

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL: 38-6

03 SEPTEMBER 1971
1840 L

INDICATE:

- COLLECT
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CONTROL: 1 8 1 0

US MISSION BERLIN

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ACTION: SecState WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 XNXX: AmEmbassy BONN PRIORITY
 INFO: AmEmbassy LONDON PRIORITY
 " PARIS "
 " MOSCOW "
 USMISSION NATO "

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 67230

By BKT/NC on 2 May 2013

BERLIN 1810

SUBJECT: Berlin Talks: 34th Ambassadorial Session,
September 3, 1971

1. The Berlin Quadripartite Agreement, a cliff-hanger to the last, was signed at 1303 hours local on September 3, 1971, in the main conference room of the ACA Building. Ambassador Rush received medical clearance to participate at 1000 hours. At 1030 hours the East Germans conceded on the word "Bindungen" and at 1100 hours on a compromise formula for "constituent part," thus resolving the last remaining questions on an agreed German translation.
2. Prior to the signing of the Quadripartite Agreement, which was carried live by radio and TV, a private ceremony was held in the ACA Building's small

DRAFTED BY:

M:CABorg:JDean:lwb

DRAFTING DATE

9/3/71

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APPROVED BY:

M:CABorg

CLEARANCES:

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conference room, at which time the related notes and agreed minutes were initialed. Ambassador Sauvagnargues, as chairman of the 34th ~~Amnsssd~~ Ambassadorial Session, opened the private ceremony by expressing his and his colleagues' regrets over Ambassador Rush's indisposition. After summarizing the purpose of the private ceremony, Ambassador Sauvagnargues made the following oral statement:

QUOTE: Concerning the authenticity of the French, English, and Russian texts of the Quadripartite Agreement, my colleagues and I proceed from the premise that all parts of the Russian language text of the Quadripartite Agreement are identical in meaning and substance with the French and English texts.

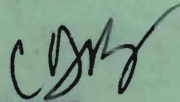
I will appreciate receiving confirmation of this point from Ambassador Abrasimov. UNQUOTE.

~~xxxx Ambassador Sauvagnargues said he would appreciate confirmation by Ambassador Abrasimov of the above.~~

3. Abrasimov replied that, as he had been informed by his colleagues, the text in the English and French languages ~~enifom~~ conformed in form and substance to the Russian language text. Abrasimov then expressed his concern about Ambassador Rush's health and wished him a speedy recovery.

4. The formal signing of the Quadripartite Agreement then took place, followed by champagne and lunch, hosted by

Ambassador Sauvagnargues, in the ACA Building. (Conver-
sation at lunch reported septel.)


KLEIN

Department of State
TELEGRAM

POL: 38-6

03 SEPTEMBER 1971
1825 L

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ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

INFO: AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 US NATO

BERLIN 1808

SUBJECT: BERLIN TALKS: AMBASSADORIAL LUNCHEON SEPTEMBER 3:
 Possible Timetable for Conclusion of Agreement, etc.

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 67230
By BKT/NC on 2 May 2013

1. At Ambassadorial luncheon following the signing ceremonies at which I sat in for Ambassador Rush, Ambassador Abrasimov indicated that he expected the German negotiations to be completed within two months.

2. Abrasimov also ^{said} ~~XXXXXX~~ he was leaving Berlin ~~XXXXXX~~ within the next few days to take up his new post as Ambassador in Paris. He ~~XXXXXX~~ apparently plans to arrive in Paris within the next two weeks. Apparently Kvitsinskiy will be joining ^{him} ~~XXXXXX~~ in Paris. Abrasimov hinted ~~that~~ he would be back in Berlin for the signing of the Final Protocol.

Abrasimov also used occasion of luncheon to ~~XXXXXX~~
3. ~~XXXXXX~~

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M:DKlein:ecb


CLEARANCES:

complain about the efforts by the British and American sides to obtain agreed German text. He argued that this matter went beyond the competence of the Four. When I pointed out that the results of this effort would make the forthcoming German negotiations less difficult, he said the Germans should be left to their own devices; their problems should not be the concern of the Four Great Powers.

5. Before concluding luncheon, Abrasimov proposed a toast to his absent colleague, Ambassador Rush, expressed the hope that the four Ambassadors would meet again soon, and hailed the Quadripartite Agreement as an outstanding achievement in the same category as Austrian Peace Treaty.

