

# THE BITTER FLAVOR OF THE GREATEST DEFEAT

## THE SIXTH WAR:

## BEGINNING OF THE DOWNFALL OF THE ZIONIST REGIME



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International Association of Muslim University Professors



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Beginning of the Downfall of the  
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You [Zionist regime] will not see next 25 years.  
*Insha'Allah* till next 25 years, with Divine opportunity and Divine support, there will be no such thing by the name of Zionist regime in the region.

*[Ayatullah Seyyid Ali Khamenei, 9<sup>th</sup> September, 2015]<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup><http://farsi.khamenei.ir/news-content?id=32622>





In this book words 'Israel' and 'Zionist Regime'  
are used for "Occupied Palestine"

It is a concrete historic reality that Israel was built  
on "Palestine" by terrorism, massacres and forced  
mass displacement of the Palestinians and the  
continuous occupation of the Palestinian Lands  
and exists today only as a rogue and fake state.

Israel has no existence in the legal and real sense  
of word in the civilized world.



# Contents

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <b>PREFACE .....</b>  | <b>1</b>   |
| A BRIEF COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF THE PAST ARAB-ISRAEL WARS .....  | 1          |
| THE ZIONIST MILITARY OFFENSIVES AGAINST LEBANON.....  | 3          |
| THE WAY THE 33 DAY WAR BEGAN .....  | 4          |
| <b>SECTION I: THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF WAR .....</b>  | <b>7</b>   |
| PREFACE .....   | 9          |
| CHAPTER 1: ANALYSIS OF THE CONDITIONS BEFORE THE WAR.....   | 11         |
| CHAPTER 2: DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS DURING THE WAR .....  | 23         |
| CHAPTER 3: POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR.....   | 39         |
| <b>SECTION II: THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF WAR .....</b>  | <b>49</b>  |
| PREFACE .....   | 51         |
| CHAPTER 1: THE MILITARY CAPABILITIES AND THE WAR STRATEGIES OF THE TWO SIDES.....   | 53         |
| CHAPTER 2: THE TURNING POINTS OF THE WAR .....  | 63         |
| [ISRAELI MILITARY DEFEATS] .....  | 63         |
| CHAPTER 3: PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE OPERATIONS.....  | 69         |
| CHAPTER 4: THE DEPLOYMENT OF UNIFIL IN SOUTH LEBANON .....  | 73         |
| CHAPTER 5: THE MILITARY CONSEQUENCES OF WAR .....   | 77         |
| <b>SECTION III: ECONOMICAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF WAR.....</b>   | <b>95</b>  |
| PREFACE .....   | 97         |
| CHAPTER 1: POPULAR VIEWS ON THE WAR FROM THE TWO SIDES.....   | 99         |
| CHAPTER 2: ECONOMICAL DAMAGE.....   | 107        |
| CHAPTER 3: CONSEQUENCES OF WAR .....  | 111        |
| <b>ENCLOSURE.....</b>   | <b>123</b> |
| APPENDIX I: MESSAGE OF AYATULLAH SEYYID ALI KHAMENEI TO SEYYID HASSAN NASRULLAH ON HIZBOLLAH’S VICTORY IN 33 DAYS ISRAELI WAR AND AGGRESSION ON LEBANON ..... | 125        |
| APPENDIX II: FULL TEXT OF SEYYID HASSAN NASRULLAH’S SPEECH AFTER THE VICTORY OF HIZBOLLAH.....  | 129        |
| APPENDIX III: UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION # 1701 RELATED TO ISRAEL’S WAR WITH LEBANON .....  | 147        |
| APPENDIX IV: TIMELINE OF DAILY EVENTS OF THE SIXTH WAR.....   | 153        |
| APPENDIX V: A BRIEF HISTORY OF EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS BETWEEN ARABS AND ISRAEL .....   | 161        |
| INDEX.....  | 167        |



# Preface

For an explanation and analysis of the dimensions and causes of the 33 days war of Israel against Lebanon, it is necessary to shed some light on the earlier Arab-Israeli wars and the strategies of Israeli offensives against Lebanon in the previous decades. In addition, a reference to the goals of the two sides which they pointed to at the beginning of the war, will assist us in drawing conclusions regarding the victory or the defeat of each of the two sides.

## A Brief Comparative History of the Past Arab-Israel Wars

The Arabs, since the time of the formation of the Zionist regime till now, have had five main wars with this regime and the latest offensive against Lebanon is considered as the sixth Arab-Israeli war, of course in this war, only Hizbollah was facing Israel and all the chief Arab countries except Syria, censured Hizbollah's measures to defend Lebanon and blamed them as Hizbollah's "adventurousness" against the interests of the Arabs in the region.

Before the 2006 conflict, the Arabs had five wars with Israel in the years 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973 and 1982 and each one of them will be described briefly to explain the importance of the victory of Hizbollah in the most recent conflict with Israel.

### **The 1948 War**

The year 1948 was the year of the establishment of the illegitimate seed of the Zionist regime in the Middle East. In this year, the United Nations officially recognized Israel and this regime announced its existence as a new country to the world; but the Arab countries didn't accept the vote of the UN and came at the verge of a war against Israel which finally resulted in a great defeat for the Arab governments by Israel.

This war, due to the lack of unity among the Arab forces and the use of Israel from the support of the Western countries, especially America, ended in the defeat of the Arabs and the Zionist regime, for the first time, succeeded in establishing a dominantly Jewish population in the areas under its control by forcefully seizing around 80% of the Arab land via the policy of the forceful expulsion of Arabs. During the war of 1948, 700,000 of the Arab

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

Palestinians were made refugees and were expelled to West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip, which then were in the possession of Jordan and Egypt.

### **The 1956 War**

The announcement of the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt caused a second war of Egypt with England, France and Israel in the year 1956. But this war was condemned by the US and the Soviet Union and as a result, England and France withdrew from the area of the Suez Canal and Israel was also forced to leave the Sinai Desert and the Gaza Strip.

The 1956 war clearly revealed the bitter truth that, without the support of the US, Israel does not have the ability to attack and kill the Arabs.

### **The 1967 War**

In the year 1967, Israel's expansionism put the region on the brink of another war. Israel, in May 1967, sent its troops to the border of Syria which resulted in Egypt's taking the same measure and finally, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of June, the cabinet of the Zionist regime approved an attack on Egypt and on the dawn of the 5<sup>th</sup> of June, the war started. Following this attack, Syria and Jordan also entered the war and 5 days later, the war of 1967, which became known as the 6-day war, ended with the victory of Israel and the occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Golan Heights.

The absence of resistance in the Arabs, the lack of military facilities, and the prevalence of submissive political culture over martyrdom-seeking caused the 6-day war to turn into one of the worst defeats of the Arabs through the hands of Israel. From this time on, Israel's domination of the Arab land gave this regime the opportunity to grab more land for peace, allow possibility of negotiation for the aggressions and occupation it carried out earlier in the region.

### **The 1973 War**

Despite the inclination of Anwar Sadat, the president of Egypt at that time, towards the West and his conspiratorial nature, the US and the other Western powers, under no circumstances, were disposed to pressurize Israel to abate its aggressive deportment and withdraw from the Arab land. This situation caused Anwar Sadat to become hopeless of Western aid and, by relying to the competition between the two superpowers of that time, US and the Soviet Union, he started another war, a war which, like the previous ones, was not based on the sacred principle of Jihad but on the hidden political play and the absence of the endurance of the long-time consequences of this war.

## Preface

In reality, in spite of the capability of the Arabs to start a war of attrition in the region, which would, due to Israel's little population and the lack of reliable aid from the Western countries, would put Israel on its knees in front of the West, the Arabs were after securing their benefits in the smallest possible time. On the 6<sup>th</sup> of October 1973, Anwar Sadat, along with Syria, launched a surprise attack on Israel which was successful at the beginning but ended with the defeat of the Arabs. The war of 1973 can be named as the last great Arab – Israel war; this is because, although Israel occupied Lebanon in the 1980s, this aggression didn't result in a great war in the region. This war, once again, revealed the weakness and incapability of the Arabs in front of Israel.

## The Zionist Military Offensives against Lebanon

The state-level offensive of Israel against Lebanon in 1982 was not the first one of its kind; but this regime has carried out widespread military offensives against Lebanon even before this date. The Israeli offense against Lebanon has a great historical antiquity. Between the years 1968 and 2006, the Israeli army has executed around 500 military operations against Lebanon, which the most major ones of these offensives are as follows:

1. Attack on the Beirut International Airport in 1968 and targeting at least 13 civilian airplanes belonging to Lebanon.
2. The 1970 attack as an excuse to combat the Palestinian fighters who had entered Lebanon after being expelled from Jordan.
3. The 1972 attack and the occupation of some parts of Southern Lebanon.
4. The 1978 attack (Litani operations) and the martyrdom of 1700 Lebanese and 300 Palestinians and the occupation of parts of the south of Lebanon.
5. The 1981 attack as an excuse to destroy the central office of PLO in Lebanon which left around 100 martyred and 600 injured.
6. The 1982 attack (Al-Jalil security operations) and the invasion of the Lebanese capital and the setting up of a new government with the leadership of Amine Gemayel<sup>2</sup>.
7. The 1993 attack (operation accountability) which left 300 martyred and thousands injured and rendered around 400,000 people of the Southern Lebanon refugees.

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<sup>2</sup>The Zionist set up the puppet government of Phalangists and imposed Bashir Gemayel who was senior member of Phalange party and Commander of Lebanese Forces Militia, as president of Lebanon. However he was assassinated on 14<sup>th</sup> September 1982 along with 26 others, when a bomb exploded in the Beirut headquarters of the Phalanges Party. After his assassination, his brother Amine Gemayel was made president of Lebanon until 1988.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

8. The 1996 attack (Operation Grapes of Wrath) and severe land, marine, and air attacks on the south of Lebanon and the occupation of 51 km of the soil of this country.
9. The 2006 offensive (open operations) as an excuse to free the two Israelis captured by Hizbollah.

## The Way the 33 Day War Began

At 9:05 a.m. (local time) on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July 2006, the Hizbollah of Lebanon, during a courageous operation, killed 7 and injured 12 Israeli soldiers and captured 2 other soldiers of this regime.

Israel's military sources announced that this operation has been carried out in two steps. During the first step, one of the Israeli bases was targeted by Katyusha rockets and during the second step, two Israeli soldiers were captured near the Lebanese border.

Hizbollah, after carrying out this operation, announced its goals by the issuance of the following manifesto:

"Hizbollah, after making a pledge for the release of the prisoners and the detainees of the Islamic Resistance, at 9:05 a.m. of the local time, captured two Israeli soldiers near the Lebanon - Occupied Palestine border and until Israel does not release the Lebanese prisoners, these two soldiers will not be freed."

Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah, the Secretary General of Hizbollah, also announced in a speech, "Even if the whole world wanted to free these two Israeli soldiers, they wouldn't be able to do it and it would only be possible through indirect negotiations."

What followed this operation was that the Zionist regime's army warplanes, in a revenge-seeking, unexpected and quick measure, targeted different areas of Lebanon. This regime proceeded to increase its attacks on other parts of Lebanon and destroying bridges, airport, highways, and the civil infrastructure and killing civilians. This regime rejected holding any negotiations regarding the release of the two soldiers and announced that it will continue bombing different parts of Lebanon until the following conditions are fulfilled:



## Preface

1. The formation of a security belt in the region between Lebanon and the Northern Palestine.
2. Closing the military bases of Hizbollah from the region.
3. Stationing of the Lebanese army in the southern part of Lebanon and the establishment of its control over the whole area.
4. Disarmament of Hizbollah according to the Resolution # 1559 of the UN Security Council.

Also, the Zionist regime's cabinet, in its subsequent sessions, gave green light to the army regarding the widespread military offensive against Lebanon until the fulfillment of all the conditions and expected goals.

## The Aims and Objectives of War

### A. Israel

The Zionist regime was following some specific goals during its 33-day military offensive against Lebanon. Some of these announced goals are as follows:

- The destruction of the organization of the Islamic Resistance Movement of Lebanon
- Assassination of the leaders of Hizbollah, especially Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah, the Secretary General of Hizbollah
- The establishment of a security belt in the northern border with the Occupied Palestine
- Withdrawal of the resistance forces from the northern borders of Palestine and their disarmament
- To place Hizbollah face to face with the Lebanese society by carrying out a widespread destruction of the civil infrastructure of Lebanon
- The establishment of the necessary elements for creating internal conflicts between different ethnic groups in Lebanon
- To deviate public opinion from the Israeli atrocities in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip against the Palestinians

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

- To evaluate the military and rocket capabilities of Hizbollah
- Execution of the US-Israel plan for the region
- To demonstrate its ability to carry out another occupation of Lebanon
- The establishment of the necessary preparations for the Israeli domination in the new political and security framework of Lebanon

### **B. Hizbollah**

The Lebanese movement of Hizbollah, in its first manifesto after the operation of the capture of the two Israeli soldiers, announced its only goal from this operation as acting upon its promise which is “the release of the Lebanese prisoners in the Israeli jails” and according to this goal, chose the name “The true promise” for its operation.

Hizbollah declared its real incentive as the liberation of the Lebanese prisoners and kept the issue at a national level and abstained from linking it to the Palestinian developments so to excuse itself from the internal opponents’ objection that Lebanon is paying for the events that occurred in Palestine. Although, from the very day of the operation, the people of Palestine rejoiced and asked Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah to remember the ten thousand Palestinian prisoners in the probable prisoner exchange.

It seems that Hizbollah has had some other unique goals behind its operation, such as “a diminution in the pressure on the Palestinian nation”, “to keep Israel engaged and mixed up in two simultaneous wars and to disgrace Israel”, “a revivification of the Islamic Resistance”, “acquisition of a better status in Lebanon’s internal negotiations”, “an increase in the capability of Hizbollah in influencing the political framework of Lebanon”, “a prevention of an ever-increasing influence of the Arab world on the internal affairs of Lebanon”, and...

# **Section I**

## **THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF WAR**



# Preface

Without a doubt, diplomatic efforts and political activities, along with the military war, continued during the period of 33 days. Particularly, even after military war ended, the fighting was continuing in the political arena and the two sides tried to safeguard their interests by referring to the UN resolution and afterwards, influencing the way it would be executed. During the 33-day war, numerous diplomatic talks were organized in the three continents of Asia, Europe and America and the heads of big countries and of those in the region made many attempts to end the war and for this, presented many ways.

An analysis of the reactions of various countries to the 33-day war and the condemnation of one of the sides or considering both of the sides as offenders and an analysis of the reason of accepting the ceasefire seems necessary and useful. Another one of the topics which will be analyzed in this section is the political consequences of the war for both of the sides (Israel and Hizbollah). In the beginning, an analysis of the statuses of Hizbollah and Israel before the war will be presented.



# Chapter 1

## Analysis of the Conditions before the War

Both of the two sides of the war, before its beginning, have been placed beside important events and major developments. The assassination of Rafiq Hariri caused the ups and downs and changes in the Lebanese society and Hizbollah was also placed under its effects. Israel, as well, was also a witness to distinct events which took place in the year 2006. The mentioned points will be analyzed in two parts.

### **A. The Condition of Israel before the Commencement of the War**

The political death of the founder of the “Kadima” political party, the victory of “ Hamas” in the January 25 parliamentary elections and the establishment of the Palestinian government by this movement, the ascension of the newly established Kadima to the head of the victorious political parties in the Knesset March 28 elections in Israel, the operations carried out by some Palestinian resistance groups against the Zionist soldiers in the Kerem Shalom military base in the Gaza Strip and the capture of one soldier and finally, the operation carried out by Hizbollah to capture two Israeli soldiers, were the main events in the year 2006 for the Zionists and the familiarity with the details of each one of them will be effective in understanding the condition.

#### **1. The Political Death of Sharon**

The political life of Ariel Sharon practically reached its end point on the 5<sup>th</sup> of January 2006 when he suffered from a second brain stroke. Sharon was laid aside from the political pyramid of the Zionist regime when he was still active as the most important political personality in Israel (Prime minister). During the 5 years (2001 - 2005) of his prime ministership, he tried to end the Israeli – Palestinian dispute in any possible way (by taking on the iron fist politics or executing one – sided withdrawal plans). This policy of Sharon caused him to lay foundations for a new political party. The Kadima political party, which has its first name as “the national responsibility”, lost its leader and founder after only 2 months of its establishment. Kadima is considered an assemblage of the “pigeons” of the Likud political party and the “hawks” of the Labor political party and unlike other political parties of Israel that are formed from down to up and during the passage of time and the circumstances, this political party was formed from up to down by the intellectuals of this

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

regime which believe in a special program regarding the ensuring of security and the way of interacting with the Palestinians.

### 2. The Victory of Hamas

Finally, 10 years after the first Palestinian parliamentary elections in the year 1996, the second parliamentary elections were held on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 2006. In these elections, the movement of Hamas succeeded in obtaining more than half of the 132 seats of the Palestinian parliament. From the 1 million and 273 thousand people able to participate in the elections, 980 thousand participated and the figure of public participation in the elections reached 77%. From a total of 132 seats of the Palestinian parliament, Hamas obtained 74 seats, Fatah 45 seats, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine 3 seats, The Alternative Coalition [Al-Badeel] 2 seats, Independent Palestine 4 seats and The Third Way 2 won seats.

The victory of Hamas was followed by widespread negative reactions by Israel and the Western world. Shimon Peres, while admitting the surprise resulting from the victory of Hamas, said, "The result of the elections was not an approval of the extremist politics of Hamas but an objection to the corruption in ruling apparatus of the Palestinian authorities" In the meantime, the Zionist regime's cabinet, led by Ehud Olmert, forbade any kind of negotiations with the new Palestinian government. Following the elections, America, the Quartet and some of the European countries with the Zionist regime made negative comments regarding Hamas.

### 3. The Victory of Kadima Political Party

One of the events that occurred in the year 2006 and had considerable effect on the Israeli society is the victory of the Kadima political party in the 2006 elections. The media named the victory of Hamas in Palestine as the "green tsunami" and labeled the victory of Kadima in Israel as a "political earthquake". In these elections, Kadima, which had participated in the elections for the first time, and Labour<sup>3</sup> acquired the first and second place with 29 and 19 seats, respectively. After these two, the Shas and the Likud political parties obtained the third and fourth place by winning 12 seats each.<sup>4</sup> Then, Israel Beiteinu<sup>5</sup> won 11, National

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<sup>3</sup>Labour-Meimad

<sup>4</sup>3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> places were determined by the number of votes: Shas 299,054 and Likud 281,996 votes.

<sup>5</sup>Also known as Yisrael Beiteinu (Israel is Our Home) is a nationalist political party in Israel formed by Avigdor Lieberman the extremist Zionist. The party describes itself as a national movement with the clear vision to follow in the extremist path of Russian Zionist Zev Jabotinsky, the founder of Revisionist Zionism.



## Chapter 1: Analysis of the Conditions before the War

Union<sup>6</sup> won 9, Gil<sup>7</sup> won 7, United Torah Judaism<sup>8</sup> won 6, Meretz-Yachad won 5, United Arab List-Ta'al coalition won total 10 [United Arab List 4, Hadash 3 and Balad 3] seats and secured from 5<sup>th</sup> to 12 positions.

### 4. The Annexation Plan

Ehud Olmert, the leader of Kadima Party after coalition with Labour, Shas and Gil parties formed his cabinet and on 4<sup>th</sup> May 2006 obtained vote of confidence from Knesset. The coalition movement that shaped the political makeup of Olmert's cabinet soon focused on annexation<sup>9</sup> as its main objective [31<sup>st</sup> Cabinet of Knesset]. It promoted the idea of annexation and led to Olmert's unilateral and rigorous efforts for seeking acceptance of Israelis, Palestinians and World Community for supporting the annexation. On the other hand, the Zionist political opposition focused on condemning this coalition and political measures that led to Zionist withdrawal from Gaza and expanded its activities to counter its practical efforts and prevent its expansion.

In order to achieve his most important political objectives, Olmert [as prime minister] in his first trip to US on 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2006 that lasted 5 days made extended efforts to seek acceptance of US government officials. According to his proposals, the Zionists settlers in the smaller settlements of West Bank should be shifted to larger ones such as 'Ariel', 'Ma'ale Adumim', and 'Gush Etzion'.<sup>10</sup> The larger Zionist settlements mentioned above are in the territory occupied by Israel in 1967. However by the construction of illegal Separation Wall, these settlements will break up from that region [1967 occupied territory] and will come within the territories occupied by Zionists in 1948. However, this proposal wasn't accepted by the US government. The reason was that US wanted this proposal to be implemented by the coordination of Palestinians while this proposal was a unilateral suggestion of Israelis.

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<sup>6</sup>National Union is a coalition of four parties: Moledat, Tkuma, Renewed National Zionist Party and National Religious Party.

<sup>7</sup>Gil means 'Age.' Acronym for Gimla'ey Yisrael LaKnesset [Pensioners of Israel to the Knesset]. In the 2009 elections, Gil party did not receive sufficient votes to enter Knesset. Gil mostly represents older population and their rights after retirement.

<sup>8</sup>Coalition of two factions: Agudat Israel and Degel Hatorah.

<sup>9</sup>Olmert offered Palestinians a small piece of land surrounding Gaza Strip in return for annexing Zionist settlements in West Bank to Israel. This was in fact a tactics to grab more Palestinian land and create safety barrier for Zionist settlers against rocket attacks.

<sup>10</sup>Gush Etzion is a district council comprising of over 15 settlements such as Alon Shvut, Bat Ayin, Beitar Illit, El'azar, Gvoat, Ma'ale Amos, Midal Oz, Nokdim, Rosh Tzurim and Tekoa.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

The opposition to the Olmert's annexation plan slowly gained momentum as the new events unfolded. The firing of Qassam rockets<sup>11</sup> towards Zionist settlements from Gaza was one of the reasons that the opponents of annexation were against the second withdrawal plan and thought that it will be useless. This opposition became more intense after the Palestinian military operation in Kerem Shalom<sup>12</sup> and abduction of an Israeli soldier.<sup>13</sup>

After this military operation, in one of his press conferences Olmert announced that he is determined to overlook the continued Qassam rocket attacks on South Israel and kidnapping of Gilad Shalit and will continue his efforts for annexation plan. However, Meir Sheetrit, the minister of housing and settlements and a member of Kadima party, while opposing the annexation plan said: "In the present times, possibility of execution of this plan is very weak. We are opposed to this plan because there is no other place left for Israel to unilaterally disengage itself."

The 33 days war provided totally new conditions of dominance in the region. After the war, the Israeli leaders, because of change of conditions expunged the annexation plan from their priority list.

### 5. The Politics of Isolating Hamas

One of the most important campaigns that dominated the political climate during the beginning of the 33 days war was Zionist regime's efforts to isolate Hamas leadership from the government of Palestinian people.

The Hamas movement, after its victory in Palestinian parliamentary elections, formed the Palestinian government with 24 ministers. This government which was formed on the principle of "non-recognition, no more negotiations with Israel, non-acceptance of previous agreements between PLO and Zionist regime" and "not formally accepting PLO as the sole legal representative of Palestinian people" and "Continuation of support to Intifada and for Palestinians Resistance to secure their legitimate rights" persisted on it. Emphasis on this principle one-sidedly by Hamas started violent rivalry with Fatah movement and led to its

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<sup>11</sup>Also spelled as Kassam, is a simple steel rocket filled with explosives, developed and deployed by the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, the military wing of Hamas. The name derives from great Syrian Scholar and Freedom fighter Martyr Sheikh Izz ad-Din al-Qassam [1882-1935] against British Colonialists in Palestine and Zionists.

<sup>12</sup>It is a Zionist settlement at the border crossing near the meeting point of the Gaza Strip, Israel and Egypt.

<sup>13</sup>In a brave attack by Hamas resistance fighters on 25<sup>th</sup> June 2006, Corporal Gilad Shalit was abducted near Kerem Shalom after the fighters crossed the border from the Gaza Strip into Israel. Two Zionist soldiers were killed and three others were wounded.

## Chapter 1: Analysis of the Conditions before the War

non-cooperation in making of new government. On the other hand, this rivalry also provided the basis for execution of politics of 'intimidation' and 'aggression' once again by the Zionist regime.

The Zionist regime while pursuing its political aims towards Hamas, by cancelling all the negotiations with Palestinian government and for making efforts to politically isolate Palestinians, also struck blow on the financial and economic condition of the Palestinians by imposing blockade on customs revenues to be paid to Palestinians and blocked all the aids from Muslim countries to occupied territories. It also succeeded in persuading US and European Union<sup>14</sup> to block their aids and supports to Palestinians. On the military side, Zionist regime increased its targeted assassination and arrests of members of Palestinian resistance groups. This was to the point that in the first three months of Palestinian government [April to the end of June] under the leadership of Hamas, more than 130 Palestinians were martyred. This number is more than the total number of 122 Palestinians martyred in the year 2005.

### **6. The Kerem Shalom operation by Hamas and widespread Israeli attacks on Gaza**

On 25<sup>th</sup> June, 2006, few Palestinian resistance fighters carried out a surprise attack<sup>15</sup> on an Israeli military post in Kerem Shalom [South of Gaza Strip] and successfully kidnapped an Israeli soldier, Gilad Shalit. In this operation two other Zionist soldiers were killed and four others were injured.

The Zionist regime after this operation gave an ultimatum of 48 hours to Palestinians and asked them to release the abducted Israeli soldier. However the soldier wasn't released and early in the morning of 28<sup>th</sup> June, with the use of its ground, air and sea forces carried out a widespread savage military operation on Gaza strip by the name of 'Operation Summer Rains.' These attack that began two weeks before the 33 days war, became more severe and destructive day by day and led to expanded outcomes.

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<sup>14</sup>This exposes the real face of leading proponents of democracy in the world. Hamas won the elections by 80% majority.

<sup>15</sup>Hamas announced that this attack was in response to Israeli shelling of Gaza beach on 9th June which killed 8 Palestinian civilians including 7 members of the same family, and injuring a further 32 civilians including 13 children. This attack was filmed on an amateur camera and posted on internet. Similar inhumane Israeli massacres were carried out on June 13, 20 and 21 which mostly targeted Palestinian women and children. For details visit < <http://electronicintifada.net/bytopic/442.shtml>>

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

The Israeli attacks on Gaza led to widespread reactions from Arab countries and even Europe which condemned these attacks and demanded an end to operation. However, the US government, while backing these attacks on the pretext of Israeli right to defend itself, blocked several UN Security Council resolutions that condemned Israel for its savage attacks on Gaza. The Israelis had killed during preceding three months over 300 Palestinians. Similarly, arresting Hamas Cabinet ministers, destruction of various Palestinian ministries, threats to assassinate Palestinian ministers and on the whole arrest of over 70 leading members of Hamas [comprising of 40 members of parliament and ministers] were the consequences of Israeli politics of terror on the pretext of release of one abducted Israeli soldier. The state of affairs began two weeks before the 33 days of Israel-Lebanon war and continued few months after the war ended.

### **B. The Position of Hizbollah of Lebanon before the Beginning of War**

Before the start of Israeli attack on Lebanon, several important changes and developments were going on in this country. These included the movement for 'National Dialogue', the international investigation of the assassination of Rafiq Hariri and 'UN Security Council resolution # 1559 and its consequences.' These will be discussed briefly.

#### **1. The National Dialogue**

The National Dialogue [al-Hiwar al-Watani] that was the brain child of Nabih Berri, the head of Amal Movement and the speaker of Lebanese parliament, was propagated to reach a consensus among various political parties, movements and groups within the country on sensitive, security, political and crucial national issues. This dialogue played important role in preventing the internal conflict and another civil war in Lebanon. During this national dialogue sessions, General Michel Aoun, the head the Free Patriotic Movement, Samir Geagea, the leader of the Lebanese Forces, Nasrallah Sfeir, the Cardinal and the Spiritual Leader of the Lebanese Maronite Christians, Sa'ad Hariri, the head of Future Movement [Sunnis], Walid Junblatt, the leader of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon [Druzis], Nabih Berri, the head of Amal Shiite Movement and Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah, the Secretary General of Lebanese Hizbollah Movement participated.

The disarmament of Palestinian militias inside Lebanon, presidential mandate of Emile Lahud, the relations of Lebanon and Syria and drawing of boundary line between these two countries, Shebaa Farms, UN Security Council Resolution # 1559 that called for the disarmament of weapons of Hizbollah were among the important topics that were discussed during various sessions of National Dialogue.

## Chapter 1: Analysis of the Conditions before the War

On the topic of disarmament of Palestinian militias in Lebanon, all the parties agreed that six months period should be given to various Palestinian groups for disarmament and handover of their weapons. And this process should start from within the Palestinian camps and end at the military posts and headquarters of Palestinian groups. This issue, within a short period time after its acceptance by all the parties was lost and dropped out of implementation because of political interest of Hariri's faction [the governing political faction of Lebanon] which wanted to disrupt the dialogue and secret negotiations of this Sunni faction with Palestinian groups within Lebanon to exploit the religious beliefs [Sunni Muslim] of Palestinians for their own power struggle within Lebanese politics. Palestinian groups were offered Lebanese nationality and financial support in return for their loyalty to Hariri's Future Movement and so the issue of disarmament was lost with time.

On the issue of extension of presidential mandate of Emile Lahud, the 14<sup>th</sup> March Alliance [comprising of Lebanese political groups that were severely opposed to Syrian presence in Lebanon and pursuing by all means the disarmament of Hizbollah's weapons] were bitterly against any extension of Emile Lahud's presidency. Hizbollah was the only party that supported Emile Lahud's mandate because it believed that he is the only person in that position to rescue the country. Hizbollah accepted that in case 14<sup>th</sup> March Alliance is able to bring another candidate for presidency with the consensus of all other factions, it will withdraw its support for Emile Lahud. However, as this alliance wasn't able to agree upon single candidate because of their internal disputes, the issue of presidency too was left behind without any consensus and was lost with time.

Topic of relations between Lebanon and Syria was the only one where total consensus of all the parties was seen during the national dialogue discussion sessions. All parties agreed that diplomatic relations with Syria should be established and that both the countries should take practical steps to demarcate the boundaries between them.

On the issue of Shebaa Farms, 14<sup>th</sup> March Alliance was forced to accept that fact that this area belongs to Lebanon [with the condition that Syria too agrees on it] and is currently occupied by the Zionist regime and until it remains occupied, the resistance of Hizbollah is lawful and legitimate.

The most important topic and the serious discussions that took place in the last sessions of National Dialogue between various political factions and that was left incomplete due to Israeli war on Lebanon, was the topic of 'disarmament of Hizbollah.' Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah during these dialogue sessions put forth various defense proposals on the basis

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

of which the existence of arms of Hizbollah were placed within the frame work of Lebanese National Defense Strategy.

These proposals were opposed by Samir Geagea and Walid Junblatt. Geagea in response to proposals of Hizbollah, proposed that 15,000 international peace keeping forces should be stationed at the Lebanese – Israeli border as a factor that would reduce Israeli threats. Junblatt too for minimizing tensions with Israel emphasized the acceptance of peace treaty of 1949 between Lebanon and Israel.

### **2. The Dossier of Investigation of Assassination of Rafiq Hariri**

The way in which investigation of the assassination of Rafiq Hariri<sup>16</sup>, ex-Prime Minister of Lebanon that was carried out through an International Independent Investigation Commission of the United Nations<sup>17</sup> was inter alia an important development with serious consequences inside Lebanon before the start of war with Israel. The available evidence showed that Serge Brammertz<sup>18</sup>, a judge and Belgian head of the investigation commission who replaced Detlev Mehlis<sup>19</sup>, the previous head of Commission, as opposed to his predecessor Mehlis<sup>20</sup> who ignored the ground, technical and legal evidences, and only on the basis of specific political reasons, held Syria responsible for assassination of Rafiq Hariri, reached the conclusion that Syria had no involvement in the assassination of Rafiq Hariri. On the other hand, involvement of Wahabi extremist groups [linked to al-Qaida] and

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<sup>16</sup>In Arabic Rafiq al-Hariri

<sup>17</sup>This Commission was established after adoption of UN Security Council Resolution #1595, on 9<sup>th</sup> April, 2005.

<sup>18</sup>He replaced Mehlis on 11<sup>th</sup> January, 2006. On 24<sup>th</sup> March, 2009, Antonio Cassese was appointed the President of the tribunal by new UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon. The estimated cost of this investigation for 3 years was US \$120 million. However, until recently no final result was available from this long lasting inquiry. One of the reasons is the involvement of US in its affairs.

<sup>19</sup>The then United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan appointed Mehlis as the Head of Commission. The past professional life of Mehlis indicates that he had links with Western and Israeli intelligence services. His report was widely condemned as biased.

<sup>20</sup>Mehlis report came out on 19<sup>th</sup> October, 2005 and can be accessed at: <<http://www.un.org/News/dh/docs/mehlisreport/>>

## Chapter 1: Analysis of the Conditions before the War

Israel<sup>21</sup> was more prominent in Brammertz's report.<sup>22</sup> While this conclusion that was widely expected, if it was announced earlier [it was announced just few days before 33 days war], it could have had catastrophic effect on Lebanon's political climate and questioned the very legitimacy of the political groups linked to ruling 14<sup>th</sup> March Alliance, the Governing Cabinet and the Parliamentary majority that exploited the psychological environment which prevailed after the assassination of Rafiq Hariri and by accusing Syria, grabbed the government in their hands. It could have seriously challenged the ruling alliance.

