

*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 3: Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Reunification of Germany**



**Primary Source Media**





# **Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Reunification of Germany**

Guide Compiled by  
Daniel Piper

**Primary Source Media**



## Primary Source Media



### **George H. W. Bush and Foreign Affairs 1989-1993 Part 3: Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Reunification of Germany**

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ISBN: 978-1-57803-423-X

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Cover photograph: Berliners celebrate the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989. Photograph courtesy of Bundesarchiv.

**Printed in the United States of America**

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## SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

When East Germany opened its borders and Germans tore down the Berlin Wall separating East and West Berlin in early November 1989, it marked a symbolic end to Communist rule in Eastern Europe. In the minds of many, the Cold War was over. Bush offered a muted response at a press conference on November 9. In retrospect, many people recognized that by refusing to gloat or declare victory over the Soviet Union, Bush probably helped avoid a backlash by hardliners in Eastern Europe. This collection provides an in-depth analysis of the events leading up to the fall of the Berlin Wall and its implications for U.S.-German relations.

### ***1999-0393-F: Records of Memcons and Telcons between President Bush and Helmut Kohl concerning the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Reunification of Germany***

This collection contains correspondence and telephone conversations between President Bush and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl concerning the fall of the Berlin wall and the reunification of Germany. Most of the material responsive to this FOIA consists of Memoranda of Telephone Conversations between the President and Chancellor Kohl which took place between March 1989 and July 1990.

The White House Office of Records Management (WHORM) Subject File categories contain correspondence, memoranda of conversations, and material related to the various forms of correspondence between President George H. W. Bush and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany.

The Staff and Office Files contain correspondence, memoranda of conversations (memcons), and memoranda of telephone conversations (telcons) between President George H. W. Bush and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany.

### ***FOIA 2001-1166-F: Records on the Fall of the Berlin Wall and German Unification***

This collection contains material relating to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the unification of West and East Germany on October 3, 1990, and the pre-unification negotiations between the U.S., both Germanies, France, Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R., otherwise known as “Two Plus Four (2+4)” or “Six Power Conference”. There were also meetings between West Germany, France, Great Britain, and the U.S. that were termed “One Plus Three (1+3).”

The White House Office of Records Management (WHORM) Alphabetical Files contain letters from the general public concerning U.S. policy toward German reunification.

The WHORM Subject File categories contain correspondence, memoranda, press releases, and reports from the general public, Congress, and the Bush administration. Most of the correspondence conveys constituent opinions about the unification of Germany, the participation of Poland in the negotiations, and the Baltic States’ bid for independence from the Soviet Union. There are also invitations to celebration ceremonies and presentations of gifts, letters of appreciation for President Bush’s role in unification, and copies of the Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany that the president submitted to the Senate, including transmittal letters from the president and the secretary of state.

The Staff and Office Files contain agendas, briefing papers, cables, cover sheets, forms, invitations, letters, memoranda, messages, newsletters, newspaper articles, notes, press releases, proclamations, reports, speeches, statements, talking points, treaties, and worksheets. The material can be divided into three main categories: the “Two Plus Four” and “One Plus Three” negotiations, including analysis of obstacles to the process and the procession of events in the unification of Germany; meetings and conversations between President Bush, administration officials, and representatives of the German (both East and West), Soviet, and Polish government officials, including Chancellor Helmut Kohl; and administrative arrangements for events and visits by foreign officials. Considerable attention was paid to the different options available to United States diplomacy and the likelihood of any one scenario being played out. There were also briefing papers prepared for officials involved in Ministerial meetings. Other material concerns administrative and logistical arrangements for visits by foreign dignitaries and trips to locations both domestic and foreign, as well as drafts of speeches to be given by President Bush.



## **SOURCE & EDITORIAL NOTE**

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

1999-0393-F: Records on Memcons and Telcons between President Bush and Helmut Kohl concerning the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Reunification of Germany

2001-1166-F: Records on the Fall of the Berlin Wall and German Unification

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 is a listing of the folders comprising the microfilm publication entitled *George H. W. Bush and Foreign Affairs 1989-1993, Part 3: Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Reunification of Germany*. The Reel Index lists the folder number, folder title, as well as a listing of the major subjects for each folder.