Gp-3

KLEIN



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Authority NND 67230

Department of State

By BKT/NC on 2 May 2013

TELEGRAM

POL 38-6
SEPTEMBER 3, 1971
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DISTRIBUTION

CONTROL 1803

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AMB-5
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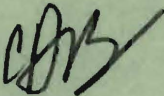
ACTION: Secstate WASHDC FLASH
Amembassy BONN FLASH

INFO: Amembassy LONDON ~~FLASH~~ IMMEDIATE
MOSCOW ~~FLASH~~ IMMEDIATE
PARIS IMMEDIATE
USMission NATO IMMEDIATE

BERLIN 1803
DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE

SUBJ: BERLIN TALKS: Signature of Agreement

Ambassador's health has improved so that he can participate in signing today. The FRG and the GDR have agreed on all except for one ~~outstanding~~ ^{outstanding} point concerning "constituent part." It seems probable that this will be ~~reached~~ ^{resolved} in the next hour. We have informed Abrasimov that if ~~xxx~~ this point is resolved we are ~~praxxy~~ ready to begin initialing at 12:30 and will proceed to signature of the Quadripartite Agreement today at 1300, September 3. We will confirm this message when the final news of the German negotiations is available.


KLEIN

DRAFTED BY:

BONN:JDean;GH

DRAFTING DATE

9/3/71

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APPROVED BY:

MIN:Klein

CLEARANCES:

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Classification

Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL: 38-6

05 SEPTEMBER 1971
1630 L

CONTROL: 1816

INDICATE:

- COLLECT
- CHARGE TO

USMISSION BERLIN

DISTRIBUTION

- AMB ✓
- MIN-3 ✓
- USCOB ✓
- POL-3 ✓
- EAS-3 ✓
- ECON ✓
- USIS ✓
- ASAG ✓
- CHRON ✓

ACTION: ~~State~~ WASHDC
 Amembassy BONN
 INFO: Amembassy LONDON
 Amembassy MOSCOW
 USMISSION NATO
 Amembassy PARIS

BERLIN 1816

SUBJECT: BERLIN AGREEMENT: Initial Reaction

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 67230

By BKT/NC on 2 May 2013

September 3

1. In televised remarks at meeting at which Allies
 and related documents
 presented official texts of Berlin Agreement to Senat

(BERLIN 1809), Governing Mayor Schuetz expressed praise
 and thanks to Allies for their efforts in bringing
 agreement.

about ~~Agreement~~ Schuetz said "threats of former
 years have now been removed." He promised that Senat
 would carry out its obligations in next phase of
 negotiations in as "constructive and efficient manner
 as possible."

2. Schuetz met later with SPD, CDU, and FDP party
 leaders to discuss the draft parliamentary resolution,
 endorsing Berlin Agreement, which Schuetz plans to
 introduce September 7 at special session of Berlin

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APPROVED BY:

POL:ASeligmann

CLEARANCES:

M: CABorg

House of Representatives (BERLIN 1786).

3. Schuetz maintained pace of his outspoken support for Agreement with a new frontpage article in SPD organ "Berliner Stimme" September 4. He stressed that Agreement provided for "the security of Berlin's future," and corresponded to the "protection of West Berlin's interests."

CDU/^{Fraktion}~~Fraktion~~ leader Lummer issued statement following signing ceremony noting that Agreement was "a first ~~■~~ important step in the improvement of the situation in and around Berlin." Berlin FDP Executive Committee endorsed the Agreement as "an important contribution to detente in Europe."

4. Berlin Chamber of Industry and Commerce issued a statement September 3 noting that West Berlin's prospects had been "substantially" improved, but withheld a definitive judgment of agreement pending completion of all three phases. Chamber stressed importance of preserving Allied rights in Berlin and noted Soviet Union's expressed recognition of West Berlin's existing ties wto the FRG. Chamber expected that eventual detailed arrangements on access and West Berlin's representation abroad by FRG would be of great importance to West Berlin's economy.

5. "Tagesspiegel's" leading editor (Boelke) September 4 characterized Berlin Agreement as "a breakthrough."

1816

Boelke said that principal achievement in Berlin Talks was Soviet recognition of Berlin's existing ties with FRG. Having made this concession, the Soviet Union no longer felt compelled to exploit West Berlin's exposed geographic position in effort to change the city's status. (In private conversation with Mission officer evening September 3, Boelke said his earlier misgivings about outcome of first phase of Berlin Talks had not been alleviated by reading final text of Agreement, but that he felt it desirable on day of signing^{to}/strike a positive note.)

