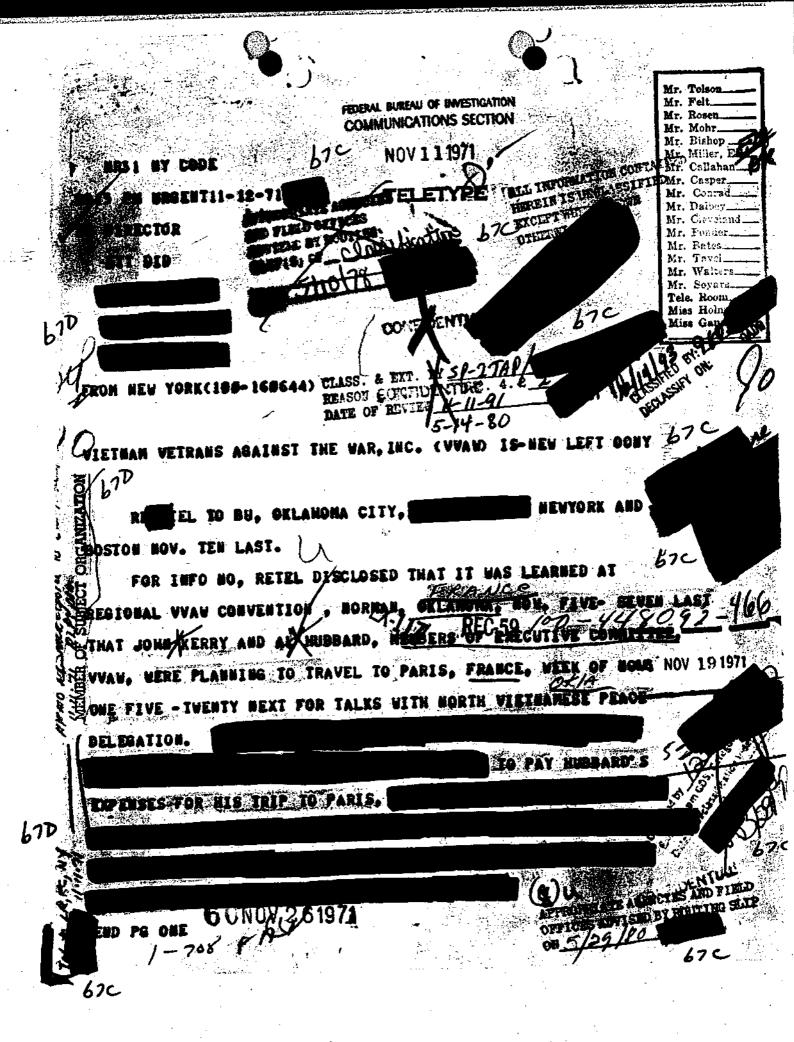
OHIO AREA Bill/Crandell 4375 Le Marie Columbus, Ohio 614-262-5168 This encl. contains an army original origination is which is closely then the dis 41.87 SK BTA/GCL #258,436

