

October 13, 1973

**From the Journal of A.F. Dobrynin, 'Record of a
Conversation with US Secretary of State H.
Kissinger, 13 October 1973'**

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Summary:

Ambassador Dobrynin passes a message from Brezhnev about the Arab-Israeli war to Nixon and Kissinger.

Credits:

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Russian

Contents:

Translation - English

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RECORD OF A CONVERSATION
 with US Secretary of State H. KISSINGER
 13 October 1973

I urgently got in touch with Kissinger and told him the following to be passed to President Nixon:

L.I. Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders were pleased to hear the President's remarks in a conversation with the Soviet Ambassador on the 12th of October regarding his determination to continue the policy of improving Soviet-American relations.

We really should not allow anyone to lead us astray from the path that our countries have taken and are following in their relations. The loss of the good that has been achieved in our relations in recent years and which has cost such enormous efforts would be associated with grave consequences both for Soviet-American relations and for the world situation as a whole.

As concerns the situation which has developed in the Middle East, as can be seen from the messages sent by Kissinger, the ceasefire proposal there did not receive mutual agreement. We have formed the impression that the United States, and possibly other countries with which it had consulted and which had previously put forward such a proposal themselves, were now waiting for something. It is difficult for us to definitively judge the reasons for such a delay, but apparently this is being done with an eye on how the situation is developing in the theater of military operations. If, however, we proceed from this, then it is generally difficult to come to any decision, inasmuch as the situation often looks different at any given moment, even over the course of one day.

For our part, we confirm our position in favor of a ceasefire. However, at the same time one cannot close one's eyes to everything Israel has done during the period of occupation, including in recent SIK [Translator's note: SIC was probably intended, as "days" was misspelled] - its barbaric bombing and shelling of peaceful settlements, the merciless killing of innocent people, and the destruction of material wealth; One cannot ignore the outraged indignation that its lawless actions have caused not only among the Arabs, but throughout the world.

It should now be clear to everyone - for us this has always been an axiom - that it is necessary to eliminate the very reason that led to the resumption of hostilities in the Middle East and, if it remains, there will constantly be a danger of new explosions there.

Therefore, we will frankly say that it is unrealistic to simply speak of a ceasefire in these conditions, leaving aside the root cause of its resumption.

It would be a different matter if the Security Council had adopted a decision on a ceasefire and, at the same time, in the same decision, as an integral part of it, provided for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied by them in 1967, perhaps in stages, within a strictly limited period.

Right now we are holding consultations with the leaders of friendly Arab countries regarding such a version of a Security Council decision. The consultations have not yet concluded, but we think that we will be able to find a coordinated position with them in this regard.

We are deeply convinced that this is the solution that is required - no matter what turn current events take, and there is still all the same a need to eliminate their root cause. Let us rise above the considerations of the moment and jointly solve this task facing us on a grand scale, as has already been done in relation to a number of other big problems.

Such a solution would also meet the broader interests of our countries. It seems we have a common opinion with the President in this respect.

Kissinger said he would quickly convey the content of our message to President Nixon.

SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN THE US
(A. DOBRYNIN)