An Index to the Microfilm Edition of

THE PAPERS OF PRESIDENT GEORGE H.W. BUSH

George H. W. Bush and Foreign Affairs 1989-1993

Part 1: The Moscow Summit and the Dissolution of the USSR

Primary Source Media
The Moscow Summit and the Dissolution of the USSR

Guide Compiled by
Daniel Piper

Primary Source Media
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When George H. W. Bush became President in 1989, the United States had already begun to see a thawing of relations with the Soviet Union. President Bush spoke of softening relations in his inaugural address, claiming that "a new breeze is blowing," and adding that "great nations of the world are moving toward democracy through the door to freedom." This collection provides an in-depth analysis of the events leading up to the dissolution of the USSR and its implications for U.S.-Soviet relations.

This collection consists of three FOIA files from the Bush Library. The first file contains material related to the Moscow Summit and the August 19-22, 1991 Coup against Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. During the summit, President Bush met with President Gorbachev in Moscow and later visited Kiev. These materials include the planning documents and briefing books related to the Summit. The Coup attempt against Gorbachev began on the morning of the August 19 while he was on vacation, and ended upon his return to Moscow on August 22. This part of the collection contains cables sent to the White House Situation Room concerning day-by-day developments, and conversations between President Bush and other foreign leaders.

The second file contains material related to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. On December 21, 1991, following years of reform and upheaval behind the Iron Curtain, eleven Soviet republics joined together to form the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Four days later, Mikhail Gorbachev resigned as president of the Soviet Union, and on 26 December 1991, the Soviet Union formally ceased to exist. This part of the collection highlights the Bush administration’s response to the breakup of the Soviet Union and the formation of the CIS. Documents specifically address issues concerning economic and humanitarian support, diplomatic recognition of the republics, aiding the transition to democratic governments and market economies, and defense issues, particularly the fate and control over the former Soviet Union’s vast nuclear arsenal. These documents include suggestions from the public, consultations with Congress, and discussions among federal agencies to formulate American policy concerning the unfolding events in the Soviet Union. Communications between Bush administration officials and corresponding officials in the disintegrating USSR are also included.

This final FOIA file contains materials on the meeting between President Bush and President Mikhail Gorbachev in Malta (December 2–3, 1989) and the subsequent meetings between President Bush and NATO leaders in Brussels, Belgium (December 3–4, 1989). The Malta Conference (technically not a Summit) was the first meeting between the two leaders since President Bush’s inauguration. The NATO meeting was held in order for President Bush to brief leaders of Western European nations concerning his meeting with Gorbachev.

There is a significant amount of material from the files of the National Security Council (NSC) and The White House Office of Records Management (WHORM) Subject Categories. This documentation consists primarily of memoranda between staff members passing along the following types of documents (as well as the documents themselves):
talking points for the president's summit sessions and meetings with world leaders; draft remarks for arrival ceremonies and summit sessions; summit meeting agendas; press releases; position papers on topics of interest to NATO member countries and U.S. global leadership; and briefing book papers.

The Staff and Office Files records primarily consist of schedules and itineraries for travel to the summit. Additionally, the materials contain memoranda for and including the following types of documents: meeting schedules and agendas, speech/remark drafts, press releases and a limited amount of background information pertaining to the countries which the president visited during his trip. These records also contain standard logistical information relating to travel, lodging, and media members to be included in the press pool during the trip.
SOURCE & EDITORIAL NOTE

The documents reproduced in this publication constitute the complete FOIA requests listed below:

FOIA Request 1999-0303-F, Records on the Moscow Summit from July 29, 1991 to August 1, 1991; and the Coup against President Mikhail Gorbachev of the USSR from August 19, 1991 to August 22, 1991;
FOIA Request 1999-0304-F, Records on the Dissolution of the Soviet Union; and

These are records of George Bush, in the custody of the George Bush Presidential Library, College Station, Texas. All available documents have been filmed in their entirety.
REEL INDEX

The following index is a guide to the folders and contents of the microfilm publication entitled The Moscow Summit and the Dissolution of the USSR. The Reel Index includes the folder number, folder title, and a listing of the major subjects. The documents within each folder have been filmed as they are arranged at the Library.

Records on the Moscow Summit from July 29, 1991 to August 1, 1991; and the Coup against President Mikhail Gorbachev of the USSR from August 19, 1991 to August 22, 1991

REEL 1

Folder #

White House Office of Records Management: Subject Files

[1] CO 086 Countries: Lebanon, Republic of (267893).
   Major subjects: Lebanon; Council of Lebanese American Organizations (CLAO); USSR, dissolution of.

   Major subjects: Lithuania; USSR.

   Major subjects: Group of Seven industrialized nations (G-7); USSR; Gorbachev, Mikhail.

   Major subject: USSR.

   Major subject: USSR.


   Major subjects: USSR, Economic reforms; American Foreign Policy Newsletter; Foreign policy, U.S.; South Africa.

[8] CO 165 Countries: Russia (281909).

[9] CO 165 Countries: Russia (266431).
[10] CO 165 Countries: Russia (302056).
    Major subject: USSR.

    Major subject: USSR.

    Major subject: USSR.

    Major subject: USSR.

    Major subjects: USSR; Armenia.

    Major subjects: USSR; Cuba.

    Major subjects: Cultural/educational exchange; USSR.

    Major subject: Group of Seven Industrialized Nations (G-7).

    Major subjects: Lithuania; Estonia; Latvia; USSR.