The decline of power and influence of the Lebanese government under the leadership of Future Movement [Sa'ad Hariri's party and other anti-Syrian factions] soon started because of its inability to fulfill promises it made during election campaign. Similarly, the rise of inflation, increasing un-employment and internal conflicts, all of which were the consequences of actions of this government, which led to an overall gradual disapproval and increase in criticisms at the public level against Fouad Siniora's government. On the whole, just before the start of 33 days war, a wave of public demonstrations and strikes against Siniora's government's policies and practices had already started and was rapidly expanding.

### 3. Resolution # 1559 and its Consequences

The adoption of UN Security Council Resolution # 1559 that emphasized the withdrawal of Syria from Lebanon and disarmament of militias including Hizbollah, had pivotal impact on the internal developments in Lebanon before the start of Israeli war on this country.

Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon was the first successful phase of the execution of Resolution # 1559 of the Security Council. However, as mentioned earlier, during National

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<sup>21</sup>Similar conclusions were reached by several well-known international investigators and journalists. Most notable of them is Jürgen Cain Külbel, a former German criminal investigator. Külbel maintains in his book "The murder of Hariri", that the CIA and the Mossad are responsible for Hariri's assassination. According to Külbel, one hour before Hariri's murder, the jamming device for remote control bombs, which was installed in his car, was turned off. And that Israel as the inventor and sole manufacturer of this device was the only country in position to turn it off, thereby making Hariri's motorcade susceptible to remote control bombs. Külbel furthermore alleged that both the US and Israel wanted to bring down the Syrian government, and that they needed an event such as the assassination of Hariri in order to weaken Syria and have it vulnerable and ready for a possible invasion, like the 2003 US invasion of Iraq.

<sup>22</sup>This report was presented on 9<sup>th</sup> June, 2006. Two earlier reports were also presented by Brammertz. Interestingly while he praised Syrian cooperation in his reports, the adopted UN SC resolutions actually criticized Syria.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

Dialogue sessions, the participants weren't able to reach consensus on all the clauses of Resolution # 1559. Hizbollah of Lebanon and the Amal Movement both of which represented the Shia faction of the Lebanese Society in the National Dialogue, were severely opposed the disarmament of Hizbollah and labeled the Resolution # 1559 as open involvement in the internal affairs of Lebanon and were strictly against its implementation.

In this situation Junblatt, Geagea, Hariri, Siniora, Nasrallah Sfeir, Amine Gemayel and other leading personalities of 14<sup>th</sup> March Alliance were supporting the implementation of Resolution # 1559 and disarmament of Hizbollah while Michel Aoun, the leader of Free Patriotic Movement, was of the view that Hizbollah's resistance is legitimate and legal until the Shebaa Farms area is occupied by the Zionist regime and wanted that the Resolution # 1559 should be implemented after the withdrawal of Israel from Shebaa Farms.

Inability of political factions inside Lebanon that were opposed to Hizbollah in implementing the clause in the Resolution # 1559 related to the disarmament of Hizbollah was because of serious differences on the key view issues between various Lebanese political groups and factions and also because of the superior military and security power of Hizbollah is thwarting and dealing with all the tactics and proposals related to disarmament. This resulted in external factors [US, European Union and Israel] to intervene and execute their own plans that would lead to implement Resolution # 1559. These plans, according to the views of leading military and political analysts, were seen to materialize in the form of Israeli military attack against Lebanon.

The growing weak position of US-Israeli Alliance in Lebanon –popularly known as the 14<sup>th</sup> March Alliance and increasing strength of Iran-Syria axis known as 8<sup>th</sup> March Alliance was a serious warning for West, including France and US that they cannot rely more on Lebanese internal groups for the achievement of their objectives in Lebanon- the leading objectives being the 'Disarmament of Hizbollah', 'Weakening of Hizbollah's communication with Iran and Syria', and 'Limiting Iranian and Syrian influence inside Lebanon'.

The 14<sup>th</sup> March Alliance because of it unrealistic, extremist and exaggerated slogans and manifesto on the political front in Lebanon such as disarmament of Hizbollah, removal of Emile Lahud from the seat of Presidency of Lebanon and planned proposal for specific time for implementation of the above two events, threats to carryout widespread demonstrations and similarly planned strategy to carryout mass level slogans against Syria and make serious accusations against Syria to the point that they wanted regime change in Syria. All these plans, strategies and tactics ended in failure which caused the supporters of this



## Chapter 1: Analysis of the Conditions before the War

alliance in Lebanon to lose hope and trust in their leaders and this led to decline of public support and weakened political status of this alliance.

This alliance other than the gradual loss of its supporters, from the point of view of an organization too suffered serious rifts from inside. Serious difference between Michel Aoun and Walid Junblatt and Geagea and differences between Sa'ad Hariri and Geagea and Junblatt on important political issues related to Lebanon's national interests led to this US-Israeli Alliance which had majority in the Parliament and government Cabinet, to sink at the brink of political collapse and so the last hope of the Western world and Israel for achieving their objectives in Lebanon would turn into utter failure. This situation led US, France and even some of the Arab countries in the region such as Saudi Arabia [supporter of Sunni Future Movement] to consider that for the prevention of further weakening of position of ruling alliance in Lebanon, they must take reigns of Lebanon more effectively in their own hands. Thus by giving green signal to Israel to carryout widespread attack on Lebanon, they planned to change the prevalent atmosphere to that which they hoped will be their favor and wanted by them in future.



## Chapter 2

# Diplomatic Efforts During the War

### A. Sessions, Conferences and Meetings

#### 1. Special Sessions of the United Nations Security Council

Security Council held several sessions during the war that are briefly mentioned below:

##### **1<sup>st</sup> Session: 14<sup>th</sup> July 2006**

Three days after the beginning of Israeli aggression on Lebanon, the Security Council of the United Nations held an emergency session to start investigation of the crises. In that session held on 14<sup>th</sup> July, 2006, the US vetoed the resolution that was drafted by Arab countries and presented for adoption by Security Council. This drafted resolution against Israel called for this regime to stop its military aggression against Lebanon. The draft of this resolution that was supported by Qatar as a representative of Arab countries, severely condemned Israel for savage massacres of Lebanese civilians and putting in danger the lives of Lebanese population and held Israel responsible for these crimes and asked Israel to stop its attacks immediately.

##### **2<sup>nd</sup> Session: 26<sup>th</sup> July, 2006**

On 14<sup>th</sup> day of war, i.e. 26<sup>th</sup> July, 2006, after the aerial bombardment of the UNIFIL headquarters in South Lebanon by Israeli warplanes that killed four UNIFIL soldiers, United Nations Security Council held emergency session. However, because of meddling of John Bolton<sup>23</sup>, the US representative in United Nations, the Security Council wasn't able to reach a consensus and issue a declaration condemning the killing of UN military observers in Lebanon.

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<sup>23</sup>John Bolton was 25<sup>th</sup> US representative in UN. He is a well-known neoconservative and a close friend of Bush. He serves as expert and think tank on various pro-Zionist organizations. For example, currently he is a commentator for Fox News and also a board member of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs. He is famous for use of outspoken and offensive language.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

### **3<sup>rd</sup> Session: 30<sup>th</sup> July, 2006 on Qana Massacre<sup>24</sup>**

After the massacre of 57 infants, children and women in the village of Qana, located in South Lebanon on Sunday, 30<sup>th</sup> July by Israeli warplanes bombardment, Security Council of the United Nations called for an emergency session. The Security Council in its very mild-worded resolution # 1697<sup>25</sup> avoided condemning Israel and only used the phrase of 'deepest concern' for this massacre. This statement was so weak that Kofi Annan<sup>26</sup>, the then Secretary General criticized the adoption of this statement by Security Council.

### **4<sup>th</sup> Session: 12<sup>th</sup> August, 2006**

Ultimately after successive Israeli defeats at the hands of Hizbollah in the stage of military war while facing the courageous resistance fighters of this movement, and after US was convinced that Israel cannot face Hizbollah anymore, the Security Council adopted amended version of an earlier draft put forth by France and US for ceasefire between Hizbollah of Lebanon and Israel. This famous Security Council Resolution # 1701<sup>27</sup> was adopted on Saturday 11<sup>th</sup> August, 2006 which called for immediate ceasefire and stop of hostilities from the two sides and deployment of UNIFIL and Lebanese army in the South of Lebanon and emphasized simultaneous withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied areas in the South of this country.

## **2. Meetings of Arab Foreign Ministers**

The Foreign Ministers of Arab Countries held two meetings [Cairo and Beirut] during the course of the Lebanese crisis.

### **The First Meeting of the Arab Foreign Ministers**

The first meeting of the Arab Foreign Ministers was held on 15<sup>th</sup> July, 2006 in Cairo with the presence of 18 out of the 22 foreign ministers and without the presence of Syrian Foreign Minister and with serious disagreements among those who participated. The participating

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<sup>24</sup>Also known as the second Qana massacre. It was condemned world widely by various governments and Human Rights and Peace NGO's. It further isolated the Zionist regime from the world community. Demonstrations were held in several countries, including US, Canada, Europe, Asia and Africa. The first massacre took place in 1996 when Israel's artillery shelling killed over 110 Lebanese civilians, mostly women and children who had taken shelter inside UNIFIL compound in Qana.

<sup>25</sup> Full text at:

<<http://ods-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/450/28/PDF/N0645028.pdf?OpenElement>>

<sup>26</sup> Full text of Kofi Annan's speech on Qana massacre can be accessed at:

<<http://www.un.org/apps/sg/sgstats.asp?nid=2152>>

<sup>27</sup> Full text at:

<<http://ods-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/465/03/PDF/N0646503.pdf?OpenElement>>

## Chapter 2: Diplomatic Efforts During the War

countries had lack of consensus on the legitimacy of Hizbollah's attacks on Israel and its abduction of the two Israeli soldiers. However, they all condemned the Israeli aggressions on Lebanon and demanded that Security Council should investigate and find solution to Lebanese –Israel crisis and organize an extra-ordinary session to prevent escalation of military conflict in the region. Similarly it called for Israel to take responsibility of all its actions and take urgent and immediate steps to stop its military operations.

### **The Second Meeting of the Arab Foreign Ministers**

The second meeting of the Arab Foreign Ministers took place in Beirut with the participation of 22 representatives including Syrian Foreign Minister on Monday, 7<sup>th</sup> August, 2006 at the time when France and US had reached agreement on a proposal to find solution to Lebanese crisis. It was decided that this proposal will be put forth in Security Council session. Lebanon had rejected the proposal and called it as a means to secure the interests of Zionist regime. The reason was that there was no mention in that proposal on the withdrawal of Zionist troops from South Lebanon. The Arab Foreign Ministers too agreed while rejecting the drafted proposal of US and France, and pointed to the trip of Qatar and UAE Foreign Ministers and Secretary General of Arab League to New York next day for meeting on the drafted version of US-French resolution would seek amendments to it.

## **3. Meetings of European Union on Lebanese Crisis**

### **The Meeting of 17<sup>th</sup> July, 2006**

On Monday, 17<sup>th</sup> July, the Foreign Ministers of the European Union countries had a meeting in Brussels. In this meeting they gave a warning to Zionist ~~Error~~ regime and Hizbollah over their military conflict saying that it jeopardizes the security of Middle East. The statement of European Foreign Ministers emphasized the respect of Lebanese territorial integrity, stop of disproportional military actions of Israel and end to the hostage taking of Israeli soldiers.

### **The Meeting of 1<sup>st</sup> August, 2006**

In the meeting of Foreign Ministers of European Union on 1<sup>st</sup> August, it was again demanded to immediately stop the war between Hizbollah and Israel and need for ceasefire was stressed. The Foreign Minister of Finland, whose country was holding the seat of rotating presidency of European Union at that time, announced in the meeting that Israeli policies of military operation and aggression are not acceptable and will alone lead to expansion of fundamentalism in the region.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

### 4. The Conference of Rome

After 12 days<sup>28</sup> of the beginning of Israeli aggression against Lebanon, a conference<sup>29</sup> was organized in Rome with the presence of 15 countries. The conference, as it was predicted, didn't carry with it any change in the status quo of the crisis and because of US attitude<sup>30</sup> and policies to sabotage its main aim, ended in failure. During this conference, the US was against any proposal that suggested or even pointed to ceasefire between Hizbollah and Israel and was expecting that Israel will be able to take the advantage of political climate and with its military power will be able to close the case of Hizbollah in Lebanon forever and will help US achieve its main objective in the region and that was creation of the New Middle East.

The declaration at the end of Rome conference, without mentioning any necessity for ceasefire between Hizbollah and Israel, discussed few points and focused on following items:

1. Request to the Lebanese government to take complete control of the South of this country.
2. Welcome the international peace keeping forces under the auspices of United Nations to help Lebanese army.
3. Need for implementation of Resolution # 1559 of the UN Security Council for disarmament of Hizbollah and Palestinian groups in Lebanon
4. Support for sending humanitarian aid to Lebanon
5. Emphasized that Israel should exercise self-control

It is important to note that representatives of all the countries except US had called for necessity for immediate ceasefire between Israel and Hizbollah in the Rome conference; however it was only US that blocked all the efforts in that direction.

### 5. Emergency meeting of the Organization of Islamic Conference

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<sup>28</sup>The conference began on 26<sup>th</sup> July 2006 and continued for two days.

<sup>29</sup>This conference was hosted by Italy and attended by representatives of Italy, the United States, the United Nations, Canada, Cyprus, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Jordan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the European Union (High Representative, Finnish Presidency, Commission), and the World Bank.

<sup>30</sup>US representative Condoleezza Rice said at the conference: "We all committed to dedicated and urgent action to try and bring about an end to this violence that indeed would be sustainable, that would leave the Lebanese government with the prospect of full control of its country," she said. "This is very important. We cannot -- and I've heard it many, many times during this conference -- we cannot return to the status quo ante." What she meant by 'sustainable and full control,' was Lebanon without Hizbollah as desired by Israel and US.

## Chapter 2: Diplomatic Efforts During the War

The meeting of executive committee of the Organization of Islamic Conference in order to pursue the developments in the Middle East, especially the Zionist regime's aggressions on Lebanon and Palestine took place with the presence of 17 countries out of the total of 56 Islamic countries in Putrajaya, Malaysia on Thursday 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 2006. In this meeting<sup>31</sup>, the member Islamic countries discussed various ways to find solution to the crisis in Lebanon and Palestine.

At the end of meeting a declaration<sup>32</sup> was issued by the participants that emphasized on following issues:

1. Full support for Lebanon in face of Israeli aggressions
2. Interest of Islamic countries for sending their soldiers in UNIFIL
3. Support for 7 point proposal by Fouad Siniora
4. Request to United Nations Security Council for implementation of immediate ceasefire in the region.

### **B. Proposals and Plans put forth for ending the Crisis**

#### **1. The 7-point plan of Fouad Siniora**

This 7 point plan was presented by Fouad Siniora, then Prime Minister of Lebanon at the Rome Conference on 27<sup>th</sup> July, 2006 and was accepted and agreed upon by the Arab and Islamic countries. The 7 points of this plan can be summarized below as:

1. Immediate need for cessation of types of military operations and rocket attacks
2. Need for withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied areas of Lebanon and deployment of an international peace force at the border areas between Lebanon and Occupied Palestine.
3. Strengthening of role of Lebanese army in the South
4. The importance of full withdrawal of Israel and respect for Lebanese sovereign authority on its own soil so as to facilitate the implementation of Resolution # 1559 of UN Security Council and reject any type of pretext and excuses and end any type of internal conflicts within Lebanon and region about this issue.
5. Disarmament of weapons of all militias
6. Convert Hizbollah into a political movement

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<sup>31</sup>This meeting was chaired by the Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, the Prime Minister of Malaysia.

<sup>32</sup>Known as Putrajaya Declaration. Full text at:

<<http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/A5E70F8698362718852571C70060726F>>

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

7. Realization of importance of campaign for the reconstruction of Lebanon and repair the infrastructure destroyed due to war and secure Arab and international support for this purpose.

### **2. The 3 point Syrian Plan**

Walid Muallem, the Foreign Minister of Syria in his meeting with German envoy Hurst Freinig discussed Damascus three point peace proposal for immediate ceasefire. The contents of this three point proposal include:

1. Implementation of immediate ceasefire
2. Release of all prisoners
3. Serious international efforts for seeking practical ways to find solutions to Arabs and Israeli conflicts based on past UN Security Council Resolutions and on ground realities based on peace.

### **3. Proposal of US Foreign Minister**

Condoleezza Rice, then US Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs who had described the Israeli aggression on Lebanon as a step towards the creation of the New Middle East, due to repeated defeats of the Zionist regime at the hands of Hizbollah 14 days after the beginning of war, proposed a plan for ending the expansion of war and solution to the crisis between Israel and Hizbollah. For this purpose, she also travelled twice to the region and several times sent her assistant David Welch<sup>33</sup> to the Middle East. Rice's Plan included following items:

1. Implementation of ceasefire
2. Deployment of Lebanese army in the South
3. Stronger role of United Nations Peace keeping forces i.e. UNIFIL
4. Creation of a zone South of Litani River 30 km long that should be free of weapons
5. Exchange of prisoners
6. Withdrawal of Israel from Shebaa Farms if it's proved that this region belongs to Lebanon
7. Financial aid from US to Lebanese government for the reconstruction of war torn regions.

### **4. Proposal of Kofi Annan, the UN Secretary General**

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<sup>33</sup>Welch was sworn in as the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs on 18<sup>th</sup> March, 2005. He speaks fluent Arabic and Spanish. Prior to this appointment he had extensive diplomatic experience in various capacities in the Middle East and was the key person in implementing US policies in the region.



## Chapter 2: Diplomatic Efforts During the War

Kofi Annan, then UN Secretary General of the United Nations, 8 days after the beginning of the Israeli aggression on Lebanon, on Thursday, 20<sup>th</sup> July, 2006 proposed a plan to find solution for the crisis between Hizbollah and Israel. This plan had few steps and required that Hizbollah should handover the two Israeli soldiers under the supervision of the International Committee of Red Cross to the Lebanese government. The plan also wanted the Lebanese government to act within the framework of UN Security Council Resolutions 1559 and 1680 and formally recognize the strip of water between the boundary of Lebanon and Israel and also accept the responsibility of all the actions taken by it inside Lebanon.

### **5. Resolution # 1701 of the United Nations Security Council**

Security Council on 11<sup>th</sup> August, 2006 adopted the Resolution # 1701 to stop all the ground hostilities between Hizbollah and Israel with 15 votes in favor by the members of the its council. Most important points of this resolution are:

1. Concerns of the Security Council over escalation of conflicts in Lebanon and Israel and its request for immediate cessation of war.
2. Release of two abducted Israeli soldiers without any conditions.
3. Support for efforts to find solution for the Lebanese prisoners in Israel.
4. Support for the 7 point plan of Fouad Siniora, the Prime Minister of Lebanon.
5. Withdrawal of Israel at the most possible near time point in future from the South Lebanon.
6. Deployment of 15,000 UNIFIL forces with 15,000 Lebanese army soldiers in the South of this country.
7. Respect by the parties for the sea boundaries.
8. Total implementation of the Taif Agreement<sup>34</sup> based on disarmament of all the Lebanese groups.
9. Total implementation of Resolutions # 1559 [2004] and 1680 [2006] based on disarmament of all Lebanese and Palestinian militias.
10. The presence of foreign troops in Lebanon only with the agreement of the government of Lebanon.

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<sup>34</sup>Signed in 1989 in the Saudi city of Taif. It was in fact a 'National Reconciliation Accord' that provided the basis for the ending decades long civil war in Lebanon and its return to political normalcy and reasserted Lebanese authority in South Lebanon (then occupied by Israel) by allowing Hizbollah, Fatah and Hamas to keep their arms and act as resisting force. It allowed Syria to maintain its troops in Lebanon which played very important role in ending the civil war and as partial deterrence to Zionist invasion.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

11. Submission of maps of areas where mines were laid in Lebanon to United Nations by Israel.
12. Request of Secretary General to Security Council to submit report on the progress of the implementation of the resolution.
13. To seriously pursue Lebanon's war dossier in future.

### C. Reactions of the two Warring Parties towards Proposals and Meetings

#### 1. Hizbollah

Hizbollah movement at various stages of the war, every time when a plan or proposal was put forth of ceasefire with Israel, from any international body, or country or personality, made it clear that it will only accept ceasefire with Israel on two conditions:

1. Any ceasefire proposal should be totally unconditional
2. Exchange of prisoners should take place through indirect negotiations

With these two conditions set forth by Hizbollah, following text discusses the reactions of Hizbollah officials to the proposed plans and suggestions put forth in various meetings during the war.

Mohammad Ra'ad, Hizbollah's representative in the Lebanese parliament and one of the prominent figures of this movement, in reaction to the Rome conference expressed his views as: 'Hizbollah considers US responsible for the failure of Rome conference held for Lebanon. US government by using its contacts and influence in Rome conference put pressure on the participants so that no reasonable solution could be agreed upon implementation of immediate and lasting ceasefire against the Zionist **Error! Bookmark not defined.** regime's aggressions. The US pressure was the real reason so that the participants in the Rome conference didn't condemn killing of UNIFIL forces in Lebanon at the hands of Zionist soldiers and would only content on fact-finding of this incident.'

Similarly, in response to the 7 point plan of Siniora, he said: 'Hizbollah doesn't agree with anything in the plan proposed by the prime minister of Lebanon other than the ceasefire and the exchange of prisoners. And other than these two issues, it is not bound by any means to accept any other issues of the proposed plan and doesn't have any responsibility towards their execution.'

## Chapter 2: Diplomatic Efforts During the War

Hussein Hajj Hassan<sup>35</sup> another representative of Hizbollah and among members of its political office in reaction to Kofi Annan's peace proposal said: 'Hizbollah has rejected the plan proposed by the Secretary General of the United Nations on the grounds that it didn't point to the issue of exchange of prisoners and putting conditions for the end of military hostilities. It's natural that we would reject any of such proposals. The only thing that we would accept is the un-conditional ceasefire and with that, indirect negotiations for the exchange of prisoners.'

Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah, the Secretary General of Hizbollah in response to the conferences, meetings and proposed plans of Arab leaders and their role in the Lebanese crisis, in an interview with Al-Jazeera network, expressed his views as: 'During conferences and meetings, the Arab leaders expressed their views to Israel that still there is historic and golden chance to wipe out resistance. Israel started this war on Lebanon with behind the doors international and Arab support and if the war of Israel on Lebanon wasn't supported internationally and by the Arabs, it was possible that I would have ended very soon. We would accept that the Arab governments should be impartial. However, we didn't anticipate that they would participate in massacres, killings and aggressions and support the crimes of the vicious Zionist entity, and we didn't expect any other thing.'

In response to the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution # 1701, Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah in a TV interview that was aired by the Al-Manar TV network, while discussing the Hizbollah's position towards this resolution and its complete acceptance once it was adopted by the UN Security Council for ceasefire in Lebanon, pointed out that Hizbollah has reservations towards and said: 'In spite of all the reservations and in addition to the fact that some of the points of this resolution are unjust and oppressive, Hizbollah will not stand in the way of the decisions made by Lebanese government and will be supportive of every decision of this government. If it weren't the steadfastness of the Lebanese government and nation in face of the enemy, perhaps the national security and political consequences of this war were much more disastrous than those that are expected due of some of the clauses of

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<sup>35</sup>He is a Lebanese politician born in the Beqaa Valley in 1960. He holds PhD in molecular biophysical chemistry from the University of Orléans, France in 1987. He won seat in Lebanon's 1996 general election and was elected MP of the Beqaa's Baalbeck/Hermel constituency. He was reelected in the 2000, 2005 and 2009 polls. From 2000 to 2005 he led the parliamentary commission on Agriculture and Tourism. Since 9<sup>th</sup> November 2009, he is the Minister of Agriculture in Sa'ad Hariri's national unity government and has initiated a reform policy within his ministry.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

this resolution. The adoption of this resolution by the Security Council under all the prevalent conditions and on the top of all, full support of US and Israel was natural.'

### 2. Israel

Ehud Olmert, the Zionist regime's prime minister, in spite of the fact that this regime started the 33 days military aggression on Lebanon, put forth 3 conditions to be executed before the acceptance of any plan and negotiation for the ceasefire:

1. Freedom of the 2 abducted Israeli soldiers by Hizbollah
2. Stop of rocket fire by Hizbollah towards the Zionist settlements in northern Israel
3. Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution # 1559 by the Lebanese government that calls for the disarmament of Hizbollah

The Israeli government with its imagination that it is going to be the sole winner of this war, would strongly reject any proposal for ceasefire in the first few days of war. US too, being a major supporter and sponsor of Israel in the international system, by its opposition, led to failure of every meeting, conference and peace plan that was proposed and in this regard, the Conference of Rome, the meetings of the UN Security Council and the European Union can be pointed out.

With regards to the Rome Conference, Haim Ramon<sup>36</sup>, the Israeli minister of Justice announced that this international conference without agreement on ceasefire was actually a green signal to Israel to continue its attacks on Lebanon. He in an interview on Israeli Radio said: 'It's a reality, that in Rome we got permission to continue our military operation so that Hizbollah should no longer exist in South of Lebanon and should be disarmed.'

Israel during various peace proposals put forth for ceasefire, only accepted Condoleezza Rice's proposal. This proposal only considered Israel's interests and so was accepted by Israel. It was rejected by other countries including Lebanon, and also by Hizbollah for it being one-sided and only safe guarding the interests of Zionist regime.

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<sup>36</sup>During the 33 days war, Ramon emerged as one of the most hawkish members of cabinet. He is quoted to have said: 'Everyone who lives in South Lebanon is a criminal.' He is senior Israeli politician and was member of Knesset for 9 terms. During the war he was indicted for sexual offence and announced his resignation on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2006. He was convicted on 31<sup>st</sup> January 2007 and sentenced to community service. He returned to Olmert's government in July 2007 as Vice Premier and Minister for responsibility of state policy and special missions. On 30<sup>th</sup> June 2009, Ramon announced his resignation from the Knesset and declared to become a private businessman, but he still is the chairman of the Kadima Council, which is the party's most powerful body.

## Chapter 2: Diplomatic Efforts During the War

During these diplomatic developments, Israel even rejected the peace plan proposed by Kofi Annan which in its favor. Dan Gillerman<sup>37</sup>, the Israeli ambassador to the UN while showing his displeasure to Kofi Annan's proposal said: 'In the proposal put forth by Annan, there is no mention of Iran, Syria and Terrorism. Thus, Israeli army will continue bombardment of Lebanon for achieving its objectives.'

These views expressed from time to time by the Israeli government officials indicate their total arrogance and confidence in winning the war. However, the heavy defeats suffered by the Israeli army in coming days, slowly led to doubts and denials among these officials about the defeat in war with Hizbollah. The successive defeats of Israel at the hands of resistance fighters of Hizbollah created a wave of fear and paranoia among the Israeli war commanders to the point that Ehud Olmert and Amer Peretz<sup>38</sup> started considering political solution [which they were totally against in the beginning] and diplomatic efforts and the subsequent to it, started focusing on various peace proposals from involved countries and international bodies and this change of attitude was seen in Israeli government's serious consideration to the views of international community during the last days of war.

The Israeli government officials while quickly withdrawing from their initial position on war were now only satisfied with two conditions: Withdrawal of Hizbollah to the north of Litani River and Deployment of UNIFIL in South Lebanon. And it also rolled back from the Disarmament of Hizbollah as the main pre-condition for any kind of ceasefire agreement.

The height of fall of Israel from its initial position was its acceptance of the UN resolution # 1701. The drafted version of the resolution # 1701 was written totally in favor of Israeli interests. However, with its subsequent amendments and discussion on various related topics including 'focus on release of Lebanese prisoners and liberation of Shebaa Farms', 'support for peace plan proposed by Lebanese prime minister Siniora', changed the theme

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<sup>37</sup>Left this post in January 2008. In April 2008, Gillerman referred to former US President Jimmy Carter as a bigot for his meeting in Syria with Hamas leader Khalid Mish'al.

<sup>38</sup>A Moroccan Zionist Jew whose parents migrated to Israel in 1956. He led the Labour Party to a second place showing in the 2006 elections and became Defense Minister on 4<sup>th</sup> May 2006, just few weeks before the war. Is performance in war was widely condemned inside Israel. For example, in the last 48 hours of the war, Peretz pushed for a massive ground operation and land troops were flown by helicopters to seize the ground between the Israeli-Lebanese border and the river Litani. In this operation more than 33 Israeli soldiers were killed, and much anger was created amongst the Israeli public. He was defeated by Ehud Barak for the Labour leadership on 12<sup>th</sup> June 2007 and he then left defense ministry and resigned from the cabinet.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

of the drafted version of resolution which was in favor of Israel and Israeli politicians were left with no choice but to accept this resolution in their cabinet and unwilling seal their approval to its implementation.

### D. Reactions to War

#### 1. Reaction of Countries in the Middle East Region

The positions adopted by the Islamic countries in the Middle East were seen to fall into two groups: On one side was a triangle of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan while on the other side were Iran, Syria, Turkey and Yemen and these two major groups represented two blocks that were positioned opposed to each other.

The Saudi Arabian government in the beginning days of war by releasing a statement labeled the military operation of Hizbollah against the Zionist aggressors [that was seen as self-defense] as 'adventure.' In this statement, it was mentioned that since no clearly marked boundary exists between legitimate and legal resistance and adventure, there is a difference between the two. It stated: 'Some people without getting formal permission from their legal government and without any previous consultation or coordination with Arabian countries have resorted to adventure and so will themselves bear the full responsibility of the crisis created as a result of it.'

Saudi Arabia in the subsequent days of war in face of increasing Israeli aggressions on the people of Lebanon either adopted silence or gave promises of financial support to Lebanon for the reconstruction of the war torn regions. In the last days of war with the increasing support of the general public and the population of Arabian countries [including Shias and Sunnis] for the military operation of Hizbollah and fear of the Arab world leaders for the increasing deep and wide gap between them and the Arab nations, Saudi Arabia was forced to unwillingly adopted a new policy. In this regards, Saud al-Faisal,<sup>39</sup> the Saudi Foreign Minister announced that his country doesn't under estimate the values of national resistance in Lebanon or defense against occupation of lands and supports the resistance against occupation.

Hosni Mubarak, the president of Egypt, in the beginning of war adopted position against Hizbollah and expressed his views: 'the escalation of violence in the Middle East has led to a scene of adventures that will not serve the interests of Arab countries.' During the last

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<sup>39</sup>Full name Saud bin Faisal bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud, born 1940 in Taif, Saudi Arabia, he was appointed to that position in 1975 by the then King Khalid.

## Chapter 2: Diplomatic Efforts During the War

days of war and after witnessing the successive defeats of the Israeli army at the hands of Hizbollah fighters, he changed his stance and announced: 'Hizbollah is of the national groups inside Lebanon and it enjoys wide popularity and Egypt supports Lebanese national unity and refrains from interfering in the internal affairs of Lebanon.'

Jordan too which enjoys a lower status within the framework of regional political maneuvers, adopted a position to enhance its status in the region during the crisis. Abdullah, the King of Jordan, in unison with Saudi Arabia and Egypt accused Hizbollah of starting the war and announced that the actions of Hizbollah are against the interests of Arab world and will push the region 50 years back. He too, in the last days of war obviously changed his stance and expressed his views as: 'From the point of view of majority of Arab Society, Hizbollah is a resistance group against the occupiers of Lebanon and has the legal right to fight against the Israeli aggressions.'

Overall, the weak reaction of the leaders of Arab countries in response to Israeli aggression on Lebanon provided a green signal for expansion of these aggressions to wipe out Hizbollah. To point that Olmert, the Israeli prime minister, took the silence of major countries of the Arab world during the 33 days of war as indirect support to Israel and took it as matter of pride for his government.

Syria, Iran, Yemen and Turkey were the countries that right from the beginning of war, condemned the Israeli attacks on Lebanon, sought immediate ceasefire and supported the Hizbollah of Lebanon's resistance.

Among the countries of the Middle East, it seems that Qatar is at the point of playing new role. This country, while condemning Israeli attacks on Lebanon, suggested that secret negotiations between US and Israel should bring an end to Lebanese crisis. In this regards, Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabir al-Thani, the Qatari foreign minister, in response to questions of the reporters about the transport of American weapons to Israel via Qatar and their use in the bombardment and massacre of innocent people in Qana didn't confirm of such a reality, and avoided formally confirming or denying such a thing. He pointed out that Qatar is a very important partner of US in the Middle East and in request to investigate the possible transfer of US bombs to Israel said: 'Such occurrence would be taken as a weakness in the bilateral agreement between Doha and Washington.'

### 2. The Reaction of Countries outside Region

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

The stance adopted by the countries outside Middle East response to Lebanese crisis can be divided into two groups:

The first group comprised of US, England and Germany that defined and interpreted the Israeli aggression on Lebanon as legal acts of self-defense. The second group comprised of countries such as Italy, Spain, France, Austria, Switzerland, and Russia that while opposing the Israeli aggression and supporting Lebanon, labeled Israeli actions as disproportionate and exaggerated.