### **Records of Memcons and Telcons between President Bush and Helmut Kohl concerning the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Reunification of Germany**

#### **REEL 1**

*Folder #*

#### *White House Office of Records Management*

*Subject Files*

- [1] **CO 054 Scanned: Case Number 162687.**
- [2] **CO 054-02 Scanned: Case Number 091718.**  
*Major subjects:* Foreign aid, U.S.; Poland; Hungary.
- [3] **FG001-08 Scanned: 183827.**
- [4] **IT Confidential File: Case Number 132095.**  
*Major subjects:* Berlin; European Bank for Reconstruction.

#### *White House Staff and Office Files*

*National Security Council*

**Presidential Memcon Files**

- [5] **Presidential Memcon Files [Memorandum of Conversations (Memcons)—June 1989-December 1989] December 1989 [OA/ID CF01729-012].**  
*Major subjects:* Germany, Democratic Republic of; Foreign aid, U.S.; Kohl, Helmut; Bush, George H. W.
- [6] **Presidential Telcon Files [Memorandum of Telephone Conversations (Telcons)—January 1989-July 1989] June 1989 [OA/ID CF01731-006].**  
*Major subjects:* Kohl, Helmut; Bush, George H. W.
- [7] **Presidential Telcon Files [Memorandum of Telephone Conversations (Telcons)—August 1989-December 1989] October 1989 [OA/ID CF01731-010].**  
*Major subjects:* Kohl, Helmut; Bush, George H. W.; Hungary; Poland; Germany, Democratic Republic of.

- [8] **Presidential Telcon Files [Memorandum of Telephone Conversations (Telcons)—August 1989-December 1989] November 1989 [OA/ID CF01731-011].**  
*Major subjects:* Kohl, Helmut; Bush, George H. W.; Poland; Germany, Democratic Republic of; Political reforms; Germany, Federal Republic of.
- [9] **Presidential Telcon Files [Memorandum of Telephone Conversations (Telcons)—January 1990-February 1990] February 1990 [OA/ID C01731-014].**  
*Major subjects:* Kohl, Helmut; Bush, George H. W.
- [10] **Presidential Telcon Files [Memorandum of Telephone Conversations (Telcons)—January 1990-July 1990] March 1990 [OA/ID CF01731-015].**  
*Major subjects:* Kohl, Helmut; Bush, George H. W.; Poland; NATO.
- [11] **Presidential Telcon Files [Memorandum of Telephone Conversations (Telcons)—January 1990-July 1990] May 1990 [OA/ID CF01731-017].**  
*Major subjects:* Kohl, Helmut; Bush, George H. W.
- [12] **Presidential Telcon Files [Memorandum of Telephone Conversations (Telcons)—January 1990-July 1990] July 1990 [OA/ID CF01731-019].**  
*Major subjects:* Kohl, Helmut; Bush, George H. W.

## **Records on the Fall of the Berlin Wall and German Unification**

### *White House Office of Records Management*

#### *Alphabetical Files*

- [13] **Hartch, Thomas F.; WHORM Category Code: AF; Document Number/Range: 088396.**
- [14] **Hempel, Andrew; WHORM Category Code: AF.**  
*Major subject:* Poland.
- [15] **James, Earl; WHORM Category Name: AF; Document Number/Range: 100645.**  
*Major subjects:* Public opinion; German reunification.
- [16] **Romanluh, Steven; WHORM Category Name: AF; Document Number/Range: 147865.**  
*Major subjects:* Public opinion; Press/media; UK; German reunification; Thatcher, Margaret; German reunification.

#### *Subject Files*

- [17] **Confidential File CO028 Document Number/Range: 132694 Canada.**
- [18] **General Scanned CO054 Document Number/Range: 095182CU Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**