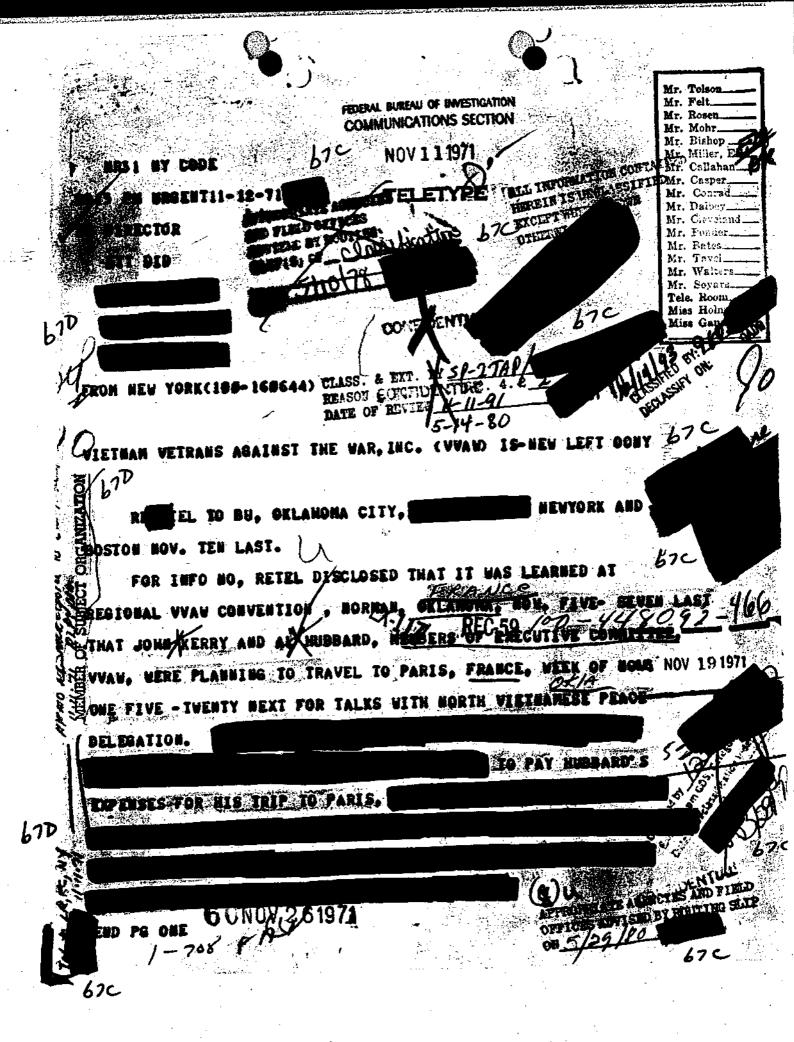
HASS RALLY

100-448092-168

PP.

Monday, September 7th, 10:30 a.n., Crand garres (Monday) Valley Forge State Park: 7:00







UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JULICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION P. O. Box 2532

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73125

November 12, 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HERELA IS UNULLASTATED

File No.

In Reply, Please Refer to

SLIP(S)

REGIONAL VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR (VVAW) CONVENTION SPONSORED BY OKLAHOMA VVAW, UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, NORMAN, OKLAHOMA TURNOVEMBER 5, 6, & 7, 1971

INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT

VIDEM

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised the Regional Convention of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) Convention was held at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, November 5, 6, & 7, 1971.

The entire conference lacked coordination and appeared to be a platform for JOHNAKERRY, National Leader of VVAW, rather than for VVAW and Winter Soldier Investigation (WSI).

WSI was attended by many persons and approximately 20 persons testified. The testimony was taped but was not filmed.

The entire convention was attended by no more than 120 persons, approximately 50-75 of which attended the WSI Hearing. Approximately 50 of those at the WSI Hearing were VVAW members from the States surrounding Oklahoma.

The audience for a speech by JOHN KERRY was quite. large. A workshop held after KERRY's speech was attended by quite a few people including one student from Iran, who spoke to the crowd as well as the parents of a Marine who died in combat in Vietnam.

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-448012-



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. November 16, 1971

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR, INCORPORATED (VVAW)

Reference is made to a memorandum at Washington, D.C. (WDC), dated September 15, 1971, concerning the VVAW.

On October 10, 1971, a confidential source, who has provided reliable information in the past, advised that at WDC the VVAW, an anti-war veterans organization incorporated in New York, lacks cohesiveness and direction. The source advised this condition has resulted from the disenchantment of local YVAN supporters, mainly

and John Kerry, a leading VVAW spokesman.

The source advised that local supporters became dissatisfie with the VVAW following a speech by John Kerry on September 27, 1971, at George Washington University (GWU), WDC.

A second confidential source, who has provided reliable information in the past, advised that on September 27, 1971, John Kerry addressed a capacity crowd at Gaston Hall, GWU. Kerry related his impression of national frustration resulting from an apparent powerlessness to bring about a change of United States policy toward Vietnam. Kerry stated that America's socio-economic condition has been adversely affected by this sense of frustration. source advised that Kerry emphasized the need to utilize the political process to bring an end to the war in Vietnam.

On October 10, 1971, the first source advised that Kerry's speech was received by local VVAW supporters as a clear indication that Kerry is an opportunist with personal political aspirations. Therefore, the source advised, support has been withdrawn from the New York office in general and from John Kerry in particular. \

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE ALMIAS BY 9103

100-44/2012-483

PAGE TWO

LIP

PRIDAY MEETING DID NOT START UNTIL FOUR THIRTY P. M. AND NO BUSINESS OF CONSEQUENCE WAS CONDUCTED. JOHN KERRY MENTIONED ON FRIDAY THAT HE WAS GOING TO RESIGN HIS POSITION ON THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE BECAUSE OF POLITICS AND KERRY ATTEMPTED TO GET AL HUBBARD VOTED OUT OF THE EXECUTIVE MEETING. FRIDAY'S SESSION ENDED AT HINE P.M.