In this regards the role of US by all means was most obvious and prominent. George Bush, the president of US and other government officials of this country, from the very first day of war announced that they recognize the legal right of Israel to defend itself and this regime doesn't wish to stop its attacks and doesn't accept ceasefire. In this regards, Condoleezza Rice, the US Foreign minister expressed her views: 'This stage will be a difficult step for the creation of a new Middle East in which resistance groups such as Hamas and Hizbollah don't exist.'

Successive defeats of Israeli army while facing resistance fighters of Hizbollah and US fears about the continuation of such defeats and severity of insecure environment in the region, led the US government officials to change their stance and against the previously adopted position, they now put pressure on Israel for accepting the ceasefire.

The England government officials including Tony Blair too pursued the policies of US in the Middle East especially in the 33 days crisis and accused Iran and Syria as the perpetrators of war in the region and claimed that: 'Extremism is fed by Iran and Syria in the region and these two countries have determined to destroy freedom and democracy in the region.'

Italy and Spain were among the countries that while opposing severely the policies of US for defending the Israeli attacks on Lebanon, recognized the important position of Hizbollah of Lebanon. In this regards, the Italian foreign minister severally criticized US policies in the Middle East and emphasized that the Washington's support for Israel has led the Middle East to a blind alley. He similarly stated that 'Hizbollah is a political party and not a terrorist group.'



## Chapter 2: Diplomatic Efforts During the War

Zapatero,<sup>40</sup> the Spanish Prime Minister and the leftist politician of Spain, in the beginning days of Israeli aggression on Lebanon, by wearing the kaffiyeh<sup>41</sup> [a piece of cloth worn over head or shoulders as a symbol of Palestinian resistance] condemned the Israeli attacks on Lebanon.

France too in the context of unprecedented and disproportionate military reaction of Israel, called for the disarmament of Hizbollah within the implementation of Resolution # 1559.

Similarly, the Russian government too during the course of war, called for Israel and Hizbollah to observe restraints, and asked for immediate end of war and Israeli aggression on Lebanon as the first and most important step for the solution of crisis and stressed the need for implementation of ceasefire.

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<sup>40</sup>Full name: José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. He is the 5th and current Prime Minister of Spain since the 2004 general election and was re-elected for a 2<sup>nd</sup> term in 2008. He belongs to the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party. Some of the main actions taken by the Zapatero administration were the Spanish troops withdrawal from the Iraq war, which he did within a month after he took office.

<sup>41</sup>In Arabic 'kufiyyah'



## Chapter 3

# Political Consequences of the War

Occurrence of any war, crisis or disastrous situation especially if is very important, naturally carries with it various consequences. This trend is also truly predictable for political events and military developments. The 33 days war of Israel with Hizbollah of Lebanon too carried with it far reaching consequences. These consequences especially on the political front are important, widespread and require attention. The political consequences of war can be divided into two categories: for the Zionist Regime and for the Hizbollah of Lebanon.

### A. The Political Consequences of War for the Zionist Regime

The 33 day war left deep and widespread marks on the society of Zionist regime – the illegal occupier of Palestine and it's political and military infrastructure. The Zionist regime after 58 years of its political life in front of a guerrilla group Hizbollah, in spite of full and unlimited support of West and even some of the Arab countries, faced heavy defeat. The consequences of this great event in the history of Zionist regime can be explored at three levels: Internal level, Regional level and Beyond regional level.

#### 1. At the Internal Level

At this level, factors such as shelving the annexation plan, decreasing popularity of the ruling parties, the issue of deployment of UNIFIL in Gaza and lack of public trust in government will be briefly mentioned.

#### Shelving the Annexation Plan

Kadima party won the Israeli elections of March 2006 by securing 29 seats and the first rank on the slogan of implementation of plan for withdrawal and with the objective of providing better security and better living conditions. Ehud Olmert, in his interviews and speeches emphasized the top priority for the annexation plan. Even after the Kerem Shalom military operation by the Palestinians which resulted in abduction of an Israeli soldier, Olmert persisted to emphasize the execution of annexation plan.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

It is said that during the formation of Olmert's coalition cabinet, complete agreement with the Olmert's annexation plan was the main precondition of any political party that wished to join his cabinet. The Labour party and the Gil party with its retired members, formally announced their agreement with the annexation plan before joining the coalition. However, few other parties including the National Union party and the Israel Beiteinu because of their opposition to the annexation plan didn't join the ruling coalition.

After the 33 days conflict, Olmert in addition to his personal interest and due to the growing serious opposition to the annexation plan was forced to keep it aside from his political agenda. Within a week after the end of war, Olmert announced: 'Due to the war that occurred in South Lebanon and because of the serious damage and destruction that it inflicted upon the settlements and residents in the north of Israel, the annexation plan is no longer on the list of government's programs for implementation.'

Accordingly, weekly Palestinian magazine, Al-Manar wrote: Olmert announced the reasons for his withdrawal from the annexation plan in front of his cabinet as:

- The hopeless and faulty intelligence reports from US security services about developments in the region
- The incapability of the government to sustain more damages
- The state of confusion prevailing in the government after facing defeat in war against Hizbollah
- The US inclination towards Palestinian viewpoints with regards to annexation plan
- The US suggestions to Olmert to make some amendments in the annexation plan on the basis of the conclusions it reached in coordinated meetings with secret groups [comprising of Israeli, Palestinian, Egyptian and American groups]
- Giving one more chance to Abu Mazin

### **Decline in the popularity of ruling political parties**

The decline in the popularity of the parties ruling over Israel [Kadima, Labour, Shas and Gil] started with the abduction of the Israeli soldier by the Palestinians. This trend significantly progressed by the end of the 33 days war and reached a point where Olmert's popularity dropped from 78% to 40%. The status of Peretz, Defense Minister was worse than that of Olmert. Similarly on the basis of the survey carried out by the Global Research Institute<sup>42</sup> two days after the end of war, it was found that 53% Israelis believed that Israeli

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<sup>42</sup>International Institute based in Canada.

### Chapter 3: Political Consequences of the War

army faced defeat in its war on Lebanon. According to this survey, if elections were held at that time, Kadima party [with 29 seats in Knesset at that time] would win only 20 seats and Labour party [with 19 seats in Knesset at that time] would win only 7 seats. On the whole, over 60% of the people who had voted for Kadima and Labour parties expressed their views that they will not vote these two parties again. These data indicate that the future of Olmert's cabinet was uncertain and unprecedented new developments were expected in the government.

#### **Decline of Trust of Israelis in the Political Leaders of Zionist Regime**

The efforts of Israeli political and military leaders during the war with Lebanon for keeping the morale of the general public of Israeli society led them to give incorrect information to their people about the war. This issue even led to the fact that Israelis in order to get true information about war would listen to Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah's speech. They, in the same way would take the views and statements of their own leaders about achieving the objectives of the war as unreliable and exaggerated.

According to one public survey, during the middle of the war only 16% of the Israelis would consider Olmert's government as a loser in face of Hizbollah. However, after the war, this figure climbed to 56%. In this connection, the publication and media disclosure of the corruption and sex scandal of Moshe Katsav<sup>43</sup>, the Israeli President and Haim Ramon, the Minister of Justice played important role.

#### **The Change of View on the Peace Process**

Without any doubt, the issue of Palestine is the base of all the problems and difficulties in the Middle East. The Israeli-Lebanon war too is not out of the framework of this issue. Israeli's after the 33 days of war reached ultimate conclusion that they cannot continue to act unilaterally, and implement all their plans in an isolated way and achieve their principle aims and objectives in the region as they have been doing until now for last several years. For this very reason, after the war they started efforts to change their stance and review their previous views and went forth towards Abu Mazin to participate in dialogue and meetings and start looking for way to restart peace process. Based on this major shift, it can be said that one of the important consequences of the 33 days war is the creation of change in the viewpoint of Zionist regime towards the peace process in the Middle East.

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<sup>43</sup>Resigned on 1<sup>st</sup> July 2007 on the charges of sexual harassment of over 10 female subordinates and rape of one of them. The news of Israeli President being involved in such high level sex scandal made headlines in the world press for several weeks. It exposed high level of corruption among top Israeli politicians.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

### **Provision of Ground for the Establishment of National Unity Government in Palestine**

The Hizbollah movement and Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah in spite of serious differences with the government of Siniora after the victory against Zionist regime, supported Siniora government's policies and actions during its reign in power. It can be concluded that observation of such a display of national unity under such tough conditions, could also convince Palestinians to reach similar conclusion that in spite of differences in the way of establishing national unity government, such a policy will better secure the interests of Palestinians and their future. For this very reason, the Zionist regime, sometime after the end of 33 days war, started its efforts to support National Unity government with all the parties in the Palestinian parliament. It is understood that the establishment of National Unity government in Palestine means that it will be according to the policies of the Zionist regime in order to weaken Hamas and isolate Fatah from it and create differences between Palestinians and provoke them to fight with each other. Even though Hamas made several attempts to form a national coalition, however the conspiracies and infiltration of Zionist spies within the ranks of Abu Mazin's unity government wouldn't allow such a coalition. This too is one of the important consequences of the 33 days war of Lebanon.

### **Proposal for the Deployment of UNIFIL, the International Peacekeeping Forces in Gaza**

Acceptance of Resolution # 1701 resulted in the deployment of the international forces in South Lebanon to prevent new war in future. It seems that successful implementation of this resolution provided grounds for deployment of these forces in Gaza. This issue was put forth through the Italian government and was welcomed by several of the Palestinian groups while it was opposed by the Israelis. It was thought that in the conditions after the 33 days war, perhaps the Zionist regime for the having peace at its border with Gaza and for prevention of operations like that of Kerem Shalom would agree to deployment of peacekeeping forces. However, it didn't happen.

## **2. At the Regional Level**

The 33 day war brought very important consequences for the Zionist regime at the regional level.

### **Increased Hatred against Israel**

Several unpopular actions of the Zionist regime during the 33 days war and killing of innocent Lebanese civilians in particular the Qana massacre and destruction of civilian infrastructure of the country, increased hatred against this regime at the level of Middle East rapidly. This issue became a serious problem for the leaders of Arab countries who

### Chapter 3: Political Consequences of the War

were cooperating with Israel or were in its favor. According to one public survey in Egypt, Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah, Khalid Mish'al<sup>44</sup> and Mahmood Ahmadinejad<sup>45</sup>, because of their anti-Zionist views, attitudes and policies, were the most popular personalities in the Arab world. On the other hand, Hosni Mubarak, King Abdullah [of Saudi Arabia] and King Abdullah of Jordan, because of their deliberate and meaningful silence, or their opposition to Hizbollah were criticized most in the Arab world.

#### **The New Middle East**

The 33 days of war created a new political climate in the Middle East. Certainly the leaders of US and Israel made efforts so that the new political situation should turn in their favor and shaped policies that could secure their objectives in the region. However, it was seen that the results were not according to what they had planned. The New Middle East which was intended by the leaders of US and Israel, was the one with very weak anti-Israeli resistance groups and political movements. However, the ground realities were found to be totally opposite with anti-Zionist Hizbollah very powerful and popular than ever before. Similarly Hamas and other Palestinian Resistance groups were now more determined on their political manifesto in denying Israel. Bashar al-Asad<sup>46</sup>, the Syrian President openly supported the Hizbollah and Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah and Islamic Republic of Iran too continued its negotiations on peaceful nuclear program high headedly and more confidently.

In the New Middle East, the role of Iran, Syria and Hizbollah became more powerful and more stable than ever in the past and on the opposite side, Israel started seeking ways for negotiations with Syria. This regime, unlike its past, now avoided to express its plans and threats of attacking Iran and its Nuclear Installations.

In the new climate of Middle East, the Arab governments have adopted a more precautionary and conservative policies and left the three member triangular coalition of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan to play leading role for them in international diplomacy of the region and its beyond. This is aimed to diminish Iranian, Syrian and Hizbollah's influence in the Middle East and thus to deal more effectively with various new political coalitions and developments in the region.

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<sup>44</sup>Head of the Hamas political bureau.

<sup>45</sup>Current President of I.R. Iran. Famous internationally for his anti-Zionist views, courageous statements and policies.

<sup>46</sup>In Arabic Bashshar al-Asad

## **The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat**

### **Creation of a New Political Environment within the Framework of Peace Process**

The process of peace at the beginning of New Year before the war due to the occurrence of political-military conflicts between Israel and Palestinians had practically reached a deadlock. The efforts of Kadima party for the plan of second withdrawal, the victory of Hamas in the Palestinian Parliamentary elections and political and economic boycott of Palestinians by Israel, Arab World and finally the operation of Kerem Shalom are among the factors that played important role in this regards and need to be considered.

The 33 days war was effective in the arena of negotiations too. This war which broke the idol of invincibility of Israel, led to the same vision for Palestinians that they can like Hizbollah, if provided with proper ammunitions and better organizational structure, can acquire enough military strength to deal severe blow with Zionist regime. This led the on the other side, for the Zionist regime to come on the negotiation table with the Palestinians and to leave aside its unilateral policies and plans for the crisis. From another view, the Arab countries under the leadership of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan tried to position themselves with the Arab peace plan and adopt it as their principal plan for implantation in this regards. They after agreement to this plan, wanted from the Security Council to adopt it officially as a solution to the prevailing crisis. King Abdullah of Jordan, one month after the war announced that: 'Next few months will determine the fate of Palestinian problem.'

In this regards, weekly magazine Al-Manar announced that the US government with respect to the continuing political vacuum in the region and Israel's expectations of policies of Arab Countries, gave a warning and asked Tel Aviv to adopt a new political position with practical measures and announce its views within the framework of well-defined strategic, security and sensitive issues and bring an end to the political vacuum which was created after its war with Lebanon and that ended with its defeat.

### **3. At the International Level**

Beyond the level of Middle East, development such as 'Development of Anti-Israeli Stance and Feelings at International level' and 'Change of viewpoints of US political leaders towards Zionist regime' are worth mentioning.

### **Development of Growing International Opposition against Zionist Regime**

During 33 days war other than the Islamic and Arab countries, the European, South and North American and African countries witnessed the growing opposition against the barbaric military actions of Israel. Even though there were supports for this regime through the Zionist lobbies active in US, however, the opposition demonstrations and public outcry was much more widespread and out of proportion. In the official political arena, many countries such as Costa Rica and El Salvador changed the location of their embassies from



## Chapter 3: Political Consequences of the War

Jerusalem to Tel Aviv. Similarly the government of Venezuela, after recalling its ambassador to Israel, severed its diplomatic ties with Zionist regime.

### **The New Viewpoint of the US political leaders towards Israel**

The heavy cost of Israeli defeat in Lebanon was also paid by the US. This is because of obvious all out US support for the Zionist regime which created a scene that the Israeli defeat was counted as the US defeat and Israeli success was seen as the US success.

The Israeli defeat in Lebanon led to significant decrease in US trust over Israel as its effective and strategic partner in the Middle East to fight against Iran and Syria. The US daily newspaper 'The Nation' while referring to a secret report claimed: The US president during the mid-August 2006 asked the intelligence apparatus to evaluate the internal situation and military and defense capabilities of Israel. According to this report, Bush was seeking answer to the question whether US could still take Israel as its equal and one in one political, military and strategic partner in the Middle East or is it a reality that Israel has lost its army's strength and US could no longer trust it as a strategic ally in the region.

### **B. The Political Consequences for Hizbollah of Lebanon**

The Hizbollah movement of Lebanon after the 33 days of war witnessed a totally new political environment. This movement which won the war without any support of the Lebanese government announced that it gives this victory a gift to all the Lebanese, Muslims and Freedom Seekers. The Hizbollah movement too, in the internal, regional and international arena witnessed consequences that will be considered in the next few lines.

#### **2. Internal Level**

Internally, and in face to face with Lebanese political parties and factions, the Hizbollah movement saw favorable conditions. The topic of disarmament of militias was moving toward the disarmament of Hizbollah in the days just before the war. However after the war, Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah while giving warning to the Lebanese political factions announced: 'While Israel still occupies the soil of Lebanon, these people are seeking to disarm Hizbollah of its weapons.' In his words, only when a times comes that a powerful and independent government takes authority over Lebanon, this movement will be ready to move in the direction of disarming its weapons.

During the 33 days of war, some of the political personalities and groups such as Michel Aoun, Sa'ad Hariri and Amal Militia supported Hizbollah. The weakness of Siniora's government in making progress to achieve its promised objectives, led to a coalition of

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

Hizbollah with Michel Aoun, the head of Free Patriotic Movement, which sought for National Unity government. Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah, on 13<sup>th</sup> September [one month after the adoption of ceasefire], in a speech accused the 14<sup>th</sup> March political groups for taking disadvantage and announced: 'During the war, in the situation when Lebanese resistance was miraculously and courageously facing the Israeli attacks, these groups tried to strike blows on Hizbollah. However, Hizbollah and its leaders for the sake of preservation of unity and for preventing internal conflicts kept quiet.'

The provision of a common ground for the reconstruction of Lebanon was one of the important internal consequences of this war for Hizbollah. This movement, after the war, for every family whose house was destroyed, gave 12,000 US dollars as an aid so that they can rent a house for the next one year. It's well understood that cooperation in the reconstruction and investment in the Lebanese national projects led to increase in Hizbollah's influence in this country.

The 33 days war and acceptance of resolution # 1701 provided ground for increase in the UNIFIL forces in South Lebanon from 2000 to 15,000 individuals. This matter will possibly lead to their interference in the Lebanese internal affairs and weakness in the authority of government in the country, which is one of the negative consequences for Hizbollah.

### 2. At the Regional Level

The Hizbollah military operations by the name of 'The True Promise'<sup>47</sup> in the beginning faced with the opposition of the conservative Arab political leaders and heads of states. The support of Arab world public was not so effective in the beginning, however, later on, with the growing expansion of popularity of Hizbollah among the public, the heads of the Arab countries were forced to review their stance towards Hizbollah's resistance.

At the regional level, the popularity of Hizbollah and Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah among the public shot up rapidly to the point that even in Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan, demonstrations and rallies were held for the support of Hizbollah. Similarly, several Sunni scholars in reaction to the decree of Sheikh Abdullah bin Jabreen [Wahabi Mufti of Saudi Arabia] which forbade any type of support for Hizbollah, issued their own fatwa. Even the Ikhwan al-Muslimeen organization of Egypt announced its willingness to recruit 15,000 individuals for Lebanon to support Hizbollah. Increase in the popularity of Hizbollah forced even the King of Jordan to confess that Hizbollah has turned into Champion of the Arab World.

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<sup>47</sup> *Al-Wa'd al-Sadiq* in Arabic. This name was suggested by Martyr Imad Mughniyah

## Chapter 3: Political Consequences of the War

Increase in the ideological influence and popularity of Hizbollah in the region led to the fact that Saudi Arab announced that they will fight with the growing popularity of the ideology of Hizbollah in the region. The Saudi police dispersed demonstrators who had gathered in one of the cities to celebrate the victory of Hizbollah and resorted to shelling and firing bullets in air.

The Israeli defeat in facing Hizbollah was the reason that this movement became popular in the region as an effective and important Ideological-Military force. And this matter also brought good news for the Arab countries and nations of the region that when armed with faith and ideology and making use of military advancements, it is possible to defeat an apparently invincible power like Israel.

The success of Hizbollah against the psychological war of Israel, promotion the strategy of resistance and weakening of the notion of future occupation of war-torn and broken Lebanon, undermining the plan of creation of Greater and New Middle East sought by US and end of the process of official recognition of Israel by Islamic countries were among the other consequences in the region for Hizbollah.

### **3. At the International Level**

Hizbollah movement during the 33 days of war because of its courageous, surprising, and unwavering resistance gained international popularity. It can be stated with confidence that it now known as the most important guerrilla warfare group in the world.

One of the consequences of this war was 'Proof of total ineffectiveness of UN Security Council in finding solutions to Crises.' This is because the presence of US in this organization leads to adoption of policies and strategies by it to the directions and ultimate results that are in agreement with the priorities of the powerful governments especially US. Similarly, the influential propaganda of the US and Zionist mass media exaggerated the issue of weapons of Hizbollah and projected this organization to have dangerous aims. The aim of the media networks by adoption of this stance was to show that Hizbollah is real danger for the Israel and Israel has every right to defend itself against the threat posed by Hizbollah.

Without doubt, it was due to this war, that the international organizations, especially the United Nations formally accepted the identity of Hizbollah as an important, powerful and pivotal entity for the solution of crises in Lebanon.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

## **Section II**

### **The Military Aspects of War**



# Preface

The sixth war from the military aspect was limited to full 33 days. This war started at 9 in the morning on 12<sup>th</sup> July 2006 and ended at 8 in the morning on 13<sup>th</sup> August 2006 with the acceptance of ceasefire by the two warring parties.

However, the Zionist regime after the acceptance of ceasefire carried out military operations several times and acted against the ceasefire agreement. In this section, military capabilities and war strategies of the two sides, the role of psychological warfare, the position of UNIFIL, and in the end, the military consequences of war will be discussed.





# Chapter 1

## The Military Capabilities and the War Strategies of the Two Sides

It appears that the Zionist Regime and Hizbollah of Lebanon used totally different military tactics and strategies for the war. In other words, war capabilities, military strengths and tactics of the two sides have been very effective in making their military decisions.

### A. Zionist Regime

Israel together with its Army has enjoyed the role of being the most important military power in the region. This has taken it to the point that its army is regarded mythically as the most powerful army of the world after the armies of US, Russia, China, England and French - the sixth most powerful army of world.

#### 1. Israel's Military Strength

The military equipment and hardware that was used by Israel during the 33 days war is summarized below:

- 236 F16 Air fighters
- 89 F15 Air fighters
- 95 Cobra and Apache helicopters
- 1500 Merkava tanks models 3 and 4
- 76 War ships well equipped with advanced facilities
- 10 Drones [military planes without pilots]
- 200 Espionage balloons with latest equipment
- Several thousand 155 mm artillery units
- Full reconnaissance and intelligence support by Western Satellites

During this war, Israel used diverse types of arms and ammunitions and military technologies. It used phosphorus bombs and cluster bombs that according to the international laws and military conventions are banned weapons. In this regard, Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah in an interview with Al-Safir newspaper said: The Zionist Army used its maximum strength in this war and it used every type of weapon except nuclear weapons.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

### 2. The War Strategy of the Israeli Army

The war strategy of Zionist regime is based on 'Fast War' and fundamentally comprises of 'Surprise Attack' tactics. This regime because of its weakness in planning deep war strategy is susceptible to the loss of human lives and lack of resilience to secure sustained military power. It always avoids in engaging itself in a long term direct military war. That's why in the previous Israeli Arab wars, it was seen that the Israeli Army attacks were fast and rapid and based on surprise-attack strategy to cause maximum damage to enemy within minimum possible time and forcing it to quickly surrender and when it felt that the war will prolong, it would stop the war with the support of US and International Community.

The Zionist regime in its war with Hizbollah, in contrast to its previous war strategy, took the war towards longer duration, although it is suggested by many analysts that it was under continuous US pressure that Israel put itself under this risk.

Israeli army in the beginning of war by carrying out repeated air bombardment, destruction of stations, major buildings and infra-structures, centers for public services and social activities related to Hizbollah, rocket launching sites, pursued to kill the prominent personalities of Hizbollah. The total strength of Israeli army was focused on its Air force. The use of sophisticated military air fighters, apache helicopters, and similarly balloons for intelligence gathering, led to the total air blockade of Lebanon and under the total control of Zionist Army.

The Zionist regime with the help of its strong air force and with the use of various sophisticated bombs such a five thousand pound heavy bomb, smart bombs and cluster bombs, and similarly laser bombs and various types of rockets, targeted the residential units or areas that were linked or related to Hizbollah or where it thought that the Hizbollah officials would meet or hold meetings. This savagely severe and continuous bombardment totally destroyed almost every building and flattened to earth, the Al-Dahiya<sup>48</sup> region of South Lebanon.

The Zionist regime, in order to turn public opinion against Hizbollah, targeted the social and civilian infrastructure of Lebanon. It bombarded and destroyed industries, bridges, telecommunication network lines and stations, TV network stations, mobile phone network stations, water plants and so on in order to give impression that Lebanon is going to be converted into a totally destructed and annihilated place. It is interesting to see that some

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<sup>48</sup>Full name: Al-Dahiya Al-Junubiyah

## Chapter 1: The Military Capabilities and the War Strategies of the Two Sides

of the media and TV stations inside Lebanon that are against Hizbollah such as Al-Mustaqbal<sup>49</sup> and LBC<sup>50</sup> propagated it in their news and analysis throughout the war.

The Zionist Army after about one week of bombardment of Lebanon through air, ground and sea, entered the second phase of its war tactic and that was to invade the Lebanese territory by ground and start capture of South Lebanon. In the beginning it tried to enter Lebanon via Maroun al-Ras<sup>51</sup> and at the point it encountered Resistance of the Hezbollah Islamic fighters. The strategy of Israel in the region was to expand heavy air bombardment and clear land for the ground forces to enter and make progress.

The successive defeats of the Zionist Army in second and third weeks of war around Naqoura<sup>52</sup>, Aita Al-Shaab, Maroun al-Ras, Aitaroun [or Aytarun] and Bint Jubeil [or Bint Jubayl] forced it to call 30,000 reserve soldiers and to start ground operation around the regions of Kafr Kila [or Kfar Kila], Odaiseh [Al-Odaiseh], Taibeh [Al-Tayyebah], Qantara [Al-Qantarah], Ghandouriyeh [Al-Ghandouriyah], and 'Alma ash Shab ['Alma al-Sha'ab] in order to focus its invasion of South Lebanon. This too failed to achieve all of its objectives. During the same time it carried heliborne operations<sup>53</sup> in Baalbek [Ba'albak], Tyre<sup>54</sup> and Bekaa [Al-Beqaa] valley, these too weren't successful enough to materialize the military aims Zionist army was pursuing on the ground.

Gradually during the war, military strategy of Israel turned towards total destruction of Hizbollah and assassination of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah. To achieve this aim, it proceeded to invade South Lebanon in order to destroy rocket launching installations and sites of Hizbollah and drive out resistance fighters from the area. This in its view would guarantee

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<sup>49</sup>Future Television (*Televiziya al Mustaqbal*) was founded in 1993 by Rafik Hariri, a former Prime Minister of Lebanon assassinated on 14<sup>th</sup> February, 2005. Politically, it supports the views of the Future Movement headed currently by Sa'ad Hariri.

<sup>50</sup>Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation is owned by the Lebanese Forces [*Kataeb* or *Kata'eb*]. It was established on August 23, 1985 by Bashir Gemayel, leader of the Lebanese Forces at that time. Interestingly, in December 2003, Al Waleed Bin Talal, a Saudi prince, bought all stocks of LBC Satellite and owns 48 % of the local channel.

<sup>51</sup>Read as ar-Ras instead of al-Ras. It is a small town in southern Lebanon on the border with Israel. Zionist forces suffered heavy casualties in the battle and were forced to withdraw from the area.

<sup>52</sup>In Arabic: *An Naqurah*. It is a small city in southern Lebanon. Since March 23, 1978 until present, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) has been headquartered in Naqoura.

<sup>53</sup>Military Operations in which troops are transferred deep inside enemy territory by helicopters. Zionist army has previously failed in such operations against Islamic Resistance.

<sup>54</sup>Popularly known as 'Sur', this city is located at the coast of the Mediterranean, 80 km south of Beirut.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

safe and secure Northern Israel. Furthermore, Zionist regime's this tactic was based on the notion that with the occupation of South Lebanon, and under the pretext of making show of its success in war, it would then use this point for pressing its demands during peace negotiations so as to achieve its real objective and that was 'disarming of Hizbollah.'

Overall, the objectives of Zionist Regime and US at this stage of war can be summarized below:

1. To rescue the Zionist Army from conditions leading to psychological pressures it was facing
2. To create hopeful atmosphere among Zionist public over the Israeli military operations
3. To create necessary grounds for the success of unilateral US policies in the international diplomacy
4. To get hold of small scale military successes in war and use it as base for political success in war
5. To prevent downfall of Olmert's government and its ensuing disastrous consequences
6. To reduce the growing popularity of Hizbollah and its leadership among the common public of Lebanon and the Muslim world.

At this point, the Zionist Regime's Army, in addition to 1 division and 2 brigades that were already positioned in the region, by dispatching 2 more divisions towards South and summoning additional 3 reserve divisions, practically enhanced its ground forces to 13 brigades. This was while the Zionist regime after cabinet's security meeting for monitoring war progress so as to gain control of South, announced that it has prepared additional 30000 troops for the military operations. At this stage, the military tactics of Israeli Army focused at 3 axis points:

Axis #1: To occupy Khiyam [Al-Khiyam] area, Marjayoun city and Litani [Al-Laytani] river and continue towards the left of Litani river

Axis #2: To carryout heliborne operation in Tyre and then move towards Litani river and then onwards to its right side

Axis #3: To invade Bint Jubeil region and then advance towards south of Litani river

In the last days of war, especially on the day 31, a new stage of aggressions started against Lebanon and Hizbollah that was based on model adopted by military operations and tactics used by US army in Iraq.

## Chapter 1: The Military Capabilities and the War Strategies of the Two Sides

This new stage of Israeli operation was based on long-term objectives. The Israeli army in the situation before that by carrying out limited triangular operations [from three directions] used to pursue short term objectives and take control of areas around its troops. The strategy of Zionist army at this stage had following points:

### **1. To secure the right side of the area of its operations**

The Israeli army by selecting nearest border region from Litani river, moving from this axis it planned to create a military corridor, in addition by cutting the communication between region south of Litany river and Bekaa valley, it also practically secured the right side of the ground for its military operation.

### **2. To create single way around the Axis of Tayyibah region**

After securing the right side of its ground operation, it started moving in the form a unique path from the axis point of Tayyibah region, Wadi al-Hujayr<sup>55</sup> towards Qantara [Al-Qantarah]<sup>56</sup> and Adshit al Qusayr. The Israeli Army tried that at that point that by going to the side of Litani river, possibility of going forwards and expanding its ground towards left of the area of its military operation and then continue it further along the river path for its troops.

### **3. To carryout Heliborne raid Operations and then take control of ground**

Simultaneously with the success of creating a new path around the axis of Tayyibah region, the Zionist Army based on the similar military tactics used by US army in Iraq, by carrying out heliborne based raid operations in Ghandouriyeh region, planned to carryout side operations and for its continuation, perform more operations expand them towards the shores of Tyre city.

This plan for carrying out several operations if successful, from one aspect could have created difficult conditions for the Islamic Resistance forces who were present in that region, by besieging the region South of Litani river. On the other hand success would register a small scale victory for the Zionist Regime in the last moments of war before implementation of ceasefire.

The brave resistance of Hizbollah fighters and their successful downing of a Israeli helicopter that killed 18 Zionist soldiers and similarly failures of Zionist Army in operations

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<sup>55</sup>Located in south Lebanon. Historically this place is famous as a focal point of resistance against French colonialists.

<sup>56</sup>Al Qantarah a small rural area 8 km from the Israeli border.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

in Ghandouriyeh and Adshit al Qusayr<sup>57</sup>, resulted in disgraceful defeat of Israel against Hizbollah in its last military operation in the 33 days war.

### The weak points of Israel's Military Strategy

With a realistic approach, the military strength of Israeli Army that it showed its operations and tactics employed during 33 days of war, it can be said that although it possess great military capabilities compared to Hizbollah, however, it has several essential strategic weak points, out of which most important are mentioned below:

- The great loss of Israeli human lives and vulnerability of Zionist society to it
- Limited sphere and lack of depth in strategic planning of Israeli military leaders
- Lack of spirit of sacrifice and heroism in Israeli soldiers
- Concentrated high Israeli population in three main cities of Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv
- The ever-increasing need for education and military skills for guerrilla warfare because of Army's weakness in the execution of guerrilla operations
- Lack of relative superiority in unorganized city war<sup>58</sup>
- Lack of relative superiority in the some of the skills of wars in mountainous areas
- Vulnerability relative to long-term wars
- Lack of modern knowhow about suitable military targets
- Severe lack of expertise in the areas of military information and espionage systems

## B. Hizbollah of Lebanon

Inspite of the fact that Hizbollah of Lebanon doesn't have an air force and sea force and principally it is not an organized military force like a regular army; however, strong and stern resistance of this movement against Israel, has shocked military experts, various analysts, and heads of states of the region as well as world.

### 1. The military strength of Hizbollah

During 33 days war, various often conflicting reports and statistics were aired and published in electronic and print media about the military strength and capabilities of Hizbollah. In this regards, Zionist media outlets on one hand sought to exaggerate these figures in order to provide an explanation for their repeated defeats on ground and on the other tried their best to label Hizbollah as an Iranian and Syrian force.

Without doubt the strength of Hizbollah's rockets in hitting at their targets in Zionist populated areas and tanks in battlefield, and similarly the very high capabilities and skills

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<sup>57</sup>A small town in Mohafazat Nabatiyeh in the South of Lebanon

<sup>58</sup>The use of hit-and-run tactics by small and mobile groups of irregular military forces.