    Major subjects: Latvia; Lithuania; Estonia; USSR; Foreign relations; Armenia; START; Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese; Moscow Summit; Soviet Jews.


    Major subjects: Wallenberg, Raoul; Holocaust; Greenberg, Alan C.; Raoul Wallenberg Committee of the United States.

    Major subjects: NATO; Moscow Summit.

    Major subject: Prisoners of war, U.S.
Major subjects: Foreign aid/assistance, U.S.; USSR; Lithuania; Armenia; Independence movements.

Major subjects: Bulgaria; Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Gorbachev, Mikhail; USSR; Zhelev, Zheliu.

White House Staff and Office Files

Advance Office
Major subjects: USSR; Bush, George H. W. — trips.

[27] D. Craig Ray Files: Moscow Summit [OA/ID 08696-029].
Major subjects: Moscow Summit.

Correspondence Office
Major subjects: Public affairs; Bush, George H. W. — trips; USSR; Bush, George H. W.; START; Thomas, Clarence.

First Lady’s Office, Chief of Staff
Major subjects: USSR; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Bush, George H. W.

First Lady’s Office, Scheduling
Major subjects: USSR; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Bush, George H. W.

REEL 2

Folder #

White House Staff and Office Files cont.

First Lady’s Office, Scheduling cont.
[31] Ann Brock Files: Moscow Summit—Monday, 7/29/91 to Thursday, 8/1/91 – Moscow and Kiev, USSR [2] [OA/ID 04374-017].
Major subjects: USSR; Bush, George H. W. — trips.
Major subjects: USSR; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Bush, George H. W.

Major subjects: USSR; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Cabinet, U.S.; USSR officials.

Media Affairs
[34] Miscellaneous Files: Media Guide to The President's Trip to the USSR—Summer 1991 [OA/ID 08817-012].
Major subjects: USSR; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Arms control; Lithuania; Estonia; Latvia; Group of Seven Industrialized Nations (G-7).

National Security Council
[35] Nicholas R. Burns Files—Subject Files: POTUS Trip to Moscow and Kiev, July 29–August 1, 1991 [1] [OA/ID CF01308-003].
Major subjects: USSR; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Bush, George H. W.; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Yeltsin, Boris; Treaties and agreements; USSR.

Major subject: USSR.

[37] Nicholas R. Burns Files—Subject Files: POTUS Trip to Moscow and Kiev, July 29–August 1, 1991 [3] [OA/ID CF01308-005].

[38] Nicholas R. Burns Files—Subject Files: Moscow Summit—Press Releases, Fact Sheets, Remarks [1] [OA/ID CF01308-001].
Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail; USSR; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Bush, George H. W.; Scowcroft, Brent.

[39] Nicholas R. Burns Files—Subject Files: Moscow Summit—Press Releases, Fact Sheets, Remarks [2] [OA/ID CF0138002].
Major subjects: START; USSR; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Arms control; Bush, George H.W.; Treaties and agreements.

[40] Nicholas R. Burns Files—Subject Files: USSR Coup Attempt August 1990 [1] [OA/ID CF01308-012].
Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail; Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); USSR; Yamane, Gennady; Yeltsin, Boris.
Nicholas R. Burns Files—Subject Files: USSR Coup Attempt August 1990 [2] [OA/ID CF01308-013].
Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail; USSR; Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Antall, Jozsef; Gonzalez, Felipe; Havel, Vaclav; Walesa, Lech; Andreotti, Giulio; Ozal, Turgut.

REEL 3

Folder #

White House Staff and Office Files cont.

National Security Council

Nicholas R. Burns Files—Subject Files: [Press Briefing Book—The President’s Trip to the USSR Summer 1991 Summit] [OA/ID CF01308-014].
Major subjects: USSR; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Cabinet, U.S.; USSR officials; Arms control; Economic relations; Group of Seven Industrialized Nations (G-7).

Nicholas R. Burns Files—Subject Files: POTUS Trip to Moscow and Kiev Briefing Book—July-August 1991 [1] [OA/ID CF01487-014].
Major subjects: USSR; Economic relations; Arms control; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Bush, George H. W.

Major subjects: USSR; Treaties and agreements.

Major subjects: Kravchuk, Leonid; Ukraine;

Richard A. Davis Files — Subject Files: Moscow Summit—June 1991 [OA/ID CF01589-018].
Major subjects: Arms control; Treaties and agreements; USSR.

Major subjects: Arms control; USSR; START.

Major subject: Press/media.

John A. Gordon Files—Subject Files: Coup—Soviet Union—November 1991 [OA/ID CF01652-009].
Nicholas R. Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: USSR Chronological Files: USSR Chron File: June 1991 [1] [OA/ID CF01407-004].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; USSR; Economic reforms; Economic relations; Foreign aid/assistance, U.S.

Nicholas R. Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: USSR Chronological Files: USSR Chron File: June 1991 [2] [OA/ID CF01407-005].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; USSR; Lithuania; Estonia; Latvia; Economic relations.

Nicholas R. Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: USSR Chronological Files: USSR Chron File: July 1991 [OA/ID CF01407-006].
Major subjects: USSR; Economic reforms; Group of Seven Industrialized Nations (G-7); Foreign aid/assistance, U.S.

Nicholas R. Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: USSR Chronological Files: USSR Chron File: August 1991 [1] [OA/ID CF01407-007].
Major subjects: Lithuania; Diplomatic relations; Estonia; Latvia; Yeltsin, Boris; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Antall, Jozsef; USSR; Group of Seven Industrialized Nations (G-7); Armenia.

