



## George Bush Presidential Library

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### Inventory for FOIA Request 2000-1202-F

## Records on U.S. Policy Toward Post-Coup Soviet Union/Former Soviet Republics

#### **Extent**

221 folders

#### **Access**

Collection is open to all researchers. Access to Bush Presidential Records, Bush Vice Presidential Records, and Quayle Vice Presidential Records is governed by the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)(5 USC 552 as amended) and the Presidential Records Act (PRA)(44 USC 22) and therefore records may be restricted in whole or in part in accordance with legal exemptions.

#### **Copyright**

Documents in this collection that were prepared by officials of the United States government as part of their official duties are in the public domain. Researchers are advised to consult the copyright law of the United States (Title 17, USC) which governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material.

#### **Provenance**

Official records of George Bush's presidency and vice presidency are housed at the George Bush Presidential Library and administered by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) under the provisions of the Presidential Records Act (PRA).

#### **Processed By**

Staff Archivists, August 2006. Previously restricted materials are added as they are released.

#### **Related Collections**

Related materials may be found in the following FOIA requests:

1998-0142-F: NATO Heads of State Summit at Rome: November 7–8, 1991  
1998-0194-F: President George Bush's Trip to Hungary: July 1989  
1999-0273-F: Malta Conference: December 1989  
1999-0301-F: Records on US-USSR Summit: June 1990

1999-0302-F: Records on Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START)  
1999-0304-F: Dissolution of the Soviet Union  
1999-0393-F: Memcons and Telcons between President Bush and Helmut Kohl concerning the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Reunification of Germany  
2000-1334-F: Records on Bush-Yeltsin Summits

### **Scope and Content**

The materials in FOIA 2000-1202-F are a selective, not necessarily all inclusive, body of documents responsive to the topic of the FOIA. Researchers should consult the archivist about related materials.

FOIA 2000-1202-F contains materials related to the changes in the relationship between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR/Soviet Union) following the failed August 1991 Moscow Coup and the new relationships forged by the US with the newly independent republics which arose as a result of the subsequent dissolution of the Soviet Union.

In accordance with his radical new policies of *glasnost* ("openness") and *perestroika* ("restructuring"), Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev presided over the decentralization of power in Moscow in favor of local control among the several Soviet republics. Prior to the signing of a new union treaty by the republics designed to allow more local control, Communist hardliners attempted to take control of the Soviet government in order to maintain the consolidated union. Popular resistance to the coup attempt (led publicly by Russian President Boris Yeltsin) prevented the takeover by the conservatives. The result was a weakening of the ties among the Soviet republics with the center and, ultimately, full independence. The USSR was officially dissolved on December 31, 1991. The newly independent states to emerge from the defunct Soviet Union were Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.

The materials in this request primarily cover the period of tumult in the Soviet Union during 1990 and 1991, though a small number of records from as early as 1989 and as late as 1992 are included as well. The bulk of the materials pertain to the development of diplomatic, economic, and military relations with the former Soviet republics once it was determined that the USSR would not survive events, as well as the calls for US humanitarian assistance for the former Soviet peoples. A significant portion of the materials relate to the disposition, protection, and command/control of Soviet nuclear missiles and facilities in several of the republics following the dissolution of the USSR. In addition, a number of records pertain to potential Soviet treaty obligations to be fulfilled by the independent republics.

White House Office of Records Management (WHORM) Subject File categories contain letters, memcons (memoranda of conversation), and telcons (memoranda of telephone conversation) between President Bush and several members of the US Congress, heads of state of the various former Soviet republics, and other world leaders regarding the events unfolding in the Soviet Union.

The Staff and Office Files contain a large number of memoranda and reports discussing the various contingencies and possible outcomes of the dissolution of the USSR as they relate to US-Soviet relations and future diplomatic or economic relationships with the independent republics. The materials include letters, cables, reports, and memoranda regarding US government and private assistance to the former Soviet republics in the area of economics (assisting in the transition to a free-market economy, monetary policy, etc.), trade (Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls/COCOM, Most Favored Nation status, etc.), and humanitarian assistance, as well as draft agreements between various republics in this regard. The correspondence contains several letters between President Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as with other Soviet republic and European heads of state. The vast majority of records are from the National Security Council and pertain to US-Soviet military agreements, including Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE), Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), and Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), as well as reports and memoranda regarding the disposition, protection, and the

command and control of Soviet nuclear weapons and facilities in several former Soviet republics, e.g., Safety, Security, and Dismantlement (SSD) agreements. It should be noted that a significant majority of the records in this request have been closed due to national security restrictions. The files also contain correspondence to the President from interest groups concerned with the treatment of various ethnic groups in the fluctuating political conditions in the republics, such as Baltic American groups, the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, etc. Materials include reports regarding the status of the newly independent republics as they relate to United Nations membership and international treaties ("successor state" vs. new state debate) and schedules and trip information regarding visit to several republics by Secretary of State James Baker during December 1991.