~~Exempt~~

6. Local press has followed closely the last-minute negotiations between FRG and GDR experts~~KLEIN~~ regarding textual discrepancies between West and East German texts of Agreement. Text published in "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" September 4 does not conform in all respects to "agreed" text received from West Germans September 3 (for details, see BERLIN 1814), and further public scrutiny of key points at issue may be anticipated.

Exempt.


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By BKT/NC on 2 May 2013

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Classification

Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL: 38-6

04 SEPTEMBER 1971
1335 L

INDICATE:

COLLECT

CHARGE TO

USMISSION BERLIN

CONTROL: 1 8 1 4

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ACTION: Secstate WASHDC PRIORITY
Amembassy BONN PRIORITY

BERLIN 1814 of
SUBJECT : BERLIN AGREEMENT: Comparison German Texts
REF : BERLIN 1791

1. Text of Agreement published in "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" September 4 does not accord in all respects with text received from West Germans on September 3.

2. Quadripartite Agreement, ~~on~~ including Annexes I through IV, corresponds ~~with~~ with following exceptions:

- (a) Title: Western: "VIERMAECHTE Abkommens"; Eastern: "VIERSEITIGES Abkommen."
- (b) Part II (B) and Annex II. Western: "die Bindungen zwischen." Eastern: "die Verbindungen zwischen" (with footnote giving Russian, English, and ~~French~~ French versions).
- (c) Part II (B) and Annex II. Western: "kein Bestandteil (konstitutiver Teil)." Eastern: "kein Bestandteil" (omitting "konstitutiver Teil")

DRAFTED BY POL:DSmall/EAS:PValdes:gw DRAFTING DATE TEL. EXT. APPROVED BY EAS:PValdes *PV*

CLEARANCES:

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but footnoting English, French, and Russian versions).

(d) Part II (c) and Annex III, and Annex IV.

Western: "Personen mit staendigem Wohnsitz."

Eastern: "staendige Einwohner."

(e) Annex IV (B). Western: "Abhaltung von Tagungen."

Eastern: "Durchfuehrung von Tagungen."

3. "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" versions of exchange of notes, draft letter to Chancellor, and Agreed Minutes are so different in construction and language as to suggest that there was no real attempt to reconcile them. Following appear most significant differences:

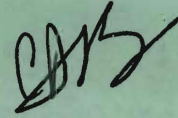
(a) Western note. Western version: "Verhaeltnisses zwischen." Eastern version: "Beziehungen zwischen". (Construction of sentence has also been altered to put "relations" in coordinate position with "statements contained in Annex II.")

(b) Letter to Chancellor, subpara (c). Western: "Verbindungsbehoerde." Eastern: "Verbindungsorgan."

(c) Agreed Minute II, para 2. Eastern version states that CG will "keine politischen Functionen oder andere Fragen beinhalten, die sich auf die ~~we~~ vierseitigen Rechte und Verantwortlichkeiten beziehen." This formulation would seem to allow other political functions. (However, Minute II German text has no bearing on this determination.)

4. Full copy of "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" text being pouched
Department.

GP-3



KLEIN

Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL: 38-6

04 SEPTEMBER 1971
1600 L

INDICATE:
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ACTION: Secstate WASHDC

INFO : Amembassy BELGRADE
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Amembassy BUCHAREST
Amembassy BUDAPEST
Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy MOSCOW
Amconsul Amembassy MUNICH
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USMISSION NATO
Amembassy PARIS
Amembassy PRAGUE
Amembassy SOFIA
Amembassy WARSAW

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Authority NND 67230

By BKT/NC on 2 May 2013

BERLIN 1817
SUBJECT : GDR Treatment of Berlin Agreement Signature

1. September 4 "Neues Deutschland" devoted full front page to signature of Berlin agreement, including texts of Abrasimov speech and interview he gave to East German media in ACA building following ceremony. ND also published full text of agreement.

2. Main story, by Deputy Editor Kertzsch, gave summary of agreement, including provisions for improvement in transit traffic and visits of West Berliners to GDR. It focused, however, on agreement's stipulation that West Berlin is not part (Bestandteil) of FRG, on Soviet

DRAFTED BY: POL:PValdes:gw

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APPROVED BY: POL:PValdes

CLEARANCES:

✓ [treatment of agreement as positive, and on ^{role} ~~7/22/68~~ of [agreement in permitting further steps towards normalization. ND made point, in particular, of emphasizing that for first time GDR was accepted as independent sovereign state in document signed by the three Western Powers.