## Chapter 1: The Military Capabilities and the War Strategies of the Two Sides

of Hizbollah fighters in guerrilla warfare tactics are the two main pivotal points of its superiority over Zionist Army in the 33 days war.

Jane's Defence Weekly<sup>59</sup> quoting some of the Israeli Intelligence sources, has published following data on Hezbollah's military capabilities:

### **Katyusha Rockets**

Most of the Hizbollah's rocket strength is because of these types of rockets where it has superb capabilities. Their firing range is between 12 to 22 kilometers and this puts several cities of northern Israel including Nahariya, Acre [Akka], Karmiel, Kiryat Shmona and Ma'alot-Tarshiha within its target range.

### **Fajr 3 and 5 Rockets**

These are advanced version of Katyusha rockets that were manufactured in cooperation with Iran. Their range is 45 kilometers and they have successfully hit cities of Acre and Karmiel

### **Ra'ad Rockets**

These rockets are also manufactured in Iran and have target range of 70 kilometers which can make them hit the most important Israeli industrial city of Haifa.

### **Zilzaal Rockets**

According to Jane's Defence Weekly, Hizbollah has 10 Zilzaal Rockets that have firing range from 1 to 150 kilometers and because of this range, it can hit Tel Aviv. Similarly, Fajr-2 Rockets with the range of 200 kilometers can reach Beersheba<sup>60</sup> from South Lebanon.

### **Anti-Tank Guided Missiles**

Hizbollah's anti-tank guided missiles including Sagger AT-3, Spigot AT-4,<sup>61</sup> and TOW<sup>62</sup> missiles such as Toophan (version of BGM-71 TOW missile) manufactured by Iran.

According to Western Intelligence sources, Hizbollah possesses small reconnaissance drone [aircraft without pilot] named as 'Mirsad-1' that has 3 telescopic cameras and 1 radar and a system of electronic communication for intelligence gathering and it can fly at the maximum

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<sup>59</sup><http://defence.janes.com/> One of the most popular military magazines of the world.

<sup>60</sup>City in the south of Israel with a population of about 185,000.

<sup>61</sup>Sagger AT-3, Spigot AT-4 are Russian made missiles

<sup>62</sup>Tube launched, Optically tracked and Wire guided

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

altitude of 6,600 feet with a speed of 120 kilometers per hour. It cannot be detected by radars and can carry explosives deep inside the Zionist territories.

### 2. The Military Strategy of Hizbollah

Keeping in view the limitations of Hizbollah for logistics of its ammunitions to and from and within the area of its operations and the limited supply and storage of its rockets and missiles, it defined its military strategy against Israeli Army to be based on 'Guerrilla Warfare'. The foundation of its military tactics, training and preparation for war is based on this type of combat doctrine.

During the war, superiority of Hizbollah on ground and its complete and detailed knowledge of the battlefield which was seen as a part of its guerrilla warfare, effectively halted the ground movements of the Israeli Army.

Hizbollah, by the deployment of various types of anti-personnel and anti-tank landmines on battle ground, clearly defining the detailed map of ground combat zone for each region in case of possible advancement of Zionist army, digging of underground-connected chain of bunkers, creation of underground storage sites for rockets inside mountains, making of false camouflage for the rocket launching systems and minute, accurate and detailed information of the enemy troops positions, equipment and its military strength in the area of military operations in South Lebanon actually prevented the Israeli Army and its soldiers from planning and applying any new war strategy during combat.

One of the Israeli soldiers while talking to Washington post about the military strength of Hizbollah, said: 'They [the resistance fighters] are like phantoms that appear suddenly and would also disappear swiftly. They exactly knew where we were, but we didn't know where they were. They were inside their continuous chain of bunkers that were well connected and equipped with cameras and exactly knew where we were positioned and would trap us in their ambush.

Hizbollah during execution of its ground war strategy and for deeply targeting the military tactics of Zionist enemy, resorted to rocketing of Zionist settlements and infrastructure in Northern Israel. Firing of rockets by Hizbollah was in retaliation of Zionist air bombardment of the civilian areas in Lebanon and as a preventive measure to stop further such attacks. In the beginning days of war only few rockets were fired by Hizbollah, however, during the days nearing the end of war it reached to 200-250 rockets per day.



## Chapter 1: The Military Capabilities and the War Strategies of the Two Sides

Hizbollah while firing rockets over Northern Israel adopted a step by step strategy. As the Israeli air attacks increased, it too increased the number of rockets fired per day and fired them gradually deeper inside the Zionist territory. This reached to the point that during the last days of war, Hizbollah's targeted its rockets over areas around Tel Aviv and fired several rockets on the suburbs of Hadera city<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>63</sup>In Arabic, al-Khudayrah. It is located within the Haifa district with a population of about 76,000.



## Chapter 2

### The turning points of the war

#### Israeli Military Defeats

The 33 days war, in spite of its limited time duration, had its own special characteristics in terms of defeats of Zionist Regime. These are summarized and presented below in four different headings:

##### **A. Destruction of Modern Military Equipment of Israeli Army**

Among the important turning points of the 33 days war, was the destruction of Israeli Military Hardware and Equipment, on which the Israeli Army relied most to achieve its military targets and for which it thought were least vulnerable to destruction.

Destruction of Israeli navy's two Sa'ar class-5 warships<sup>64</sup> and one naval boat equipped with cannons<sup>65</sup>, two military espionage balloons, 120 advanced versions of Merkava Tanks and Armed Personnel Carriers, and shooting of an F-16 while it was coming out of hanger are among the factors that shocked the Zionist military top command and military analysts. The brave Islamic resistance fighters of Hizbollah of Lebanon were able to achieve these feats with very limited resources. It is worth mentioning here that Israeli military acknowledged destruction of only 30 Merkava Tanks.

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<sup>64</sup>This attack took place on 14<sup>th</sup> July when Hezbollah attacked the INS Hanit, an Israeli navy Sa'ar 5-class corvette with a guided C-802 anti-ship missile. Several Zionist soldiers were killed injured and the warships were severely damaged. Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah announced this attack on TV right at the moment when it occurred.

<sup>65</sup>This attack took place on 11th August. Al Manar TV reported that Hezbollah forces destroyed an Israeli gunboat off the coast of Tyre, Lebanon, killing or wounding a crew of 12.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

From the psychological point of view, destruction of modern Naval Covertte<sup>66</sup> warships brought many advantages for Hizbollah. For more information about this type of Warship, following specific information is presented below:

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| - Length                                 | 85.64 metres (280.97 ft)   |
| - Speed                                  | 33 knots (61 km/h)   |
| - Range                                  | 3,500 nautical miles (6,500 km)  |
| - Complement                             | 64 officers and crewmen and 10<br>aircrew  |
| - Radars, Sensors and processing systems | Elta EL/M-2218S air search radar,<br>Elta EL/M-2221 fire-control<br><br>radar, EDO Type 796 sonar, Rafael<br>towed sonar array |
| - Electronic warfare and decoys          | Argon ST AN/SLQ-25 Nixie decoy,  |
|  | Elbit chaff rocket launchers,  |
|  | Rafael RF corner reflector, Elisra<br>NS-9003A/9005 RWR  |
| - Armament                               | 8 RGM-84 Harpoon anti-ship   |
|  | missiles, 8 IAI Gabriel II anti-ship   |
|  | missiles, 64 Barak surface-to-air<br>missiles, Phalanx CIWS or<br>Otobreda 76 mm   |
| - Torpedoes                              | 6 Mark 32 SVTTs [Surface Vessel  |
|  | Torpedo Tubes]   |
| - Aircraft carried                       | Eurocopter Panther   |
| - Aviation facilities                    | Helipad and helicopter hanger  |

Israeli Army's Merkava Tanks<sup>67</sup> because of their large size and heaviness [about 70 tons] and very large spacious equipment facilities and thick laminated armor made up of ceramic-steel-nickel alloy used in their manufacturing, were considered as mobile military forts and considered as a 'Pride of Israeli Army's Industrial Innovation and Power.' These tanks were repeatedly targeted and destroyed by the Hizbollah's Islamic Resistance forces during the war. This destruction and vulnerability of Merkava Tanks by the resistance put

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<sup>66</sup>Modern Corvettes are armed with medium- and small-caliber guns, surface-to-surface missiles, surface-to-air missiles, and underwater warfare weapons and accommodate a small or medium anti-submarine warfare helicopter.

<sup>67</sup>In Lebanon war its latest version, Merkava Mark IV was used. It is loaded with 120 mm (4.7 in) MG253 smooth bore gun and capable of firing anti-tank LAHAT ATGM.

## Chapter 2: The turning points of the war - Israeli Military Defeats

under question the great dignity and very power of the Israeli Army and won praises and applauds for the Hizbollah fighters.

### **B. Israeli War Crime in Qana**

In the third week of war [on 30<sup>th</sup> July, 2006] one of the most painful and tormenting human disasters took place in the village of Qana<sup>68</sup> at the hands of Zionist Army in which 57 innocent civilians including 37 women and children who were taking shelter in building to protect themselves from Israeli air bombardment, were martyred.

Similar massacre took place in 1996 in Qana during the Israeli Army's military operation named 'the grapes of wrath' in which 110 Lebanese civilians<sup>69</sup> were martyred. This leads to a question as to why Israeli Army again targeted the same village second time in a similar manner killing innocent civilians? Following are the logical assumptions in this regard:

1. The attack on Qana was a well pre-planned target so as to divert the war from its current path and was sought to psychologically influence the people of Lebanon and put Hizbollah movement under pressure from various sides.
2. Israel by this horrendously inhumane war tactic warned Hizbollah that for its own survival, it can go beyond any limit without caring for consequences.
3. Increase of outside pressure for acceptance of ceasefire and simultaneously with creation of differences and disputes inside Lebanon to weaken the position of resistance was one of the targets under consideration of Israel for attacking Qana. This could put pressure on Arab leaders and other countries in the region and European Union to accept ceasefire from Hizbollah's side. Thus, after Israeli massacre in Qana, attitude of several international figures changed and Islamic Resistance of Lebanon was put under pressure to accept ceasefire.

Qana massacre showed that Israel doesn't give any importance to human values and ethics and for securing its own goals, it would take any step and use every weapon and every means to achieve it. This massacre of innocent civilians in Qana was severely condemned

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<sup>68</sup>It is a village in southern Lebanon located 10 kilometers southeast of the city of Tyre and 12 kilometers north of the Israeli border. The 10,000 residents of Qana are primarily Shiite Muslims. This massacre was condemned world widely by various international organizations.

<sup>69</sup>This massacre took place on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1996, when a [UNIFIL] United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon's Fijian compound in the Qana was shelled by Israeli artillery, killing over innocent 110 civilians and injuring around 116 others. Over 800 civilians had taken refuge there to escape Israeli heavy shelling of civilian areas. Four UNIFIL soldiers were also seriously injured.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

by whole International community [except for US that defended Israeli crime as an act of self-defense] and various human rights organizations and put Israeli in a very difficult situation. According to Tzipi Livni<sup>70</sup>, the Foreign Minister of Israel at that time, 'Israel because of Qana massacre had to pay very high price in the political arena.'

### C. Failed Israeli Military Operation in Tyre [Sur]

On the morning of Friday, 5<sup>th</sup> August, 2006, Israeli commandoes with the aim of kidnapping Hizbollah leaders which it thought were hiding in a building in Tyre city, carried out a savage military operation<sup>71</sup> in which four Islamic resistance fighters and one Lebanese Army soldier were martyred and eight Zionist commandoes were severely injured and one was killed.

After failure of Israeli Army in finding Hizbollah's leaders in that building, these forces returning from the failed operation, resorted to heavy bombardment of the whole area as a result of which several innocent Lebanese civilians were martyred and injured.

This failed operation registered another failure in the Israeli military dossier and the Israeli cabinet and Army specially its intelligence system that had acted very weakly, came under severe criticism.

### D. Baalbek Commando Operation

The Zionist Regime on the sixth day after temporary ceasefire with Lebanon on the basis of Security Council Resolution # 1701<sup>72</sup>, again violated it by sending its troops to Baalbek, situated in the east of Lebanon.

Israeli army early in the morning of 19<sup>th</sup> August deployed its commandoes in the suburbs of town of Al-Aqilah of Bouday region in the east of Baalbek city in the Bekaa valley which is in the east of Lebanon. Israeli air jets before grounding their troops violated Lebanese air space and then by breaking sound barrier in the Yammouneh and Shmistar [Shmustar]

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<sup>70</sup>She is an ex-Mossad officer and is currently under UN investigation for her role in Gaza war crimes when Israel attacked Gaza in December 2009 for 22 days and killed over 1400 innocent civilians. Israeli army used chemical and other banned weapons and destroyed hospitals, schools and committed crimes against humanity. For details kindly see UN Goldstone's report on Gaza war crimes.

<sup>71</sup>Zionist commando forces arrived in helicopters around 1:00 a.m. as two units, and landed in an orange grove in the north of the Tyre city. They then reached their assumed target and heavily shelled the building, with Israeli Air Force AH-64 Apache helicopter gunships providing fire-support. After the operation failed, at around 4:00 a.m., the commandoes withdrew from the area carrying their wounded and dead.

<sup>72</sup>Resolution 1701 was adopted by UNSC on 11<sup>th</sup> August, and implemented on Monday 14<sup>th</sup> August at 8am after Lebanese cabinet approved it on 12<sup>th</sup> August and Zionist cabinet approved it unanimously on 13<sup>th</sup>.

## Chapter 2: The turning points of the war - Israeli Military Defeats

regions<sup>73</sup> and over these areas carried out several air flights for gathering information from air.

The commandoes of Zionist Regime after crossing the suburbs of Al-Aqilah were ambushed by Hizbollah forces and engaged in a fierce battle with them. Ultimately they were forced to escape from the area with the help of helicopter. In this operation one commando was killed and three others were injured.

In this operation, Israeli paratroopers were wearing dresses of Lebanese army and used vehicles that were exactly similar to those used by Lebanese army forces so that they could free move into the area. The targets that the Israeli army was pursuing in this operation are thought to be following:

1. To kidnap one of the high officials of Hizbollah by the name of Muhammad Yazbek<sup>74</sup>
2. To gather information about the whereabouts of two Israeli soldiers kidnapped by Hizbollah
3. Do discover and interrupt smuggling of arms from Iran and Syria to Hizbollah [this was officially announce by Israel]

The failure of Israeli army in this operation, other than the fact that this regime by breaking the ceasefire came under great political and legal challenges in various international bodies, also proved the ever-preparedness of Hizbollah forces in repulsing possible enemy attacks even after ceasefire.

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<sup>73</sup>Both are located in Bekaa valley

<sup>74</sup>He is one of the founders of Hizbollah. Currently is one of the members of Central Council of Hizbollah.





## Chapter 3

# Psychological Warfare Operations

The 33 days war of Israel with Hizbollah cannot be only categorized as a military conflict. But there were several important aspects to it such as Psychological, Political, Economic, Media and so forth. Psychological operations were among of the most important tools of Israel to achieve its objectives during this war. The multiethnic and religious nature of the Lebanese society, Shia origin of Hizbollah and its religious and cultural ties with Iran, the passive attitude of the Arab World toward Israeli aggression on Lebanon – Overall created favorable conditions and provided necessary basis for Israel's psychological warfare during the whole period of 33 days war. Although the Hizbollah movement by using its own resources successfully confronted this unique war and came out of it.

The Zionist Regime for compensating its failures in military operations on ground because of its own technical incompetencies, resorted to psychological warfare against Hizbollah's Islamic Resistance and by widespread negative propaganda so as to change general public's opinion towards Hizbollah. Overall, the Zionist Regime pursued specific aims and targeted highly focused objectives in its psychological war against Hizbollah, out of which some are listed below:

### **A. The main axis of Psychological Warfare against the Islamic Resistance of Lebanon**

1. Relating the Islamic Resistance Operations with the issue of 'Iran's Peaceful Nuclear Technology Program'
2. Propaganda that this war is a direct 'Iran and Israel confrontation'
3. Propaganda that this war is a direct 'Iran and US confrontation' in Lebanon
4. Accusing Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps<sup>75</sup> for planning military operations and sending military equipment to Lebanon during war
5. Accusing Syria for interference in the war and provoking Hizbollah
6. Introducing Hizbollah as an adventurous and terrorist group
7. Accusing Hizbollah for starting the war to pursue Iranian interests

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<sup>75</sup>*Sepahe Pasdarane Inqilabe Islami* in Persian language

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

8. Accusations on Hizbollah that it massacred Arabs who were settled in lands occupied in 1948
9. Introducing Hizbollah as responsible organization for every type of conflict and destruction in Lebanon
10. Claims to assassinate important leaders of Hizbollah
11. Introducing Hizbollah as a Shia extremist group in order to create differences with Sunnis
12. Accusing Hizbollah that its agenda and policies are to give superiority to Shias in relation to other Lebanese groups
13. Propaganda that Zionist regimes attacks were for its self-defense [against Islamic Resistance]
14. Making efforts to bring forth the topic of implementation of UN Security Council's resolution # 1559
15. Accusing Hizbollah of positioning and storing its military equipment in the residential areas of South Lebanon
16. Accusing Hizbollah that it pushed Lebanon 50 years back [by waging this war]

### **B. Objectives of Zionist Regime's Psychological Warfare against Hizbollah**

The most important objectives of Zionists in pursuing the psychological warfare against Hizbollah can be summarized below:

1. Putting under question the very legitimacy of the Islamic Resistance of Hizbollah of Lebanon
2. To turn away popular public opinion in Lebanon from Hizbollah
3. To lay ground work for actions leading to political pressure against Iran
4. To prevent any agreement and unity among Arabs and hinder and discourage their support for the Islamic Resistance of Lebanon
5. To bring face to face the Arab frontline against Hizbollah over its actions against Israel
6. To fade and undermine Hizbollah's successes during the war and period of conflict
7. To gather and analyze every bit of information within Islamic world against US-Zionist World Hegemony
8. To provide reasonable explanation of its military incompetency in comparison to Islamic Resistance
9. To activate and provoke political offensives within Lebanon against Hizbollah
10. To accuse Iran of meddling into the internal affairs of other countries
11. To influence any move or process within UNSC for passing resolution against Iran
12. To create tension between Muslim countries – for example Arabs against Iran
13. To project itself as an oppressed in front of World Public Opinion

### Chapter 3: Psychological Warfare Operations

14. To rebuild its own military power and regain psychological stability and international prestige of the Zionist Society
15. To attract support of International Organizations and Community and Western Countries
16. To expedite US actions in support of Zionist Regime
17. To cover up, overshadow and divert the media attention from its war crimes and crimes against humanity committed against Lebanese and Palestinian Civilians
18. To provide explanations for the widespread and savage air bombardment of civilian infrastructure of Lebanon such as bridges, important highways and communication lines under the pretext of limiting movement of Hizbollah's military operations and its troops
19. To gradually create basis for and provoke civil war between various factions inside Lebanon
20. To weaken the political and social position of Hizbollah in Lebanon

#### **C. The Results of Zionist Regime's Psychological War**

Keeping in view what was mentioned in section A and B about the focused topics and objectives of Zionists for pursuing psychological warfare against Hizbollah, following stances adopted inside Lebanon can be enlisted as the results of that war:

1. Announcement of Declaration by Lebanese Government on 13<sup>th</sup> July, 2006 stating that the Government of Lebanon didn't plan any of Hizbollah's military operations and doesn't accept any responsibility for it.
2. Fouad Siniora, the Lebanese Prime Minister at that time, taking a weak position, said: 'Hizbollah's action of kidnapping the Israeli soldiers was a tactical error.'
3. Walid Junblatt, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon claimed that this war was between Israel and Lebanon and those who are in agreement with them.
4. Israeli representative in the United Nations quoting references from the speeches of Lebanese Telecommunication Minister Marwan Hamadeh and Elias Ataei, a Lebanese Member of Parliament claimed that Syria and Lebanon are supporting Hizbollah and for this very reason Syria and Iran are fighting war with Israel.
5. Samir Geagea, Leader of the Lebanese Forces, labeled this war as a means of securing Iranian nuclear interests.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

6. Nasrallah Sfeir, Cardinal and the Spiritual Leader of the Lebanese Maronite Christians demanded to fight back against the conspiracies of Iran and Syria inside Lebanon that are executed by the way of Hizbollah.
7. Some of the Lebanese mass media such as Al-Mustaqbal and An-Nahar related the destruction of Lebanon due to the war to Lebanon itself. They propagated that view that a lot of finance and resources that has been spent in Lebanon from outside during last several years is now coming to an end with the view that Hizbollah by its military actions, has pushed Lebanon's current state of progress to 50 years back.

## Chapter 4

# The Deployment of UNIFIL in South Lebanon

Among the issues that were considered by the arbitrating countries for effective ceasefire and peaceful end of hostilities of the two sides, was the plan of deployment of International Peacekeeping Forces in South Lebanon so as to limit Hizbollah's military operations against Israel from South Lebanon and to prevent Israeli attacks against Lebanon. The Israeli government in the beginning rejected this plan and announced that until their war objective are not met, they will continue military offensive against Lebanon. However, their successive military defeats in war at the hands of Hizbollah forced them to change their stance and accept the plan of deployment of International peace keeping forces including NATO.

After intense negotiations and discussions that took place under UN auspices, the plan for deployment of UNIFIL on the south of Litani River was agreed by all the parties including Hizbollah and Israel and other countries with stakes in the situation.

The United Nations Interim Forces in Lebanon<sup>76</sup> that are popularly known as UNIFIL are employed in Lebanon since 1978 by the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution # 425<sup>77</sup> and 426. These resolutions were aimed to withdraw Israeli troops from Lebanon and to help Lebanese government by international support to exert its sovereignty and for keeping peace through international security assistance.

With the retreat of Israeli army from the Lebanese land borders and its withdrawal from Lebanese sea borders in the year 2000, the UNIFIL was deployed at the Lebanese Israeli borders and along the sea borders and since then until today their deployment is extended every year. The UNIFIL headquarters in South Lebanon is located in Naqoura city and has over 1990 soldiers and staff members under the command of General Alain Pellegrini<sup>78</sup> from

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<sup>76</sup>Official website: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unifil/>

<sup>77</sup>These resolutions was adopted on 19th March, 1978, five days after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and called on Israel to immediately withdraw its forces from Lebanon and established the UNIFIL. It was adopted by 12 votes to none; Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union abstained, and China did not participate. Resolution # 426 contained Secretary-General's report on its implementation and in-turn established the UNIFIL in Lebanon for 6 months and to continue its operation thereafter if the UN Security Council decides.

<sup>78</sup>Major General Alberto Asarta Cuevas from Spain is the current UNIFIL commander since January 2010.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

France and with soldiers from China, France, Finland, Ghana, India, Italy Ireland and Holland.

The headquarter of UNIFIL in South Lebanon during the 33 days of war was attacked from the air on 16<sup>th</sup>, 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> July by the Zionist Army, after Ehud Olmert, the Zionist Prime Minister, accused them of taking sides with Hizbollah. As a result, 4 UNIFIL personnel were killed.

In accordance with the request of UN Security Council for wider participation of member states in the formation of 15,000 members strong UNIFIL side by side with 15,000 Lebanese Army soldiers for stationing them south of Litani River, countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Morocco, Turkey and Spain on the first day of the adoption of resolution # 1701 for sending their troops in UNIFIL. Arab countries of the region such as Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria were against their participation in UNIFIL while France and Italy announced contribution of 2,000 soldiers each for UNIFIL.

To understand the role of UNIFIL in implementation of resolution # 1701 it is important to consider following points:

1. In the Security Council Resolution # 1701 emphasis is on cooperation between UNIFIL and Lebanese government impartially without adopting any position vis-a-vis its own policies and demands in favor of the Lebanese government itself.
2. The higher military capabilities of Hizbollah and residence of Islamic resistance fighters in South Lebanon as permanent residents of the local area and incapability of UNIFIL in creating a zone totally free of armed forces and weapons in South of the Litani River, is one of the most important and pivotal points.
3. The positioning of UNIFIL in the south of Litani river which actually forms a big part of South Lebanon, bears consequences and impacts, of which some are listed below:
  - Limited cessation of conflicts between Hizbollah and Israel
  - Violation of Lebanese Sovereignty and interference in its internal affairs
  - Creation of limitation in the movement and military actions of Hizbollah against Zionists
  - Creation of basis of differences and disunity among various factions inside Lebanon

## Chapter 4: The Deployment of UNIFIL in South Lebanon

It appears that the real objective of UNIFIL is to provide necessary base for the disarmament of Hizbollah's weapons and to gradually replace its military capabilities and performance with an essentially political one. While this objective should be pursued only through internal consensus and not by international pressures and that too through the Security Council.

It is a dominant opinion of the military analysts and similarly of the Zionist government that no army in the world has power to disarm Hizbollah of its weapons and the 33 days war is an obvious proof in support of this notion. Thus, one cannot afford to wait until UNIFIL can materialize its objectives, especially when the action of UNIFIL should be undertaken by the agreement and cooperation of the Lebanese government. This too, when the political climate of Lebanon is full of conflicts and disputes within various groups, factions and personalities, one cannot witness complete consensus of opinion and reasonable agreement between Government and UNIFIL for creation of a region free of weapons and arms in the South of Litani River.

The performance of UNIFIL until now can be evaluated in the light of its role only as a monitor of ceasefire without any practical actions, notifying problems in its implementation, positioning itself at the land and sea borders and providing support for the civilian population.





## Chapter 5

# The Military Consequences of War

The 33 days Israeli war against Lebanon from military aspects carried with it unique impacts and consequences that can be studied, analyzed and interpreted and with it one can explain and also define future strategies and tactics to be adopted by the two sides in their possible future conflicts.

### A. Military Consequences of War in Israel

In the views of leading military experts and analysts, Israel's war on Lebanon marks the beginning of complete review and overhaul of the viewpoints, theories, strategies and perspectives of the Military and Classical Defense, especially within Israel. The reason is that Israel, because of being targeted by Katyusha Rockets over its residential, military and industrial areas, not only experienced significant losses, but also the style of military warfare and ability to fight long-duration war by Hizbollah and its successful operations and blockade of Israeli Defense Forces on the ground, utterly surprised the top Israeli Military Command. In brief, the leading consequences of this war for Israel are summarized below:

#### 1. The Shattering of Idol of the Israeli Army's Mythological Invincibility

Israel, during its past wars with Arab countries together with the latest military equipment and superior technology was able to successfully defeat their armies. The 6 day Arab-Israeli war was the best model for Israel to show and be proud of its military strength. Even though, in 1973 it suffered several military defeats in the beginning of war, however, it was able to regain its strength and preserve its image and myth of its invincibility among the Arab countries of the region. During last three decades too, the Zionist regime by its several military attacks on Syria, Lebanon and Palestinian people successfully kept its images of invincibility. However, the 33 days of military conflict of Israel with Lebanon shattered the myth of all the analysis and interpretations prevalent for last several decades and put them under big question mark.

During these years, especially in the recent past, one of the leading reasons for the regional Arab countries to seek establishment of diplomatic ties with Zionist Regime was its superior military power. Accordingly, these countries [or all the regional countries] used to think

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

that in all the military conflicts with Israel, its army would be winner because it is equipped with modern technology and military hardware. Thus, there was no way but to reduce tension with this regime and make peaceful efforts.

The victory of Islamic Resistance Forces of Lebanon over Israeli Army broke the idol of military and security invincibility of this regime among the world politicians and also in the world public opinion. This was to the point that even inside Israel the myth and legend of superiority of its army for guarantying the security of Zionist population in face of foreign and internal threats, encountered hard challenges, arguments, criticisms, and serious questions.

Golani Brigade<sup>79</sup> is one of the famous Israeli army's infantry brigade comprising of the highly trained commandoes specialized in ground military operations. It has to its credit a long history of several military successes. However, contrary to its past military honors and decorations, in the military operations in South Lebanon<sup>80</sup> and in combats with the Islamic Resistance of Lebanon it failed to record much success to be proud of and suffered several heavy defeats. This was to the point that heavy human losses<sup>81</sup> of this legendary brigade in the 33 days war challenged the traditionally accepted strength and superiority of its commandoes, and highlighted the shattering of myth of Israeli Army's military invincibility.

One of the other disastrous blows that shattered the idol of Israeli Army or as popularly believed the 'Legend of Israel's Invincibility' was Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah's announcement of Hizbollah's successful attack and destruction of its sophisticated modern Naval Sa'ar class-5 warship<sup>82</sup>. This announcement was aired live from various International TV and

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<sup>79</sup>Also known as the 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade, it was formed in 1948 under the command of David Ben-Gurion. It is one of the most highly decorated infantry units of the Zionist Army. Golani brigade is traditionally associated with the Israeli Northern Command. Its soldiers wear a brown beret. It played key role in Zionist military successes in 1948 Arab-Israeli War, 1956 Sinai War, 1967 Six-Day War, 1973 Yom Kippur War, 1982 Israeli war and invasion of Lebanon and various military operations against Palestinians.

<sup>80</sup>Golani Brigade was at the fore front of Zionist ground attacks at various fronts in South Lebanon during the 33 days war.

<sup>81</sup>These losses were so high that during the 33 days of war, only in the region of Bint Jbeil, 20 commandoes were killed and over 70 others were injured from the famous Golani Brigade.

<sup>82</sup>This attack took place on Friday 14<sup>th</sup> July while Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah was giving a speech in front of World News Media. The Israeli Sa'ar 5-class warship INS Hanit was 10 nautical miles (19 km) off of the Lebanese coast near the city of Tyre when it was hit and destroyed by a C-802 anti-ship missile fired by the Hizbollah Forces. The attack was aired by all the leading TV news sources.

## Chapter 5: The Military Consequences of War

media sources by him during one of his speeches while the attack was being carried out. Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah announced that 'Hizbollah has achieved great successes in this war and one of these successes is the destruction of Israel's modern and sophisticated naval warship that you can now directly see with flames coming out of it at the shores of the Lebanese city of Tyre.'

Announcement of this news spread like a wave of happiness and joy among the Lebanese public and changed the prevalent military war atmosphere. Sa'ar class-5 naval warship is one of the most sophisticated Israeli warships and was destroyed by the Islamic Resistance forces while focused under the very cameras of the world news media. All this was previously coordinated by Hizbollah and struck a pivotal and deadly blow right at the heart of Israeli army. It should be mentioned here that the last Israeli naval warship to be destroyed in war was in 1967 by Egyptian army and from then for several years onwards, no country and no resistance group was able to target or even damage any Israeli warship.

Israel, by expanding its war in Lebanon that was militarily and politically fully supported by US and that took its material shape by the silent and passive attitude of the International Community and United Nation's Security Council, suffered heavy military and human losses in addition to the billions of dollars of loss to its own economy.

Based on the latest statistics available, the toll of various losses of the Zionist Army in the 33 days war is following:

- The losses of Zionist ground forces [Infantry]: 120 killed<sup>83</sup> and 400 injured, most of which were reported to be seriously wounded making them useless for future ground operations.
- Loss of human lives within the Zionist State: 50 killed and over 2500 injured.
- Zionist military equipment and hardware losses: Destruction of over 120 modern Merkava version 4 tanks<sup>84</sup> and 30 bulldozers.
- Zionist Navy losses: Destruction of two Sa'ar class-5 warships and one naval boat equipped with cannons.

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<sup>83</sup>The actual number of killed can be much higher. For example, only in a single day 24 Zionist soldiers were killed and several others were seriously wounded. See:  
<http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/749479.html>

<sup>84</sup>Each Merkava version 4 tank costs over \$ 5 million

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

- Zionist Air Force losses: Shooting down of 3 Apache helicopters<sup>85</sup> and another IDF Yasur helicopter<sup>86</sup> with 5 soldiers on board, all were killed<sup>87</sup>. Destruction of one Israeli espionage balloon and one F-16 jet after it came out of hanger.

### 2. The Promotions and Demotions of Israeli Military Commanders

One of the military consequences of the war seen in its last days after the repeated military defeats of the Israeli Army and that caught the attention of world media was the resignation of the Commander of the Northern Military Command Major General Udi Adam<sup>88</sup> and appointment of General Moshe Kaplinsky, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Israeli Defense Forces in his place. This appointment led to severe criticisms within Israeli Army. It is worth mentioning that the Israeli Army for the first time and only during the 1973 war took such a step and removed the Commander of its Southern Military Command. From that time until present, in order to protect the status of Zionist Army and prevention of any in-coordination within its higher ranks and significant changes in its military tactics, there was stable military leadership and severe opposition to any changes within army at the level of commanders.

Internet News website 'Israel News'<sup>89</sup> wrote that the real reason for changes in the Israeli military command was killing of more than 12 Zionist soldiers in the region of Kfar Giladi<sup>90</sup> Zionist daily newspaper Haaretz too by removing the curtain from the severe differences among the commanders of the Israeli Army during the war made clear that the danger of drowning again in the swamp of Lebanon 6 years after the shameful withdrawal in the year 2000 from the South of this country prevailed over the meetings of the Israeli Army commanders.

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<sup>85</sup>Each Apache helicopter costs \$ 15.4 million. One was shot down in Bint Jubeil on 24<sup>th</sup> July, killing all on board with two pilots.

<sup>86</sup>Yasur helicopter's model CH 53 costs over \$ 20 million. It is extensively used for commando operations by the Zionist Army.