REEL 4

Folder #

White House Staff and Office Files cont.

Nicholas R. Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: USSR Chronological Files USSR Chron File: August 1991 [2] [OA/ID CF01407-008].
Major subjects: Cox, Chris; Ukraine; USSR; Andreotti, Giulio; Gonzalez, Felipe; Havel, Vaclav; Walesa, Lech; Foreign aid/assistance, U.S.; Latvia; Estonia; Lithuania.

Major subjects: USSR-U.S. relations; Foreign relations; USSR; START; Bush, George H. W.; Press/media; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Ukraine.

Major subjects: USSR; USSR visit — Bush, George H. W.; Ukraine.

Nicholas R. Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: Gorbachev Succession [OA/ID CF01486-016].
Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail.
[58] Nicholas R. Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: Memcons—Moscow Summit—7/91 [OA/ID CF01756-025].
Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail; Yeltsin, Boris; Kravchuk, Leonid.

[59] Meg Lundsager Files—Subject Files: USSR/Summit [1] [OA/ID CF00756-013].
Major subjects: Arms control; USSR; Economic reforms.

[60] Meg Lundsager Files—Subject Files: USSR/Summit [2] [OA/ID CF00756-014].
Major subjects: USSR; Science and technology; Economic reforms; USSR.

[61] Meg Lundsager Files—Subject Files: USSR/Summit [3] [OA/ID CF00756-015].
Major subjects: USSR; Economic reforms.

Major subjects: USSR.

[63] Nicholas Rostow Files—Subject Files: USSR (Coup) [1] [OA/ID CF01320-003].
Major subjects: USSR, economy; Economy; Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Estonia; Moldova; Communist Party.

[64] Nicholas Rostow Files—Subject Files: USSR (Coup) [2] [OA/ID CF01320-004].
Major subjects: USSR; Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Yeltsin, Boris; Gorbachev, Mikhail.

REEL 5

Folder #

White House Staff and Office Files cont.

[65] Nicholas Rostow Files—Subject Files: Summit [OA/ID CF01321-016].

[66] William Tobey Files—Subject Files: Moscow Summit—July 1991 [OA/ID CF01448-017].
Major subject: USSR.

Major subjects: Yeltsin, Boris; Foreign relations; USSR-U.S. relations.
Major subjects: Kravchuk, Leonid; Fokin, Vitold Pavlovych.

Major subjects: USSR; Kaifu, Toshiki; Andreotti, Giulio; Gonzalez, Felipe; Ozal, Turgut; Havel, Vaclav; Walesa, Lech; Antall, Jozsef; Yeltsin, Boris; Soviet coup d'état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Gorbachev, Mikhail; Aquino, Corazon.


Major subjects: Yanayev, Gennadiy; China, People's Republic of; Finland; Lithuania; Estonia; Latvia; Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991).

Major subjects: Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Middle East; India.

Major subjects: Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Lebanon; Syria; Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Middle East.

Major subjects: Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Romania; Latvia; Estonia; Lithuania.

Major subject: Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Arms control.


REEL 6

Folder #

White House Staff and Office Files cont.


Major subjects: Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Romania.


*Major subject:* Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Egypt; Mexico.


REEL 7

Folder #

White House and Office Files cont.


Major subjects: Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Politics, USSR.


Major subjects: Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); USSR; Economic reforms; Gorbachev, Mikhail.
Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail; Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991).


Major subjects: Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Latvia; Estonia; Lithuania.

Major subjects: Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Lithuania; Estonia; Latvia; Economic reforms; USSR; Economy; Politics, USSR.

Major subjects: Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Estonia; Latvia; Lithuania; USSR; Gorbachev, Mikhail.


Major subjects: USSR; Economic reforms; Gorbachev, Mikhail.

Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail; Economic reforms; Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Arms control; USSR.

Major subjects: Lithuania; Estonia; Latvia; Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991).

Policy Development

[117] James Pinkerton Files: 10/91 USSR trip [OA/ID 04941-002].
Major subjects: Perestroika; Pinkerton, James; Federalism conference.
Records on the Dissolution of the Soviet Union

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<th>Folder #</th>
<th>White House Office of Records Management: Alphabetical Files</th>
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<tr>
<td>[120] Peacock, Oliver, L.</td>
<td>Major subject: USSR.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[122] CO 165 Countries: Russia, General (289683).</td>
<td>Major subjects: USSR.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[123] CO 165 Countries: Russia, General (292819).</td>
<td>Major subjects: Economic reforms; USSR.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[124] CO 165 Countries: Russia, General (293647).</td>
<td>Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folder #</th>
<th>White House Office of Records Management: Subject Files cont.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>[125] CO 165 Countries: Russia, General (295015).</td>
<td>Major subjects: Lithuania; Estonia; Latvia; USSR, dissolution of.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[126] CO 165 Countries: Russia, General (296829).
   Major subjects: Ukraine.

[127] CO 165 C.F. Countries: Russia — Confidential File (305468).

[128] CO 165 C.F. Countries: Russia — Confidential File (320925).

[129] CO 170 Countries: Vatican City, General (294252).
   Major subjects: Holy See; Commonwealth of Independent States; Foreign aid/assistance, U.S.

   Major subjects: International Committee for the Rescue of Russian Prisoners of War in Afghanistan; USSR; Afghanistan.

   Major subjects: USSR.

   Major subjects: USSR.

   Major subjects: USSR.

   Major subjects: USSR.


   Major subjects: USSR; Family reunification.