- [19] **General Scanned CO054 Document Number/Range: 118940 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**  
*Major subjects:* Poland; Public opinion; German reunification.
- [20] **General Scanned CO054 Document Number/Range: 122046 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**  
*Major subject:* Public opinion.
- [21] **General Scanned Category Code: CO054 Document Number/Range: 178066CU Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**  
*Major subjects:* Treaties/agreements; Two Plus Four Treaty; Poland; Military forces, USSR; Military forces, NATO; Ireland, Republic of; UK; USSR; Germany, Democratic Republic of.
- [22] **General Scanned CO054 Document Number/Range: 181683CU Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**  
*Major subject:* German American Joint Action Committee.
- [23] **General Scanned CO054 Document Number/Range: 182986 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**  
*Major subject:* Public opinion.
- [24] **General Scanned CO054 Document Number/Range: 183367SS Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**  
*Major subjects:* Treaties/agreements; Arms Control; German reunification; Military forces, USSR; Military forces, NATO; Ireland, Republic of; UK; USSR; Germany, Democratic Republic of.
- [25] **General Scanned CO054 Document Number/Range: 186225 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**
- [26] **General Scanned CO054 Document Number/Range: 190165 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**  
*Major subject:* Public opinion.
- [27] **General Scanned CO054 Document Number/Range: 203631 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**
- [28] **General Scanned CO054 Document Number/Range: 268979 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**  
*Major subject:* Public opinion.
- [29] **CO054 Document Number/Range: 327285 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**
- [30] **CO054 Document Number/Range: 339436 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**  
*Major subject:* Public opinion.
- [31] **Confidential File CO054 Document Number/Range: 176056 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**

- [32] **Confidential File CO054 Document Number/Range: 176748 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**
- [33] **Confidential File CO054 Document Number/Range: 179282 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**
- [34] **Confidential File CO054 Document Number/Range: 182402 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**
- [35] **Confidential File CO054 Document Number/Range: 183270 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**
- [36] **Confidential File CO054 Document Number/Range: 197284 Germany (reunited as of 10/3/90).**
- [37] **CO054-01 Document Number/Range: 064478 Germany, Democratic Republic of (East).**
- [38] **CO054-01 Document Number/Range: 165114 Germany, Democratic Republic of (East).**  
*Major subject: NATO.*
- [39] **CO054-01 Document Number/Range: 178343 Germany, Democratic Republic of (East).**  
*Major subjects: Estonia; Latvia; Lithuania; Two Plus Four Treaty; Treaties/agreements.*
- [40] **Confidential File**
- [41] **Confidential File CO054-01 Document Number/Range: 150261 Germany, Democratic Republic of (East).**
- [42] **Confidential File CO054-01 Document Number/Range: 158205 Germany, Democratic Republic of (East).**
- [43] **Confidential File CO054-02 Document Number/Range: 129476SS Germany, Federal Republic of (West).**
- [44] **Confidential File CO054-02 Document Number/Range: 144894SS Germany, Federal Republic of (West).**
- [45] **CO126 Document Number/Range: 116457 Poland, Polish People's Republic.**  
*Major subject: Poland.*
- [46] **CO126 Document Number/Range: 117222 Poland, Polish People's Republic.**  
*Major subject: Poland.*
- [47] **CO126 Document Number/Range: 119036 Poland, Polish People's Republic.**  
*Major subject: Poland.*
- [48] **CO126 Document Number/Range: 119068 Poland, Polish People's Republic.**  
*Major subject: Poland.*

- [49] **CO126 Document Number/Range: 122135 Poland, Polish People's Republic.**  
*Major subject:* Poland.
- [50] **CO126 Document Number/Range: 123802 Poland, Polish People's Republic.**  
*Major subjects:* Poland; German reunification; H. R. 273.
- [51] **CO126 Document Number/Range: 143226 Poland, Polish People's Republic.**  
*Major subjects:* Poland; Polish opinion.
- [52] **Confidential File FG001-08 Document Number/Range: 163427 Presidential telephone calls.**
- [53] **FG999 Document Number/Range: 116725 Proposed Federal Agencies.**  
*Major subjects:* Monetary policy; Germany, Democratic Republic of; Germany, Federal Republic of.
- [54] **Confidential File FO0006-07 Document Number/Range: 148245 NATO Summit, London, England 7/4-6/90.**
- [55] **G1002 Document Number/Range: 190186 Gifts to the President.**
- [56] **Confidential File IT067 Document Number/Range: 195406 North Atlantic Treaty Organization.**
- [57] **ME002 Document Number/Range: 057123 Messages (Sent to Groups/Organizations).**  
*Major subject:* German Society of Pennsylvania.
- [58] **ME002 Document Number/Range: 185456 Messages (Sent to Groups/Organizations).**  
*Major subjects:* Berlin wall; Public relations.
- [59] **Confidential File ME002-03 Document Number/Range: 189540 Messages Sent to Government Groups (Foreign and Domestic).**  
*Major subject:* Von Weizsacker, Richard.
- [60] **Confidential File ND001-01 Document Number/Range: 141320 Non-Military Use of Aircraft.**
- [61] **Confidential File ND001-01 Document Number/Range: 195376 Non-Military Use of Aircraft.**
- [62] **PP005-01 Document Number/Range: 188656 First Lady.**  
*Major subject:* Bush, Barbara.
- [63] **Confidential File PP010-04 Document Number/Range: 195781 Holiday, Message Received by the President.**  
*Major subjects:* German-American day; Von Weizsacker, Richard.
- [64] **Confidential File PR010 Document Number/Range: 186616 Motion Pictures-Film Strips-Recordings.**