<sup>87</sup>This failed Zionist army operation was carried out on 12<sup>th</sup> August inside South Lebanon when Yasur CH 53 helicopter was shot down by Hizbollah, killing 24 commandoes and several were seriously injured as a result Israel was forced to accept ceasefire.

<sup>88</sup>It was interesting to see that on August 8, 2006, IDF Deputy Chief of Staff General Moshe Kaplinsky was surprisingly appointed to the Northern Command as a special representative of the Chief of Staff Dan Halutz in response to the growing criticisms by the government. Adam announced his resignation on September 13, amid continuing criticism of the war's conduct.

<sup>89</sup> Website: <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/>

<sup>90</sup>Kfar Giladi is a kibbutz established in 1916 when Zionists infiltrated the Palestinian lands and is situated in the north of Israel along the South Lebanon border. On 6<sup>th</sup> August, 12 reserve IDF soldiers were killed and 8 others were injured after being hit by a Katyusha rocket launched by Hizbollah from South Lebanon.

## Chapter 5: The Military Consequences of War

Other than Udi Adam, commander of the Northern Military Command who had warned the Zionist government about the consequences of the Lebanese-Israeli war, Brigadier General Gal Hirsch<sup>91</sup>, commander of Israeli forces in the border region with Lebanon was removed from his post.

At the end of war, military analysts of Israel severely criticized Dan Halutz<sup>92</sup>, the Chief of Staff of the Israel Defense Forces for his exaggeration of the strength of the Israeli Air Force. Various TV news networks within Israel because of successive defeats suffered by Zionist army in Lebanon, aired programs with parodies that mocked at the Israeli military commanders.

Widespread and severe differences among the Zionist Army commanders was one of the greatest consequences that was the result of the brave Islamic Resistance of Hizbollah and highly precise targeting of its rocket attacks. Due to this very fact, the leaders of Israel after the acceptance of ceasefire sought resignation of Halutz on the pretext of his health problems and lack of professional expertise<sup>93</sup>.

### 3. Halt of Production of Merkava Tanks

Merkava Tanks are one of the sophisticated modern equipment of the Zionist army and considered as symbol of world-wide superiority of the Israeli Ground Forces. These tanks are resistant to anti-tank missiles conventionally used in the world. Israel, in order to

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<sup>91</sup>Gal Hirsch was the commander of the IDF Division 91 posted at the border region between Israel and Lebanon. He resigned on 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2006 after an army appointed panel investigations found him responsible for the kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers by Hizbollah in the North. Brigadier General Yossi Bachar was appointed in his place. However, there were severe differences within the Zionist Army over his removal and the investigation itself.

See: <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/788306.html>

<sup>92</sup>Halutz resigned from office on 17<sup>th</sup> January, 2007, following a critical report on his military and ethical conduct from the former chief of Staff Dan Shomron and General Gabi Ashkenazi was appointed in his place. Halutz is a war criminal. He was behind the policy of targeted killing of Palestinians and Lebanese which in fact massacred hundreds of innocent civilians mostly women and children. An example is his personal involvement in martyrdom of senior Hamas commander Salah Shahade and his family together with several innocent Palestinians mostly children. The targeted apartment building was situated in a densely populated Gaza residential neighborhood. Halutz was on board of the IAF warplane when it dropped a one-ton bomb on the building.

<sup>93</sup>Interestingly, on 15<sup>th</sup> August, 2006, it was revealed that Halutz sold off about \$28,000 worth of his stocks three hours after two Israeli soldiers were captured by Hizbollah. He was asked to resign on 17<sup>th</sup> August, but he declined.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

promote its military superiority, ran international advertisement campaign of this tank and was able to expand production of Merkava Tank for its export to other countries.

Mohammad Ra'ad<sup>94</sup>, the well-known figure of Hizbollah and representative of this movement in the Lebanese Parliament, in reaction to the destruction of most modern Israeli tanks said: 'The destruction of the Israeli Merkava tanks is the result of two years of investigation and research by the military specialists of Hizbollah. These military experts of Hizbollah after two years of thorough and in-depth investigation were able to detect weak points and strengths of Merkava tanks. The analysis of metallic alloys used for its protection also revealed the faults in its protection and the experts were able to completely destroy these most modern huge-sized tanks by high precision rockets and missiles.'

Destruction of most modern version of Merkava tank that usually carried inside it three soldiers of the Zionist army, struck a deadly blow on the Zionist military machine and on the morale of Zionist soldiers.

The utter failure of the Israeli Merkava tanks in the war with Hizbollah forced the military commanders of this regime to think again about its production in future and perhaps halt it. In this regard, 'Defense News' magazine quoting Israeli military experts announced that these tanks are very heavy military equipment and one must look for its lighter version. This magazine, quoting General Benjamin Gantz commander of the Israeli ground forces wrote: 'It is possible that future wars will require less tanks and for this reason the expanded production of Merkava tanks should be reviewed.'

General Nir Amir Israeli Defense Forces Merkava Project Manager also said: 'It is difficult to make a decision about continuing the production of Merkava tanks as it has a strategic aspect.' The 'Defense News' further added: 'After 33 days of war on Hizbollah that meritoriously used the anti-tank missiles for preventing the ground invasion of Israel, General Gantz and other military commanders of Israel made a firm decision to review the production of Merkava tanks.' This magazine cited Major General Haim Erez<sup>95</sup> 'At present we are waiting for the results of evaluation of the 33 days war events and when the results will be available, we will shed more light on the reasons for the unexpected events leading

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<sup>94</sup>Mohammad Ra'ad is a senior politician from Nabatieh and is the head of the Hizbollah's bloc in the Lebanese parliament.

<sup>95</sup>Retired IDF Brigade commander who led 1982 invasion of Lebanon under Ariel Sharon, then Defense Minister of Israel.

## Chapter 5: The Military Consequences of War

to defeat. In spite of this fact, one of the lessons of this war was that heavy tanks and military equipment are not the real forces in the ground wars.'

Israeli military spokesman in this regards announced: 'These tanks that are matter of pride for the military industry of Israel are now facing dishonorable situation.'

One of the Zionist military commanders too in reaction to the continuous destruction of Merkava tanks by Hizbollah, in of the government meetings said: 'The successful attacks of Hizbollah on Israeli tanks tells us the reality that before the Israeli military experts can detect the weak points of these tanks, they [Hizbollah] were able to find them.'

The Zionist regime with the claim that Russian-made missiles that were given to Iran were used by Hizbollah and were able to destroy Merkava tanks, sent a high level delegation to Russia. However, Russian government officials refuted all Israeli claims and said that not a single missile was sold to Iran in this regards.

The destruction of Merkava tanks led the Zionist leaders to be seriously concerned about the possibility of cancellation of sale contracts of the Israeli Military equipment to other countries. In this regards news came out in press that Turkish military cancelled its contract of purchasing and repair of Merkava tanks from Zionist regime. This atmosphere caused the lack of confidence and loss of credibility of the strength of Israeli military equipment after a well-organized publicity campaign by the Zionist army. It further led to financial losses to the Zionist regime and devastated the position of its army in the international arena.

### **4. Warnings on the 'Lebanonization of Gaza'**

The military success of Hizbollah in the period of its conflict with the Zionist army equipped with a variety of most modern armaments not only broke the idol and busted the legendary myth of invincibility of Israel among the leaders of Arab and Islamic governments of Middle East, but also had profound influence among the Palestinian Islamic Resistance groups especially with regards to future war strategies against Israel.

The open and obvious coordination between Palestinian Resistance groups and Hizbollah during the 33 days of war raised serious concerns among the Israeli Military leadership. Efforts of Palestinian Resistance Groups to support Hizbollah were reflected in the form of increased pressure on the Zionist regime from inside the occupied territories. This led to a

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

wave of rocket fire on the illegal Zionist settlements built around Gaza through the Palestinian Resistance Groups.

The open cooperation between Hizbollah and Palestinian Resistance Groups which is likely to increase more in future has raised fears among Israelis and their future concerns focused towards Gaza. In their views, it is highly possible that in future, Palestinian Fighting Groups will follow the military strategies and tactics of Hizbollah and will bring in the rockets and light military equipment in Gaza. In this regards, it is worth mentioning that the political and military leaders of Israel have been repeatedly asserting in their claims that Gaza has acquired every type of military equipment except tank and fighter jets; they even claimed that Palestinians in Gaza have anti-aircraft missiles!

This issue led the Israeli Security Apparatus to adopt severe security measures and new policies for besieging Gaza. In addition, strict measures were implemented to limit by all means any influence of Hizbollah on Palestinian Resistance Groups, and block any possible communication and cooperation between them.

### **5. Ineffectiveness of Israeli war threats**

For several years before the 33 days war and similarly in the beginning of war, the Zionist regime effectively used the threat of war –‘Military attacks’ on Syria, and other countries in the region and enjoyed full advantage of this threat. In addition, this threat caused disgrace and exploitation of the regional countries in face of Israeli aggressions and attacks and because of the fear of Israeli attacks, they were always afraid to take any retaliatory military actions against Israel.

During the long time before this war, Syria suffered most from the Israeli threats. The Zionist regime always threatened and condemned Syria for its support of Islamic Resistance Groups. This was to the point that in the beginning of the 33 days war, for the reason of Israeli assumption of Syrian support to Hizbollah, this regime threatened Syrian that it will send its warplanes over the palace of Syrian president Bashar al-Asad and if Syria continues to support Hizbollah through its territory, Zionist regime will militarily invade Syria.

The expansion and prolongation of war and successive defeats of Zionist army at the hands of guerrillas of Islamic Resistance of Lebanon, didn't allow this regime's military commanders to open a second military front. Thus they were forced to announce that the possible invasion of Syria is cancelled.



## Chapter 5: The Military Consequences of War

The political leaders of Syria too after witnessing the weakness and inability of Zionist army and its helplessness in face of Hizbollah's military operations, became courageous and warned Israel of the consequences of current war and possibility of their intervention in this war in case Israel made progress to penetrate deep into Lebanese territory.

The total paralysis of Israel in front of Hizbollah, against the first impression and thoughtful fears in the first days of war of the possible Israeli attack on Lebanon, led to totally opposite reaction. This was to the extent that Syrian leaders especially 'Mohsin Bilal' the minister of communications warned Israel several times during the 33 days of war. He announced that 'in case if Israeli army penetrates deep in Lebanon and reaches the border point 'Al-Masnaa'<sup>96</sup> in the east Lebanon, Syria will not remain inactive.'

In response to Syrian threats, Israeli leaders emphasized that because they are engaged in the war with Lebanon, they had no interest to initiate military conflict with Syria and adopted total silence in face of these threats.

### 6. Severe Intelligence Failure of Israel

One of the consequences of this war for the Zionist regime was its approval and reliance upon its severely weak intelligence setup and outdated information gathered through its espionage network. Mossad, the Zionist intelligence and espionage agency with its superb intelligence capabilities wasn't able to assess and predict the war and its outcome.

Similarly, the targets pursued by Zionist commandos deep inside Lebanese territory by heliborne operations, weren't able to secure any fruitful military and security gains for this regime. The failed military operations in Tyre, Baalbek hospital, Bekaa among many others, are proofs of this failure.

In this aspect, the targets pursued by Israeli artillery and Israeli Air Forces bombers in order to destroy the centers of activities related to Hizbollah, destruction of its weapons storage sites and terror of leading personalities of Hizbollah too faced with utter failure.

This war clearly showed that the Israeli security and espionage network couldn't penetrate the Hizbollah establishment and the counter-espionage system of Hizbollah was successfully able to achieve its desired targets.

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<sup>96</sup>Al-Masna'a is the main border crossing point between Beirut and Damascus in the east of Lebanon.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

Hizbollah's success in arresting 27 Israeli spies in Lebanon at the sites from where they were passing information to the Zionist intelligence services for future air bombardment broke the very back of Zionist spy network inside Lebanon wiped out a major part of it.

Even though Israel had very detailed and accurate information about the military ground in Lebanon, however, the ground realities during the war showed that in spite of this high-class information, because of the weak capabilities to gain new information, most of this information was outdated, fabricated and useless to the point that it couldn't serve any purpose for military and security establishments of the Zionist regime in order to achieve its pre-planned targets in war and save itself from defeat against Hizbollah.

### **7. Review of US on the strategic position of Israel**

The history of US relations with Israel is witness to the fact that US considers Israel as its strategic partner in Middle East and uses every possible means to secure and expand its relations with Israel.

US would go beyond any limit of support to guarantee the existence of Israel in the region against other countries of the Middle East. This support is meant for pursuing its targets in the Middle East specially the oil reserves and to expand its influence in this region which is politically and strategically considered as the heart of the world.

However, now a new thinking has started prevailing in the intellectual circles of US which interprets that the support to Israel not only failed to secure its strategic interests of US but deals a severe blow to secure these very interests. Even though this thinking is just in its beginning stages, however, the possibility of its becoming more popular in the intellectual minds in near future cannot be ignored.

The inability of Zionist army in its confrontation with a guerrilla group and its successive defeats while facing it, shattered the very idea of a powerful and superior ally in the eyes of Americans. In this regard, few points are worth considering:

1. The US under the pretext of a militarily weak Israel will strengthen its own position and increase its presence in the Middle East on permanent basis.
2. The US will strengthen its relations with other countries that are its partners such as Turkey, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

## Chapter 5: The Military Consequences of War

3. The US in order to compensate for the weakness and lack of modern facilities against its enemy countries and groups, will provide much more financial, tactical and technological support to strengthen Israeli military and its security system.

### **8. Israeli review of its own military tactics and strategies**

The 33 days Israeli-Lebanon war openly exposed the ineffectiveness and failure of Israeli war tactics and strategies it used against the Islamic Resistance of Lebanon.

The strategy of surprise attack and tactics to prevent the prolongation of war due to its own weakness and vulnerability and human losses are counted as the basic and strategic principles of war of Israeli military. However, in this war, the Zionist regime because of its advanced preparedness, employed the tactics of ground bombardment, relied on heliborne operations and advancement deep into the enemy territories from several points. However, later developments in war showed that the basic principle of their war strategy was not only non-productive and didn't bring any gains for the Israeli army, but increased their losses and damages and raised the number of their human casualties. The human loss as reported by the leading media that Israel suffered during this 33 days war was more than the total of human losses it had suffered during last 5 wars with Arab countries in the past.

Some of the military analysts believe that Israel because of being under increased pressures from US in order to reach the stage for total annihilation of Hizbollah and destruction its weapons took the risk of prolonging the war.

Another important aspect related to the Israeli army's war strategy that was worth noticing was the vulnerability of its naval forces. The warships and the naval boats equipped with cannons that from a distance of 15 kilometers from Lebanese seashore were bombarding the different areas of this country, after witnessing the destruction of Israeli navy's two Sa'ar class-5 warships and similarly one naval boat equipped with cannons, withdrew back to 100 kilometers away from Lebanese seashores. This totally closed the chapter of Israeli bombardment of Lebanon via its naval ships and efforts for bringing its forces and military equipment through seashores of Lebanon in order to penetrate deep inside its territories and besieging the Islamic Resistance fighters from sea.

### **B. The Military Consequence of War for Hizbollah**

Side by side with the military consequences that this war brought for Israel, consequences for Hizbollah too were very important and noticeable. Deeper analyses and investigation of

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

these can make it possible to have better insight into current changes in the Middle East and regional policies.

It's a core and undeniable fact that the steadfastness and resistance of Hizbollah while facing Israeli army totally surprised world military analysts and leadership. It wasn't possible to imagine as to how a small guerrilla resistance group could continue fighting against a highly organized and classical army of the world for 33 days and repulsed their attacks. In this regards, the military consequences that this war brought for Hizbollah, can be discussed under following headings:

### **1. Rejection of view that Hizbollah can be disarmed by military means**

Of the most important objectives that the Western powers and Israel are pursuing in Lebanon, was to seek every opportunity to disarm Hizbollah of its weapons. This is because this resistance movement is one of the most powerful barriers in achieving their objectives not only in Lebanon but also in region.

The assassination of Rafiq Hariri<sup>97</sup> that resulted in the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution # 1559 was the first stage of execution of plan for the disarmament of Hizbollah that was initiated after the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon after 2 decades. The second stage of this plan of disarmament of Hizbollah which emerged under the framework of UN Security Council Resolution # 1680<sup>98</sup>, was handed over to 14<sup>th</sup> March Alliance<sup>99</sup> comprising of groups opposed to Syria and Hizbollah. However, the tactics and maneuvers of this alliance for the disarmament of Hizbollah by political means and by the way of

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<sup>97</sup>Full name in Arabic: Rafiq Baha'a al Deen Al-Hariri. Assassinated by a massive bomb explosion in Beirut on 14<sup>th</sup> February, 2005 as a part of US-Zionist conspiracy to bring changes in Lebanon especially aimed at reducing Syrian influence in the region, total destruction of Hizbollah and the creation of US-Zionist orchestrated New Middle East. He was Prime Minister of Lebanon from 1992 to 1998 and again from 2000 until his resignation on 20<sup>th</sup> October 2004. He was Saudi backed business tycoon. His era was marked by rapid post civil war reconstruction mostly in Beirut and huge foreign investment during widespread corruption and the crippling damages were done to the Lebanese economy, with the public debt rising from \$2.5 billion to over \$40 billion and economic growth slowing from 8% to -1%.

<sup>98</sup>Resolution 1680 was adopted by the UN on 17<sup>th</sup> May, 2006 at the request of US backed Fouad Siniora's government. It was aimed to diminish Syrian role and materialize Hizbollah's disarmament and dismantle its political setup in Lebanon and allow US-Zionist policies to be implemented in the region. Interestingly, this resolution calls for the full support for the Lebanese National Dialogue, which is the main motto of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah and which UN and Western governments have always opposed. Full text of resolution at: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/sc8723.doc.htm>

<sup>99</sup>Political coalition openly supported by US and Israel and Headed by Sa'ad Hariri. Comprises of 8 political parties and independent candidates.

## Chapter 5: The Military Consequences of War

dialogue and discussions ended in total failure due to strong position of Hizbollah in the political arena of Lebanon.

The 33 days war was the best opportunity for a foreign factor to disarm Hizbollah of its weapons by the way of Israeli army combined with the military and political support of Western and other opposed governments. However, the changes that took place at the ground of military conflict between Hizbollah and Israel drew a red line on this plan and its implementation.

The brave resistance of Hizbollah during the whole period of war against Israeli army that was equipped with most modern military technologies and weaponry and fully supported politically by the Western world and even some of the Arab countries of region [all this support was possible for the first time during the history of Zionist regime and Olmert was proud to announce it as one of best political successes of his government] sealed the approval of the fact that the disarmament of Hizbollah by foreign intervention and through use of force is impossible.

Tzipi Livni the foreign minister of Israel expressed her views in this regards as: 'During the war with Hizbollah we have reached the conclusion that no army in the world is powerful enough to disarm Hizbollah'.

Kofi Annan, the Secretary General of the United Nations too by rejecting any type of foreign intervention for the disarmament of Hizbollah announced: 'The Disarmament of Hizbollah by power and force is impossible, and this issue is related to the consensus of political parties within Lebanon. It will not be even the responsibility of UNIFIL forces to disarm the Hizbollah.'

As mentioned earlier, this war proved that the disarmament of Hizbollah is not possible by military means and the only way to deal this issue in future is by dialogue and exchange of views among all the parties, groups and leading political figures of Lebanon and their common view point and consensus on the future of arms of Hizbollah. Nabil Qaooq<sup>100</sup> one of the leading figures of political wing of Hizbollah by approving this view believed as: 'Any effort to disarm Hizbollah outside the fold of national dialogue will certainly end in failure and this movement is ready to face any type of foreign challenge in this regard and is not afraid in the least.'

### 2. The Limitation of Ground for Operations of Hizbollah

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<sup>100</sup>Sheikh Nabil Qaooq is the top Hizbollah leaders in southern Lebanon.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

Limitation of ground for Hizbollah's operations is one of the other messages that the 33 days war brought for Hizbollah. Until before this war, the ground operations of Hizbollah were beyond the south of Litani River and it had no barriers and limitation for logistics and movements of its fighters. However, adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution # 1701 and request to the UNIFIL forces for their deployment on the south of Litani River and establishment of zone free of weapons and military personnel can create problems for Hizbollah in future.

Even though the Resistance fighters are the local residents of the region and nobody has power to force them to migrate out of the area. However, increasing international and local [opposition groups against Hizbollah] pressures in the region for disarming Hizbollah will be seen in action. Especially, the monitoring is going to be more intense in future towards the east and near the Lebanese border with Syria for preventing any communication between Hizbollah and Syria.

The headquarters of military bases in the South in which the resistance forces are stationed, will be another major problem for Hizbollah at the hands of Lebanese army and UNIFIL forces as these will create limitations in the ongoing activities of resistance in its active conflict with Israel and will decrease further ground for expansion of its activities.

It is necessary to accept the reality that when at time the internal factors [14<sup>th</sup> March Alliance] and external factors [Western world, Israel and some Arab countries of the region] couldn't succeed alone in disarming Hizbollah, unity between these two factors with actions to exert pressures from outside and measures to limit it from inside through restriction of military presence of Hizbollah in South by stationing of army in its place with the cooperation of UNIFIL forces which is being carried out these days, once completed, will bring new dangers and challenges for the continued military presence of Hizbollah in South with itself. Especially, because of intense monitoring and implemented precautionary measures for the prevention of any type of movement, transport and logistics of Hizbollah.

Limitation of ground for operations and activities of Hizbollah will force this movement to bring changes in its military tactics and strategies and adapt to current changes taking place in Lebanon and the region. It should also consider the changes in the light of their relations and threats to Hizbollah, and develop strategies for appropriate reactions.

### **3. Transformation of Hizbollah into a successful role model of resistance**

The culture of martyrdom, the spirit of seeking martyrdom and possession of courage that is based on ideology have proved to all beyond doubt that everywhere when a nation

## Chapter 5: The Military Consequences of War

believes in martyrdom, its fruitful result will be courage, patience, endurance and spirit of fighting. And the foremost factor in wars that brings all the forces together is the spirit and interest of combatants, not the modern technologies and equipments.

Perception of this illuminating reality by Muslim nations will highly elevate the status of Islamic Resistance of Hizbollah in their view and will propagate Hizbollah as a successful role model of resistance.

To fight a war against an enemy that has all the modern paraphernalia requires powerful military leadership, very high level of intelligence, accurate and timely military management and par excellence cleverness. Hizbollah's victory showed that one established and organized group can, in a relatively short period of time can achieve such a high level of military expertise, management and political maturity that it can face most complex enemies at the level of their military and political leadership and defeat them.

Hizbollah's victory proved that it is possible to win a war even when two warring sides differ totally out of proportion in all the material and physical aspects. This was a great source of encouragement for all the freedom seeking movements. With the victory of Hizbollah, the level of confidence of Muslim nation was raised and it was established that if Hizbollah's path was followed, victory can be achieved in every battle.

Even though during the war, some of the conspiracies of US-Israel coalition such as the fatwas<sup>101</sup> [religious verdicts] issued by the Mufti of Wahabis<sup>102</sup> from Saudi Arabia<sup>103</sup> stating that the war was haram [forbidden] and even to pray for the success of Hizbollah against Zionist army was also haram. This was based on reason that Hizbollah were Shia and the western powers were expecting to create difference among the Islamic nations united stand in this conflict. However, another reaction that came from Sunni Scholars and was also seen in their common public opinion that considered obligatory to support Hizbollah against Israel and all-out backing of Muslim masses for Hizbollah resistance effectively neutralized this conspiracy to divide Muslims and to weaken Hizbollah's position among Muslims. This

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<sup>101</sup>Fatwa [singular]: A legal opinion or ruling issued by an Islamic scholar.

<sup>102</sup>Wahabism is the extremist sect that originated in 1740 under the leadership of Muhammad ibn Abd-al-Wahhab from Saudi Arabia and supported by British Colonialism. For more details on Wahabism: <<http://www.al-islam.org/wahhabism/>> Daesh is the extreme inhumane and barbaric face of Wahhabism.

<sup>103</sup>The fatwa was issued by Sheikh Abdullah bin Jabreen on 19<sup>th</sup> July 2006. It was widely condemned in the Muslim world. Rallies and demonstrations were held against it.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

reached to the point that almost all of the Sunni Scholars in their fatwas, praised Hizbollah as the epitome of Islamic Jihad against Zionist and US oppression and paganism. They considered the fighters of Hizbollah as the fighters of true Islam who had shown their spirit of Jihad by putting it into action, and they said that their defense is the defense of true Islam.

Musa Abu Marzooq<sup>104</sup>, Deputy Chairman of Hamas Political Bureau, while supporting Hizbollah's resistance and congratulating this movement over its victory, said: 'The Palestinians will always look at the resistance as the victorious movement while facing the Zionist army. Every time when Hizbollah set afire the Israeli tanks, helicopters and warships and killed Zionist soldiers, this feeling became more intense among the Palestinian people and the Palestinian resistance groups.

Daily Newspaper 'Teshreen' published from Damascus, in one of its analysis in this regard wrote: 'Hizbollah by its resistance proved that a small group can be successful over an army that claimed to be the 6<sup>th</sup> most powerful army of the world. Hizbollah has now turned into a light of hope for all the resistance groups of the world for the liberation of their lands and a model of resistance against Zionist warlords and their conspiracies.'

The strong support of the Islamic world for Hizbollah's military success and its expression seen in various announcements, meetings and conferences about Hizbollah is in fact a stamp of approval that Hizbollah by displacing al-Qaeda, is the only organization that can serve as a role model of resistance and fighting against US and Israel. In addition, Hizbollah can successfully introduce itself as an icon of Islamic resistance in modern times within the Islamic world and particularly in the Arab world.

### **4. Introduction of Hizbollah as 'the greatest guerrilla force of the world'**

The techniques employed by Hizbollah during its war against Israel that granted novel experiences and new expertise to this movement, caught the attention of world military leaders and experts. In the view of leading military experts, the military techniques of Hizbollah in war against Israel can be employed as a new model in Guerilla warfare. In opinions of these experts and analysts, Hizbollah is now recognized as the greatest Guerrilla force of the world that could successfully resist for 33 days every type of war attack from the world class army of Israel and struck severely devastating blows while forcing its enemy to push back.

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<sup>104</sup>Full name Mousa Mohammad Abu Marzooq, born 9<sup>th</sup> January, 1951 in the Rafah refugee camp, Gaza Strip. He is a senior member of Hamas and holds the position since 1997.



## Chapter 5: The Military Consequences of War

With regards to the guerilla warfare strength of Hizbollah, the 'Defense News' magazine wrote: 'The Hizbollah guerrillas have very high level of professional expertise in their military operations. They are exceptionally fast in their activities and operations. Not a single area in South Lebanon is out of the control of Hizbollah guerrillas. The overwhelming success of a guerilla force over the classical army of Israel is a beginning for making changes in guerilla warfare tactics, specifically the tactics used by Hizbollah that were accompanied by successes with their application on ground.'

General Yoshi Heman the commander of Israeli Air Force's Paratroopers Unit<sup>105</sup> too expressed his views on the strength of guerrilla warfare of Hizbollah as: 'We were facing the guerrilla commandoes whose techniques and tactics pushed us back and used to make us helpless. I confess that Hizbollah fighters were the best commandoes of the world. They showed very high morale while we exhibited low spirits and weakness.'

The acceptance of superiority and strength of guerrilla warfare tactics of Hizbollah by military experts and analysts opened a new avenue for world-wide propagation and popularity of the principles and practices of guerrilla war that Hizbollah of Lebanon employed successfully.

The empowerment and development of guerilla war forces at the international level especially in the Middle East can pose fundamental and strategic challenges for the classical armies of world. It is likely that Hizbollah's experience and expertise will be adopted by the resistance groups, especially Palestinians. In confronting these guerrilla fighting groups with new combat techniques and innovative military tactics of war, the armies of the world that are equipped with modern military paraphernalia must also develop effective state-of-the-art tactics or face shameful defeat on ground like Zionist army in its 33 days of war on Lebanon.

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<sup>105</sup>IDF Paratrooper Brigade consists of three regular battalions. Various paratrooper units are named by snakes such as, 101st "Cobra" Airborne Battalion, 202nd "Viper" Airborne Battalion, 890th "Echis" Airborne Battalion and "Flying Serpent" Special Troops Battalion. The Special Troops Battalion designated as 'Airborne Special Troops Battalion' is under the direct command of the brigade headquarters.



## **Section III**

### **Economic and Social Aspects of War**



## Preface

The 33 war by Israel on Lebanese people, because of its expanded war front and longer duration was entitled as the sixth war. Unlike all the previous instances such as during the years 1993 and 1996 when Israel carried out military operations without much financial expenditures, this time Israel had to pay very huge and noticeable economic costs.

The sixth war between Israel and Lebanon, not only from political and military aspects, but also from financial and social aspects carried great consequences for the Zionist regime. In other words, this war because of its specific characteristics penetrated the very bottom strata and shook the social roots of this regime.

Accordingly, on the other hand, under the conditions mentioned above, the Hizbollah of Lebanon and the Lebanese Society too was seriously affected and had to pay unprecedented heavy social and economic consequences. The rapid changes in Hizbollah's social position in Lebanon, widespread damages and loses because of Israel's indiscriminate attacks on civilian and social infrastructure of Lebanon are among the main topics that will be discussed in this section.



# Chapter 1

## Popular views on the war from the two sides

Although during the days of war because of emergency situation and relevant conditions, the public views on the duration, ceasefire, and changes on the going situation on that time, is not so important; however, this point is undeniable, that the political leaders save their government by the very presence of public. Public reaction and general views during the days after war about its sequels and consequences were important and influential for future.

The people of Israel and Lebanon adopted highly diverse positions and expressed different points of views in the relation to the sixth Israel-Lebanese war. Similarly, the publications, media and propaganda machinery from the two sides too wrote and published within the acceptable framework on the role played by their governments and political leaders. Naturally, various political groups and factions, their leaders and famous personalities too for the sake of their own group's or nationalistic interests and gains adopted relevant positions.

### **A. Glimpse at the Zionist regime's popular view on the war**

Within the Zionist society, various personalities, political parties and media adopted diverse positions about the war.

#### **1. War and the Israeli Society**

If the position of Israeli society on the 33 day war is seriously and deeply investigated, it would be concluded that in the beginning of the war, the political leaders of Zionist regime on the pretext of abduction of two Israeli soldiers by Hizbollah, were able to successfully manipulate the public opinion in their favor. However, as the war progressed and gradually with the massacre of innocent Lebanese civilians and widespread damages to the Lebanese civilian infrastructure, the Israeli society reached the conclusion that the war was uselessly going on without any specific objectives. Gradually this lead to more organized and party based standpoints and opposition to war surfaced in the form of demonstrations, public protests and gatherings ranging from few hundred to thousands of participants.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

Israeli public sought to stop the war during these demonstrations and end to the emergency situation especially in the North of Israel. They had lost their confidence in the Zionist political and military leaders. Based on a public opinion survey after war, Olmert's popularity dropped from 78% to 40% and Peretz too had worse situation. Similarly, the popularity of the ruling political factions within the cabinet suffered serious blow.

### **2. Glimpse at the Israeli mass media on the war**

Israeli electronic and print media, keeping in view their political party and group affiliations, adopted highly specific and diverse positions on the war.

Newspapers like 'Jerusalem Post' supported the expansion and continuation of war and adopted a very offensive position against Hizbollah, Iran and Syria. On the other hand, 'Haaretz' and several other newspapers and magazines, sought active diplomacy and political means instead of continuation of war and widespread massacres of Lebanese civilians.

### **3. Political parties and leaders of Israel**

Multilateral analysis of overall position adopted and actions taken by the political parties of Israel in face of 33 days of war clearly shows the fact that various parties and factions opposed to the government adopted a position to support the policies and decisions made by the cabinet in favor of war during the first two weeks. However, they too, in the face of successive Zionist military defeats, gradually shifted from favor to criticism and finally to opposite position.

One of the noticeable events in this regards is lobbying of Netanyahu and Mofaz to overthrow the cabinet of Olmert. Keeping in the view the fact that Olmert's cabinet was formed on the basis of support of various factions and the 33 days war too sidelined this topic from cabinet's priority. As a result, for the Likud party and Netanyahu (its chief) it provided an opportunity to call back the members of Likud party who were then the members of Kadima.

Thus, Mofaz gained promise of Netanyahu to secure position of Defense Minister in his cabinet. The above statement is supported by the fact that the 33 days war in Israel, in its early stages showed very solid unity, however towards its end showed highly conflicted relationship.



## Chapter 1: Popular Views on War on the Two Sides

At the level of leading political personalities of Israel, a religious verdict issued by one of the Zionist Rabbis that allowed massacres and killing of Lebanese and Palestinian children and women provoked widespread and diverse reaction within and outside Israel.

### **B. Glimpse at the Lebanese popular view on the war**

Due to the special composition of Lebanese society and highly diverse and numerically large political groups and parties that are based on religion and that influences the political, military, security, economic and various other aspects of Lebanon, it is possible to divide the popular opinion about the war on the basis of positions adopted by religious parties. In this regards, point of view of Christian parties, Sunnis, Shias and Druzes will be presented. Within the Christians, two different points of views existed about the war and the Hizbollah's Islamic Resistance. The first view adopted by the political personalities like Emile Lahud (then President of Lebanon), Suleiman Franjeh Jr. (head of the Marada Movement) and Michel Aoun (head of the Free Patriotic Movement).