   Major subjects: Andean Trade Preference Act; Trade.

   White House Staff and Office Files

Counsels Office
[139] C. Boyden Gray Files—Subject File: Russia (CIS) [OA/ID 45081-001].
   Major subjects: USSR; Economic reforms.
Council of Economic Advisers

[140] Michael Boskin Files: Commonwealth of Independent States [OA/ID 08070-021].
Major subjects: USSR.

Major subjects: Russian Federation; Economic reforms; Economy; Commonwealth of Independent States; Trade; International Monetary Fund (IMF); Loans; Exchange rates; Economic development.

Major subjects: Russian Federation; Commonwealth of Independent States; Economy; USSR; American Soviet Economic Educational Television (AM-SEE-TV); Trade; International Monetary Fund (IMF); Latvia; Foreign aid/assistance; Estonia; Lithuania; USSR, economy; Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991).

[143] Paul Wonnacot Files—Country Files: USSR (CIS & NIS), Vol II [1] [OA/ID 08498-012].
Major subjects: Russian Federation; Economy; Commonwealth of Independent States; Nuclear safety; Ukraine; Economic reforms; Japan.

Major subjects: International Monetary Fund (IMF); Loans; Russian Federation; Economy; Commonwealth of Independent States; Economic reforms.

[145] Paul Wonnacot Files—Country Files: USSR (CIS & NIS) [OA/ID CFO1111-012].
Major subjects: Russian Federation; Economy; Commonwealth of Independent States; USSR; Foreign aid/assistance, U.S.; USSR, economy.

[146] Paul Wonnocott Files—Subject Files USSR (CIS & NIS): Soviet Humanitarian Aid Meeting, Wednesday, 10/9 and Thursday 10/17/91 @ State, Zoelick Chair (Joe G. attended 10/17 meeting) [OA/ID CF01111-013].
Major subjects: USSR; USSR, economy; Foreign aid/assistance, U.S.
REEL 9

Folder #

White House Staff and Office Files cont.

Intergovernmental Affairs
[147] Jim Snyder Files: Aid to CIS [OA/ID 07179-003].
  Major subjects: American Society of Newspaper Editors; Foreign aid/assistance, U.S.;

Media Affairs
  Major subjects: Media plan.

National Security Council
  [OA/ID CF01311-003].
  Major subjects: Foreign aid/assistance, U.S.; Commonwealth of Independent States; Food;
  Russian Federation; Armenia; Diplomatic relations; Ukraine.

  [OA/ID CF01311-004].
  Major subjects: Foreign aid/assistance, U.S.; Loans; USSR; Lithuania; Estonia; Export-
  Import Bank; Latvia; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Intelligence, U.S.

  [OA/ID CF01311-005].
  Major subjects: USSR, dissolution of; Foreign aid/assistance, U.S.; Food; Ukraine.

[152] Nicholas Burns Files—Subject Files: GB-Gorbachev Correspondence [1]
  [OA/ID CF01487-003].
  Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail.

[153] Nicholas Burns Files—Subject Files: GB-Gorbachev Correspondence [2]
  [OA/ID CF01487-004].
  Major subjects: USSR, dissolution of; Gorbachev, Mikhail.

[154] Nicholas Burns Files—Subject Files: GB-Gorbachev Correspondence [3]
  [OA/ID CF01487-005].

[155] Nicholas Burns Files—Subject Files: Russia [OA/ID CF01498-020].
  Major subjects: Russian Federation; Foreign aid/assistance, U.S.

[156] Nicholas Burns Files—Subject Files: Commonwealth [OA/ID CF01498-024].
  Major subjects: Commonwealth of Independent States.
Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Chronological Files: USSR Chron
File: December 1991 [1] [OA/ID CF01407-014].
Major subjects: Ukraine; USSR, dissolution of.

Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Chronological Files: USSR Chron
Major subjects: Foreign aid/assistance, U.S.; Ukraine.

Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Chronological Files: USSR Chron
Major subjects: USSR, economy; Commonwealth of Independent States.

Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Russia Subject Files: .1.0—Political
Situation; Gorbachev [1] [OA/ID CF01613-003].
Major subjects: USSR.

REEL 10

White House Staff and Office Files cont.

National Security Council cont.

Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Russia Subject Files: 1.1.0 - Political
Situation; Gorbachev [2] [OA/ID CF01613-004].
Major subjects: Politics, USSR; Porter, Bruce D.; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Reforms, USSR;
USSR, economy; Perestroika; March 1991 All-Union Referendum.

Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Russia Subject Files: 2.5.0 - Economic
Situation; Economics of the Republics - Russia [OA/ID CF01430-020].
Major subjects: Commonwealth of Independent States; Yeltsin, Boris; USSR, dissolution of;
USSR, economy; Economic reforms; USSR; Reforms, USSR.

Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Russia Subject Files: 4.3.0 - U.S.
Relations with Russia; Policy on the Debate Over the Union [OA/ID
CF01536-013].
Major subjects: Lithuania; Estonia; Latvia.

Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Russia Subject Files: 4.3.1 - U.S.
Relations with Russia; Policy on the Debate Over the Union; Baltics [OA/ID
CF01536-014].
Major subjects: Lithuania; Estonia; Latvia.

Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Russia Subject Files: 4.4.0 - U.S.
Relations with Russia; Relations with Republics [OA/ID CF01536-015].
[166] Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Russia Subject Files: 4.4.0 - U.S. Relations with Russia; Relations with Ukraine [OA/ID CF01536-016].
Major subjects: Ukraine.