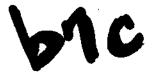
THE MEETING CONTINUED ON SATURDAY AT APPROXIMATELY NINE A.M. AT NUMBER TWO WEST FORTIETH STREET, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, WITH THE SAME PEOPLE PRESENT AND WAS ANOTHER CLOSED SESSION. JOHN KERRY AGAIN ATTEMPTED TO HAVE AL HUBBARD VOTED OFF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AS KERRY STATED HE DID NOT THINK HUBBARD EVER SERVED IN VIETNAM OR WAS EVER IN SERVICE. DURING THE SATURDAY SESSION, HUBBARD GAVE A SUMMARY OF HIS TALKS IN PARIS WITH OFFICIALS OF DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM ORV.) AND PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC GOVERNMENT (PHONETIC.) (PRG.). HUBBARD ADVISED HE HAD JUST RETURNED FROM A NEETING IN PARIS AFTER THE ABOVE ORGANIZATIONS HAD INVITED REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE FOLLOWING ORGANIZATIONS: VVAW, COMMUNIST PARTY (CP.) USA, AND LEFT WING GROUP IN PARIS, NAME UNRECALLED.

PAGE SEVEN

THE BUCKS COUNTY PROPOSAL. WOULD CALL FOR MILITARY
PERSONNEL TO EXTEND THE NORMAL CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY TRUCE
IN VIETNAM BY REFUSING TO TAKE UP ARMS AFTER THE TRUCE
ENDED. THIS PROPOSAL WAS REJECTED SINCE IT WAS CONSIDERED
"TOO HEAVY" FOR VVAW AND SINCE VVAW COULD NOT GET THE
MILITARY PERSONNEL TO DO IT.

A SECOND PROPOSAL, "PHOENIX OPERATION," NAMED AFTER
AN ALLEGED CIA OPERATION TO ELIMINATE HEADS OF SOUTHEAST
ASIAN GOVERNMENTS UNFRIENDLY TO SOUTH VIETNAM AND
AMERICAN OPERATIONS THERE, WAS PROPOSED BY A NATIONAL
LEADER, POSSIBLY HUBBARD. THIS PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE
CALLED FOR A WELL DASH TRAINED UVAW GROUP IN WASHINGTON,
D. C. TO KIDNAP A UNITED STATES SENATOR, REPRESENTATIVE,
OR GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL TO HOLD FOR RANSOM TO PRESSURE FOR
ENDING OF THE WAR. NO OTHER DETAILS WERE GIVEN SINCE
THIS SEEMED TO BE ONLY AN IDEA FOR DISCUSSION. THIS WAS





RE: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR (VVAW)

The telegram said that HUBBARD was in contact with the North Vietnamese Peace Delegation and he had been confidentially told that the next prisoner of war (POW) released would be effected to VVAW delegates. The telegram further said the North Vietnamese had promised to not take any major offensive against U. S. troops during the Christmas period up until December 31, 1971; however, they would defend themselves. In the telegram HUBBARD said he was currently negotiating with the North Vietnamese delegation to extend the Christmas cease-fire, which had already been agreed upon, for an indefinite period beyond the December 31, 1971, deadline. HUBBARD said the North Vietnamese are upset over President NIXON's use of POW issue as a reason to keep U. S. troops in Vietnam.

MIKE OLIVER explained to those present that VVAW National Office had decided to send a five-man delegation to Hanoi, North Vietnam, early in December, 1971. They hoped to effect the POW release during that time so that the delegates could return to the U. S. to participate in the national actions at Christmastime. This would demonstrate to the people at the national actions that VVAW has real power. When asked how many POWs would be released, OLIVER said no specific number had been mentioned but that at least one POW would have to be released in order to give the VVAW claim validity. They planned to present this to the people of the United States and if they were successful in gaining public sympathy and support, they would enter further negotiations for POW release.

The Wisconsin delegation proposed a plan to contact 2,000 active-duty GI's in South Vietnam and in effect ask them for a mutinous action by refusing to take up arms when ordered to do so. This proposal was favorably accepted by the committee.

