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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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CLASSIFIED BY Henry A. Kissinger
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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

NODIS REVIEW

Cat. A - Caption removed;
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Cat. B - Transferred to O/FADRC
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Cat. C - Caption and custody
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Reviewed by: Green

Date: 9/1 19 78

Golda Meir, Prime Minister of Israel
Yigal Allon, Deputy Prime Minister
Abban Eban, Foreign Minister
Moshe Dayan, Defense Minister
Mordechai Gazit, Director of Prime
Minister's Office
Yi tzhak Rabin, Former Ambassador to the
United States
Ephraim Evron, Director General, Foreign
Ministry
Avraham Kidron, Deputy Director General,
Foreign Ministry
Lt. General David Elazar, Chief of Staff
Major General Binyamin Peled, Air Force
Chief of Staff
Major General Eliyahu Zeira, Director
of Military Intelligence

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Cat. B - Transferred to O/FADRC
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Cat. C - Caption and custody
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Reviewed by: Jim Bryan

Date: 7 Jan 19 85

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State
Ambassador Kenneth Keating
Joseph Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State
for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
Winston Lord, Secretary Kissinger's Staff
Ambassador Robert McCloskey
Nicholas Veliotis, DCM
Lawrence Eagleburger, Secretary Kissinger's
Staff
Colonel Billy B. Forsman, Defense Attache
Peter W. Rodman, NSC Staff

XP POL 27/14/85

DATE AND TIME:

Monday, October 22, 1973
4:15 - 4:57 p. m.

PLACE:

Military Briefing
The Guest House
Herzliyya (near Tel Aviv)

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General Elazar: Let me go over very briefly our military situation.

First, on the Syrian front. On the southern part of the ceasefire line, we are on the ceasefire line. We managed to penetrate in the northern part. We took part of Mount Hermon, and penetrated on the road from Quneitra to Damascus, and penetrated on another road to Damascus. Here are the Syrian forces [points], a little more than one Iraqi division and two Jordanian armored brigades.

We are quite satisfied with the Syrian front.

Secretary Kissinger: They have no offensive capability?

General Elazar: They can attack in another few days, but not with the same capability as they had in the first days. They had 1300-1400 tanks then. They are not now in a position to concentrate such a force. They can try, it's a possibility, but they have no chance to recapture something. In spite of the Iraqi and Jordanian forces.

Along the Canal: In the beginning they established a line along the Canal, along the whole front, to between 8-12 kilometers. We managed to penetrate here [the central sector]. We had a bridgehead, then we reinforced our forces on the other side. Now we have a force surrounding the Egyptian Third Army. We managed to close the roads from Suez to Cairo.

Unfortunately, we didn't manage to finish the Third Army. We think it is possible to do it in two, maybe three days. It consists of three divisions.

We're in a very good advance, toward the Suez Canal. The idea was to encircle the Third Army and destroy and capture its forces. In the central part of the Canal, we have 15 kilometers of the Canal on both sides -- that is the bridgehead -- and another force advancing on the road from Cairo to Ismailiya. I imagine we'll get a position on the road.

Here [the northern sector] there is no change. They still have forces on both sides.

Secretary Kissinger: In ceasefire conditions, they can't supply any forces unless they have agreement with you. Can they?

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General Elazar: There is another road. But they cannot do it on the main roads. We wanted to surround it, but it is not a complete siege.

We have no problems, of course.

Secretary Kissinger: Is it really like this, or are there pockets of other forces around?

General Elazar: There are no pockets.

Defense Minister Dayan: Would you like to hear something about the Air Force?

Secretary Kissinger: Please.

General Peled: Our approach was to start holding the first few days. Our major problem until this morning was missiles, especially the SA-6, or improved Redeyes, which were very efficient and of which we took account because we had to. After a few days we went after them. We have lost 32 F-4s, 53 A-4s, and 11 Mirages, 6 Super Mysteres, for a total of 102 of all kinds.