### **System of Arrangement**

Records that are responsive to this FOIA request were found in two collection areas—Bush Presidential Records: WHORM Subject Files and Bush Presidential Records: Staff and Office Files. As policy, Staff and Office Files are processed at the folder level, that is, individual documents are not selected and removed from a folder for processing. WHORM Subject Files are processed at the document level. While this method maintains folder integrity, it frequently results in the incidental processing of documents that are not wholly responsive to the subject area.

The WHORM Subject File compiled by the White House Office of Records Management is comprised of a series of documents assigned a letter/number combination and filed in a subject category. A complete listing of the subject categories including a detailed description of each category is available in our research room and on our website at <http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/find/whorm/whorm.html>.

Please note that a single asterisk "\*" indicates that the category is entirely processed and open.

The following is a list of documents and folders processed in response to FOIA 2000-1202-F.

### **Bush Presidential Records: WHORM Subject Files**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Case Number</b>
CO054	C.F.: Case Number 308221
CO165	Scanned: Case Number 290494
CO165	C.F.: Case Numbers 297819, 297830, 299320, 299832, 300103, 300149, 302658, 305466, 306788, 308391, 309175, 314576, 314581, 321916
FG001-08*	C.F.: Case number 319162
FG006-06	C.F.: Case Numbers 293296, 296493
FG038	C.F.: Case Numbers 302168, 308136
FO002	Scanned: Case Numbers 265103, 265716, 265731, 266376, 266453, 268173, 268751

### **Bush Presidential Records: Staff and Office Files**

Economic Advisors, Council of  
Michael Boskin— Meeting Files  
September 1991: 9/5/91 (3:00 p.m.) Boskin Group Meeting re: Soviet Economy  
[OA/ID 08066]

October 1991: 10/7/91 (10:00 a.m.) Boskin Group Meeting, Room 324 [Soviet Economy]  
[OA/ID 08066]  
October 1991: 10/24/91 Boskin Group Meeting 9:15 a.m. [Soviet Economy]  
[OA/ID 08066]  
Meeting Files: December 1991: 12/10/91 Boskin Group Meeting on Soviet Economy  
[OA/ID 08066]

Michael Boskin—NSC Meeting Files  
[1991]: U.S./Soviet Economic Relations [OA/ID CF01113]

J. French Hill Files—PCG Group Subject File  
Soviet Economic Assistance [OA/ID CF01115]

Paul Wonnacott Files—Subject File  
[Country File]: Boskin Group Meetings (U.S.S.R.) [OA/ID CF01111]  
[Country File]: Boskin Group Meetings (U.S.S.R.): Boskin Group Meeting, Tuesday,  
2/25/92, 4:30 p.m. [former Soviet Union] [OA/ID CF01111]  
[Country File]: Boskin Group Meetings (U.S.S.R.): Boskin Group Meeting, Monday,  
1/27/92, 6:00 p.m., Room 324 [former Soviet Union] [OA/ID CF01111]  
[Country File]: Boskin Group Meetings (U.S.S.R.): Boskin Group Meeting, Monday,  
10/7/91, 10:00 a.m., Room 324, [Former Soviet Union] [CF001111]  
[Country File]: Boskin Group Meetings (U.S.S.R.): "Boskin Group" Meeting on Soviet  
Issues, Thursday, 9/5/91, 3:00 p.m. [OA/ID CF01111]

#### National Security Council

R. Nicholas Burns Files—Subject File  
CIA Briefing Book on Caucasus [1] [OA/ID CF01487]  
CIA Briefing Book on Caucasus [2] [OA/ID CF01487]  
USSR Food Sales [OA/ID CF01498]  
USSR Food Grant Aid [OA/ID CF01498]  
USSR Medical Assistance (Current) [OA/ID CF01498]  
USSR Contingency Papers (Current) [1] [OA/ID CF01498]  
USSR Contingency Papers (Current) [2] [OA/ID CF01498]  
USSR Contingency Papers (Current) [3] [OA/ID CF01498]  
USSR Contingency Papers (Past) [OA/ID CF01498]  
USSR Economic Assistance [1] [OA/ID CF01498]  
USSR Economic Assistance [2] [OA/ID CF01498]  
Peace Corps [OA/ID CF01498]  
Armenia [OA/ID CF01498]  
Azerbaijan [OA/ID CF01498]  
Byelorussia [OA/ID CF01498]  
Georgia [OA/ID CF01498]  
Kazakhstan [OA/ID CF01498]  
Kyrgyzstan [OA/ID CF01498]  
Moldova [OA/ID CF01498]  
Tajikistan [OA/ID CF01498]  
Turkmenistan [OA/ID CF01498]  
Uzbekistan [OA/ID CF01498]

R. Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Chronological Files  
USSR Chronological File: September 1991 [OA/ID CF01407]  
USSR Chronological File: October 1991 [1] [OA/ID CF01407]  
USSR Chronological File: October 1991 [2] [OA/ID CF01407]

USSR Chronological File: November 1991 [1] [OA/ID CF01407]  
USSR Chronological File: November 1991 [2] [OA/ID CF01407]

R. Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—CIS Chronological File/Subject File  
[Soviet] Policy Group Meetings 1991 [1] [OA/ID CF01599]  
[Soviet] Policy Group Meetings 1991 [2] [OA/ID CF01599]  
[Soviet] Policy Group Meetings 1991 [3] [OA/ID CF01599]

R. Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Russia Subject File  
1.0.0-Political Situation [OA/ID CF01613]  
1.2.0-Political Situation; Republic-level Politics [1] [OA/ID CF01613]  
1.2.0-Political Situation; Republic-level Politics [2] [OA/ID CF01613]  
1.2.0-Political Situation; Azerbaijan [OA/ID CF01613]  
1.2.0-Political Situation; Byelorussia [OA/ID CF01613]  
1.2.0-Political Situation; Georgia [OA/ID CF01613]  
1.2.0-Political Situation; Kazakhstan [OA/ID CF01613]  
1.2.0-Political Situation; Russia [1] [OA/ID CF01613]  
1.2.0-Political Situation; Russia [2] [OA/ID CF01613]  
1.2.0-Political Situation; Russia [3] [OA/ID CF01613]  
1.2.0-Political Situation; Tajikistan [OA/ID CF01613]  
1.2.0-Political Situation; Turkmenistan [OA/ID CF01613]  
2.2.6-Economic Situation; Economic Institutions and Policy; Energy, Environment  
[OA/ID CF01430]  
2.4.5-Economic Situation; Foreign Economic Relations; Trade Performance (Balance of  
Payment, Debt) [OA/ID CF01430]  
4.0.0-U.S. Relations with Russia [OA/ID CF01430]  
4.1.0-U.S. Relations with Russia; Arms Control [1] [OA/ID CF01430]  
4.1.0-U.S. Relations with Russia; Arms Control [2] [OA/ID CF01430]  
4.1.0-U.S. Relations with Russia; Arms Control [3] [OA/ID CF01430]

R. Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject File  
Economics [OA/ID CF01408]  
U.S.-MSG/MSG-U.S. [OA/ID CF01408]  
Nuclear Reactors [OA/ID CF01409]  
Russia [OA/ID CF01409]  
Agreements for CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] [OA/ID CF01421]  
[Ed] Hewett Meetings 1991: [James] Baker Trip [to Russia and Belgium]  
12/14–19/91 [OA/ID CF01422]  
POTUS Meetings September 1991–October 1991: POTUS Meeting on Food Assistance to  
the USSR 10/28/91 [OA/ID CF01422]  
POTUS Meetings September 1991–October 1991: POTUS Meeting with Secretary  
[of Agriculture Ed] Madigan re: Food Assistance to the USSR  
10/1/91 [OA/ID CF01422]  
POTUS Meetings November 1991: POTUS Meeting with [Russian Foreign Minister Andrei]  
Kozyrev 11/26/91 [OA/ID CF01422]  
POTUS Meetings November 1991: POTUS Meeting with Deputy Defense Secretary  
[Donald] Atwood re: Defense Conversion in the USSR 11/26/91 [OA/ID CF01422]  
POTUS Meetings November 1991: POTUS Meeting on Debt Situation in the  
USSR 11/5/91 [OA/ID CF01422]

Craig Chellis Files—Subject File  
(68) Russia—Political [OA/ID CF01436]  
(71) Russia—Defense Strategy [OA/ID CF01436]

(72) Russia—Force Structure [OA/ID CF01436]