[65] **PR013-09 Document Number/Range: 236544 President's Name-Likeness.**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.

[66] **PR015 Document Number/Range: 179399 Publicity.**  
*Major subjects:* India; German reunification.

### *White House Staff and Office Files*

#### *Counsels Office*

[67] **C. Boyden Gray Files—Confidential Alphabetical Subject File Germany—Reunification [OA/ID CFO1824-016].**  
*Major subjects:* Military agreements; USSR; Treaties/agreements.

#### *First Lady's Scheduling Office*

##### **Ann Brock Files—Event File**

[68] **Chancellor and Mrs. Helmut Kohl—Camp Marvin—2/24/90-2/25/90 [OA/ID 01661-034].**

#### *National Security Council*

##### **Robert D. Blackwell Files—Subject Files.**

[69] **[German Reunification 11/89-6/90] [1] [OA/ID CF00182-020]**  
*Major subjects:* NATO; Military forces, USSR; Military forces, NATO; USSR; Germany, Democratic Republic of; Germany, Federal Republic of; Bush, George H. W.

[70] **[German Reunification 11/89-6/90] [2] [OA/ID CF00182-021].**  
*Major subjects:* Travel; Treaties/agreements; Four Power Agreement on Berlin; Berlin; Germany, Federal Republic of; France; Berlin; Sovereignty issues; UK; Germany, Democratic Republic of; Reparations; Germans, ethnic; Poland; Czechoslovakia; Hungary; Population transfers.

[71] **[German Reunification 11/89-6/90] [3] [OA/ID CF00182-022].**

[72] **[Memcon: POTUS and Helmut Kohl 2/24-25/90] [OA/ID CF00182-006].**

## **REEL 2**

*Folder #*

### *White House Staff and Office Files cont.*

#### *National Security Council cont.*

##### **Robert D. Blackwell Files—Subject Files cont.**

[73] **[Telcon: POTUS and Mikhail Gorbachev 2/28/90] [OA/ID CF00182-007].**



[74] [Telcon: POTUS and Margaret Thatcher 2/24/90] [OA/ID CF00182-008].

**European and Soviet Directorate—Subject Files**

[75] Secretary [James] Baker's Trip to Berlin, [Germany]—June 20-23, 1990 [re: German Reunification] [OA/ID CFO1010-005].  
*Major subject:* Berlin.

**Arnold Kanter Files—Subject Files**

[76] [Helmut] Kohl Visit-February 1990 [OA/ID CF00774-015].  
*Major subjects:* Gorbachev, Mikhail; German reunification; USSR; Pravda.

[77] Germany—March 1990 [OA/ID CF00775-019].

**John A. Gordon Files—Subject Files**

[78] [Helmut] Kohl—July 1990 [OA/ID CF01646-019].  
*Major subjects:* Gorbachev, Mikhail; Kohl, Helmut; USSR; Four Powers; Germany, Democratic Republic of; Germany, Federal Republic of; Military forces, NATO; NATO; German reunification; Military agreements; German reunification.