3. Most interesting part of Abrasimov interview was his answer to question on Western press reports of differences in German text. Abrasimov said Russian, English, and French texts are authentic; German text is within competence of appropriate German ~~at~~ authorities, and Four-Power Ambassadors have nothing to do with it. Otherwise, interview was largely reworking of his signature speech.

4. ND announced it would publish next day text of interview Honecker is to give September 4.

✓ 5. Differences between ND text and text ^{released} ~~given~~ by West Germans are reported separately (NOTAL).

Exempt.

CDK

KLEIN

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the
United States of America

INCOMING

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POL: 38-6

ACTION

POL-3 ROUTINE

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INFO RUFHJA/USMISSION BERLIN 3554
BT
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 163368

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 67230

By BKT/INC on 2 May 2013

SUBJECT: BERLIN AGREEMENT: GERMAN TEXT OF FIRST PHASE

DEPARTMENT ASSUMES EMBASSY FORWARDING COPY OF GERMAN TEXT
AS AGREED TODAY BETWEEN FRG AND EAST GERMAN EXPERTS IN
BERLIN. ROGERS

ACTION TAKEN:	
<i>Tel hand + review carried back</i>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	NO ACTION REQUIRED
DATE	<u>9/14</u>
INITIALS	<u>[Signature]</u>

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the
United States of America

INCOMING

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Ref 786

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE 5410

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FOR AMBASSADOR RUSH FROM SECRETARY

ISIS

ASAG2

CHRON

IN CONNECTION WITH MY SIGNING THE FULL POWER AUTHORIZING YOU TO SIGN THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT (SUBSTANTIVE PORTION QUOTED IN SEPTEL, ORIGINAL BEING POUCHED), I HAVE ALSO AUTHORIZED YOU TO INITIAL THE AGREED MINUTES ON PASSPORTS AND SOVIET PRESENCE AND THE FINAL QUADRIPARTITE PROTOCOL, AND TO SIGN OR INITIAL THE ALLIED NOTES TO THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR, THE CHANCELLOR AND THE GOVERNING MAYOR.

ROGERS

BT

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Authority NND 67230

By BKT/INC on 2 May 2013

IMMEDIATE

ACTION TAKEN:

noted

NO ACTION REQUIRED

DATE 9/5/71

INITIALS [Signature]

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Classification

Department of State

POL 38-6

TELEGRAM

02 SEPTEMBER 1971
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INDICATE:

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ACTION:	SecState WASHDC	FLASH
INFO:	Amembassy LONDON	IMMEDIATE
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	" PARIS	IMMEDIATE
	" BONN	IMMEDIATE
	US Mission NATO	IMMEDIATE

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Authority NND 67230
By BKT/INC on 2 May 2013

BERLIN 1795

SUBJECT: Berlin Talks: Postponement of Signing Ceremony

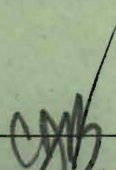
REF: STATE 161396 (NOTAL)

Following statement released to media at ACA Building
1500 hours local:

QUOTE The signature of the Quadripartite Agreement on
Berlin tentatively planned for 1300 hours, September 2
has had to be postponed, owing to the indisposition of
Ambassador Rush, who has been confined to bed by his
physician for the rest of the day.


KLEIN

DRAFTED BY:


M: CABorg:lwb

DRAFTING DATE

9/2/71

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APPROVED BY:

M: CABorg

CLEARANCES:

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Classification

Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL: 38-6

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ACTION: Secstate WASHDC
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INFO: Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy MOSCOW
Amembassy PARIS
USMission NATO

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Authority NND 67230

By BKT/INC on 2 May 2013

BERLIN 1785

Schedule

SUBJECT: BERLIN TALKS: Brandt and Scheel ~~xxxxxxx~~
Visit
Berlin/September 6

Berlin Senat has confirmed that Chancellor Brandt and
FonMin Scheel will visit Berlin briefly September 6.
Their program includes discussion of Four Power Agree-
ment at special session of Senat to which CDU and FDP
party and Fraktion leaders have also been invited.
Brandt will also meet with large group of shop stewards
from Berlin plants as well as with entire SPD leadership.
Decontrol September 1, 1972.