The topic of the funding of expenses for HUBBARD's trip to Paris was laid aside. OLIVER told the conference that had paid for HUBBARD's trip from her own personal account. There was talk among many of the regional



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Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 1/27/72

Attached reports a potential security informant of our Pittsburgh Office advised he learned from an individual

Vietnam veterans Against 570 tne war (VVAW) that there is complete dissatisfaction with the VVAW national office at New York City. There was even discussion regarding the possibility of killing Al Hubbard and Jon Birch of the national office. The Pittsburgh Office suggests the New York Office, with Bureau authority, consider advising these two persons that there may be an

Domestic Intelligence Division recommends no approach by Bureau Agents to Hubbard and Birch in view of their militant attitudes. It is felt they could use such an approach to theembarrassment of the Bureau. If you agree, however, we will call this matter to the attention of local authorities in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and New York City, only on a confidential basis. Hubbard and Birch can then be notified by these agencies. This procedure will give us better protection for the source.

attempt on their lives.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

1emorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE:

11/14/73:

FROM

SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-51647)

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION IS - VVAW/WSO

Reference Bureau letters dated 10/4 and 10/15/73, captioned as above.

Predication for Investigation

This investigation is based on information which indicates that captioned organization is engaged in activities which could involve violations of Title 18, USC, 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), 2385 (Advocating Overthrow of the Government), 2387 (Sedition), 793 (Espionage), 844 (Explosives and Incendiary Devices), 2155-56 (Sabotage), and 2101 (Anti-riot Laws).

> VVAW/WSO was organized in New York City in 1967 as an organization of Vietnam Veterans to protest the American involvement in the war in the Southeast Asia. VVAW/WSO engaged in various protest activitiés. but during late 1971, demonstrated increasing militancy culminating 12/71, with VVAW/WSO takeover of various American landmarks and public buildings. Information was also developed indicating that some VVAW/WSO Chapters were cooperating with or infiltrated by Communist-dominated groups, including the CPUSA and the Socialist Worker's Party. VVAW/WSO leaders were quoted as telling members VVAW/WSO is a revolutionary organization and not "just another group of war veterans". VVAW/WSO leaders have traveled to North Vietnam and have

(2) - Bureau (100-448092) (RM)

1 - Chicago (100-50772) (Info) (RM)

18 NOV 19 1973

1 - Philadelphia (100-51647)

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reportedly established liaison with revolutionary or terrorist groups internationally. During July, 1972, VVAW/WSO leaders and members were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury, Tallahassee, for violation of Federal statutes, including Conspiracy to Riot during Republican National Convention August, 1972. One of these individuals was also indicted for Possession of an Unregistered Explosive and Incendiary Device. In January, 1973, at a National Steering Committee meeting, VVAW/WSO leaders discussed programs aimed at obtaining support from or influencing active duty military personnel. They also discussed obtaining access to classified government information to be used against United States interest, and one leader subsequently actively engaged in such activity. There were also indications at this meeting that VVAW/WSO activists possessed the technical knowledge and training to carry out any revolutionary program proposed. In addition, information has been reported from a source who has furnished reliable information in the past that a VVAW/WSO member previously discussed engaging in sabotage and was possibly involved in the destruction of a munitions train in Arizona. VVAW/WSO is currently headquartered in Chicago, Illinois.

Referenced Bureau letter of 10/15/73, indicated a list of seven addresses of offices and persons in the Philadelphia Division whose addresses appeared on lists of VVAW/WSO regions, chapters, and individuals connected therewith dated 9/8/73 and 4/5/73.

Philadelphia files reveal the following information concerning each of these individuals:

 VVAW/WSO, 2440 Kensington Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa. 19125 Telephone Number 215-GA3-3161

All

Philadelphia report of SA 10/10/73, captioned, "REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES; IS-RA", indicates that the Philadelphia Chapter, VVAW, is located at 2440 Kensington Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa., and that at a regional meeting of the Eastern Pennsylvania Region, VVAW, held 9/22/73, at St. Mary's Church, 3916 Locust Street, it was decided to move the VVAW Regional Office from Philadelphia, Pa., to Reading, Pa., and that a chapter of the VVAW would remain in the Philadelphia area located at the above address. The meeting which decided this move, while a regional meeting,

VVAW/WSO,
 P.O. Box 4114
 Mount Penn, Pa. 19606

On 6/20/73, review of postal records indicated that P.O. Box 4114, Reading, Pa., (Mount Penn, Pa., Post Office), was opened 12/4/72, in the name of the VVAW Defense fund.