Nancy Bearg Dyke Files—Subject File

UN [United Nations]: Soviet Union and CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] [OA/ID CF01390]

John A. Gordon Files—Subject File

Contingency Group—November 1991 [OA/ID CF01652]

CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe]—November 1991 [OA/ID CF01652]

Defense—November 1991 [OA/ID CF01652]

Russia/Republics—November 1991 [OA/ID CF01652]

Ukraine—November 1991 [OA/ID CF01652]

CFE [Conventional Forces in Europe]/START Ratification—December 1991 [OA/ID CF01656]

IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency]—December 1991 [OA/ID CF01656]

START—December 1991 [OA/ID CF01656]

PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: Bartholomew-Obukov—November 1991 [1] [OA/ID CF01656]

PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: Bartholomew-Obukov—November 1991 [2] [OA/ID CF01656]

1. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: General [1] [OA/ID CF01658]

1. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: General [2] [OA/ID CF01658]

1. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: General [3] [OA/ID CF01658]

2. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: Ground/Naval Tactical Weapons [OA/ID CF01658]

3. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: Air-Delivered Tactical Nuclear Weapons [Empty] [OA/ID CF01658]

4. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: ICBM Demirving/Strategic Reductions [OA/ID CF01658]

5. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: Nuclear Command and Control [1] [OA/ID CF01658]

5. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: Nuclear Command and Control [2] [OA/ID CF01658]

6. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: Safety, Security, Storage and Transportation [OA/ID CF01658]

7. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: Warhead Dismantlement [OA/ID CF01658]

8. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: Fissile Material Ban [OA/ID CF01658]

9. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: Non-Nuclear Defenses [OA/ID CF01658]

10. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: Ballistic Missile Early Warning [Empty] [OA/ID CF01658]

11. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: Soviet CTB/Moratorium [Empty] [OA/ID CF01658]

12. PNI [President's Nuclear Initiative]: Nuclear Weapons in the Republic [OA/ID CF01658]

Jane E. Holl Files—Electronic Message File

Directorate Papers—General [OA/ID CF01427]

Susan Koch Files—Subject File

Baker Trip [to the Soviet Union]—December [14–21], 1991 [1] [OA/ID CF01331]

Baker Trip [to the Soviet Union]—December [14–21], 1991 [2] [OA/ID CF01331]

Virginia Lampley Files—Subject File

[President's meeting with] Bipartisan [Congressional Leadership] re: CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Announcement, April 1, 1992 [OA/ID CF01362]

NSC APNSA Files

Document Numbers: 9106230, 9106397, 9106398, 9106399, 9106517, 9106645, 9106763, 9106809, 9106977, 9107041, 9107258, 9107285, 9107497, 9107581, 107605, 9107699, 9107737, 9107756, 9107778, 9108004, 9108060, 9108079, 108168, 9108295, 9108332, 9108464, 9108506, 9108540, 9108633, 9108734, 108755, 9108776, 9108933, 9108986, 9109133, 9109219, 9109423, 9109449, 9109452

NSC Numbered Files

Document Numbers: 9107084, 9107589, 9107956, 9108727, 9108753, 9109079, 9109192, 9109290, 9109511, 9200002

NSC PA Files

Document Numbers: 9106411, 9106959, 9106976, 9107152, 9107198, 9107863, 9108044, 9108094, 9108359, 9108591, 9108647, 9108730, 9108731, 9108825, 9109109, 9109117, 9109203, 9109371, 9109377, 9109387, 9109425

NSC PRS Files

Document Numbers: 9200276, 9200280

NSC PRS Limited Access Chronological Files

Document Number: 9108863, 9108871, 9108916

Nicholas Rostow Files—Subject File

Arms Control and the USSR: Legal Implications [OA/ID CF01060]  
USSR (Post-Coup) [OA/ID CF01320]  
USSR (Treaties) [OA/ID CF01320]  
Soviet Republics/UN [United Nations] [OA/ID CF01322]  
USSR [1] [OA/ID CF01328]  
USSR [2] [OA/ID CF01328]  
USSR [3] [OA/ID CF01328]  
USSR [4] [OA/ID CF01328]  
USSR [5] [OA/ID CF01328]  
USSR [6] [OA/ID CF01328]  
USSR [7] [OA/ID CF01328]  
USSR [8] [OA/ID CF01328]  
USSR [9] [OA/ID CF01328]  
USSR [10] [OA/ID CF01328]

William Tobey Files—Subject File

ABM Treaty—Post-USSR [OA/ID CF01464]

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