[167] Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Russia Subject Files: 6.0.0 - Releasing Frozen Assets of Baltic States [OA/ID CF01536-018].
Major subjects: Latvia; Estonia; Lithuania; Trade; Europe, eastern; Foreign aid/assistance, G-24; Group of 24 (G-24); Europe, eastern; Trade; USSR; Europe, eastern.

[168] Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Russia Subject Files: [The Republics of the former Soviet Union and the Baltic States: An Overview] [OA/ID CF01613-022].

[169] Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: Russia - Political [OA/ID CF01408-007].
Major subjects: Russian Federation; Politics, Russian Federation; North Caucasus; Unrest, international; Russian Federation.

[170] Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: Telcons w/CIS Leaders 1991: Telcon with Gorbachev, 12/25/91 [OA/ID CF01422-040].

[171] Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: Telcons with Yeltsin, 12/23/91 [OA/ID CF01422-041].

[172] Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: Telcons w/CIS Leaders 1991: Telcon with Gorbachev, 12/13/91 [OA/ID CF01422-043].


[175] Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: Telcons w/CIS Leaders 1991: Telcon with Gorbachev, 11/30/91 [OA/ID CF01422-046].


[177] Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: Telcons w/CIS Leaders 1991: Telcon with Yeltsin, 10/25/91 [OA/ID CF01422-048].

1991: Telcon with Gorbachev, 10/5/91 [OA/ID CF01422-050].

1991: Telcons with Gorbachev, 9/27/91 [OA/ID CF01422-051].


1991: Telcon with Landabergia - Lithuania, 8/31/91 [OA/ID CF01422-056].

1991: Telcon with Gorbachev - Soviet Union, 8/21/91 [OA/ID CF01422-057].

1991: Telcon with Yeltsin, 8/21/91 [OA/ID CF01422-058].

1991: Telcon with Yeltsin, 8/20/91 [OA/ID CF01422-059].

1991: Telcon with Gorbachev, 6/21/91 [OA/ID CF01422-060].

1991: Telcon with Gorbachev, 5/27/91 [OA/ID CF01422-061].

1991: Telcon with Gorbachev, 5/11/91 [OA/ID CF01422-062].

1991: Telcon with Gorbachev, 2/23/91 [OA/ID CF01422-063].

Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: Gorbachev Succession [OA/ID CF01486-016].

Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail; Politics, USSR.
Nicholas Burns and Ed Hewett Files—Subject Files: CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]: Country Coordinated Groups [OA/ID CF01756-013].

John A. Gordon Files—Subject Files: Commonwealth, December 1991 [OA/ID CF01656-005].
Major subjects: USSR, dissolution of.

John A. Gordon Files—Subject Files: Contingency Group, December 1991 [OA/ID CF01656-006].

John A. Gordon Files—Subject Files: New "Commonwealth" [OA/ID CF01656-018].

John A. Gordon Files—Subject Files: Russia, December 1991 [OA/ID CF01656-024].
Major subjects: USSR, dissolution of.

John A. Gordon Files—Subject Files: Subject Files Ukraine, December 1991 [OA/ID CF01656-030].
Major subjects: Ukraine.

Jane Holl Files—Subject Files: Soviet Union, General 1991 [OA/ID CF01397-009].
Major subjects: Politics, USSR; USSR, economy; Food; Trade; Kazakhstan; Kyrgyzstan; Ukraine; Nuclear weapons; USSR; Economic reforms; Armenia; Belarus; Economy; Economic reforms; Estonia; Gamsakhurdia, Zviad; Georgia, Republic of; Latvia; Lithuania; Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR); Economic reforms; Khasbulatov, Ruslan; USSR, dissolution of; Khasbulatov, Ruslan; Politics, RSFSR; Politics, Ukraine.

Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: CIS Folder #1 [1] [OA/ID CF01343-003].
Major subjects: Science and technology; Aspin, Les; Russian Federation; Noriega, Manuel; Panama; Iraq; Cold War; Nuclear proliferation; USSR.

Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: CIS Folder #1 [2] [OA/ID CF01343-004].
Major subjects: Nuclear proliferation; Baker, James III; USSR; USSR, dissolution of.

Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: CIS Folder #1 [3] [OA/ID CF01343-005].
Major subjects: Science and technology; USSR; Nuclear proliferation; USSR, dissolution of.
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[204] Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: CIS Folder #2 [1] [OA/ID CF01343-006].
Major subjects: Science and technology; Nuclear proliferation; Nuclear waste disposal; USSR, dissolution of; USSR.

[205] Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: CIS Folder #2 [2] [OA/ID CF01343-007].
Major subjects: Defense conversion; Russian Federation; Commonwealth of Independent States.

[206] Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: CIS Folder #2 [3] [OA/ID CF01343-008].
Major subjects: Commonwealth of Independent States; Russian Federation; Science and technology; Center for International Technical Cooperation and Research; Nuclear proliferation; Nuclear waste disposal; USSR.

[207] Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: CIS Folder #3 [1] [OA/ID CF01343-009].
Major subjects: Nuclear proliferation; Russian Federation; Commonwealth of Independent States.

[208] Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: CIS Folder #3 [2] [OA/ID CF01343-010].
Major subjects: Arms control; Nuclear proliferation; Commonwealth of Independent States; Arms transfers; Nuclear safety; Lithuania.

[209] Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: CIS Folder #3 [3] [OA/ID CF01343-011].
Major subjects: Nuclear proliferation; Russian Federation; Trade; USSR; Arms control; Commonwealth of Independent States.