We have received new supplies, mainly in Phantoms, for which we are grateful. Our problem is crews. There are 69-70 crews left, who can use 80-100 Phantoms.

As of today, we have broken the whole air defense situation on the Canal. Today we made a successful attempt to clear the last 5-6 complexes in the Suez area. What's left of the Egyptian Air Force is devoted to ground support.

In the north, there are still 16-17 ground-to-air missile batteries, mostly SA-6.

Secretary Kissinger: To which missile have you lost the most?

General Peled: The SA-6.

Secretary Kissinger: Not the SA-7?

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General Peled: Also the SA-7, but the SA-6 mainly. The problem was its good performance, but also because the West has had no experience with it.

Secretary Kissinger: Have you captured any?

General Peled: We have not yet got a whole complex. We found a few which were duds. At least we found out the frequencies of the guidance system, and we have incorporated this in the electronic countermeasures we received from you.

The Egyptian Air Force has at least the following losses as of 1400 today: 254 aircraft, consisting of MIGs, Mirages, Sukhoi, TU-16, and 33 M-18 helos (of which we have one intact). Syria has lost 250 aircraft.

The Egyptians don't lack aircraft. They received 110-120 since the war. Their problem is crews and leaders. The Syrian Air Force is in a worse position. They lost 205 trying to defend their area. They made a stubborn attack yesterday on Mount Hermon.

We have found, under the situation where we stop, that we have had to do everything an Air Force has to do in reverse order -- which was much harder. Usually we first do the air defense. But we had to do ground support immediately and only then [take on the air defenses].

The other problem was that we did not have a sufficient answer to the SA-6 and not a sufficiently quick answer to the dense ground-to-air concentrations. Standoff weapons would have turned the tide sooner. Their main support to their ground support was the SA-6. We had to work slowly and carefully to eat away the ground defenses.

Our Air Force has flown 11,000 strike and interception sorties, at cost of 104 aircraft. We lost one CH-53 and one Bell-205 helicopter. We've not had enough light aircraft and helicopters to give close support; most of them are committed to electronic warfare, jamming.

All we did get are the C-130s, which did excellent work.

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Secretary Kissinger: You received 10?

General Peled: Twelve.

Prime Minister Meir: We asked for ten. You added two more to make a dozen.

General Peled: The Egyptians surprised us with the Kelt missile, which made two direct hits: Sharm el-Sheikh and Bir Gifgafa. The Kelt has 90 kilometers range against radar. We didn't know it existed. But when we did, then we found a counter measure, namely shutting down the radars when the TU-16 is in the air which is mainly at night.

General Dayan: The Chief of Intelligence will now continue.

General Zeira: Two Russian Foxbats now are flying over the Canal.

Secretary Kissinger: Flown by Soviets?

General Zeira: Probably flown by Soviets. They took off from Cairo West, then came over the desert, and are now over the Canal.

The Syrians began the war with an order of battle of 1,700 tanks, and they lost about 1,000. They have got a lot of Russian tanks by ships. The main process there now is rebuilding the Syrian armored divisions. In a few days they'll be completely ready for another strike.

The second thing in Syria is that they got about 200 Iraqi and 150 Jordanian tanks, to build an attack force. They have a plan of recapturing the area east of the line before the 6th of October, and they believe they can concentrate 1,400 tanks.

Secretary Kissinger: Will they succeed?

General Zeira: I doubt it. But they will be able to concentrate a big number. The main problem is the big number of anti-aircraft missiles south of the bulge. The TOWs we just got will help a lot in repulsing such an attack.

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In Egypt, they operate in two armies -- the Second and the Third, with two infantry divisions in the Third, one mechanized and one tank division. All together four divisions in the Third.

The first echelon of the Second is mainly infantry, which just swarmed all along the front. Then came the mechanized, then the tank divisions.