Suleiman Franjeh Jr. considered the resistance of Hizbollah as the fulfillment of the truthful promise of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah, the Secretary General of Hizbollah that in the face of Israeli beastly onslaught was able to successfully show its resistance for more than a period of 30 days.

General Michel Aoun was of the view that the main objective of Israel's war on Lebanon was to deprive Hizbollah of its arms and ammunitions and provoke civil war inside Lebanon. He believed that Hizbollah until that time was able to convince Lebanese nation, especially the Christians that it will not use its weapons inside Lebanon and it will use it for the liberation of Shebaa Farms. Michel Aoun has always supported the Hizbollah's point of view on the issue of taking back its weapons and made it conditional to internal dialogue within Lebanon.

Emile Lahud was the most powerful Christian personality who during the war fully backed and supported Hizbollah at all levels. He believed that whatever happens in Lebanon, is only related to Lebanon. However, when Zionists are not able to face the resistance of Hizbollah, it is said that Iran and Syria or perhaps other countries are working behind the scenes of war or battle. Lebanon can only stand and resist against Zionist aggressions by the way of its national resistance and can then heavily defeat the Zionist regime.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

On the other hand, Samir Geagea<sup>106</sup> (Leader of the Lebanese Forces), Amine Gemayel (the past President of Lebanon and the head of Kataeb Party) and Nasrallah Sfeir<sup>107</sup> (Cardinal and the Spiritual Leader of the Lebanese Maronite Christians) belonged to the group of those Christian personalities who had controversial views on Hizbollah and 33 days war and thus adopted different stance. A summary of their views and position is presented below:

1. All the Lebanese should know that today the biggest threat is from Iran and this country provides every type of weapon together with large sum of money to Hizbollah inside Lebanon. [Sfeir]
2. The Lebanese Government requires support of International Community for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution # 1559<sup>108</sup> and disarmament of the Hizbollah. [Sfeir]
3. Hizbollah should change its direction and policies and allow the Lebanese government so that only Lebanese Army should have weapons in the country. [Gemayel]
4. The most difficult problem in this war is Shebaa Farms, and with its liberation there will be no reason left for Hizbollah to keep weapons. [Gemayel]
5. During this war, Hizbollah got open support of Iran and aid of Syria and in the battle field, Hizbollah forces were fighting on the behalf of Iran and Syria against Israeli soldiers. [Geagea]
6. The best strategy to end all the disputes and implementation of UN Security Council Resolution # 1559, is the presence of International forces at the Israeli border with Lebanon and their cooperation with Lebanese Army so as to remove all the illegal weapons in the region. [Geagea]

The Lebanese Sunni faction during the 33 days war adopted opportunistic stance and sometimes in favor of Zionist Regime and harming Hizbollah, which requires consideration. Certainly, various parties and political Sunni personalities share traditional

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<sup>106</sup>also written as Ja`ja`

<sup>107</sup>Patriarch Mar Cardinal Nasrallah Boutros Sfeir (born 15<sup>th</sup> May, 1920 in Rayfoun, Lebanon) is the patriarch of Lebanon's largest Christian body, the Maronite Church.

<sup>108</sup>Adopted on 2<sup>nd</sup> Sept, 2004.

## Chapter 1: Popular Views on War on the Two Sides

bonds and enjoy historical relationship with Saudi Arabia. The powerful and wide influence and relationship of Saudis further strengthened with the governing cabinet of Fouad Siniora that also increased its influence among the Sunni Community of Lebanon. 'The narrative of adventurous actions of Hizbollah in front of Israel' by Saudis greatly influenced the reaction of Sunni community of Lebanon.

Because of the green signal given by the Saudi Government to Israel for attacking Lebanon and its severe condemnation of Hizbollah, Fouad Siniora travelled to Saudi Arabia immediately after the end of war, and thanked Saudi Royal family for its obvious support actions and background measures<sup>109</sup> during 33 days of war.

During the war crises in Lebanon, Siniora, made efforts by giving statements in political support of Islamic Resistance against Israeli aggression, so as to be in accordance with popular views, become publicly acceptable and win public support. Side by side, he actually sought to convince and politically push International Community to take any measure to disarm Hizbollah without the liberation of Shebaa Farms as an appropriate strategy for peace in region. He didn't keep secret his intentions for disarming of Hizbollah during the 33 days of war. And for any proposal that was put forth by any side including European Alliance, US, Arab Countries and even Israel for the full implementation of UN Security Council Resolution # 1559 that specifically calls for the disarmament of Hizbollah, he would openly show his opposition to Hizbollah and support such move. He acted against Hizbollah inside the country by putting under it pressure by various means, including supporting opposition and allowed such tactics officially.

Sa'ad Hariri<sup>110</sup>, son of Rafiq Hariri, the assassinated Prime Minister of Lebanon, is the head of majority faction of parliament (which is known as the Movement of the Future), who reached the helms of Lebanese politics because of psychological and political climate created in Lebanon after the assassination of his father. During the 33 day war because of closure of Beirut airport he was forced to stay outside Lebanon. In disagreement with other Lebanese political groups [popularly known as the 14<sup>th</sup> March Alliance] he didn't consider Hizbollah as responsible for the war and avoided entering into such discussions and focused his criticisms on Syrian Army and on the person of President Bashar al-Asad saying that he exploited the political system of Lebanon for his own profits and benefitted by manipulating the political leadership in support of his own country.

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<sup>109</sup>One of such measures was issuing fatwa against Hizbollah by Saudi grand Mufti.

<sup>110</sup>Full name in Arabic: Sa'ad al Din Hariri. He is the present Prime Minister of Lebanon.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

Other Sunni personalities of Lebanon like Omar Karami and Salim al-Hoss and Sunni political parties such as Jamaa al-Islamiya<sup>111</sup> despite the fact that they fully supported Hizbollah's stance in the 33 day war, however, they were ineffective in gaining wide and effective support and influencing the mainstream Sunnis in favor of Hizbollah.

Talal Arslan, the head of mostly Druze Lebanese Democratic Party and Walid Junblatt, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon are the prominent political figures representing the Druze faction in Lebanon. Among these two, Walid Junblatt is more senior, has more influence and power than Arslan in the Lebanese political setup and is also more popular within the Druze community living in Lebanon.

Although Arslan severely condemned Israeli aggression and attacks on Lebanon on the basis of his personal political and national affiliations, however, he adopted silent attitude and didn't support Hizbollah's resistance. It can be stated that his attitude had historical roots as there was the lack of political alliance between him and Hizbollah in the Lebanese parliament elections of 2005 and perhaps he expressed his unhappiness towards Hizbollah by this specific stance.

During the war and the crises, most of the criticisms towards Hizbollah came from Walid Junblatt. His secret meetings and negotiations in the US embassy in Beirut with US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice during her visits to Lebanon, and similarly his meeting with one of the top Israeli officials in Paris few weeks before the start of war clearly indicated his strong alliance with Zionist- West coalition in efforts to disarm Hizbollah by all possible means.

In this aspect, a summary of his statements during the 33 days of war is presented below:

1. Iran and Syria are collaborators and so by using Hizbollah, they wish to achieve their aims and objectives.
2. Hizbollah is fighting a proxy war for Iran and Syria.
3. The Lebanese war is not the war of Hizbollah with Israel; rather it is the war of Iran and Syria with US.

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<sup>111</sup>Jamaa Islamiya was founded in 1952 as the Lebanese branch of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. The party has a military wing known as the al-Fajr Forces.

## Chapter 1: Popular Views on War on the Two Sides

4. We all must try to implement UN Security Council Resolution # 1559 (and disarm Hizbollah).

5. In Lebanon only one organization should have weapons and that is only the Army of Lebanon.

6. Hizbollah has turned into a government within the government of Lebanon.

7. Hizbollah doesn't believe in respect and giving value to viewpoints of any other Lebanese political groups and factions and entered war with Israel without coordination with the government of Lebanon.

The Shias of Lebanon were the only faction fully united and coordinated with Hizbollah. During the war, Shias suffered great economic losses, gave their lives and loved ones, and also suffered mentally and spiritually and were under great pressures from all the sides. They were forced to leave their homes and live under worst conditions; however, they took pride in supporting the resistance and their hero, the great personality of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah, for his brave leadership of resistance.

Shia 'Amal' movement under the leadership of Nabih Berri who is also the speaker of Lebanese parliament, was mostly coordinated with Hizbollah during the war. Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah after the war ended, thanked Nabih Berri for his supportive actions taken during the war.

An important point that should be ignored is the fact that it is the Hizbollah that has the greatest influence among the Shia community of Lebanon. And based on this fact, Shias of Lebanon regard Hizbollah as a source of their respect, pride, authority and honor.

Investigation and analysis of Lebanese media shows that overall during the war, the red line respected by most of the media was creation of nationalistic environment in Lebanese politics and nationalistic approach during every war, condemnation of brutal Israeli aggression against Lebanese civilians, and praise of heroic resistance of Hizbollah fighters in face of Zionist Army and countering their offenses. Even though, it should be noted here that from time to time, negative propaganda was seen from several media outlets such as Al-Mustaqbal, An-Nahar, Al-Hayat and LBC. These media published and aired news and commentaries that were in confrontation with Hizbollah and put it under great pressures inside Lebanon. Some of the themes and topics included: The necessity of implementation

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

of UN Security Council Resolution # 1559 and finding the strategies to disarm Hizbollah, the danger and threats posed by the weapons of Hizbollah for other non-Shia Lebanese factions and political groups, Hizbollah as a provoker and starter of war because it provided a pretext to Israel to attack and destroy Lebanon who was only seeking the release of its two soldiers, loss of government's financial earning because of lack of tourists who travelled to Lebanon every year, destruction of Lebanese economy because of war, increase of jobless, lack of growth of Lebanese financial market because of war...etc.

## Chapter 2

### Economic Damage

One of the fundamental consequences of every war is the economic damage and loss of human lives. Although during this 33 day war, use of advanced military technology by Israel inflicted heavy loss upon Lebanon; however, the Zionist Regime too wasn't protected from it and also suffered severe loss.

#### A. Economic Damage and loss of Israeli Human lives in War

During this war, the Zionists suffered worst ever losses during their history and spent worst days and weeks of their lives. During this war their 89 soldiers and military officers were killed, 39 civilians were also killed, and more than 1187 civilians and soldiers were injured. Other than that, 20,000 Israelis suffered from psychological problems. Approximately 5000 Katyusha rockets were fired towards Israel out of which 5% directly hit their Israeli targets resulting in enormous damage of 11,000 housing units, 50 industrial targets, 550 marketing centers, 1200 vehicles. In the area of agriculture and farming too, the firing of Katyusha rockets disrupted transport of agricultural products from 180,000 dunums<sup>112</sup> of land in the North of Israel.

Additionally, Israel suffered loss of 110 million dollars on daily basis during the war. The union of industrialists estimated the economic losses the Zionist regime, including the damages to the Zionist factories and industries located in the North of Israel to be between 68 to 90 million dollars. The reason for this is that 90% of the industrial units in Kiryat Shmona, 80% of the industrial units in Karmiel region located in Al-Jalil and 45% of such units in Haifa were shut down during war.

The economic consequences of the war for the Zionist Regime also had impact on the approval of year 2007 budget for the government. The reason was the repeated requests from the Israeli Defense Ministry for increase in the defense budget to the point that the budget for the year 2007 allocated two billion shekels [about 535 million dollars] to compensate for the war expenditures. Additional one billion and five hundred million shekels [about 402 million dollars] were allocated for the reconstruction of Northern areas

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<sup>112</sup>dunam or dönüm, dunum, donum is a unit of area used in the Ottoman Empire and still used in some middle east countries. It is equal to 1,000 square metres (10,764 sq ft).

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

of Israel. Similarly, this war on average increased the expenditures of all the ministries of Israel by about 3.3%, compared to the year 2006.

### **B. Economic Damage and loss of Lebanese Human lives in War**

The Zionist aggression on Lebanon incurred widespread losses on the Lebanese economy especially in the areas of Industries, Services, Agriculture and Farming. Before the civil wars of 1975, Lebanon was considered as one of the most stable and powerful economic countries of the Middle East. The Lebanese economy at that time consisted of a major sector of services and production, a growing industrial sector with promising future, and a relatively small agricultural sector. Because of major changes in the oil industry sector in 1973, the economy of Lebanon witnessed great progress in various sectors. At that time Beirut had become the centre of major Banks and Business Offices of large industries in the region. In this aspect, the foreign investments increased tremendously in Lebanon at that time, which took its economy into the modern era of expansion and development. However, the beginning of civil wars inside Lebanon and Zionist invasion marked the end of its economic progress and power. During the years from 1975 to 1990, Lebanese economy witnessed several devastating blows from Zionist Regime. The occupation of South Lebanon by Zionist Regime from 1982 until 2000 further weakened Lebanese economy and infrastructure. This occupation lead to 50% reduction in Lebanese national products, and also shifted the best of production activities outside the boundaries of the country. It also caused severe losses to agricultural and farming sectors and the Lebanese industries.

The 33 days war inflicted severe and widespread damage to the Lebanese infrastructure. This war led to fleeing of several thousand Arab and European tourists from Lebanon and resulted in joblessness of several thousand Lebanese individuals. The government of Lebanon had estimated that during the year 2006, over 1.6 million tourists would visit the country. Tourism play important role in the Lebanese economy. It comprises of 15% of Lebanon's income and for the year 2006 it was projected by the government that this income would reach 52 million dollars. However, because of the war, it was not materialized.

In the industrial sector too, damage to or closure of over 95% of the Lebanese industries due to war inflicted a devastating blow to Lebanese industrialists. These industries comprised of production units for carpets, medical and surgical products, textiles, clothing and weaving and paper-making industries and dairy products.

The trade and banking sector of Lebanon because of widespread Zionist airstrikes and aerial attacks came to a total halt. Although during the war, the Central Lebanese Bank was able



## Chapter 2: Economic Damage

to maintain its reserves with one billion dollars aid from Saudi Arabia and five hundred million dollars aid from Kuwait, however, because of the fact that Lebanon's debts were in excess of 737 billion dollars, these aids even though were unconditional and were given without any return, were in no way able to secure the economic future of the country even in near future.

In the agricultural sector, because of the widespread and continued Israeli bombardment, Lebanese agricultural production was almost totally wiped-out and suffered irreparable damage, especially in the region of Bekaa valley.

Several of the Lebanese agricultural installations and farms were severely affected and about 85% of the Lebanese farmers suffered damage because of the war. Oxfam, an international NGO estimated that the financial aid required for rebuilding the war-damaged Lebanese agricultural sector was about 130 million dollars.

Overall, statistics reveal that Lebanon suffered over six billion dollars of economic losses. The figures on loss of human lives during the 33 days of war are given below:

- 1084 civilians were killed, out of which over 1/3 were children.
- 400 soldiers or security personnel, 61 Hizbollah fighters, 7 fighters of Amal movement, 1 individual from Palestine Liberation Front [Central Command] were martyred.
- 4 UN peace inspectors and 1 UN peace keeper were killed.
- 963 thousand and 334 people became internal refugees and were forced to leave their homes. 220 thousand people fled Lebanon.
- 3700 people were injured
- 145 bridges and overpasses, 32 gas stations, 7 thousand apartments and home units, 29 public services units such as electric power supply units, airports, water plants, clinics, and charity centers were either completely destroyed or partially damaged.

Other than what is mentioned above, TV and telephone communication lines and radar stations, Antenna stations of mobile phones, religious centers, Hizbollah's centers or buildings related to its social and cultural activities, homes and offices of Hizbolah's officials, headquarters and military installations of Lebanon were bombarded and destroyed. In addition, cities, towns and several villages were systematically bombarded and destroyed, including Tyre, Bint Jubeil, Al-Khayam, An-Nabatiyah, Qana, Saidia, Al-

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

Dahiya (a large sector of Beirut), Al-Masna'a, Bekaa valley, Baalbek and several other villages and southern towns were severely bombarded by the Zionist regime.

## Chapter 3

### Consequences of War

The consequences of any war gradually become more apparent over a period of time. This situation was also found true for the 33 day war in relation to both the Zionist Regime and Lebanon.

#### **A. The social consequences of war for Israel**

At the social and general economic level, the world witnessed the reality of war as it affected the Israeli society. In other words, this war provided an opportunity for the Israeli citizens to have a firsthand experience and real feeling of the dire conditions of Palestinians who have always lived under the suppressive and oppressive policies of the Zionist regime. Naturally, witnessing the fleeing of Israeli population towards from residential areas and their work places towards bomb and rocket shelters, and more specifically escaping of those living in the north of Israel towards mid or south regions, to some extent simulated and illustrated the extremely harsh condition and suffering of the oppressed people of Palestine.

Similarly, the psychological shock caused by the sounds of bomb explosions was one of the other noticeable consequences worth mentioning in this regard. During this war, approximately over 20 thousand Israelis suffered from psychological ailments. Damage to trade, shopping and education centers and homes are among the other consequences of the war.

Israeli airports and seaports during the days of war were filled with the passengers who were fleeing Israel and moving to US or Europe. Prolongation of war and lack of strength and power of Zionist Regime to defeat Hizbollah essentially turned this 33 days long war into a horrible nightmare for Israelis that was unprecedented in their history.

It can be clearly seen that the social consequences of the 33 days war inside Israel were much more effective and deeper than the political, military and economic consequences. This war made Israeli society reach a conclusion that for continuation of their lives in this land, they should revise and amend their expansionist thinking and policies and should seek peace, moderation and calmness in the region. Increase in the interest of Israelis for seeking peace with the Hamas led government in the days after the war proves this point that they don't

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

believe that war will always be useful for achieving their ulterior or evident objectives. They now have realized that the time of their military superiority over Arabs, Palestinians and Lebanese is a historic myth and is now over.

### **B. The social consequences of war for Hizbollah and Lebanon**

It is natural that the 33 days war on Hizbollah and Lebanese society has left several deep social marks. These consequences are discussed under few subheadings given below.

#### **1. Increase in the pressure of opposition on Hizbollah**

The 33 days of confrontation of Israel over Lebanon and destruction of infrastructure, communications installations and buildings of this country led to a negative reaction over Hizbollah from the Lebanese opposition known as 14<sup>th</sup> March Alliance. This alliance because of the widespread destruction of Lebanese infrastructure, hold Hizbollah indirectly responsible for the losses suffered during the war. Though, this accusation wasn't not seen very openly during the war, however, after the war ended, this stance became more obvious and aggressive.

Fouad Siniora, the Prime Minister of Lebanon, at the end of war expressed his views as: 'The only conclusion that this war brought with itself for Lebanon is huge amount of losses. For reconstruction, whatever we had acquired for a period of long years, now we must pay it back as a heavy payment.'

Walid Junblatt, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party mainly comprising of Druzes, too in one of his interviews to media after the ceasefire was announced, addressed Hizbollah as: 'Who is responsible for all the devastations caused to Lebanon ? Who should pay for the losses? The weapons of Hizbollah should serve interests of Lebanon. We are not happy that the weapons of Hizbollah have brought so heavy loss and bad fortune for Lebanon.'

Official documentation of economic losses led to increased pressure over Hizbollah by opposition parties inside Lebanon. In particular, the problem that taking Israeli soldiers as hostages at the time of tourism season when it had emerged as one of the important sources of Lebanese government's revenue earning, and which led to fleeing of over one and half million foreign tourists visiting Lebanon that year.

In response, Hizbollah, under the pretext of paying back the economic loss to the residents of South Lebanon for the destruction of their homes announced that severe unhumanitarian and destructive Zionist reaction to soldiers' hostage taking was not possible to predict.

## Chapter 3: Consequences of War

### **2. Enormous increase in the public popularity of Hizbollah**

Despite the fact that the people of Lebanon especially the residents of South of this country suffered heavy material losses, lost their loved ones, saw widespread devastation of their properties, workplace and homes, and were forced to leave their homes and live under temporary shelters and tents, however, the successful and timely operations of Hizbollah during the whole period of war and military successes it gained while facing Zionist Army and similarly the way Hizbollah treated the refugees and came to their help in a timely manner, led to enormous increase in its respect and popularity among the people of Lebanon.

In this war, the people of Lebanon became popular in the Arab world and the world of Islam as the symbols of resistance and steadfastness. For the first time in the long history of military aggression of Israel over Lebanon, the Zionist regime was forced to pay heavy cost for its attack on Lebanon. This reality, in addition, left its beneficial psychological effects among the people of Lebanon and because of it, all the eyes were focused towards Hizbollah.

Hizbollah's support for the reconstruction of damaged homes and war torn regions and payment of twelve thousand dollars per Lebanese family that lost its home during the war, for its residence of one year, led to the defeat of the Lebanese opposition in its attempt to create a distance between Hizbollah and people. Finally, disclosure of their real faces among general public led to their total failure and defeat.

An important worth mentioning point is the Lebanese public's attitude, especially of the Shias towards the war and the Hizbollah. Widespread public support was seen and their sacrifices towards Hizbollah despite the losses of lives, properties and mental and spiritual shocks they suffered during the war. A lot of instances were witnessed when sad mothers were seen who considered their sons as sacrifices in the way of Islamic Resistance and were proud of them. Many people of South Lebanon were not ready to leave their homes under any circumstances in the face of widespread destruction by Israeli bombardment. They did this to announce their support for Hizbollah and its resistance fighters against the Zionist Army. An old woman who lost all her family members, stood by her destroyed house and in front of the camera of journalists, said: 'Our whole existence is sacrifice for Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah and for his name. We are all his soldiers and we are proud that we are sacrificing our lives and possessions in the way of Hizbollah.'

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

The zenith of public support for Hizbollah was seen after the end of war on Friday 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 2006, that is 38 days after the war had ended. The world witnessed that over one and half million people, in other words over one third of the whole population of Lebanon, came from all over the country and participated in the celebration of the great victory that was organized by Hizbollah in Beirut and showed their love, respect and solidarity towards Hizbollah and its leader, Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah.

### C. The Regional Consequences of War

Following main topics will be dealt briefly on the regional consequences of the 33 days Israeli war on Lebanon:

#### 1. Rift between Arab leaders and their public

The 33 day long Israeli military aggression on Lebanon and the shameful reaction of regional Arab leaders towards it and their adoption of totally negative stance against Hizbollah led to development of a common public opinion in these countries that their leaders were taking steps to defend Israel instead of defending Lebanon and the Arab world. The Israel-Lebanon war led to development of this notion in the minds of Arab community that even after passing of two generations, the Leaders of Arab world have again failed to adopt a proper strategy for ending the Arab-Israeli conflict and in front of power of Zionist Regime felt utterly helpless and couldn't do anything.

The dispute between Arab Leaders and their public during the 33 days war can be discussed and analyzed from various aspects. However, the most important reason for this dispute can be traced to their support or indifference towards Hizbollah and its Secretary General Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah. Side by side when the leaders of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan were condemning Hizbollah for its defense of Lebanon and Palestine, the people of Arabian countries came out on streets and staged protests and rallies in support of Hizbollah and Palestine and sought success of Hizbollah against Zionist Army and expressed their pride for its resistance.

The Council on Foreign Relations<sup>113</sup> of US in its report entitled 'The war between Israel and Hizbollah has increased rift between Arab leaders and their public' wrote that publication of photos of Lebanese people who were massacred by Israel and their family members wailing over them has not led to a positive reaction in the Arab countries. The Arab leaders are allied to Washington and Israel and their support for the Israeli aggression over Lebanon has led to a widespread public outpour of anger all over the Arab world and

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<sup>113</sup>[www.cfr.org/](http://www.cfr.org/)

## Chapter 3: Consequences of War

created a wide gap between them and their public. The Arab people are looking towards a light of hope and succor to which doesn't exist at all because the foreign policies of the Arab countries has led to despair and desperation in their own public. Most of the Arab countries are worried about their survival and not about the welfare of their own people. The foreign policy of Arab countries is dictated by the West and they don't have any choice except to bow down.

### **2. The crises caused by total ineffectiveness of the Arab League**

In 1945 in a meeting of the heads of six Arab countries in Cairo, Egypt, agreed on the establishment of the Arab League.<sup>114</sup> One year later, seven countries i.e. Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, North Yemen [at that time, North and South Yemen were not united] and Jordan officially established the Arab League and are recognized as the founders of this organization. At present total 22 countries are its members out of which 10 are from Africa.

Due to the fact that Egypt played important role in the establishment of Arab League and had greater influence in it than other Arab countries and later President Anwar Sadat<sup>115</sup> of Egypt signed peace treaty<sup>116</sup> with Israel in 1979, the Arab League gradually became ineffective as a political organization to safeguard the rights of Arab nation.

During the 33 days of Israel's war on Lebanon, the Arab League was able to hold only one meeting, that too at the level of Arab countries foreign ministers in Beirut. It even failed to adopt a united Arab stance on the condemnation of Zionist aggression against Lebanon. This pathetic situation lead Amr Moussa<sup>117</sup>, the Secretary General of the Arab League, to seek recite a fateha<sup>118</sup> over the state of the Arab League.

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<sup>114</sup>Officially called as the League of Arab States. The main goal of the league is to "draw closer the relations between member states and co-ordinate collaboration between them, to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, and to consider in a general way the affairs and interests of the Arab countries."

<sup>115</sup>Sadat was assassinated on 6<sup>th</sup> October 1981 by the brave lieutenant Khalid Islambouli who had links with Egyptian Islamic Party. Islambouli was later tried in the court and executed in April 1982.

<sup>116</sup>First the notorious Camp David Accords were signed by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Zionist Prime Minister Menachem Begin on 17<sup>th</sup> September, 1978, following twelve days of secret negotiations at Camp David. The Accords led directly to the 1979 Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty. The two agreements were signed at the White House, under the direct supervision of the United States President Jimmy Carter. They also resulted in Sadat and Begin sharing the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize.

<sup>117</sup>Secretary General since June 2001 to June 2011

<sup>118</sup>Fateha is recited as a Muslim custom over dead body.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

The Arab League that was founded for safeguarding the interests of Arab world on the basis of Arab Nationalism, at the outset was not able to play a positive role in this conflict when a non-Arab regime attacked and committed brutal aggression on an Arab member state of the League. It wasn't even able to call on the parties for a ceasefire and to negotiate their differences. This was in a crucial situation when the common public opinion in the Arab world and its expectations from this International Organization that was established to defend the interests of the Arab World was very high then its inert response and inability to react to the challenges in the region during the war. Thus, this war brought down the public popularity of the Arab League within the Arab masses, raised a big question mark over the legitimacy of its very existence and its place within the Arab world and to some extent among the Arab leaders and put it under great challenges for future.

### **3. Failure of the unjust Middle East peace process**

From the moment of the establishment of the illegitimate regime of Israel in 1948 in the occupied lands, the regime has been in the constant state of military conflicts and wars with countries neighboring Palestine and the Muslim countries of the world. None of these countries were not ready to recognize the officially accept the existence of this illegitimate Zionist regime.

The occurrence of four wars in the years 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973 between Arab countries and Israel and the defeat of Arabs in all these wars, in addition to the continued and widespread aggressions, attacks and Israeli war crimes on the lands of neighboring countries including Syria, Lebanon and Egypt had converted Middle East situation into an insecure region and militarily volatile.

Now after almost 60 years after the establishment of the Zionist regime, few countries of the region have recognized it. However, isolation and lack of diplomatic relations between Israel and most of the Arab countries still continues. Even if some countries have ties with Israel such as Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Syria and some countries of the Persian Gulf, these relations are not openly official in most of the cases.

Israel desperately continues to break its isolation in the region. However, it has found itself in a very complex situation and faces several barriers in its efforts for making peace. One of such barriers is the existence of Islamic resistance groups [Hizbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad [Al-Jihad al-Islami], Ikhwan al-Muslimeen [al-], etc] that by their policies and actions prevent Israeli dictated peace in region or with other countries.



### Chapter 3: Consequences of War

Most important notion that existed before the Israeli 33 days war in the minds of the people of Arab world and their leaders was the myth of Israeli military invincibility. Israel was considered to be the most powerful country of the Middle East in terms of its military, communication and intelligence capabilities and economic superiority. This led to thinking that in every war and military confrontation to take place, it was Israel that is always a winner and Arabs, the losers.

The brave and heroic defense of Islamic resistance fighters of Hizbollah of Lebanon in face of aggressions of Zionist regime on Lebanon during the 33 days of war and defeating the Zionist army and inflicting heavy military and economic damages on this regime proved that the mythical views Arabs were holding in their minds about the invincibility of Israel for last several years was wrong. Before this war, every peace initiative, proposal and negotiation between Arabs and Israel ended with the conditions set by Israel and acceptance of its superiority by Arabs. The Arab countries because of their military and economic weakness always adopted a stance of acceptability to outcomes of such measures. However, the heroic and historic resistance of Hizbollah against the fully armed Zionist Army and its decisive success in this war, shattered this old historic equation. It caused the Arab world to realize the deceit and falsehood of the old myth of invincibility of Israeli Army. It also paved the way for new peace initiatives in the region by considering the just and reasonable pre-conditions [not the previous oppressive and unjust conditions set under US and Israeli pressures] and to stop the Middle East peace process until the problems can be solved justly and solutions should be sought reasonably while considering views of all the concerned parties and not only Israel.

#### **4. The effect of Hizbollah's victory on the Palestinian People's Resistance**

In the 33 days war, Hizbollah proved that a resistance movement with limited military resources and support but well equipped with the power of faith in God, can defeat the most powerful army of the world. The successful war of Hizbollah presented a new model of Guerrilla warfare tactics combined with organized military forces, for the people of Palestine which can strengthen them and they can use this model to defeat the Zionist Army in future.

In present times, the Hizbollah has turned into an ideal model for various Palestinian Resistance groups. This was the main point that was often used by the passive Arab leaders against Hizbollah and in order to keep quiet in face of Israeli aggressions against Lebanon.

Hizbollah's victory indicated that the Palestinian resistance groups shouldn't depend upon political maneuvers and peace negotiations and agreements with the Zionist Regime. The

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

reason is that in the first place, this regime doesn't believe in any peace agreement at all and only accepts those conditions that guarantee its interests. Secondly, entering into a political or peace process and making practical efforts in it cannot liberate a single square inch of the occupied Muslim land from the clutches of Zionist Regime. But, it's only the resistance that can materialize the common aspirations of the whole Islamic world and force Zionist regime to withdraw from the occupied lands.

Hizbollah's reliance on Islamic Ideology and unity and its avoidance into controversial issues that provoke disunity among Muslims led to its closer ties and cooperation with Palestinian Resistance groups such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad. This has opened a way for expansion of their future cooperation.

By taking advantage of the Hizbollah's superior tactics of Guerrilla warfare used during the 33 days of its resistance against Zionist Army, the Palestinian fighters can change the military and security equations in the region. They can lead to fundamental changes that will challenge the very existence of the Zionist regime in future.

### **D. The International Consequences of War**

The international consequences of war can be summarized under following heads:

#### **1. The Failure of New Middle East Plan**

Condoleezza Rice, the US Secretary of State, at the beginning of Israeli aggression against Lebanon and during her trip to Middle East at that time said that the current situation in the Middle East was "the growing pains of the New Middle East."

The term "The New Middle East" was used for the first time during this conflict by Condoleezza Rice. This term in reality, from one aspect is a proposal for breaking the "Greater Middle East" and from the other aspects a serious and organized effort for seeking US - Zionist led state sponsored local hegemony to counter and control the growing Islamic Middle East. This plan indicated the fresh US efforts and designs within the context and place of the Old Middle East, that during last one year witnessed downward trends in its approach to various issues and was moving towards to strengthen the emerging new Islamic Middle East as a powerful regional and global entity. This block was supposed to change all the rules of the game that are presently in favor of powerful in the international arena and counter the US global unilateralism.

### Chapter 3: Consequences of War

The New Middle East plan revolves around the Zionist Regime of Israel as the most important strategic partner of the United States of America in the region and the security of the Zionist regime can only be guaranteed in the first place by the destruction and neutralization of all the weapons in the region that can target it. Thus Hizbollah was the first target that was aimed. In addition, specifically, it is also necessary that all the countries of the region must have officially recognized the illegitimate regime of Israel and must practically participate in the execution of the "Road Map" that guaranteed the interests of Israel.

The defeat of the practical phase of the New Middle East plan of US [the use of military means to destroy opponents] right from its beginning was due to the wrong intelligence gathering and estimates about the capabilities of Hizbollah of Lebanon and Hamas movement from one aspect and their total confusion over the military strategies to be used in the war vis-a-vis previous operations of these two movements on the other. These two factors led to the "growing pains of the New Middle East" that the hegemonous powers must feel. The striking victories of the Islamic Resistance as opposed to the expectations of the Zionist regime, witnessed rising opposition fronts against it not only in the region and worldwide but also within Israel itself against the government of Olmert until it reached the point of its downfall.

