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AUGUST 19, 1971

TO: HENRY A. KISSINGER
FROM: AMBASSADOR RUSH

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1. THE BUREAUCRATS HAVE BEEN FOILED, AND AS YOU DOUBTLESS KNOW BY NOW FROM THE CABLES, WE HAVE COMPLETED AN AGREEMENT. IT CONTAINS VIRTUALLY EVERYTHING WE HOPED TO GET UNDER OUR MAXIMUM DEMANDS, AND THE MOMENTUM INSPIRED BY ABRASIMOV'S WANTING TO CONCLUDE THE AGREEMENT YESTERDAY RESULTED IN HIS MAKING CONCESSIONS WHICH ARE STILL HARD TO UNDERSTAND. I SHALL NOT GO INTO DETAILS, SINCE YOU WILL HAVE THE CABLES BY THE TIME THIS ARRIVES, BUT THE PROVISIONS ON UNIMPEDED ACCESS, VISITS BY WEST BERLINERS TO EAST BERLIN AND THE GDR, FEDERAL TIES, AND REPRESENTATION ABROAD, INCLUDING THE USE OF PASSPORTS IN RUSSIA, ARE ALL SOMETHING THAT WE HARDLY DARED HOPE FOR.
2. BAHR IS IN ECSTASY, AND AFTER BEING IN TOUCH WITH THE CHANCELLOR TOLD ME THAT THE CHANCELLOR WANTED TO GIVE ME ANY PRESENT I WOULD NAME. HE SHOULD BE GIVING THE PRESENTS TO YOU AND THE PRESIDENT.
3. SAUVAGARGUES AND JACKLING WERE IN SOMETHING OF A DAZE THROUGHOUT THE PROCEEDINGS, BUT ALL IN ALL ARE TO BE HIGHLY COMMENDED FOR THE COURAGE THEY SHOWED. THEY BOTH MADE VERY FINE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FINAL RESULT.
4. THE STATE DEPARTMENT AT LONG LAST SEEMED TO HAVE CAUGHT UP WITH THE GAME PLAN AND LAST EVENING WHILE WE WERE STILL NEGOTIATING I RECEIVED THE CABLE FROM THEM OF WHICH YOU RECEIVED A COPY, ASKING ME NOT TO CONCLUDE THE AGREEMENT. BUT IT WAS TOO LATE.
5. NEEDLESS TO SAY, I HAVE NOT CARRIED OUT THE FLOOD OF INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINING THE PET IDEAS IN THEIR MAXIMUM FORM OF THE VARIOUS BUREAUCRATS. THEY WILL DOUBTLESS TRY TO CHANGE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT, AND THIS WOULD BE, AS YOU KNOW, VERY BAD IN OUR RELATIONS WITH RUSSIANS AND OTHERWISE. IT MAY BE NECESSARY FOR YOU TO INTERVENE TO PREVENT THIS FROM HAPPENING. I AM SENDING TO THE DEPARTMENT CABLES JUSTIFYING THE FAILURE TO FOLLOW VARIOUS INSTRUCTIONS. THESE POINT OUT THAT THE ACTUAL DRAFTS OF AGREEMENT DRAWN UP BY THEM AT THE SENIOR LEVEL AND WHICH HAVE ALWAYS BEEN CONSIDERED TOO OPTIMISTIC, IN FACT HAVE BEEN EXCEEDED IN TERMS OF WHAT WE HAVE IN OUR PRESENT AGREEMENT. YOU WILL, OF COURSE, GET COPIES OF THESE CABLES, AND I HOPE THEY WILL BE VERY USEFUL TO YOU IN HANDLING THE SITUATION.
6. NOTHING HAS BEEN MORE CLEAR TO ME THAN THE FACT THAT IF THE PRESIDENT, WITH YOUR INVALUABLE HELP, HAD NOT INTERVENED, WE WOULD NEVER HAVE HAD A BERLIN AGREEMENT. ONCE THE RUSSIANS REALIZED THAT WE REALLY WERE SERIOUS, THEY CARRIED THROUGH ON EVERY UNDERSTANDING WE HAD, WHILE I HAD TO ADAPT TO THE CHANGES WHICH HAD TO COME ABOUT IN WORKING WITH THE BRITISH, FRENCH, AND GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE. ABRASIMOV ALL IN ALL DID A REALLY FIRST-CLASS JOB, EXCEPT THAT HE ALMOST GAVE THE GAME PLAN AWAY BY LOOKING TO ME FOR GUIDANCE TOO OFTEN.
7. I AM LOOKING FORWARD TO GIVING YOU, AND I HOPE THE PRESIDENT, THE FULL STORY AT THE FIRST OPPORTUNITY. PLEASE TELL THE PRESIDENT AGAIN HOW SOUND HIS APPROACH IS AND HOW GRATEFUL I AM FOR HIS ENTRUSTING ME WITH THIS MISSION. I CAN ONLY REPEAT THAT THE BEST THING THAT HAS HAPPENED TO OUR COUNTRY IS THE FACT THAT YOU AND HE ARE WORKING TOGETHER TO HELP OUR COUNTRY SO MAGNIFICENTLY.

WARM REGARDS.