[210] Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: CIS Folder #4 [1] [OA/ID CF01343-012].
Major subjects: Arms control; Treaties and agreements; Russian Federation.

Major subjects: Commonwealth of Independent States; Economy; Defense conversion; Arms control; Nuclear proliferation; Russian Federation; Treaties and agreements; International
Science and Technology Center; Science and technology; Nuclear waste disposal; Nuclear storage.

[212] Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: CIS Folder #4 [3] [OA/ID CF01343-014].
Major subjects: Disarmament; Arms control; Science and technology; International Science and Technology Center; Defense conversion; Russian Federation; Nuclear proliferation; Commonwealth of Independent States.

[213] Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: CIS Folder #4 [4] [OA/ID CF01343-015].
Major subjects: Science and technology; International Science and Technology Center; Nuclear proliferation; Defense conversion; Russian Federation; Commonwealth of Independent States; Trade; Pharmaceutical industry, U.S.

[214] Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: FSU (Former Soviet Union) [OA/ID CF01345-004].
Major subjects: Arms control; Russian Federation; Commonwealth of Independent States; Trade.

[215] Daniel B. Poneman Files—Subject Files: Russia [OA/ID CF01350-010].
Major subjects: Arms control; Nuclear proliferation; Russian Federation; Ukraine; Iran; Military sales, U.S.; Saudi Arabia.

Major subjects: Middle East; Peace efforts; Iraq; Nuclear reactors; Israel; Press/media; Isolationism, U.S.; Brazil; Argentina; Veterans, U.S.; H.R. 1436; Merchant marine; Kozak, Daniel; Ukraine; Culture/arts.

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White House Staff and Office Files cont.

National Security Council cont.

Major subjects: Haiti; Refugees; Press/media; China, People's Republic of; Peace efforts; Iraq; Terrorism; Civil conflicts; Russian Federation; Commonwealth of Independent States; Politics, international; Georgia, Republic of; Middle East; Newly Independent States (NIS).
Major subjects: Haiti; Refugees; Nuclear weapons; Korea, South; Civil conflicts; Peace efforts; USSR; Terrorism; Korea, North; Middle East; Yugoslavia; South Africa; Newly Independent States (NIS); Security issues; Iraq; Nuclear proliferation; Israel; Palestinians.

Major subjects: Haiti; Refugees; USSR; Yugoslavia; Peace efforts; Middle East; Israel; Palestinians; Iraq; Nuclear proliferation; Korea, North; Nuclear weapons; Korea, South; Security issues; Refugees; Civil conflicts; Unrest, international; Vietnam; Refugees; South Africa.

Major subjects: Haiti; Refugees; Vietnam; Kuwait; Indonesia; Yugoslavia; USSR; Nuclear proliferation; Iraq; Security issues; Israel; Palestinians; Civil conflicts; Liberia; Terrorism; Bloch, Felix.

Major subjects: Middle East; Haiti; Peace efforts; Refugees; Yugoslavia; Iran; Security issues; Africa; Terrorism; Travel advisories; Togo; Civil conflicts; Ukraine; Newly Independent States (NIS); USSR.

Major subjects: Boucher, Richard; South Africa; Haiti; Refugees; Lebanon; Libya; China, People's Republic of; Europe, eastern; Newly Independent States (NIS); Middle East; Peace efforts; USSR; Indonesia; Yugoslavia; Terrorism; Nuclear weapons; Korea, North; Korea, South; Peace efforts; Iraq; Lebanon; Syria; Israel; Palestinians.

[223] Roman Popadiuk Files—Subject Files: Soviet Union 1991 [OA/ID CF00703-029].

[224] Nicholas Rostow Files—Subject Files: USSR (Baltics) [OA/ID CF01328-025].

[225] Nicholas Rostow Files—Subject Files: USSR (Commonwealth) [OA/ID CF01328-026].
Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail; Russian Federation; Commonwealth of Independent States.
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National Security Council cont.
  Major subjects: USSR; Arms control; Group of Six (G-6); Nuclear proliferation; Morseyeve, Mikhail Alekseyevich.


Public Liaison

  Major subjects: Russian Federation; Commonwealth of Independent States.

  Major subjects: Commonwealth of Independent States; Economy; Commonwealth of Independent States.

[233] Jeff Vogt Files: Aid to the CIS [OA/ID 07144-023].
  Major subjects: Freedom Support Act of 1992; Russian Federation; Economy; Economic reforms; Commonwealth of Independent States; Economic reforms; Trade; Regulatory reform, U.S.
Records on the Malta Conference: December 1989

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White House Office of Records Management: Subject Files

[234] CO 001-04 Countries: Communist Bloc (092353).
      Major subject: Ukraine.

[235] CO 001-04-Countries: Communist Bloc (093647).
      Major subject: Estonia.

[236] CO 100 Countries: Malta, Republic of (097064-313552).
      Major subject: Malta, Republic of.

[237] CO 100 Countries: Malta, Republic of (158929-313552).
      Major subject: Malta, Republic of.

[238] CO 165 Countries: Russia (092940).
      Major subject: Arms control.

[239] CO 165 Countries: Russia (097594).
      Major subject: USSR.

[240] CO 165 Countries: Russia (106529).
      Major subjects: Estonia; Latvia; Lithuania.

[241] CO 165 Countries: Russia (111777).
      Major subject: Public opinion.