KLEIN

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POL:OBLee :mgr

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9-1-71

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APPROVED BY: *AL*
POL:ALSeligmann

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL 38-6
SEPTEMBER 8, 1971
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ACTION: Secstate WASHDC

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INFO: Amembassy BONN
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Amembassy MOSCOW
Amembassy PARIS
USMission NATO

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By BKT/NC on 2 May 2013

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BERLIN 1837

SUBJECT: FOUR POWER AGREEMENT: Berlin House of
Representatives Endorses Outcome

REF: Berlin 1786

1. SUMMARY: Berlin House of Representatives Sept. 7 approved a resolution endorsing the Four Power Agreement. The FDP joined the SPD majority in supporting Senat's proposal, while the CDU voted against the measure and presented its own (unsuccessful) resolution. In speech introducing Senat resolution, Governing Mayor Schuetz again spelled out advantages he saw in Agreement (reftel). END SUMMARY

2. A brief special session of the Berlin House of Representatives September 7 adopted a resolution

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9-8-71

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POL:ALSeigmann

CLEARANCES:

expressing the city government's support for the Four Power Agreement. While the FDP joined the controlling SPD majority, four separate meetings in the past ten days between SPD and CDU leaders failed to result in a compromise resolution sought by the Senat that might receive unanimous support. The CDU voted against the resolution on grounds that it did not balance praise for the Agreement's advantages with reservations about Allied concessions. The CDU also objected to the resolution's failure to point out the need to await the outcome of the inner-German negotiations before concluding that the Agreement was a success. ~~As separate~~

~~On the same date as the meeting~~

Allies

3. Following expression of thanks to ~~Allies~~ for "full protection of Berlin's interests," and to FRG for creating basis for detente with Moscow and Warsaw treaties, government resolution made these key points:

A. "Allied rights and responsibilities in four-sector city of Berlin and their supreme authority in Western Sectors have been strengthened." USSR and its allies will henceforth respect these rights.

B. West Berlin's ties to FRG are henceforth "uncontested" and will be developed further. City's

foreign representation by FRG is also acknowledged.

C. Civilian access has "for the first time" been included in a procedure which, in agreement with USSR, should preclude harassment.

D. West Berliners now have a claim to visit East Berlin and GDR under conditions "comparable to those applying to others."

E. Agreement reflects the desiderata expressed in Schuetz' declaration adopted by House of Representatives April 29, 1971.

F. Agreement provides "adequate and promising basis" for inner-German negotiations.

G. The Senat will conduct negotiations, insofar as its competence goes, in an "uninterrupted and effective" manner.

H. The Agreement has strengthened Berlin's "economic and cultural development/and its relationship to/outside world/~~xxxx~~ ^{the} ~~has~~ been guaranteed."

I. All parties to Agreement urged to create conditions corresponding to Agreement's ^{provision regarding} ~~/xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{no use or threat} ~~/xxxxxxxx~~ of force. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

4. In speech introducing resolution, Schuetz characterized Agreement as ending an era which reached ^{pinnacle} its ~~/xxxxxx~~ with Khrushchev ultimatum and opening "new era" in which

"threats and harassments" would have no place. He rebutted recent statements by GDR leader Honecker by underscoring applicability of Agreement to all Berlin. Re improvements on access, Schuetz noted that Agreement provided guidelines on most important aspects, thereby leaving little room for maneuver in inner-German negotiations. He observed that access would follow standard of "international practice." In defending Allied concession in regard to Bundesversammlung meetings, Schuetz recalled CDU was prepared to adopt this position in 1969. He said that now that Soviets have recognized Berlin's ties with FRG, objective of demonstrating Federal presence had been achieved, and there was no further need to underscore these ties.

5. Schuetz reiterated that SovConGen would be accredited to three Allies, would not have any political competence, and would be subject to Allied and German law.

6. In speech supporting Senat resolution, FDP Fraktion leader Oxfort pointed out that Agreement was first of its kind with character of international law concerning civilian access. He warned, however, that Agreement did not solve the Berlin question, though it clarified and made more secure Berlin's ties with FRG.

7. CDU Chairman Lorenz and Fraktion leader Lummer had tried over past week to reach a compromise with SPD on

parliamentary resolution approving Agreement. Rank-and-file members and Fraktion, however, forced them to adopt hard line, which Lummer used in his speech to House. He criticized the exclusion ^{from} ~~the~~ Agreement of important basic issues such as self-determination for West Berliners and nationality status of West Berliners. Lummer also attacked Allied concessions on Federal presence, the extension of Soviet presence, the inadequacy of Soviet responsibility for access, and the lack of a clearly defined forum for resolving differences.

8. On positive side, Lummer referred to "prospects" of practical improvements for Berliners and USSR's confirmation of "essential ties between Berlin and FRG," but warned that improvements must await the outcome of successful inner-German negotiations.

KLEIN *CRB*

[Handwritten signature]