The box was subscribed to by

Street. Reading, Pa., telephone number

Office records show purpose of the VVAW Defense Fund is "raising funds". The Mount Penn Post Office advised that P.O. Box 4114 gets very little mail. Investigation is currently being conducted concerning under Philadelphia file

100-55249 to determine the extent of his involvement with VVAW. Original information concerning the fact that Reading Chapter of VVAW had been soliciting defense funds by mail from other anti-war groups from P.O. Box 4114, Mount Penn, Pa., was furnished by

(UD).

Street Carlisle, Pa. 17013

which is opened to determine his relationship with VVAW and develop background data.

Pa. 18045

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Subject interviewed 2/16/73. It was determined that he did not meet ADEX criteria, and case closed 8/28/73. It is noted that Philadelphia informants in Reading area provided coverage of subject's limited activities.

5. VVAW/WSO, 14 West Broad Street Bethlehem, Pa. 18018

This address is a mailing address for VVAW in the Bethlehem-Reading-Allentown, Pa., area.

Street
Farrisburg, Pa. 17102
Telephone Number 717-232

is subject of Philadelphia file 100-55079. He is a staff member of the Harrisburg Independent Press. Investigation concerning this individual is continuing; however, at this time it appears that he merely writes articles in relation to VVAW as one of his assignments, and appears not to participate in VVAW activities other than on a reporting basis.

pJc. 19401

This individual is identical with subject of Philadelphia file 100-54012. Philadelphia letter and LHM captioned, "Subject's activities and background. Subject was not recommended for inclusion on the ADEX.

As indicated above, on 9/22/73, at a regional meeting of Eastern Pennsylvania Region, VVAW, it was decided to move the VVAW Regional Office from Philadelphia, Pa., to the Reading, Pa., area. It was also decided that a chapter of VVAW would remain in the Philadelphia area located in the Office of the Philadelphia Free Press (FREEP), 2440

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Kensington Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa. It is noted that in the past the Philadelphia Regional Chapter of VVAW never actually performed any of the functions of a regional chapter, in that the individuals who frequented this office and the activities planned by this office were all localized in Philadelphia, Pa.

- As of 10/3/73, 📹 also known as was Acting Coordinator of the Philadelphia VVAW. There is no regional coordinator of the VVAW at the present. Subsequent to 10/3/73, Philadelphia informants have advised that the Philadelphia Chapter of VVAW is now defunct and totally inactive. While mail is still received at the FREEP Office, who is a non-veteran, is interested in maintaining an office in Philadelphia, Pa. Old time VVAW members have inthat they regard the organization as inactive dicated to and would be very much opposed to any attempt on his part and on the part of FREEP staff members to usurp the name of the organization or to utilize its banner in activities inconsistent with the bab Poriginal anti-war goal of the VVAW. has advised that regional records of the VVAW would be sent to the Reading, Pa., area in the near future.

Referenced Revolutionary Activities report indicates that Philadelphia Chapter of the VVAW has been virtually inactive and that no one from the Philadelphia Region attended the August, 1973, National Steering Committee meeting in St. Louis, Mo.

On 10/3/73, advised there are in the Eastern Pennsylvania Region of VVAW/WSO, and that this region was soon to be relocated in the Reading, Pa., area. Source noted that this figure includes Southern New Jersey, Delaware, and all of Pennsylvania. The Pittsburgh Chapter is inactive and there are a few members each in Allentown, Bethlehem, York, Harrisburg, Reading, and Philadelphia, Pa. Total membership, including those currently inactive, is 35 members at the most.

On 9/25/73, advised there had been no political activities on the part of VVAW/WSO in the Philadelphia area in recent months.

bahn

On 10/3/73, furnished the same information as furnished by on 9/25/73.

babab on 10/3/73, and advised that the Philadelphia VVAW had \$65.00 to \$75.00 in its bank account with no dues money coming in.

Referenced Bureau letter instructed Philadelphia to review the above references to furnish current status of VVAW/WSO within the Philadelphia Division and advise of informant coverage including member informants specifically identified and steps taken to develop member informants.