Other than that, the local public support for the Islamic Resistance of Hizbollah was the reason that the plot to rely on the present democracy in the new Middle East plan as a fundamental principle by US and Western world now faced hard challenges. These powers were then forced not to rely on their above plans to guarantee their own interests in the region. These problems also indicate that US and Israel by bringing forth the New Middle East plan, not only had insufficient knowledge about the regional environment, but also their analysis and interpretation about the influential role of various important factors, especially the holy jihad and the popular public opinion in the region in support of the Islamic Resistance groups against Israeli aggressions, was a big mistake. This should be revised and considered in their other such plans too. The reason is the fact that the new Middle East plan is still in its beginning phase of implementation and has faced great challenges and fundamental problems that have made it totally ineffective.

#### **2. The Creation of gap between European Union and US**

One of the conclusions from the 33 days long Israeli aggression on Lebanon is the active role of Europe in the Middle Eastern affairs and weakening of the role of US in this regard. This is to the point that in spite of several trips by the high US government officials to the region, no progress was seen to find the solution of the crises. On the other hand, Europe

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

alone with its active diplomacy was able to make significant contribution to bring ceasefire and end of hostilities in the region.

The policies of US in the Middle East are only focused on securing the interests of the Zionist regime. The US uses every kind of tactics and any kind of strategy that would keep Israel's future guaranteed so that US itself would benefit from Zionist regime for its own interests.

During the 33 days of war especially in its beginning, in total opposition to the world opinion, and even the European Union that sought end of hostilities and quick ceasefire, the US government officials asked Israelis not to accept ceasefire and used Zionist regime to seek their own objectives in the region. These objectives were disarming of Hizbollah through military means and suppression of any hostile response towards their policies in future and plan to uproot any such movements. In this respect, any peace conference, meeting, roundtable and negotiation that took place, because of US hostile and negative attitude, direct or indirect intervention reached dead-end and failed to achieve its objectives to end the war. The examples are the Rome Conference and the special meetings of the UN Security Council to end the crises.

The rigid, severe and unconditional support of US government for the Zionist regime's aggressions on Lebanon reached to such an extent that during Condoleezza Rice's second trip to Middle East to seek solution to the crises, the Lebanese government officials because of the US policies in support of Israel, didn't receive her when she went to Lebanon.

To the extent that US policies supported and defended Israel's aggression against Lebanon, by the same extent, it weakened its position in the region and created the gap between itself and the European Union countries and strengthened the position and expanded the influence of European countries in the region. In reality, the unilateral approach of US during the war led to significant expansion of European role within the Middle East which was then able to play decisive and significant role to direct and guide the end of the crises.

It is worth mentioning that although the European countries in reaction to the 33 days war were divided into two main groups "French, English and German" and "Spanish and Italian" and thus on one end they were united under European Union while at the other they were acting individually; however in many aspects they shared common views and concerns. "End of the US influence in the Middle East", "Change of unipolarized order in world affairs", "Restoration of European strength in Middle East under the pretext of a player that has capability of sustaining peace and security", "Serious concerns about the repetition of oil crises", "Increase authority compared to other countries especially, Russia,

### Chapter 3: Consequences of War

China, and US” was the main reason for unity of European countries during Middle East crises.

Overall, unilateral US policies led to a rift in the stance adopted by it and the countries of the European Union during the 33 days war crises which provided a future platform for more European influence in the Middle East region.

#### **3. Strengthening of the Regional and Global position of the Islamic Republic of Iran**

One of the very obvious consequences of the Israeli aggression of Lebanon during the 33 days of war is the overwhelming acknowledgement and acceptance by the political analysts and intellectuals of the world countries about the important and decisive role of Islamic Republic of Iran in the changes and equations in the Middle East.

The political and spiritual support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for Hizbollah and existence of close ties between the two sides provided Iran with an opportunity to exert its direct influence on the changes taking place in the region and the world. In this regard, Jacques Chirac, the President of France<sup>119</sup> expressed following view: ‘We have reached this conclusion that any peace process in the region will not be successful without Iran’s participation. Iran can exert its important influence in solving the problems of the region and its influence is certainly the decisive one.’

The changes that took place in the Middle East during the 33 days crises in Lebanon and dead-end efforts by all the regional and international peace initiatives to end the Israeli aggression, led the all the analyses to focus on the undeniable and decisive role of Iran in finding solution to the crises.

The important role and position gained by the Islamic Republic of Iran particularly in the Middle East and generally at the world level during the 33 days of war can be summarized below as:

1. Expansion of relations between Hizbollah movement and the Islamic Republic of Iran.
2. The decisive role of Islamic Republic of Iran in the Middle East peace process.
3. The acceptance and admission of the regional Arab governments and their leaders and the Western governments including US of the undeniable role of the Islamic Republic of Iran in solving this crises.
4. Acceptance of Iranian role in the world political scene by the international community and its continuation in future for solving the Middle East crises.

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<sup>119</sup>Served as the President of France from 17 May 1995 until 16 May 2007. Currently under investigation for the charges of corruption.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

5. Increase in the acceptance and popularity of Islamic Republic of Iran among the common masses and public of the Middle East region.

**Enclosure**





## Appendix I

### Message of Ayatullah Seyyid Ali Khamenei to Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah on Hizbollah's Victory in 33 days Israeli War and Aggression on Lebanon

On 16<sup>th</sup> August, 2006, Ayatollah Seyyid Ali Khamenei sent the following message to Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah on the victory of Hizbollah over Zionist Regime in 33 days war.

In the name of Allah, The Merciful, the Compassionate

Dear Mujahid brother,

Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah,

May Allah prolong your life, dignity and well-being

*'Peace unto you for that ye persevered in patience'* (Qur'an, The Thunder, verse, 24)

Peace be upon you and other brothers and upon every Hizbollah Mujahid

What you bestowed the Islamic ummah by your unparalleled jihad and resistance surpasses my expression. Your valiant and innocent jihad that brought you the Divine assistance, proved once more that modern and lethal weapons go ineffective versus faith, patience and pure essence and that a nation that enjoys faith and jihad never falls to oppressive powers.

Your victory was Islam's. You managed to prove, under the auspices of Allah's will and might, that tools, weapons, planes, warships and tanks fail to fetch military superiority, rather, it is the power of faith, jihad, sacrifice in addition to prudence that may do so. You imposed your military superiority over the Zionist regime, consolidated your spiritual

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

dominance in regional and international extent, derided the Zionist army's phony invincibility and splendor and portrayed the usurper regime's fragility. You granted dignity to Arab nations and displayed their potentialities, smothered for decades by imperialist propaganda and policies.

What took place offers a Divine proof to all Islamic states and nations, especially in the Middle East region. You once more translated the illuminate words of Qur'an *'There has already been for you a Sign in the two armies that met (in combat): One was fighting in the cause of Allah, the other resisting Allah. These saw with their own eyes Twice their number. But Allah doth support with His aid whom He pleaseth. In this is a warning for such as have eyes to see'* (Qur'an, The House of Imran, verse, 13).

Those who have eye to see at present include the million-strong people and zealous and faithful youth in the regional countries, the honest politicians as well as independent and prudent authorities and leaders.

Your innocent jihad divulged the enemy and revealed its true face. The callous carnage of civilian people, shedding blood of innocent children and defenseless women, the Qana incident and many similar examples, demolishing of thousands houses and making thousands families displayed, destruction of infrastructure in a large part of Lebanon, and these kinds of atrocities revealed the true face of the American authorities and certain western states in addition to the ugly and disgraced face of the Zionist regime.

It revealed how much their double-face slogans about human rights, freedom and democracy are spiked with lie, deceit and meanness. It revealed what tragedies may happen to the human community if countries' authorities are alien to mercy, compassion, logic and sincerity. The recent remarks of the American President in which he regarded the Zionist regime's crimes of defensive nature as well as his subsequent, risible claims that Israel won the Lebanese war depicted in the eyes of the public a clear example of such merciless, vicious and illogical conduct.

And now Lebanon ... and what will explain to you what is Lebanon. Lebanon shined thank to its own people's diligence and bravery. When raiding Lebanon, the enemy took it for granted but was wrong that it was targeting the weakest country in the region, launching its desired Middle East delusive scheme.

The enemy, to wit America and Israel, ignored the Lebanese nation's patience, prudence, and prowess. It ignored the might lied in the robust arm of Lebanon. It ignored the Divine

## Appendix I: Message of Ayatullah Seyyid Ali Khamenei to Seyyid Hassan...

law that *'How oft, by Allah's will, Hath a small force vanquished a big one? Allah is with those who steadfastly persevere'* (Qur'an, The Cow, verse, 249).

The Lebanese nation, its valiant youth and its circumspect politicians by their hard slap made the enemy quit ignorance.

The enemy is now bent on cutting that effective and calibrated arm. It is bent on inciting discord between politicians. It is bent on spreading virus of impatience and doubt among people. Everyone must be vigilant towards such a poisoning. Under the auspices of Allah's will and power you will succeed to thwart their ploys and achieve the next victory, God willing. The jihad which you have before in this new field is of significance like your devoted jihad in the military field and this time patience, reliance on God, pure essence and prudence prove fateful.

I greet you and other brothers and brave men of jihad and kiss your arms.

Seyyid Ali Khamenei

16<sup>th</sup> August, 2006



## Appendix II

### Full Text of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah's Speech after the Victory of Hizbollah

The following is the full text of the speech by Hezbollah Secretary-General Hassan Nasrullah, addressed in person by him, during a grand rally in Beirut attended by over 1.5 million people from all over Lebanon. This rally celebrated the Lebanese victory against Israel. It was broadcasted live by Al-Manar Television Network on 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 2006.

I seek God's protection against the cursed Satan; in the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate; praise be to almighty God; blessings and peace be upon our master and prophet, the last of the prophets, Muhammad; his good, righteous, infallible family members; his noble companions; and upon all the prophets and messengers;

O beloved and honourable ones; O most honourable, pure, and generous people, may God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you; [applause].

Praise be to God, who fulfilled His promise to us and who granted us, Lebanon, and the people of Lebanon victory over the enemy of Lebanon. Praise be to God who made us proud, enabled us to hold fast, and gave us security. Praise be to God, on whom we relied and to whom we turned repentantly. As He promised, He has always been the best protector. Praise be to God for His victory, assistance, and support.

Brothers and sisters, Ladies and Gentlemen...

On 22<sup>nd</sup> September, you once again surprised the world and truly proved that you are a great, proud, loyal, and courageous people. [Applause]

For some days now, many people have been waging a psychological war on this rally, just as they waged a psychological war on the Resistance. [Boos] They said that this square would be bombed and that this podium would be destroyed in order to scare people and

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

keep them from coming. On 22<sup>nd</sup> September, you prove, by crowning the victory rally, that you are more courageous than [you were on] 12<sup>th</sup> July and 14<sup>th</sup> August. [Applause]

Standing before you and amongst you involves risk for you and me. There were other choices, up until just half an hour ago, we were discussing [my participation]. However, my heart, mind, and soul did not allow me to address you from afar nor through a screen. [Applause]

The utmost one expects is for the enemy to make a mistake or commit a crime. However, does this enemy not know who we are? We are the sons of that imam, who said: Are you threatening me with death? We are used to death and our dignity is derived from the martyrdom God grants us. [Applause]

You are all welcome – from the fighting and resisting south, to the steadfast Al-Bekaa, to the loyal north, to the proud mountain, to the Beirut of Arabism, to the [southern] suburb of loftiness and dignity. You are all welcome – from the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon; you are all welcome – from Syria, Iran, Kuwait, Bahrain, and every country that came to us to celebrate and rejoice.

God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you; peace be upon your martyrs and the families of your martyrs; peace be upon your wounded people and their bleeding wounds; peace be upon your prisoners; peace be upon your blood and tears; peace be upon your orphans and widows; peace be upon your demolished houses; peace be upon your burnt property; peace be upon your souls and strong will, which is stronger than the mountains of Lebanon.

Brothers and sisters,

We are today celebrating a big strategic, historic, and divine victory. How can the human mind imagine that a few thousand of your Lebanese resistance sons – if I wanted, I would give the exact number – held out for 23 days in a land exposed to the skies against the strongest air force in the Middle East, which had an air bridge transporting smart bombs from America, through Britain, to Israel; against 40,000 officers and soldiers – four brigades of elite forces, three reserve army divisions; against the strongest tank in the world; and against the strongest army in the region? How could only a few thousand people hold out and fight under such harsh conditions, and [how could] their fighting force the naval warships out of our territorial waters? By the way, the army and the resistance are capable of protecting the territorial waters from being desecrated by any Zionist [Applause] [And

## Appendix II: Full Text of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah's Speech ...

how could their fighting] also lead to the destruction of the Merkava tanks, which are an object of pride for the Israeli industry; damage Israeli helicopters day and night; and turn the elite brigades – I am not exaggerating, and you can watch and read the Israeli media – into rats frightened by your sons? [How did this happen] while you were relinquished by the Arabs and the world and in light of the political (human solidarity was profound though) division around you?

How could this group of mujahidin defeat this army without the support and assistance of almighty God?

This resistance experience, which should be conveyed to the world, depends – on the moral and spiritual level – on faith, certainty, reliance [on God], and readiness to make sacrifices. It also depends on reason, planning, organization, armament, and, as is said, on taking all possible protective procedures.

We are neither a disorganized and sophistic resistance, nor a resistance pulled to the ground that sees before it nothing but soil, nor a resistance of chaos. The pious, God-reliant, loving, and knowledgeable resistance is also the conscious, wise, trained, and equipped resistance that has plans. This is the secret of the victory we are today celebrating, brothers and sisters.

This victory requires a courageous stand like your stand today. You are today sending an extremely important and serious political and moral message to the Lebanese, the Arabs, and the entire world – friends and foes. You amazed the world when you, as a people in Lebanon, held fast from 12<sup>th</sup> July to 14<sup>th</sup> August. They wagered on our division. You – the displaced and those who sheltered [the displaced] – remained fast throughout this stage. When 14<sup>th</sup> August came, their wager was that the presence of the displaced in the areas to which they were displaced would put pressure on the resistance to impose more conditions on it. The resistance did not submit to any conditions.

Once again, you amazed the world when the displaced returned in their cars and trucks, and some on foot. At 0800, the southern suburb of Beirut, the south of Lebanon, and Al-Biq'a were full of their proud and honorable residents, who returned with raised heads.

You are today amazing the world and telling the American, who a few days said, "we received good signs from Lebanon that the popularity of the resistance has receded, and it has started to weaken", that this is the people of resistance. [Applause] These are the masses of the Resistance.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

I tell this American: You should address a message of slander to the lying writers of reports, who sends you wrong information on which you build wrong calculations.

Brothers and sisters, we should today stress that this war was an American war in terms of decision, weapons, planning, and desire, and by giving several deadlines for the Zionists; one, two, three, and four weeks. What stopped the war is the failure of the Zionists. If you recall the last days, the largest number of tanks was destroyed on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday; the largest number of the occupation soldiers was killed on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday; the helicopters crashed on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. Therefore, the Zionists realized that if they had continued [the war], it would have been a disaster. The Americans intervened and even accepted the drafts [of resolutions] for the war to stop. They stopped the war not for the sake of Lebanon, not for the sake of the children of Lebanon, not for the sake of the blood of women in Lebanon, and not for the sake of beautiful Lebanon. They stopped the war only for the sake of Israel. They came to peddle it to us in Lebanon; namely, that our American friends stopped the war. [Applause]

In the first two and three days, our American friends did not agree to stop the war, and they refused [to stop it] on the first, second, third, and fourth weeks. Could they not see the beauty of Lebanon for a month? They wagered [changes thought] – this statement was used in some diplomatic channels – the decision was to crush Hezbollah, and after crushing Hezbollah, accounts would be settled with all its friends, allies, and those who follow the nationalist, truly sovereign and independent line in Lebanon. What stopped the war – after the help of Almighty God – were your resisting sons and these loyal, proud, and courageous people, who supported the resistance from the border to the border, and who sheltered it in their mosques, churches, monasteries, and schools. This is what stopped the war. If anyone deserves to celebrate the victory, then it is you who are present here. You deserve it because you made the victory.

We sometimes differ and ask: Was what happened in Lebanon a victory or a defeat? I do not want to go into semantics, but I tell you: Whoever feels that his option, plan, line, and vision has triumphed, feels the victory and speaks about it. And, whoever feels that he has been defeated and has fallen, speaks about defeat.

We feel that we won; Lebanon won; Palestine won; the Arab nation won, and every oppressed, aggrieved person in this world also won.



## Appendix II: Full Text of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah's Speech ...

Our victory is not the victory of a party. I repeat what I said in Bint Jubeil on 25<sup>th</sup> May 2000: It is not the victory of a party or a community; rather it is a victory for true Lebanon, the true Lebanese people, and every free person in the world.

Don't distort this big historic victory. Do not contain it in party, sectarian, communal, or regional cans. This victory is too big to be comprehended by us. The next weeks, months, and years will confirm this.

It is enough to say, on the basis of the direct results, that your resistance and steadfastness foiled all the aims of the aggression, and that this is a victory. Our resistance and steadfastness dealt a severe blow to the New Middle East plan, which Condoleezza Rice said would be born in the July War [Boos]. But it was stillborn because it was an illegitimate child. Your resistance and steadfastness exposed the deceptive US policies that speak about human rights, freedoms, democracy, and respect. Your steadfastness and resistance exposed the United States and raised the level of awareness before the level of hostility – the main thing is awareness rather than hostility. It raised the level of awareness and hostility not only in the Arab and Islamic world, but in the whole world.

Thanks to your steadfastness and resistance, Chavez, a man about whom I can say that he is a great Arab indeed, made that statement in the United Nations yesterday. [Cheers] The Lebanese resistance today inspires all resistance men, all free men, and all honorable people in the world, as well as all those who reject US subjugation and degradation of the world. This is our victory and this is the result of our battle.

Moreover, your resistance, which offered in the 2000 victory a model for liberation, offered in the year 2006 a model for steadfastness; legendary steadfastness and miraculous steadfastness. It is strong proof for all Arabs and Muslims, and all rulers, armies, and peoples.

Yesterday, a group of Arab states went to the Security Council to beg for peace and a settlement. I tell them: I am not speaking to you about removing Israel, I am speaking to you about the settlement you want. How can you obtain an honorable settlement, while you announce day and night that you will not fight? You do not want to fight for Lebanon, Gaza, the West Bank, or even Jerusalem. How then can you obtain a reasonable settlement, while you announce every day that you will not use the oil weapon? In fact, even if anyone comes to speak to you about the oil weapon, you deride him, saying: This is backwardness. You do not want to fight, boycott, use the oil weapon, or even allow the people to come out in the street, or the resistance in Palestine to be equipped. You are besieging it and

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

withholding funds from it. In fact, you are starving it and cutting off salaries for the sake of Condoleezza Rice [Boos].

How can these states secure a just and honorable settlement between quotes? Does the Israeli recognize them in the first place? I tell you: The Israelis today view the Resistance and the resistance men in Lebanon with great respect. As to all those lowly ones, they are not worth anything. Even the Arab initiative calls for a stand. It calls for men and power. If you can't use power, you can at least threaten with it. The talk that we are weak will not do.

The people of Lebanon gave strong proof to all the peoples of the world. The Lebanese resistance provided strong proof to all Arab and Islamic armies. Arab armies and peoples are not only able to liberate Gaza and the West Bank and East Jerusalem, they are simply capable of regaining Palestine from sea to river by one small decision and with some determination. The problem is that when one is torn between two choices and is asked to choose between his people and his throne, he chooses his throne. When he is asked to choose between Jerusalem and his throne, he chooses his throne. When he is asked to choose between the dignity of his homeland and his throne, he chooses his throne.

What is distinct about the resistance movements in Lebanon and Palestine is that they chose the dignity of their people, holy places, and freedom and offer their leaders, sons, and dear ones as sacrifices to join the throne of God Almighty.

This is the equation. Today, your resistance broke the image of Israel. We have done away with the invincible army. We have also done away with the invincible state. Indeed, we have done away with it. I am not exaggerating or voicing slogans. It is enough for you to read what is going on in occupied Palestine, what the Zionists are saying, and what is going on between the Israeli generals and commanders.

Olmert protested again today because we are holding a victory rally. Yediot Aharanot published the results of an Israeli poll today that asks: Who do you think is suitable to be prime minister in Israel? How much did Olmert get? He got seven per cent. [Boos] As for the heroic War Minister Amir Peretz, he got one per cent. [Boos]

The image of this Israel, which is shaken in its political entity and military establishments and defeated in its intelligence, has changed today. No Arab ruler or regime can make further concessions to it, submit to its humiliating terms, or tell the nation: There is nothing we can do with Israel.

## Appendix II: Full Text of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah's Speech ...

Once, an old man, who knew his time, place, and era, said: If every one of us carried a bucket of water and threw it on occupied Palestine, Israel would disappear from existence; yes, just a bucket of water. Two or three hundred million people standing up to Israel can defeat it, especially when a few thousand in Lebanon defeated Israel. This argument has fallen. We should enter a new phase and a new time; namely, the time when we dictate our conditions and restore our dignity, freedom, sovereignty, and holy shrines.

Brothers and sisters: On this day, the day of divine victory, there are those who expect an internal talk about Lebanon, and I will certainly do that. But before I switch to internal talk, I would like, as on 12<sup>th</sup> July, emphasize two points: Our hearts, feelings, grief, and pain are today in Palestine. They are in Gaza, Ramallah, and Nablus. They are in Jenin, Jerusalem, and every Palestinian town, village, and camp that are being bombed daily. The Palestinian people are being killed every day and Palestinian houses are being destroyed every day while the whole world is silent; the Arab world before the world at large.

Until when will this silence continue? Until when will we endure this shame? Nobody is asking you to deploy your armies to defend the Palestinian people. Let us just give support to these people, be it moral, political, financial, or armament. In Palestine, there are leaders, scholars, factions, movements, youths, men, women, and children who can repeat the divine miracle on the land of Palestine.

The second message is, before speaking about Lebanon, we as Lebanese should see Iraq as a model. Had the war in Lebanon succeeded, the Americans would have applied this model in Lebanon. They wanted to apply this model in Lebanon. In the war, we the Lebanese offered martyrs from the Resistance, the army, the security forces, the civil defence, the Red Cross, the news media, the establishments, the different parties, and all our beloved people. But how many were martyrs? Never mind, were they 1,000 or 1,200 martyrs? In Iraq, some 10,000 to 15,000 people are killed every month in a chaotic war that is administered, financed, and incited by the Americans and the Mossad. The resistance in Lebanon protected Lebanon from civil war. [Cheers]

Some say that the resistance in Lebanon pushes for civil war. Never! Had Israel won, Lebanon would have been pushed to civil war, and you would have heard voices calling for federalism, cantons, and division. The Israeli language would have become current anew.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

Iraq is a model, which we must always ponder. Our message to our people in Iraq must always be: Patience, calm, unity, wisdom, communication, avoid sedition, and don't wager on the enemy.

As to Lebanon, our message in Lebanon today is: Come all. No one should outbid anyone on this subject. We all believe that our salvation and hope is in building a capable, strong, just, proud, and clear state. This is the hope. And this is supposed to be the issue of unanimity among the Lebanese.

We announce from this place, with the blood of our martyrs; we announce, precede matters, and say, any talk in Lebanon about partition is an Israeli talk, any talk in Lebanon about federalism is Israeli talk, and any talk in Lebanon about cantons is Israeli talk. We the Lebanese, our fate, decision, and wish to God should be to live together in one state. We are against its partition and division. We are against its federalism and division into cantons.

What will protect Lebanese unity is a strong, capable, and just state. What will protect Lebanon's sovereignty from Zionist greed is a strong, capable, and just state.

What will tackle social and livelihood crises for the Lebanese and the residents in Lebanon is a strong, capable, just, clean and proud state. This is what we all aspire to. A strong and capable state means a state that can proudly regain every inch of its occupied territory and protect every drop of water from Al-Wazzani River to Al-Litani River and Al-Hasbani River; that can stop the enemy from encroaching on its sovereignty daily; and that can assure its people that it is truly protecting them with arms, power, reason, unity, organization, planning, and national will. As for tears, they do not protect anyone.

We want a strong, capable, just, clear, and independent state that rejects any foreign trusteeship or hegemony; a noble and proud state that does not succumb to any humiliating terms; and a clean state where there is no room for theft or waste. This is the state that we need.

I tell you, while we are in the resistance festival, that this is the natural key to tackling the issue of the resistance. Here we come to the issue of the weapons and to those who are dying to resolve this issue. I tell them: Don't tackle the results. Come and let us tackle the causes. I am not after slogans, but logic. Argue with us on the basis of logic.

## Appendix II: Full Text of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah's Speech ...

The resistance is the result of several causes – the occupation, the arrest of prisoners, the plunder of waters, the threat to Lebanon, and the attack on Lebanese sovereignty. These are the causes. Tackle the causes and the results will be tackled easily.

When we build a strong, capable, and just state that protects Lebanon and the Lebanese, it will be easy to find an honorable solution to the question of the resistance and its weapons. I would like the Lebanese to hear clearly. I and my brothers get excited sometimes and say all kinds of things. Let us speak with some responsibility. We do not say that these weapons will remain forever. And, it is not logical for these weapons to remain forever. There is bound to be an end to them. The natural key is to tackle the causes and the results will disappear.

Come and build a strong and just state, protecting the country and the citizens and their livelihoods, waters, and dignity, and you will find that the resolution of the resistance issue will not need even a negotiation table. It is a great deal easier than that.

But, what is happening now? Instead of the Israeli leaving Shebaa Farms, he is extending the strip northward. Instead of the Israeli resolving the problem of the border points, he moves forward to Al-Khiyam and Marwahin. Instead of our benefiting from our legal right to the Al-Wazzani River, the Israeli builds pipes to steal the water. Is this how to protect the country and its resources?

Therefore, any talk about disarming the Resistance – to some people the word “disarming” is a bit heavy; fine, how about surrendering the resistance weapons? Any talk about surrendering the resistance weapons under this state, this authority, this regime, and the existing situation means keeping Lebanon exposed to Israel so it can kill as it wants, arrest as it wants, bomb as it wants, and plunder our land and waters. We certainly cannot accept that.

We did not fight since 1982 so that ... [change of thought] You know the youth in the Resistance. They spent their entire youthful years in the Resistance. They did not live a life of prosperity, ease, extravagance, or calm. Some of them spent 24 to 25 years in the Resistance. The Resistance will not end while Israel is still occupying our land, violating our honour, undermining our security, and plundering our waters and resources. Never! I swear to God.

This is the only natural, logical, reasonable, responsible, and patriotic option. As for the other options, I want this big rally, which is attended by these good and kind faces, and this

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

public that comes from all of Lebanon's communities and areas and many political trends and parties; I want to tell them: Wagering on ending the resistance through pressure, threats, and siege is a losing wager. Wagering on ending the resistance by dragging the Resistance into sedition with the Lebanese army, as some people think, is a losing wager. The army and the Resistance are two dear, loving brothers that no one can separate. Those who wager – and I am not talking about the inside; it can be the outside or the inside, take it as you like, whoever is behind the wager – on disarming the resistance through a new war, Israeli or otherwise, I refer them to Livni [addressing the audience] you know Livni, right, and Peretz. I refer them to these two persons; the foreign minister and the war minister, to hear from them, as well as from former Defence Minister Moshe Arens, the strategist, a clear sentence, and I repeat it for them to hear. They say: We wanted to dismantle Hezbollah as a whole, but we have found out that there is no army in the world that can dismantle such an organization. [Cheers]

I tell them: No army in the world can make us lay down our arms. No one can do that, so long as these loyal and brave people believe in this Resistance. I am not threatening with arms. I am wagering on this people who embrace the Resistance. I am wagering on that old, noble woman, who stood among the debris and said: My house in Beirut was destroyed and my house in the south was destroyed, but we are for the Resistance and the Resistance weapons. Several others said: if Al-Seyyid Hassan surrendered the weapons, he would be a traitor. I tell you: I pledge you, O our brave, loyal, and great people, I do not aspire to end my life with treason, but with martyrdom. [Cheers]

Therefore, all these wagers are losers, because there are people in Lebanon and a resistance in Lebanon that reject occupation, humiliation, and despotism and are ready to sacrifice themselves and their beloved sons for the sake of their country. Yes, today, Lebanon, and without exaggeration, is no longer small in the Middle East. It is a great power with your support. The West and Israel take it seriously and the oppressed in the world view it with respect, appreciation, and pride.

Therefore, let me end this point by saying – so that no one will continue to worry – we do not want to keep the weapons forever. I reiterate, as in the past 25 years, these weapons are not for the interior. They were not used in the interior and they will not be used in the interior. This is not a Shi'i weapon... [words indistinct] and the Christians. This weapon is for the Sunni, Druze, and Shi'i. This weapon is for all the Lebanese. It seeks to protect Lebanon, its sovereignty and independence. I pledge you that the identity and endowment of this weapon shall remain as it is. This is a pledge before God, the nation, and the martyrs.

## Appendix II: Full Text of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah's Speech ...

Therefore, the key is, come and let us build a just, strong, resisting, proud, honorable, and clean state. If this objective is too big, and so that we will not remain in theory, let us go straight to the subject. We will not stand today and say: Whoever has failed in the test has failed and whoever has succeeded has succeeded. We will not speak this way. I will say: Come all, no matter how we differed, competed, and matters were difficult between us on the psychological and political level. We are in a real impasse in Lebanon now. No one can say, we are a majority, nothing has changed, the country is proceeding well, and everything is fine. This is not correct.

There is a real impasse in Lebanon today, especially after the war. There is sharp national division and not sectarian division. What exists now is not a dispute between Shi'is and Sunnis, or between Muslims and Christians, or among Druze, Sunnis, Shi'is, and Christians. There is a national political division. There are major strategic and political options, on which Shi'i, Sunni, Druze, and Christian political forces agree and others, on which Shi'i, Sunni, Druze, and Christian political forces disagree. When some Shi'is said things different from Hezbollah and the Amal Movement, they thought that we would grieve. We were happy when others came forth in supporting the other stand, which proved that the dispute here is not sectarian, but political. [Cheers]

Look at the miscalculations. Even when they want to hurt us, they benefit us. Therefore, we are before a national division. And, my appeal today in the rally of the victory, which was created by Lebanese from all communities and areas, I would like to warn and say: Do not allow anyone to transform political divisions into sectarian or communal divisions. It is forbidden to manipulate sects and communities in defence of political options. This is playing with fire. This is sabotaging the country. This is destroying the country. Yes, we are split by political divisions. We compete, discuss, and differ. We attack each other in the news media. We turn to the street and to the elections. All these peaceful and democratic mechanisms are legitimate and allowable. This is what we would like to emphasize.

Therefore, as long as there is a political division and serious challenges – and I will return to these shortly – to confront these challenges, I say that the team currently ruling in Lebanon cannot continue in power, cannot work. It cannot. [Applause] The natural solution is to form a national unity government. When I speak about a national unity government, I do not mean bringing down anyone, cancelling anyone, or dismissing anyone but as I said on 25 May: Come and let us close our ranks and stand side by side to defend Lebanon, to protect Lebanon, to build and construct Lebanon, and to preserve Lebanon and unify it.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

With all frankness, the current government is not able to protect Lebanon, reconstruct Lebanon, or unify Lebanon. [Applause] However, when we say the current government we do not mean that we want to cancel, remove, or erase anyone at all. We say: Come, all of you, and let us protect, reconstruct, and defend.

Therefore, building a strong, just, and capable state begins first by a serious national unity government. Here I am not raising a slogan for local consumption. Let them hear me. I am not raising a slogan for local consumption, or to gain time, or to appease allies or friends. This is our serious project and we will work for it with the utmost strength during the next stage. [Applause]

The second measure in building the just, capable, and strong state begins by drafting a fair electoral law in which all communities and all political currents will have a realistic opportunity to have a genuine representation, and in which no community will feel that it has become a follower of another community. That is how we can build the just, strong, and capable state. That is the way to solve all our problems.

Here I will briefly discuss the remaining issues and challenges. Now, the issue of the Resistance. I said a short while ago that there is something related to the current reality. They have come to blockade the sea. Why? To protect Lebanon? No. The German chancellor, God's peace be upon her [laughter by the crowd], said that the German navy was playing a historic role in protecting Israel's right to exist. I like some of these stands and I will talk about them later. They come from the sea and they want to blockade the airspace and the borders. I tell them: Blockade and close the borders, the sea, and the skies. This will neither weaken the will nor the arms of the Resistance. [Applause] We have engaged in war for 33 days. This is not mere rhetoric. We had been prepared for a long war. What we offered in the war was a very small part of our resources. In Bint Jubeil I said that we had more than 12,000 rockets and the poor ones [Israelis] started calculating, based on 12,000. Then we explained things and said that 12,000 does not mean 13,000. [As heard] There might be more. Today, I say to those who want to close the seas, the sky, the deserts, and the borders, and I say to the enemy as well, that the resistance today has more – pay attention, underline the word “more” – than 20,000 rockets. [Applause]

Within a very few days and after emerging from a fierce war, the Resistance restored its entire military and organizational structure and its armaments. [Applause] The Resistance today is stronger than it was on the eve of 12 July because during the war it added to its experience fresh experience and acquired new wisdom and new resolve and determination.



## Appendix II: Full Text of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah's Speech ...

I tell those who wager on the weakness of the Resistance that they are making a miscalculation.

