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MEMORANDUM

Arms Supply Considerations
for the Middle East

1. The recent conflict probably has caused a reevaluation by the Israelis as to the quantities and mix of military hardware they will need to remain the dominant military power in the area. A greater comparability with Arab military equipment holdings, particularly aircraft and tanks, as well as the standardization of new weapons systems will spearhead Israel's resupply efforts. The US will be its primary source of equipment, although as time passes, Western European countries may again supply equipment. Also, Israel is expected to place even greater emphasis on expanding domestic production.

Support for Israel

Air

2. Control of the air space surrounding Israel probably will remain the dominant factor in Tel Aviv's planning. Jet fighter aircraft will continue to be Israel's main air defense weapon. Tel Aviv's immediate goal will be to replace what remains of its pre-war air force with new aircraft. Additional aircraft also

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will be needed to bring Israel's aircraft holdings more in line with those of Egypt and Syria. At the start of the war Israel's two major Arab neighbors held a 4 to 1 advantage in supersonic jet fighters (see Appendix Table 1). The US will be asked to continue providing the F-4 Phantom jet fighter, which is the mainstay of the IDF's long range fighter-bomber force, and the A-4 Skyhawk, the backbone of its ground attack force. The IDF also will want to supplement its transport and helicopter inventories.

3. Israel initially will look to the US for Electric Counter Measure (ECM) equipment, particularly for use against surface to air missiles (SAMs). In addition, Israel will want large stockpiles of the "smart" TV guided bomb for operations against the Arab SAM belt, and sluster bombs for use against fixed positions.

4. Tel Aviv did not appear to have much success with the Hawk surface-to-air missile system but, if some of the bugs can be worked out, additional firing units may be ordered. The US has recently supplied the Vulcan-Chapparral air defense system which combines a rapid fire radar controlled gun with a heat seeking air to air missile modified for use in a surface to air role. If this system proves effective the IDF would probably incorporate this relatively inexpensive system into its air defense network.

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Ground

5. The IDF's ground force equipment requirements will be large. It must increase its tank inventory and bring it more in line with the holdings of its Arab neighbors. The following tabulation shows that at the outbreak of the War, Egypt and Syria combined had twice as many tanks as Israel:

	<u>Syria</u>	<u>Egypt</u>	<u>Israel</u>
Tanks	<u>1,805</u>	<u>2,035</u>	<u>1,915</u>
Heavy	85	--	--
Medium	1,640	1,965	1,915
Light	80	70	--

Also, the effectiveness of the Soviet manufactured RPG-7 anti-tank rockets and wire guided anti-tank missiles will be an additional factor causing the Israelis to reevaluate their armor holdings and request substantially more tanks. Conventional anti-tank guns, an anti-tank missile system (possibly the TOW), and 175mm self propelled guns and 155mm howitzers will probably be requested. Israel also will have to replenish its spare parts and ammunition stockpiles.

What Israel Would Like Denied the Arabs

6. It seems unlikely that the USSR, Egypt and Syria's major arms source, would stop providing any of the equipment already in Arab inventories. However, it could limit the quantities to

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pre-war levels and not add to the sophistication of the equipment. An item of particular concern to Israel would be limiting air defense equipment. The surface-to-air missile systems, particularly the SA-6, took a heavy toll of Israeli aircraft. Soviet long range artillery and anti-tank weapons also were effective in hampering Israeli armor movements. The IDF does not consider the Arab air force as being very effective. This is not a reflection on the equipment but on the ability of the Arabs to use it. Given time, Arab proficiency will improve as it has in the handling of ground forces equipment. The introduction of a new fighter aircraft, such as the Flogger, or a tactical missile system, like the SCUD, however, would add a new and unacceptable dimension to Arab capabilities.

Alternative Sources of Supply

7. If the US and the USSR agreed to an arms supply balance in the Middle East, the Arabs could circumvent the restrictions by developing several alternate avenues of supply. The Warsaw Pact countries of Eastern Europe, many of which are already exporting arms to Egypt and Syria, could step up their deliveries. Military equipment also might be available from several NATO countries and other Free World suppliers as well as from the Peoples Republic of China or Yugoslavia. Appendix Tables 2 through 6 detail major weapons systems -- jet fighter aircraft, missiles, tanks, armored personnel carriers and artillery -- currently being manufactured by countries other than the US and the USSR.

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Warsaw Pact Countries

8. The East European countries could provide a wide range of equipment similar to that already in Arab inventories. Although no jet fighter aircraft are manufactured in Eastern Europe, these countries could supply MIG-21 jet fighters and SU-7 fighter-bombers as well as a variety of aircraft spare parts from their own inventories. This would not provide the Arabs with a new aircraft capability, but would allow them to increase the quantity of aircraft in their inventories. The number of aircraft available from East European sources, however, would be limited by their own requirements and ability to resupply their inventories from the USSR.

9. Large quantities of Soviet ground forces equipment, particularly T-34 and T-54 tanks, artillery, and possibly surface-to-air missile equipment could be supplied by East European countries by drawing down their own inventories or providing equipment already made surplus by the introduction of newer weapons systems. In addition, some of the East European countries are manufacturing equipment of Soviet or indigenous design that could be exported to the Middle East. Czechoslovakia is producing the hand held SA-7 (STRELLA) surface-to-air missile system, an anti-tank missile system, T-62 medium tanks, and a 130mm rocket launcher. It already has exported large numbers of its indigenously designed OT-64 (SKOT) wheeled amphibious armored personnel carriers (APCs) and OT-62 (TOPAS) tracked amphibious APCs to Egypt.

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10. Poland also has a large arms industry which manufactures weapons systems and spare parts under Soviet licenses, including the T-55 medium tank. Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, and Rumania do not have major arms industries although they probably all manufacture some spare parts. Also, Hungary is producing a limited quantity of indigenously designed amphibious Scout Cars, the OT-65 (FUG), and Rumania produces the Soviet BTR-60 APC under license.

11. If, however, Moscow was serious about limiting the flow of arms to the Middle East it could effectively control East European exports to the area. A greater problem would be the control of West European arms exports. Commercial considerations, for the most part, have motivated West European arms sales in recent years. The availability of substantial cash sales or the possible threat of an oil embargo might prove to be an irresistible incentive for expanding western sales to Egypt and Syria either directly or through countries like Saudi Arabia or Kuwait.

NATO Countries

12. Britain and France, the two major arms exporters in Western Europe, manufacture a wide variety of military hardware including jet fighter aircraft, anti-aircraft and anti-tank missile systems, armored personnel carriers, tanks and artillery. Prior to the recent Arab-Israeli war both countries expressed a willingness to sell arms to Egypt. The British sold some 30 Westland helicopters

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