[244] FO 006-03 Foreign Affairs: Malta Summit (U.S.-USSR) 12/2/89-12/3/89 (09317555-094359).
      Major subjects: NATO; Bush, George H. W. — trips.
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Gorbachev, Mikhail; USSR-U.S. relations; El Salvador; Civil conflicts; Ukraine; Europe, eastern; Lithuania; Estonia; Latvia; Belarus; Deportations; World War II; Exiles, Cuban; USSR.

Major subjects: USSR; Afghanistan; Lithuania; Estonia; Armenians, ethnic; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Refuseniks, Soviet; USSR; Latvia; Jews, Soviet; Public opinion; Arms control.

Major subjects: Public opinion; Jews, Soviet; Gorbachev, Mikhail; El Salvador; Civil conflicts; USSR; Refugees; Trade; Ukraine; Senate opinion.

Major subjects: Senate opinion; Public opinion; Trade; Economic reforms; USSR; Arms control; Gorbachev, Mikhail.

Major subjects: USSR; Afghanistan; Public opinion; Senate opinion; Gorbachev, Mikhail.

Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail.

Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail.

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White House Office of Records Management: Subject Files cont.

Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail; Arms control; Trade.
[253] FO 009 Foreign Affairs: Treaties (106526).
Major subjects: Latvia; Estonia; Lithuania.

[254] GI 002 Gifts: To the President (118195).

Major subjects: Latvia; Estonia; Lithuania.

Major subjects: Gorbachev, Mikhail; Public opinion.

Major subjects: Middle East; Peace efforts; Gorbachev, Mikhail.

Major subject: USSR.


Major subject: Cyprus.

Major subject: Press/media.


[264] SP 629 Speeches: USS Forestall, Malta 12/1/89 (093174-09694655).
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Bush, George H. W.

Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Bush, George H. W.; Public opinion.

Major subjects: Public opinion; World War II.

   Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; NATO; Economic relations; USSR; Arms control.

[269] TR 046-01 Trips: Malta 12/1-3/89 (106895 [2]).

   Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Bush, George H. W.

   Major subjects: New Hampshire; Economy; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Malta, Republic of.


   Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Belgium.

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[274] TR O46-02 Trips: Belgium, Brussels 12/3-4/89 (106804-167052)
   Major subjects: Belgium; Bush, George H. W. — trips.


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Advance Office
   Major subject: Bush, George H. W. — trips.

   Major subjects: Bush, George H. W.; Press/media; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Press/media; NATO.

   Major subject: Bush, George H. W. — trips.

[279] Jay Parmer Files: Malta - Summit at Sea 11/30/89-12/3/89 [1] [OA/ID 04428-003].

[281] Jay Parmer Files: Malta - Summit at Sea 11/30/89-12/3/89 [3] [OA/ID 04428-005].


Major subjects: Belgium; Bush, George H. W. — trips.

Major subjects: Belgium; Bush, George H. W. — trips.

Major subjects: Belgium; Bush, George H. W. — trips.

Major subjects: Belgium; Bush, George H. W. — trips.

Cabinet Affairs
[287] Thomas Cooper Evans Files: Malta Fact Sheet/PC's [OA/ID 03893-032].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Economic relations; USSR; Arms control; Latin America; Belgium; Bush, George H. W. — trips; NATO; Press/media.

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White House Staff and Office Files cont.

Correspondence Office
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; NATO.
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Belgium; Bush, George H. W. — trips.

Major subject: Bush, George H. W. — trips.

Major subject: Bush, George H. W. — trips.


[293] Public Mail files—Malta: P-47 Malta [Letters Received Concerning Malta] [1] [OA/ID 01923-001].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Public opinion.

[294] Public Mail files—Malta: P-47 Malta [Letters Received Concerning Malta] [2] [OA/ID 01923-002].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Public opinion.

[295] Public Mail files—Malta: P-47 Malta [Letters Received Concerning Malta] [3] [OA/ID 01923-003].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Public opinion.

Counsels Office

Domestic Policy Council
[297] DPC Files: Environment (File F)—Malta Conference [OA/ID 04804-010].
Major subjects: Environmental protection; Europe.

Economic Advisors
[298] Michael Boskin Files—Subject Files: Subject Files: Malta Summit [OA/ID 08073-001].
Major subjects: USSR, economy; Bush, George H. W. — trips.

Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; USSR, economy; Environmental protection.

First Lady’s Office of Scheduling
Major subjects: Belgium; Bush, George H. W. — trips.
Legislative Affairs
[301] East Wing Files: Malta Briefing—11/21/89 2:15 [OA/ID 08434-156].

Management and Administration
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Belgium.

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National Security Council
[303] Richard A. Davis Files—Subject Files: Malta Summit [OA/ID CF01586-007].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; USSR, economy; Arms control; Press/media.


[305] Robert L. Hutchings Files—Country Files: Malta Summit [OA/ID CF01410-004].

[306] Arnold Kanler Files—Subject Files: Malta Summit—December 89 [OA/ID CF00769-005].

[307] Arnold Kanler Files—Subject Files: Malta Followup - December 89 [OA/ID CF00769-006].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; NATO.

[308] Arnold Kanler Files—Subject Files: Summit (Malta) - November 1989 [1] [OA/ID CF00770-018].
Major subjects: Arms control.


[310] Arnold Kanler Files—Subject Files: Summit (Malta) - November 1989 [3] [OA/ID CF00770-020].
Major subjects: Arms control; Chemical weapons.
[311] Arnold Kanler Files—Subject Files: Summit (Malta) - November 1989 [4] [OA/ID CF00770-021].
Major subjects: United Nations; Arms control; Chemical weapons; Europe; NATO.