After a few days, they established a line, then the mechanized and tank divisions staged an attack, which was repulsed. These two divisions were more or less completely destroyed. From then, the main battle was against the Third Army and against reserves which came from Cairo.

Our armor is destroying the rear echelon of the Third Army, and some of its armor.

They have two infantry divisions here [in the southern sector] and two infantry divisions here [in the northern sector]. In Cairo there are two armored brigades of tanks.

The Egyptian army is more or less destroyed in its offensive capability -- in its armor and Air Force.

But they are not yet destroyed in their infantry. Two divisions here and two here are still in good shape because we didn't deal with them yet.

Two Libyan brigades in Egypt and an Algerian.

Secretary Kissinger: Are they any good?

General Zeira: The ^{The}Jordanians are quite good. The Libyans and Algerians we have not engaged. Iraqi and Moroccan are not good.

On the ground we encountered the most modern Russian weapons. On tanks, weapons with a range of 50-100 kilometers, the most brand new.

In the air, there are Egyptian and Syrians, and also Iraqis. The Algerians are in Syria, and also there are North Koreans in Egypt.

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Secretary Kissinger: Which army do you rate higher, the Egyptians or the Syrians?

General Zeira: I think the Syrians are a little bit better. In the quality of the troops, aggressiveness.

General Elazar: Both of them are better than in 1967.

Secretary Kissinger: Significantly better?

General Elazar: Significantly better.

Secretary Kissinger: And the leadership?

General Elazar: Better. The main thing is they didn't give up after the first breakthrough. This time we had to fight them every echelon.

Foreign Minister Eban: There was no disintegration.

Secretary Kissinger: Your success is due to superior leadership?

General Elazar: We have still an enormous superiority in leadership and quality of the troops. Everywhere we are fighting with smaller forces against larger forces.

General Zeira: I should add two things. In Syria it was a battle prepared for years. They were trained for a certain battle, and they rehearsed it for years. We see a lot of Russian influence, in the better security of communications, in the capability in listening to us, and in deceit. For example, we found in Syria many dummy missiles, and batteries of guns in which one of the six was a real gun.

General Peled: There was a high degree of jamming and very effective.

Secretary Kissinger: Thank you very much.

Prime Minister Meir: The few against many all over again.

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Secretary Kissinger: I want to express our admiration for everything you have achieved and all you have gone through.

Deputy Prime Minister Allon: And thanks for your help.

Secretary Kissinger: Madame Prime Minister, I have to see one of your special favorites in London. Sir Alec.

Prime Minister Meir: It is worth a special trip. Send him my love.

Secretary Kissinger: I want to express on behalf of the President and my associates our admiration for the great success you've achieved. We believe you have achieved a great military victory and a great political victory -- Arab acceptance for the first time of direct negotiations. A direct link between the second and third paragraphs [of the resolution] is the only correct position.

We'll put out our interpretation on the prisoners.

We have had useful talks, not only on the present situation but also on the strategy for the future.

It is always a pleasure to be in a country where we are among friends.

Prime Minister Meir: Thank you. It means an awful lot. Not only have we had useful talks. But sometimes one is surprised to see what little people can do. You see our men here, showing a lot of wear and tear because they see wear and tear on their boys.

We know it wouldn't be possible without what the President did. Those days were our worst ever. I remember in 1948, three men who had been in the Jordan valley kibbutzim came to Ben-Gurion and said the Syrians were attacking and they needed help. Ben-Gurion said, "I have nothing to help you with; I sent all I had to Jerusalem." Ben-Gurion said to me, "When I saw those men weep, I thought all was lost." We didn't weep now, but we had many bitter hours.

Your Ambassador was with us all these days.

Please give the President our regards.

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You can't win the second Nobel Prize, but if it means something to help a small country, you're on the books.

Secretary Kissinger: Madame Prime Minister, we're confident you'll be as successful in peace as in battle. Wherever you will be, you can count on us.

The meeting then ended, and Dr. Kissinger's party then departed for Lod Airport.

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