**Robert L. Hutchings Files—Country Files**

- [79] Berlin—Cables [OA/ID CF01413-001].
- [80] Berlin—Correspondence [OA/ID CF01413-002].  
*Major subjects:* Bush, George H. W.; Berlin wall.
- [81] Berlin—Intelligence Reports [OA/ID CF01413-003].
- [82] Berlin—Meetings/visits [OA/ID CF01413-004].
- [83] Berlin—Memcons/Telcons [OA/ID CF01413-005].
- [84] Berlin—Proclamations/Messages [OA/ID CF01413-006].
- [85] German Democratic Republic (GDR)—cables [OA/ID CF01413-007].
- [86] German Democratic Republic (GDR)—Correspondence [OA/ID CF01413-008].  
*Major subjects:* Trade; Germany, Democratic Republic of.
- [87] German Democratic Republic (GDR)—Intelligence Reports [OA/ID CF01413-009].
- [88] German Democratic Republic (GDR)—Meetings and Visits [OA/ID CF01413-010].
- [89] German Democratic Republic (GDR)—Proclamations/Statements/Messages [OA/ID CF01413-011].  
*Major subjects:* Trade; Germany, Democratic Republic of.
- [90] German Democratic Republic (GDR)—Cables [OA/ID CF01413-012].
- [91] German Democratic Republic (GDR)—Correspondence [1] [OA/ID CF01413-013].

- [92] **German Democratic Republic (GDR)—Correspondence [2] [OA/ID CF01413-014].**  
*Major subjects:* Kohl, Helmut; Bush, George H. W.; Poland; NATO; Two Plus Four Treaty; German reunification; Monetary Union.
- [93] **German Democratic Republic (GDR)—Correspondence [3] [OA/ID CF01413-015].**
- [94] **German Democratic Republic (GDR)—Correspondence [4] [OA/ID CF01413-016].**  
*Major subjects:* Economy; WWII remembrance; Arms Control; Congressional Study Group on Germany, U.S. (CSGG); Holocaust; Appeal of Conscience Foundation.
- [95] **German Democratic Republic (GDR)—General [4] [OA/ID CF01413-017].**  
*Major subjects:* Educational exchange; Germany, Federal Republic of.

## REEL 3

*Folder #*

### *White House Staff and Office Files cont.*

*National Security Council cont.*

**Robert L. Hutchings Country Files cont.**

- [96] **Germany, Federal Republic of—Intelligence Reports [OA/ID CF01413-018].**
- [97] **Germany, Federal Republic of—Memcons/Telcons [OA/ID CF01413-019].**  
*Major subjects:* Germany, Democratic Republic of; Immigration; Germany, Federal Republic of; Reparations; Poland; Kohl, Helmut; Bush, George H. W.; NATO; Germany, Federal Republic of; Hungary.
- [98] **Untitled Germany [1] [OA/ID CF01414-001].**
- [99] **Untitled Germany [2] [OA/ID CF01414-002].**  
*Major subjects:* German-American day; USSR; Germany, Democratic Republic of; Two Plus Four Treaty.
- [100] **German Reunification [1] [OA/ID CF01414-003].**  
*Major subjects:* German reunification; USSR; NATO; Warsaw Pact.
- [101] **German reunification [2] [OA/ID CF01414-004].**  
*Major subjects:* German reunification; USSR; Germany, Federal Republic of; Germany, Democratic Republic of.
- [102] **Germany Unification Negotiating Record [1] [OA/ID CF01414-005].**
- [103] **Germany Unification Negotiating Record [2] [OA/ID CF01414-006].**
- [104] **German Reunification—2+4 [OA/ID CF01414-007].**  
*Major subjects:* Two Plus Four Treaty; German reunification.

- [105] [Germany—Miscellaneous Papers on Reunification] [OA/ID CF01414-008].
- [106] [Germany—Preamble] [OA/ID CF01414-009].
- [107] [Germany] 2+4/1+3 [OA/ID CF01414-010].

**Susan Koch Files—Subject Files**

- [108] **German Unification**; [OA/ID CF01337-010].  
*Major subjects:* NATO; Security; Europe; Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

**Virginia Lampley Files—Subject Files**

- [109] **Bipartisan Congressional Leadership [Meeting]—2/21/90 9:30am [re: Drug Summit/Moscow/Ottowa]** [OA/ID CF00709-033].