[312] Arnold Kanler Files—Subject Files: Summit (Malta) - November 1989 [5] [OA/ID CF00770-022].
Major subjects: Arms control; Treaties and agreements; Security agreements; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Press/media.

[313] Arnold Kanler Files—Subject Files: Summit (Malta) - November 1989 [6] [OA/ID CF00770-023].
Major subjects: Europe; Armed forces, U.S.

[314] Susan Koch Files—Subject Files: Malta [1] [OA/ID CF01337-030].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; NATO; Bush, George H. W.

[315] Susan Koch Files—Subject Files: Malta [2] [OA/ID CF01337-031].

[316] Susan Koch Files—Subject Files: Malta [3] [OA/ID CF01337-032].

[317] Susan Koch Files—Subject Files: Malta [4] [OA/ID CF01337-033].

[318] Virginia Lampley Files—Subject Files: Malta Meeting [December 2-3, 1989] [OA/ID CF00706-019].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Press/media; Arms control; USSR, economy; NATO.

[319] Roman Popadiuk Files—Subject Files: Malta [1] [OA/ID CF00703-019].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Bush, George H. W.

[320] Roman Popadiuk Files—Subject Files: Malta [2] [OA/ID CF00703-020].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Perestroika; Economic relations; USSR; Politics, USSR; German reunification issue; Europe, eastern; NATO; Warsaw Pact; Latin America; Afghanistan; Middle East; Peace efforts; Arms control; Human rights.

Major subjects: Trade; USSR; Germany, Federal Republic of.
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National Security Council cont.

Major subjects: North Atlantic Council; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Bush, George H. W.


[325] Condoleezza Rice Files—Soviet Union/USSR Subject Files: Summit at Malta December 1989: Malta Memcons [1] [OA/ID CF00718-006].

[326] Condoleezza Rice Files—Soviet Union/USSR Subject Files: Summit at Malta December 1989: Malta Memcons [2] [OA/ID CF00718-007].

Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Press/media; Philippines; Soviet coup d’état attempt (August 19-21 1991); Defense industry, U.S.; USSR; Armed forces, U.S.; Nunn, Sam; Press/media.


[330] William Tobey Files—Subject Files: Ministerial (Malta) [OA/ID CF01446-010].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W.; Arms control; Nuclear proliferation.
[331] Earl Wayne Files—Subject Files: Malta [OA/ID CF01099-009].  
Major subjects: Security cooperation; Malta, Republic of; Belgium; Bush, George H. W. — trips.

Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Belgium; NATO; USSR; Europe, eastern; Europe.

Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Belgium.

[334] Heather Wilson Files—Subject Files: Malta [OA/ID CF00292-002].  
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; NATO; Europe; Press/media; Bush, George H. W.


Major subjects: Germany, Federal Republic of; Kohl, Helmut.

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White House Staff and Office Files cont.

National Security Council cont.
Major subjects: Germany, Federal Republic of; Kohl, Helmut; Berlin wall.


Policy Development
Press Office

[340] Marlin Fitzwater—Subject Files—Alphabetical Files: Malta Summit [12/1-12/3/89] [OA6547].

[341] Marlin Fitzwater—Subject Files—Alphabetical Files: Malta Meeting [12/1-12/3/89] [OA 7936].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Berlin wall.

[342] Sean Walsh Files—Presidential overseas Travel notebooks: The Mediterranean Meetings of President Bush and Gorbachev Dec. 2-3, 1989 [on 7938] [1].
Major subjects: Bush, George H. W. — trips; Malta, Republic of; Navy, U.S.; USSR.

Major subjects: Bush, George H. W.; Arms control; Perestroika; Baker, James III; USSR; Europe; Armed forces, U.S.; Armed forces, USSR; Cultural/educational exchange; Trade.

Major subjects: Arms control; Bush, George H. W.; NATO; Europe; Armed forces, U.S.; Nuclear proliferation; Chemical weapons; Environmental protection; Europe, eastern; Poland; Belgium.

Public Liaison

[345] Bobbie Kilberg Files—Departure Statement—Malta 11/30/89 [OA/ID 07451-001].

Social Office

[346] Cathy Fenton Files—Malta Summit 12/1 Small Dinner and 12/2 Larger Dinner on USS, Belknap/and 12/3 Dinner NATO Leaders Brussels 1989 [OA/ID 07105-028].

Speechwriting Office

[348] Speech File Drafts Files—Chronological Files: Departure for Malta and Brussels 11/30/89 [OA 3546].

[349] Speech File Drafts Files—Chronological Files: Address to Troops Aboard U.S.S. Forrestal 12/1/89 [OA 3540].
*Major subjects:* Bush, George H. W.; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Carter, Jimmy; Eisenhower, Dwight D.

*Major subjects:* NATO; Europe; Bush, George H. W.; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Belgium.

[351] Speech File Drafts Files—Chronological Files: Address Aboard the Gorky 12/31/89 [OA 3540].

*Major subjects:* Bush, George H. W. — trips; Bush, George H. W.

[353] Speech File Backup Files—Chronological Files: U.S.S. Forrestal - Malta 12/189 [OA 6342] [1].
*Major subjects:* Bush, George H. W.; Bush, George H. W. — trips; Military history, U.S.


[356] Curt Smith Files—Chronological Files: USS Forrestal, Malta, 12/1/89 [OA8130].
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