It is noted that the focus of activity of the Eastern Pennsylvania Region of VVAW has been Philadelphia, and that this regional office is in the process of moving to the Reading-Mount Penn, Pa., area.

ba 610

These sources under development should insure that the Bureau is apprised on a timely basis of pertinent VVAW activity. Within Philadelphia, there are also non-member informants who are able to provide timely information concerning VVAW activity; however,

b3-0

VVAW. Within the Reading-Mount Penn-Allentown, Pa., area, it is felt that the under development will be able to provide effective coverage if VVAW continues its planned activity to move the regional office to that location. There is also available in the Reading area informant whose background and affiliation with anti-war activities place the source in an excellent position to furnish details of VVAW plans and activities.

Philadelphia is aware of the need for good intelligence information of the type which member informants can provide, and will in the future continue to be alert for opportunities

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VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR - JOHN KERRY FBI FILES

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Vietnam Veterans Against The War FBI Files.

19,978 pages of FBI files covering the activities of the ant-Vietnam War group, Vietnam Veterans Against the War..

Most of this material was originally released in 1999 to author and historian Gerald Nicosia, after seeking their release under the Freedom of Information Act in 1988. This set released in June 2004, contains pages of documents not released to Nicosia in 1999.

The documents date from 1967 to 1976. They are composed of memos, reports, investigation summaries, confidential informant accounts, newspaper and wire service articles, and Vietnam Veterans Against the War bulletins and flyers. The files give broad coverage to activities of VVAW members such as Scott Camil, Al Hubbard, Joseph Urgo, Michael Oliver, Edward Damato, Larry Rottman, George Roberts, Craig Scott Moore and the person who has become its most well known member, John Kerry.

After six Vietnam Veterans walked together in an anti-Vietnam War march, Vietnam Veterans Against the War was founded in New York City, in 1967. The investigation of the VVAW gained steam after Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara saw an advertisement from the group in the November 11, 1967 edition of the New York Times. In 1970 the group had 600 members. By the 1971 it had 6,000 members. The bulk of the monitoring of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War took place between 1972 and 1975. During that time the FBI increased efforts to recruit VVAW members as informants.

Although there were many anti-war groups at the time, The Vietnam Veterans Against the War seems to have gathered more attention from the FBI than most others. The sight of uniforms, medals, and missing limbs caused a greater stir along all sectors of the ideological spectrum of opinion about the Vietnam War. There also may have been a feeling in the FBI that members of the VVAW were more dangerous than hippies, because VVAW members had military training and had seen combat. The files show the United States domestic intelligence infrastructure's level of concern about the possibility of subversion and sedition, among those who were strongly critical of American Vietnam policy.

John Kerry first became familiar with the VVAW through his sister Peggy, in 1969. After deciding not to run for Congress in 1970, Kerry went to Paris, site of the Vietnam War peace

negotiations, and met with Viet Cong representatives. After his return, he began speaking at VVAW events. John Kerry became one the Vietnam Veteran's Against the War's most publicly recognizable figures. Especially after his appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in April 1971. As a veteran who was decorated with a Silver Star, Bronze Star, and three Purple Hearts, Kerry garnered attention and consideration that other anti-Vietnam War protestors could not achieve. Kerry went on to become one of the members of VVAW's national steering committee.

In January of 1971, The Vietnam Veterans Against the War began its "Winter Soldier" investigation. The investigation consisted of the reciting of claims by people purporting to be Vietnam War veterans, about alleged atrocities committed in Vietnam. The investigation received very little attention at the time. The VVAW filmed the presentations, and put into circulation a film of the investigation titled "Winter Soldier."

The coverage of Kerry is mostly intermittently spread across memos dating from 1971. Much of the clandestine surveillance is composed of reporting made by unnamed confidential informants. The files chronicle: John Kerry's rise in status as a member of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, A growing ideological conflict with the more militant direction the VVAW was heading in, Travel to Paris for talks with North Vietnamese peace talk delegation, the "Kansas City" meeting, Kerry's pitched battle with VVAW leader Al Hubbard, and Kerry's dissolution as a leader of the VVAW in 1971.

The files document FBI accusations of a conspiracy to riot during the 1972 Republican National Convention, the passing of classified information to a Japanese communist leader. A member of the Connecticut chapter of the VVAW was arrested with an explosive device en route to a speech given by Vice President Spiro Agnew.

After the United States withdrew from Vietnam, the focus of the VVAW moved towards seeking amnesty for those who were jailed for resisting the draft and other anti-war crimes.

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Source material from Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), National Security Agency (NSA), Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), Secret Service, National Security Council, Department of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Department of Justice, National Archive Records and Administration, and Presidential Libraries.