**NSC APNA Files**

- [110] **Document Number: 8902647** [OA/ID CF00342].
- [111] **Document Number: 8905879** [OA/ID CF00346].
- [112] **Document Number: 8906080** [OA/ID CF00346].  
*Major subjects:* Bush, George H. W.; German reunification.
- [113] **Document Number: 8910468** [OA/ID CF00346].
- [114] **Document Number: 9001472** [OA/ID CF00800].
- [115] **Document Number: 9001595** [OA/ID CF00800].
- [116] **Document Number: 9001726** [OA/ID CF00800].
- [117] **Document Number: 9001769** [OA/ID CF00800].
- [118] **Document Number: 9001806** [OA/ID CF00800].
- [119] **Document Number: 9002132** [OA/ID CF00801].
- [120] **Document Number: 9002474** [OA/ID CF00801].
- [121] **Document Number: 9002665** [OA/ID CF00802].
- [122] **Document Number: 9002776** [OA/ID CF00802].
- [123] **Document Number: 9002885** [OA/ID CF00802].  
*Major subjects:* Europe; Security; Economy.
- [124] **Document Number: 9003611** [OA/ID CF00803].
- [125] **Document Number: 9003625** [OA/ID CF00803].

- [126] **Document Number: 9003720 [OA/ID CF00803].**
- [127] **Document Number: 9003760 [OA/ID CF00803].**
- [128] **Document Number: 9004300 [OA/ID CF00805].**
- [129] **Document Number: 9004393 [OA/ID CF00805].**
- [130] **Document Number: 9005305 [OA/ID CF00807].**
- [131] **Document Number: 9005863 [OA/ID CF00807].**
- [132] **Document Number: 9005925 [OA/ID CF00808].**  
*Major subject: NATO.*
- [133] **Document Number: 9006817 [OA/ID CF00809].**
- [134] **Document Number: 9006856 [OA/ID CF00809].**
- [135] **Document Number: 9006979 [OA/ID CF00809].**
- [136] **Document Number: 9007017 [OA/ID CF00810].**
- [137] **Document Number: 9007529 [OA/ID CF00811].**  
*Major subject: Bush, George H. W.*
- [138] **Document Number: 9007578 [OA/ID CF00811].**  
*Major subject: German reunification.*
- [139] **Document Number: 9007891 [OA/ID CF00811].**
- [140] **Document Number: 9008072 [OA/ID CF00812].**
- [141] **Document Number: 9008183 [OA/ID CF00812].**  
*Major subject: German reunification.*
- [142] **Document Number: 9008697 [OA/ID CF00813].**  
*Major subject: German reunification.*
- [143] **Document Number: 9008932 [OA/ID CF00813].**
- [144] **Document Number: 9101958 [OA/ID CF00819].**
- [145] **Document Number: 9103296 [OA/ID CF00821].**
- [146] **Document Number: 9103357 [OA/ID CF00822].**

### **NSC Chronological Files**

- [147] **Document Number: 9020535 [OA/ID CF01684].**  
*Major subjects:* Baker, James A.; Belgium; Poland.

### **NSC Numbered Files**

- [148] **Document Number: 8905969 [OA/ID 00682].**
- [149] **Document Number: 8908988 [OA/ID 00689].**
- [150] **Document Number: 9001870 [OA/ID 00697].**
- [151] **Document Number: 9002334 [OA/ID 00699].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.
- [152] **Document Number: 900288 [OA/ID 01933].**  
*Major subjects:* German reunification; Europe.

## **REEL 4**

*Folder #*

### ***White House Staff and Office Files cont.***

#### ***National Security Council cont.***

#### **NSC Numbered Files cont.**

- [153] **Document Number: 9003335 [OA/ID 01933].**
- [154] **Document Number: 9003762 [OA/ID 01934].**
- [155] **Document Number: 9004185 [OA/ID 01935].**
- [156] **Document Number: 9005075 [OA/ID 01937].**
- [157] **Document Number: 9005914 [OA/ID 01939].**
- [158] **Document Number: 9005925 [OA/ID 01939].**
- [159] **Document Number: 9006134 [OA/ID 01940].**  
*Major subjects:* German-Polish Society of the Federal Republic of Germany; Holocaust; Reparations; Poland.
- [160] **Document Number: 9007529 [OA/ID 01943].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.

#### **NSC PA Files**

- [161] **Document Number: 8909144 [OA/ID CF00902].**

- [162] **Document Number: 8909335 [OA/ID CF00902].**  
*Major subjects:* Kohl, Helmut; Bush, George H. W.
- [163] **Document Number: 9000922 [OA/ID CF00906].**
- [164] **Document Number: 9001551 [OA/ID CF00907].**
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- [170] **Document Number: 9002084 [OA/ID CF00908].**
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- [177] **Document Number: 9002854 [OA/ID CF00909].**
- [178] **Document Number: 9003801 [OA/ID CF00910].**
- [179] **Document Number: 9003968 [OA/ID CF00911].**  
*Major subjects:* Arms Control; USSR; Media/press.
- [180] **Document Number: 9004165 [OA/ID CF00911].**
- [181] **Document Number: 9004697 [OA/ID CF00912].**
- [182] **Document Number: 9004718 [OA/ID CF00912].**
- [183] **Document Number: 9005022 [OA/ID CF00912].**
- [184] **Document Number: 9005389 [OA/ID CF00913].**
- [185] **Document Number: 9005390 [OA/ID CF00913].**

- [186] **Document Number: 9005917 [OA/ID CF00915].**
- [187] **Document Number: 9006817 [OA/ID CF00916].**
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- [189] **Document Number: 9007237 [OA/ID CF00917].**
- [190] **Document Number: 9101306 [OA/ID CF00922].**
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- [192] **Document Number: 9002038 [OA/ID CF00925].**
- [193] **Document Number: 9002239 [OA/ID CF00925].**
- [194] **Document Number: 9002663 [OA/ID CF00925].**
- [195] **Document Number: 9003508 [OA/ID CF00925].**

**Condoleezza Rice Files—1989-1990 Subject Files**

- [196] **German Unification [OA/ID CF00716-002].**  
*Major subjects:* Hurd, Douglas; Military forces, NATO; Europe; German reunification; Security; NATO; Eastern Europe.
- [197] **[Notepad with Handwritten Notes]—Helsinki 9/9 and Two Plus Four [2+4] 9/10 [see notes, not all processed] [OA/ID CF00717-019].**
- [198] **2+4—Germany #1 [1] [OA/ID CF00721-008].**  
*Major subjects:* Arms Control; Europe; Security; Sovereignty issues; Germany, Federal Republic of; Germany, Democratic Republic of; German reunification; Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE); Military agreements; Treaties/agreements; NATO; Immigration.
- [199] **2+4—Germany #1 [2] [OA/ID CF00721-009].**  
*Major subjects:* Germany, Federal Republic of; Immigration; Germany, Democratic Republic of; Sovereignty issues; Kohl, Helmut; Bush, George H. W.; Europe; Security; USSR; Gorbachev, Mikhail; German reunification; Potsdam Conference; Treaties/agreements; Hungary; Treaties/agreements; Peace efforts; Treaty of Zgorzelec; Potsdam Conference; Poland.
- [200] **2+4—Germany #2 [1] [OA/ID CF00721-010].**  
*Major subjects:* Treaties/agreements; Potsdam Conference; Four Power Agreement on Berlin; Treaties/agreements.
- [201] **2+4—Germany #2 [2] [OA/ID CF00721-011].**  
*Major subjects:* Treaties/agreements; Four Power Agreement on Berlin.

[202] 2+4—Germany #3 [1] [OA/ID CF00721-012].

[203] 2+4—Germany #3 [2] [OA/ID CF00721-013].

*Major subjects:* USSR; Germany, Federal Republic of; Germany, Democratic Republic of; Sovereignty issues; Gorbachev, Mikhail; German reunification.

## REEL 5

*Folder #*

### *White House Staff and Office Files cont.*

#### *National Security Council—Defense Policy/Arms Control Directorate*

##### **Heather Wilson Files—CFE File**

[204] **CFE [Conventional Forces in Europe]—Berlin [OA/ID CF00275-009].**

*Major subjects:* Treaties/agreements; Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE); Germany, Federal Republic of; Germany, Democratic Republic of.

##### **Heather Wilson Files—Country File**

[205] **Germany—Unification [1] [OA/ID CF00273-005].**

*Major subjects:* NATO; Germany, Federal Republic of; Germany, Democratic Republic of; USSR; Two Plus Four Treaty; France; Treaties/agreements; Security; Europe; Shevardnadze, Eduard; German reunification; Germany, Democratic Republic of.

[206] **Germany—Unification [2] [OA/ID CF00273-006].**

*Major subjects:* German reunification; Military forces, NATO; Europe; Security; NATO; Two Plus Four Treaty; Treaties/agreements; Kohl, Helmut; USSR.

#### *National Security Council—European and Soviet Affairs Directorate*

##### **Philip D. Zelikow Files—Subject Files**

[207] **[File 436, Six Power Conference] [1] [OA/ID CF01354-004].**

*Major subjects:* NATO; Warsaw Pact; Germany, Democratic Republic of; Germany, Federal Republic of; USSR; German reunification; Military agreements; Security; Europe; Economy; Germany, Federal Republic of; Germany, Democratic Republic of; Bush, George H. W.; Kohl, Helmut; Two Plus Four Treaty; Treaties/agreements; Baker, James A.

[208] **[File 436, Six Power Conference] [2] [OA/ID CF01354-005].**

*Major subjects:* Europe; Security; Treaties/agreements; Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE); Arms Control; NATO.

[209] **[File 436, Six Power Conference] [3] [OA/ID CF01354-006].**

*Major subject:* USSR; Security; Europe.

[210] **November 1989 [German Reunification] [OA/ID CF01354-010].**

*Major subjects:* Kohl, Helmut; German reunification; Economy; Germany, Democratic Republic of; Political reforms; UK; Thatcher, Margaret.



- [211] **File 431, Allied Rights—SOFA [Status of Forces Agreement] Issues [OA/ID CF01469-006].**  
*Major subject:* Status of Forces Agreement.
- [212] **File 431, FRG [Federal Republic of Germany] Domestic Politics [OA/ID CF01469-007].**  
*Major subjects:* Persian Gulf War; Germany, Federal Republic of.
- [213] **File 433, FRG [Federal Republic of Germany] Foreign Policy [OA/ID CF01469-008].**  
*Major subject:* Germany, Federal Republic of.
- [214] **File 435, Berlin [OA/ID CF01469-009].**  
*Major subject:* Berlin.

*Press Office*

- [215] **Subject File; German Unification [OA 5298].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.

*Office of Public Affairs*

- [216] **Barrie Tron Files; Video: President George Bush's special message on German Unification [OA/ID 03102-017].**
- [217] **Barrie Tron Files; German Unification Tape; [OA/ID 05458-010].**  
*Major subjects:* Treaties/agreements; German reunification; Bush, George H. W.

*Public Liaison Office*

- [218] **Shiree Sanchez Files; German Unification—McGroarty/Dooley 9/24 [OA/ID 08237-025].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.

*White House Office of Records Management*

- [219] **Daily Presidential Briefing Papers; March 6-14, 1990: Wednesday, March 14, 1990; [OA/ID 20051-026].**  
*Major subjects:* Power industry, U.S.; Economy.

*Social Office*

- [220] **Cathy Fenton Files; 5/17/90—Working Luncheon Chancellor Kohl of Germany; [OA/ID 07108-004].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.
- [221] **Cathy Fenton Files; 6/8/90—Working Dinner Chancellor Kohl of FRG; [OA/ID 07108-025].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.

- [222] **Cathy Fenton Files; 6/11/90—Working Lunch P.M. of German Democratic Republic/L. De Maiziere [OA/ID 07108-028].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.
- [223] **Cathy Fenton Files; 10/3/90—Rose Garden Germany and German-American Day Ceremony [OA/ID 07109-004].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.
- [224] **Laurie Firestone Files; 5/17/90—Working Lunch with Chancellor Kohl (FRG) [OA/ID 04382-033].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.
- [225] **Laurie Firestone Files; 6/8/90—Dinner with Chancellor Kohl (Private Residence) [OA/ID 04382-048].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.
- [226] **Laurie Firestone Files; 5/11/90—Working Lunch with Prime Minister De Maiziere (German Democratic Republic) [OA/ID 04382-050].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.
- [227] **Laurie Firestone Files; 10/3/90—Ceremony to Celebrate German Reunification Day 11:00 a (RG) [OA/ID 04383-024].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.
- [228] **Judith Spangler Files; Private Dinner (Germany), Friday, 6/8/90 [OA/ID 08422-015].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.
- [229] **Office of Speechwriting—Snow; Subject File [German Unification].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.
- [230] **Office of Speechwriting; Speech File—Backup; German Reunification Message; 9/24/90 [OA 8313].**  
*Major subjects:* Bush, George H. W.; Germany, Federal Republic of; Von Weizsacker, Richard.
- [231] **Office of Speechwriting; Speech File—Drafts; Video Message on German Unification; 9/22/90 [OA 5377] [OH 5377].**  
*Major subject:* Bush, George H. W.

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