Today, 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2006, the Resistance is stronger than at any time since 1982. [Applause] Concerning the resistance, its strength, and its weapons, we say: Rest completely assured.

The second issue is the prisoners. Your prisoners and children will return, God willing. All of them will return, God willing. [Applause] In the name of the resistance, I promised you on 12<sup>th</sup> July and I told you in the name of the men of God and not in my name and the name of my father but in the name of the resistance men that if the entire universe comes it will not be able to save these two prisoners except through indirect negotiations and an exchange process. [Applause] After 12<sup>th</sup> July, the entire universe came and you remained steadfast and the prisoners remained in our hands and they will not be released except with the return of the prisoners whose release and return we are demanding. [A man among the crowd utters indistinct words and Nasrullah responds] "God willing". So we ask the world to be certain about this.

Thirdly, there is the issue of Shebaa Farms and Kfar Shuba Hills. Delegations from these good and steadfast towns have been worried of late as a result of the new arrangements in the border region. I assure them that the Shebaa Farms and Kfar Shuba Hills will not be relinquished. Nobody will relinquish a single inch of the occupied Lebanese territories. Never. [Applause] I tell you that during the war and the political negotiations there was a genuine opportunity to liberate the Shebaa Farms, and the Americans were about to agree, and indeed they agreed, but they went back on their promises, as is their wont, and said: We cannot return the Shebaa Farms to Lebanon now. Why, because we do not want to offer a victory to Hezbollah. I tell them: Return them to whomever you want and offer a victory to whomever you want, but return them, return them. [Applause]

We could have regained the Shebaa Farms and the Kfar Shuba Hills during the war if there had been a serious political will, a serious political unity, and an integrated political resistance. But I stress to you that these are on their way to liberation. All current violations will then end. The state is the one currently present there. The Lebanese Army, which is our national army, is present there and the UNIFIL [United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon] has risen to 5,000 in number. In the past when the Resistance was on the borders, any bulldozer advancing even 10 meters would be hit and forced to retreat, and none dared to enter. Now our border is open and they enter here and there every now and then. What

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

happened has happened but what about the future? This issue is not linked to the Lebanese army. The Lebanese army has courage, will, and determination. Its officers and soldiers are the brothers of these resistance men. There is no difference between them. The issue is linked to political decision.

Will the Lebanese government turn the Lebanese army into a unit in charge of counting complaints and recording violations? This will be humiliating to the Lebanese army. Neither the army nor the Lebanese people accept this. Our army's task is not sitting in the border area and counting the Israeli violations as the United Nations did in 1972. The task for which our army went to the south upon a decision from the current government was defending the country and protecting the citizens and their livelihood and security. The country's sovereignty and territory are now violated and the citizens are kidnapped and assaulted every now and then and their farms are attacked. What is the government's political decision? We have thus far been patient because we do not want to commit any violation of Resolution # 1701, which is not sacred, of course, because we know that any simple violation by us even if it is done in legitimate defence of ourselves, a hue and cry will be raised. Israel has been committing violations, attacks, and transgressions all the time but the world remains silent. Be assured that we will not be patient for long. Hear me well. If the state and government fail to carry out their responsibility towards protecting the land and citizens, the Lebanese people will assume this responsibility as they have done since 1982. [Applause] I tell the Zionists: If someone gives you security assurances from above or under the table, these will concern him and not the resistance in Lebanon or the people of Lebanon. [Applause]

What we are required to do then is sharpen our national zeal and stand behind and support our national army so that it will be equipped with the best equipment in order to guard the homeland – villages, towns, farms, farmers, churches, and mosques – and not protect anyone else.

To the UNIFIL, which they turned into something that is much larger than a reinforced UNFIL, we say: We welcomed you and I reiterate our welcome of you within the framework of your clear mission, which is supporting the Lebanese army. Your mission is not to spy on Hezbollah or disarm the Resistance. This is what UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and several officials said. Thus far, I have not heard any country participating in the UNIFIL say that it sent its sons and soldiers to defend Lebanon and the Lebanese. They are ashamed of us, brothers and sisters. They are ashamed of saying they came to defend us, but they talk about defending Israel. Well, the UNIFIL forces are welcomed as long as they abide by their mission. I call on the UNIFIL command in Lebanon to be alert because I have received

## Appendix II: Full Text of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah's Speech ...

information that there are some who want to drag these UN forces to collision with the Resistance. I heard that it was said at some meetings that the presence of the UN forces will restore the internal balance of power in Lebanon. This is serious talk. The UN forces came for a specific goal and they should not interfere in Lebanon's internal affairs or be involved in such things.

The point before the last is about political arguments and counterarguments. We did not seek political rivalry with anyone. We heard much harmful talk during the war and we remained silent and were patient. Political and media rivalry and attack on the resistance and on us continued after the war. Things reached an unbearable limit in recent statements. The almighty God wants believers to have broad minds, patience, and great hearts. But He at the same time does not accept humiliation for them. The media and political attacks on the resistance in Lebanon after the war – we put up with this during the war – reached a limit that could be tolerated only by prophets and we are not prophets. My brothers and I are not prophets. [Applause]

We understand things if one or two persons stand up and say things. If three persons say them, we will continue to comprehend what they say. Entire political forces met at Bristol [Hotel]. They brought their deputies, leaders, and members of political bureaus to show that the rally was big. They then issued a statement in which they said the war which took place in Lebanon was an Iranian war for the sake of the Iranian nuclear file, or a Syrian war to obstruct the international tribunal. Actually, we did not tolerate that although we – and I repeat this on the day of victory – take pride in our relationship and friendship with the Islamic Republic of Iran under the leadership of His Eminence Imam leader Al-Seyyid Khamenei, may God keep his shadow. [Applause] We also take pride in our relationship with Syria – leadership and people. Yes, leadership and people under the leadership of President Bashar al-Asad. [Applause]

We are independent and sovereign and our history testifies to this more than their history. [Applause] But to say that this war – which America and Israel launched and which Condoleezza Rice said was hard labour for the birth of a new Middle East and about which Olmert, Peretz, and others said all sorts of things, and which the Arabs said was the sixth war while the Zionists said was the first in the history of Israel – was fought by us for the sake of the nuclear issue and international tribunal is both shameful and insulting. Our houses were destroyed and our children and women were killed but we continued to fight. I care for all those who care for me and for my turban and beard and those who tell me not to engage in an argument. The party's youth and leadership can engage in such an

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

argument. But there is a limit. Even I and my turban and beard are not more honorable than this resistance and these people. [Applause] If my turban and beard have honour, it is then an honor bestowed by you and this resistance and the blood of martyrs. [Applause] I call for stopping these arguments and avoiding silly, harmful, and harsh phrases. We must remain within the framework of logical and reasonable political competition because we have a common destiny and we must finally build Lebanon together. But I, Hassan Nasrullah, will not remain silent over any insult to the people of the resistance. [Applause]

A few days ago, a big leader in the 14 February forces said – I know some people will ask me why I should say this but I will tell you [changes thought]. None is allowed to stand up and say even calmly that the Resistance masses are thoughtless. Are you thoughtless? [Chants] Who accepts this insult? No, no, no, I respect his masses. I, however, respect their masses and their youth and women. I respect their options if they are national. But we will never accept any insult to the masses of the resistance by anyone. He has to apologize. Yes, he has to apologize. [Applause and chants] We are not a totalitarian party, regime, or faction. Neither my father nor grandfather was a Bek [originally a Turkish title given to rulers of tribal groups; currently used with the name of Lebanese Druze leader Walid Junblatt]. Also my son will not be a Bek. [Chants and applause]

We do not seek political arguments and counterarguments. We are keen to get out of political division in the country through any dialogue formula. We are committed and are advocates of the state, the state project, the building of the state, and the establishment of the state, but we have dignity. Our dignity is above anything else. We cannot allow anyone to squander our dignity in return for building us a house. The house was destroyed for the sake of our dignity. [Applause] None should imagine that he can satisfy our hunger at the expense of our dignity. We sacrificed our blood for the sake of our dignity. This is how we are. What else can we do? This is how things are for us in Lebanon.

Within this context, I call for a return to calm and reason. We are on the threshold of the blessed month of Ramadan. May God return the happy occasion to all Lebanese. We pray to the almighty God to grant us success this month so that we can fast and pray for Him. I hope that the blessed month of Ramadan will be an opportunity for meditation and reflection and return to one's self and to seeing facts. Get out and see facts and do not let things become dubious to you. Do not build things on miscalculations.

Brothers and sisters, once again I greet the martyrs, the families of the chaste martyrs among all the Lebanese, the wounded, the detainees, all communities, movements, and regions which embraced and helped the resistance. I greet every Arab and Muslim people in the

## Appendix II: Full Text of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah's Speech ...

world. I greet every person, faction, and party. I will not get into names because the list is long and the ones I forget are more than those whom I remember. Therefore, we will be satisfied with this generalization.

Thanks to all. As we said during the war: May God grant you victory and God has granted your victory. We said may God help you and He has done so. I will conclude as I did in Bint Jubeil on 25 May 2000. I told you: O people of Lebanon, O people of Palestine, O peoples of our Arab nation. The era of victories began on 25 May 2000 and the era of defeats came to an end. There will absolutely be no defeat. Happy Ramadan and I wish you well on every historic and strategic victory. You are the most honorable, generous, and pure among people.

God's peace and blessings be upon you. [Applause and chants]

**Source: Al-Manar Television, Beirut, in Arabic 22<sup>nd</sup> Sept 2006<sup>120</sup>**

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<sup>120</sup>The English translation also available at: <http://muslimmedianetwork.com/mmn/?p=384>



## Appendix III

### UN Security Council Resolution # 1701 related to Israel's war with Lebanon

The full text of United Nations Security Council<sup>121</sup> Resolution # 1701<sup>122</sup> (2006) reads as follows:

**"The Security Council,**

1. **Recalling** all its previous resolutions on Lebanon, in particular resolutions # 425 (1978), 426 (1978), 520 (1982), 1559 (2004), 1655 (2006) 1680 (2006) and 1697 (2006), as well as the statements of its President on the situation in Lebanon, in particular the statements of 18<sup>th</sup> June 2000 (S/PRST/2000/21), of 19<sup>th</sup> October 2004 (S/PRST/2004/36), of 4<sup>th</sup> May 2005 (S/PRST/2005/17), of 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2006 (S/PRST/2006/3) and of 30<sup>th</sup> July 2006 (S/PRST/2006/35),

2. **Expressing** its utmost concern at the continuing escalation of hostilities in Lebanon and in Israel since Hizbollah's attack on Israel on 12<sup>th</sup> July 2006, which has already caused hundreds of deaths and injuries on both sides, extensive damage to civilian infrastructure and hundreds of thousands of internally displaced persons,

3. **Emphasizing** the need for an end of violence, but at the same time **emphasizing** the need to address urgently the causes that have given rise to the current crisis, including by the unconditional release of the abducted Israeli soldiers,

4. **Mindful** of the sensitivity of the issue of prisoners and **encouraging** the efforts aimed at urgently settling the issue of the Lebanese prisoners detained in Israel,

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<sup>121</sup>UN security council meeting took place on the night of 11<sup>th</sup> August 2006. It called for end to hostilities between Hizbollah and Israel and immediate cessation by Israel of all offensive military operations in Lebanon. The resolution # 1701 was unanimously adopted and the permanent ceasefire was to be based on creation of buffer zone free of armed personnel other than UN and Lebanese forces.

<sup>122</sup>The full text of resolution is available at: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/sc8808.doc.htm>

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

5. **Welcoming** the efforts of the Lebanese Prime Minister and the commitment of the Government of Lebanon, in its seven-point plan, to extend its authority over its territory, through its own legitimate armed forces, such that there will be no weapons without the consent of the Government of Lebanon and no authority other than that of the Government of Lebanon, **welcoming also** its commitment to a United Nations force that is supplemented and enhanced in numbers, equipment, mandate and scope of operation, and bearing in mind its request in this plan for an immediate withdrawal of the Israeli forces from southern Lebanon,

6. **Determined** to act for this withdrawal to happen at the earliest,

7. **Taking due note** of the proposals made in the seven-point plan regarding the Shebaa Farms area,

8. **Welcoming** the unanimous decision by the Government of Lebanon on 7 August 2006 to deploy a Lebanese armed force of 15,000 troops in South Lebanon as the Israeli army withdraws behind the Blue Line and to request the assistance of additional forces from UNIFIL as needed, to facilitate the entry of the Lebanese armed forces into the region and to restate its intention to strengthen the Lebanese armed forces with material as needed to enable it to perform its duties,

9. **Aware** of its responsibilities to help secure a permanent ceasefire and a long-term solution to the conflict,

10. **Determining** that the situation in Lebanon constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

### The Security Council

1. **Calls for** a full cessation of hostilities based upon, in particular, the immediate cessation by Hizbollah of all attacks and the immediate cessation by Israel of all offensive military operations;

2. Upon full cessation of hostilities, **calls upon** the Government of Lebanon and UNIFIL as authorized by paragraph 11 to deploy their forces together throughout the South and calls upon the Government of Israel, as that deployment begins, to withdraw all of its forces from southern Lebanon in parallel;



### Appendix III: UN Security Council Resolution # 1701...

3. **Emphasizes** the importance of the extension of the control of the Government of Lebanon over all Lebanese territory in accordance with the provisions of resolution # 1559 (2004) and resolution # 1680 (2006), and of the relevant provisions of the Taif Accords, for it to exercise its full sovereignty, so that there will be no weapons without the consent of the Government of Lebanon and no authority other than that of the Government of Lebanon;

4. **Reiterates** its strong support for full respect for the Blue Line;

5. **Also reiterates** its strong support, as recalled in all its previous relevant resolutions, for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized borders, as contemplated by the Israeli-Lebanese General Armistice Agreement of 23th March 1949;

6. **Calls on** the international community to take immediate steps to extend its financial and humanitarian assistance to the Lebanese people, including through facilitating the safe return of displaced persons and, under the authority of the Government of Lebanon, reopening airports and harbours, consistent with paragraphs 14 and 15, and **calls on** it also to consider further assistance in the future to contribute to the reconstruction and development of Lebanon;

7. **Affirms** that all parties are responsible for ensuring that no action is taken contrary to paragraph 1 that might adversely affect the search for a long-term solution, humanitarian access to civilian populations, including safe passage for humanitarian convoys, or the voluntary and safe return of displaced persons, and **calls on** all parties to comply with this responsibility and to cooperate with the Security Council;

8. **Calls for** Israel and Lebanon to support a permanent ceasefire and a long-term solution based on the following principles and elements:

- full respect for the Blue Line by both parties;

- security arrangements to prevent the resumption of hostilities, including the establishment between the Blue Line and the Litani river of an area free of any armed personnel, assets and weapons other than those of the Government of Lebanon and of UNIFIL as authorized in paragraph 11, deployed in this area;

- full implementation of the relevant provisions of the Taif Accords, and of resolutions 1559 (2004) and 1680 (2006), that require the disarmament of all armed

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

groups in Lebanon, so that, pursuant to the Lebanese cabinet decision of 27<sup>th</sup> July 2006, there will be no weapons or authority in Lebanon other than that of the Lebanese State;

-- no foreign forces in Lebanon without the consent of its Government;

-- no sales or supply of arms and related materiel to Lebanon except as authorized by its Government;

-- provision to the United Nations of all remaining maps of land mines in Lebanon in Israel's possession;

9. **Invites** the Secretary-General to support efforts to secure as soon as possible agreements in principle from the Government of Lebanon and the Government of Israel to the principles and elements for a long-term solution as set forth in paragraph 8, and expresses its intention to be actively involved;

10. **Requests** the Secretary-General to develop, in liaison with relevant international actors and the concerned parties, proposals to implement the relevant provisions of the Taif Accords, and resolutions 1559 (2004) and 1680 (2006), including disarmament, and for delineation of the international borders of Lebanon, especially in those areas where the border is disputed or uncertain, including by dealing with the Shebaa Farms area, and to present to the Security Council those proposals within thirty days;

11. **Decides**, in order to supplement and enhance the force in numbers, equipment, mandate and scope of operations, to authorize an increase in the force strength of UNIFIL to a maximum of 15,000 troops, and that the force shall, in addition to carrying out its mandate under resolutions # 425 and 426 (1978):

(a) Monitor the cessation of hostilities;

(b) Accompany and support the Lebanese armed forces as they deploy throughout the South, including along the Blue Line, as Israel withdraws its armed forces from Lebanon as provided in paragraph 2;

(c) Coordinate its activities related to paragraph 11 (b) with the Government of Lebanon and the Government of Israel;

### Appendix III: UN Security Council Resolution # 1701...

(d) Extend its assistance to help ensure humanitarian access to civilian populations and the voluntary and safe return of displaced persons;

(e) Assist the Lebanese armed forces in taking steps towards the establishment of the area as referred to in paragraph 8;

(f) Assist the Government of Lebanon, at its request, to implement paragraph 14;

12. Acting in support of a request from the Government of Lebanon to deploy an international force to assist it to exercise its authority throughout the territory, **authorizes** UNIFIL to take all necessary action in areas of deployment of its forces and as it deems within its capabilities, to ensure that its area of operations is not utilized for hostile activities of any kind, to resist attempts by forceful means to prevent it from discharging its duties under the mandate of the Security Council, and to protect United Nations personnel, facilities, installations and equipment, ensure the security and freedom of movement of United Nations personnel, humanitarian workers and, without prejudice to the responsibility of the Government of Lebanon, to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence;

13. **Requests** the Secretary-General urgently to put in place measures to ensure UNIFIL is able to carry out the functions envisaged in this resolution, **urges** Member States to consider making appropriate contributions to UNIFIL and to respond positively to requests for assistance from the Force, and **expresses** its strong appreciation to those who have contributed to UNIFIL in the past;

14. **Calls upon** the Government of Lebanon to secure its borders and other entry points to prevent the entry in Lebanon without its consent of arms or related materiel and **requests** UNIFIL as authorized in paragraph 11 to assist the Government of Lebanon at its request;

15. **Decides** further that all States shall take the necessary measures to prevent, by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft:

(a) The sale or supply to any entity or individual in Lebanon of arms and related materiel of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary equipment, and spare parts for the aforementioned, whether or not originating in their territories; and

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

(b) The provision to any entity or individual in Lebanon of any technical training or assistance related to the provision, manufacture, maintenance or use of the items listed in subparagraph (a) above; except that these prohibitions shall not apply to arms, related material, training or assistance authorized by the Government of Lebanon or by UNIFIL as authorized in paragraph 11;

16. **Decides** to extend the mandate of UNIFIL until 31 August 2007, and **expresses its intention** to consider in a later resolution further enhancements to the mandate and other steps to contribute to the implementation of a permanent ceasefire and a long-term solution;

17. **Requests** the Secretary-General<sup>123</sup> to report to the Council within one week on the implementation of this resolution and subsequently on a regular basis;

18. **Stresses** the importance of, and the need to achieve, a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East, based on all its relevant resolutions including its resolutions # 242 (1967) of 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1967, 338 (1973) of 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1973 and 1515 (2003) of 18<sup>th</sup> November 2003;

19. **Decides** to remain actively seized of the matter."

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<sup>123</sup>Kofi Annan, United Nations Secretary-General, welcomed the resolution ahead of the Council's adoption, saying he was greatly relieved that it provided for a full and immediate cessation of all the hostilities. He however, said: "**But, I would be remiss if I did not tell you how profoundly disappointed I am that the Council did not reach this point much, much earlier.**" He was convinced that his disappointment and sense of frustration were shared by hundreds of millions of people around the world.

## Appendix IV

### Timeline of Daily Events of the Sixth War

#### 12<sup>th</sup> July, 2006

During a military operation, Hizbollah arrested and took hostage two Zionist soldiers. This news was broadcasted for the first time by the Al-Manar Television Lebanon (the TV channel of Hizbollah) and later, Zionist military sources also confirmed it.

Ehud Olmert, prime minister of the Zionist regime, immediately called for an emergency meeting of cabinet ministers. In this meeting, Zionist cabinet approved widespread military attack on Lebanon for the freedom of two Israeli soldiers.

On this day, Israeli air force jets targeted and destroyed two bridges connecting cities of Tyre and Nabateyeh<sup>124</sup> in Lebanon. Hizbollah responded by rocket attacks on Al-Jaleel region in Israel. In these attacks, several Katayusha and other rockets were fired inside Israel. Four persons were injured.

#### 13<sup>th</sup> July, 2006

Zionist regime expanded its air force and sea-based attacks and completely besieged Lebanon through sea and air. The result of this siege by Zionist military was total blockade of oil, fuel and other supplies through ships to and from Beirut. On the same day, Israeli military jets bombarded Beirut International Airport several times.

#### 14<sup>th</sup> July, 2006

Hizbollah fired rocket at Haifa, one of the largest cities of Israel. On this day, Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah stressed that Israeli military attacks on South Lebanon will not result in the freedom of the two captured Zionist soldiers.

UN Security Council held an emergency meeting on the situation in Lebanon to discuss the ceasefire at the request of government of Fouad Siniora (Lebanon). However, no resolution was possible due to the strong opposition of US.

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<sup>124</sup>Also spelled as Nabatieh and al-Nabatiyah

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

Following the escalated war crises in Lebanon, the price of oil reached its peak to a record-breaking 78.40 dollars per barrel. Price of Diesel and Gold also increased significantly on this day.

### 15<sup>th</sup> July, 2006

Israel bombarded the Hizbollah headquarters and the residence of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah near the South of Beirut. Hizbollah too, in reaction to this attack, targeted an Israeli warship in the Mediterranean Sea. This was the first attack of its kind and military experts called it to be the turning point of the Hizbollah military operations.

A special meeting of Arab League was held for the investigation and finding possible solutions to end the Israeli aggression on South Lebanon. The participating delegates and foreign ministers of Arab countries in their statement said that because of the attacks of Hizbollah on Israel and the kidnapping of two Zionist soldiers, they were unable to reach a consensus regarding the crises. Saudi Arab, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Iraq, United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain were among those who opposed Hizbollah's actions during this meeting. UAE

### 16<sup>th</sup> July, 2006

After a rocket attack by Hizbollah on the port city of Haifa in the north of Israel, at least 8 persons were killed and 20 were injured. In this attack, a train station, port and oil refinery of Haifa were damaged. After this attack, Hizbollah announced its intention to target the Israeli Petrochemical Complex in the city of Haifa.

Hizbollah, in its attacks for the first time on the Israeli cities of Acre [Akka] and Haifa, used Ra'ad 2 and 3 Rockets.

On this day, rumors spread all over Lebanon that Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah, the leader of Hizbollah was injured. Israel too announced that in its air strikes on South Lebanon, Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah was injured. Hizbollah forces quickly refuted these rumors and news and said that Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah and Allamah Seyyid Fadlullah<sup>125</sup> were both safe.

### 17<sup>th</sup> July, 2006

On this day, TV video speech of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah was aired in which the leader of Hizbollah said that Israeli military, by bombarding residential areas of Lebanon, is only showing its weak points; however, we have tried our best to only target military areas of

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<sup>125</sup>Full name: Seyyid Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah, passed away on 4<sup>th</sup> July, 2010.

#### Appendix IV: Timeline of Daily Events of the Sixth War

Israel. He also warned Israel that we can target Petrochemical and Microbial Complex of Haifa, but because of presence of non-military personnel, we are not attacking it. However, as Israel is not bound by anything, we will not limit ourselves to any restrictions in the future, too.

Group of 8 in its statement voiced its concerns over the death toll of civilians: The militant groups such as Hamas and Hizbollah are responsible for the recent attacks and instability in the Middle East. In this context, the foreign minister of Egypt criticized the Group of 8 statements, saying that it was too weak.

##### **18<sup>th</sup> July, 2006**

UN Security Council meeting to make a decision for the ceasefire and the stopping of military attacks confronted a deadlock. However, it ultimately decided that a final decision will be made after the UN inspection team returns from the war zone.

Ayatullah Sistani, the religious authority of Iraqi Shias and a personality with great political influence in Iraq, issued a statement in the defense and support of Hizbollah's resistance and sought to stop Israeli attacks on Lebanon.

##### **19<sup>th</sup> July, 2006**

This day was called "the day of massacre" by the News reporters in Lebanon because of massive Israeli attacks and the death of a huge number of civilians. Some of the statistics revealed that within a span of 6 hours, 70 persons were killed by the Israeli airstrikes.

Hizbollah fired 7 rounds of missiles several times on Haifa city. News sources reported that a vehicle packed with explosives blew up in Tel Aviv.

On this day, a scheduled Arab League meeting was cancelled because of the disputes between the governments of Arab countries. In this regard, the Saudi Arabian envoy said: In order to have a special meeting of the heads of the Arab countries, at least 15 countries should agree to participate, however, only 8 countries have agreed so far.

##### **20<sup>th</sup> July, 2006**

Israeli military announced that it targeted the hideout of the leading figures of Hizbollah in one of its air strikes. This news was immediately denied as false by Hizbollah and it announced that all the leaders are safe and no one was martyred.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

Russian foreign ministry, in its statement, sought immediate ceasefire in Lebanon. On the other hand, Condoleezza Rice, the US secretary of state, stated that at the moment, the conditions are not appropriate for a ceasefire.

### **21<sup>st</sup> July, 2006**

The Bush government decided to supply the Zionist regime with laser guided bombs that hit the targets with high precision and accuracy. This decision came after the Zionist regime, at the beginning of its air strikes, requested the US to immediately supply it with these bombs.

Israeli politicians in a meeting with UN delegation stated that as before, they will not enter into any dialogue, directly or indirectly, with Hizbollah for the freedom of its soldiers.

### **22<sup>nd</sup> July, 2006**

Amir Peretz, the Israeli Defiance Minister announced that Israel has agreed to station International Forces at the borders of Lebanon under the condition that these forces should be under the command of NATO.

Syria emphasized its conditional willingness for talks with US for finding solution to Lebanese crises. Deputy Foreign Minister of Syria said: We are ready for talks with US, but it's the US that is not willing to talk.

### **23<sup>rd</sup> July, 2006**

Condoleezza Rice travels to Middle East today and in an unannounced trip went to Beirut. She, during this trip proposed conditions for stopping war in Lebanon. These conditions included: Ceasefire, Stationing Special UN forces in the South of Lebanon, Control of Lebanese Government in the border areas, keeping Hizbollah away from border regions of Lebanon with Israel and return of refugees and material support for the reconstruction of Lebanon.

### **24<sup>th</sup> July, 2006**

Condoleezza Rice in a meeting with Olmert said: Now it's the time to plan a new Middle East and it's not at all important whether others want the new Middle East or not.

### **25<sup>th</sup> July, 2006**

In Israeli air bombardment of the UN Headquarter in South Lebanon, 4 UN soldiers were killed. This attack resulted in Kofi Annan giving a statement demanding rapid end to



## Appendix IV: Timeline of Daily Events of the Sixth War

present crises. An emergency meeting of the UN Security Council in order to end the crises ended without any decision or statement.

On this day Rome Conference took place to seek the solution to the Lebanon crises. This conference that took place with the presence of representatives from 20 countries and the UN, ended without any decision because of the US opposition to immediate ceasefire. At the end of conference the statement only emphasized need for stationing an international force for the support of Lebanese army.

### **26<sup>th</sup> July, 2006**

Israel determined not to expand its war with Hizbollah in the south of Lebanon during the current time frame. However, it allowed its army to use 30,000 reserve soldiers in case of the escalation of the war.

### **27<sup>th</sup> July, 2006**

Hizbollah while continuing its rocket attacks fired 14 rockets over Northern Israel.

### **28<sup>th</sup> July, 2006**

Unarmed UN monitors leave Lebanon-Israel border. This action was taken after 3 UN monitors were killed by Israeli air strike on their headquarters located at the border.

### **29<sup>th</sup> July, 2006**

Al-Jazeera TV network reported large-scale withdrawal of Israeli forces from Bint Jubeil and repositioning of these forces in the regions outside Maroun al-Ras.

Hizbollah agreed with the peace proposal of Lebanese Government. This agreement was reached after 6 hours of Lebanese cabinet meeting. This peace proposal contained something that was lacking in the requests of US and Israel that only predicted an immediate ceasefire.

Condoleezza Rice, the US Secretary of State travelled to Middle East for the second time. In this trip she expressed hope that she can bring a good and rapid end to the crises.

### **30<sup>th</sup> July, 2006**

In an Israeli air strike on villages in Qana region of Lebanon, over 60 civilians, most of them women and children were killed. The Lebanese Government in protest to this attack

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

announced that before any immediate ceasefire and complete halt to Israeli attacks, it has stopped any kind of negotiations with Zionist regime.

After the attack on Qana, trip of Condoleezza Rice to Lebanon on the invitation of Lebanese Government was cancelled. She, while talking with news reporters announced that time has arrived for ceasefire between Israel and Hizbollah.

### **31<sup>st</sup> July, 2006**

UN Security Council in an emergency meeting investigated and discussed the Israeli crime in Qana. This meeting ultimately resulted in a statement. In this statement, the Security Council condemned Israel for killing the innocent civilians and non-military persons.

While the spokesman of US Foreign Ministry announced that Israel has agreed for a 48 hr halt of its attacks on South Lebanon, Israel continued its air attacks on this day non-stop. In response to Israeli crime in Qana, Hizbollah, for the second time targeted an Israeli ship in Mediterranean Sea. In this attack, at least 6 Zionist soldiers were killed.

### **1<sup>st</sup> August, 2006**

On this day, Israeli Security Cabinet approved widespread ground military attacks and rejected ceasefire until the presence of UN military force in South Lebanon.

Today, Israeli jet fighters attacked border regions between Syria and Israel with missiles several times. In response to these attacks, Syrian President Bashar al-Asad while giving warning to Israel on increased attacks, ordered Syrian army to be ready for any possible situation.

### **2<sup>nd</sup> August, 2006**

Mohammad Barakeh, the Arab member of Knesset (Israeli parliament), labeled the cabinet of Olmert as the cabinet of war and killings. Israeli state radio announced: 40 million Shekels from the government reserve allocated to the Israeli Ministry of Defiance.

Israeli commandoes, with the aim of freeing captured Zionist soldiers or taking captive Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah, carried out an operation in Baalbek (East Lebanon). They kidnapped three Lebanese civilians and transferred them to Israel.

### **3<sup>rd</sup> August, 2006**

## Appendix IV: Timeline of Daily Events of the Sixth War

Olmert demanded stationing of 15,000 International military soldiers for ending the war. According to his opinion, the war must end only through the intervention of UN Security Council.

Meeting of the member states of OIC took place with only one third of the members and absence of representatives of most of the Arab countries.

### **4<sup>th</sup> August, 2006**

Lebanese daily newspaper Al-Quds announced that the Lebanese crisis is deepening the rift between Arabs residing in Israel and the Jewish government.

### **5<sup>th</sup> August, 2006**

Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah announced: Ehud Olmert has proved to be the most stupid Prime Minister of Zionist regime and the Israeli army is just a puppet for killing children, innocent human beings and non-military civilians. Israeli military for the second time carried out a commando operation in an attempt to kidnap one of the leaders of Hizbollah in the city of Tyre. However, after one of the commandos was killed and operation failed, it left the region.

### **6<sup>th</sup> August, 2006**

During Hizbollah rockets fire over Kiryat Shmona<sup>126</sup> and Kfar Giladi<sup>127</sup> regions of Northern Israel, 15 Zionists, including 12 soldiers were killed.

### **7<sup>th</sup> August, 2006**

Israeli daily newspaper Haaretz after reporting the willingness of Israeli government high-ups to accept the French - US proposed resolution, added: The most severe damage to Israeli military is because of the anti-tank attacks of Hizbollah.

### **8<sup>th</sup> August, 2006**

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<sup>126</sup>City of the Eight is a city located in the North District of Israel on the western slopes of the Hula Valley on the Lebanese border. The town of Kiryat Shmona was established in May 1949 on the site of the former Bedouin village Al-Khalisah, whose inhabitants fled the village after it was captured by Israel during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War.

<sup>127</sup>Giladi Village is a kibbutz in the finger of the Galilee panhandle of northern Israel. The kibbutz was founded in 1916 by members of Hashomer on land owned by the Jewish Colonization Association, and was named after Israel Giladi, one of the founders of the Hashomer movement.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

Netanyahu, the leader of Likud Party said: We standby to the set aims determined at the beginning of war. Olmert accused that Iran has introduced Hizbollah in the war its representative.

### **9<sup>th</sup> August, 2006**

Major General Kaplinsky, the Deputy Chief of the General Staff, Israel Defense Forces took command of Zionist army in place of General Udi Adam. Israel, for the first time since 1967 war, was forced to change the commander during an ongoing war.

Israel, in order to fight ground battle face to face with Hizbollah fighters, seeks helps from Russian snipers.

### **10<sup>th</sup> August, 2006**

Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah advised the inhabitants of the city of Haifa, Israel to vacate the city, so that the Hizbollah fighters could target it with peace of mind.

Israeli security cabinet approved the increase in number of soldiers and expansion of ground attacks. However, it left the final decision on Olmert and Peretz.

### **11<sup>th</sup> August, 2006**

UN Resolution # 1701 was accepted. UN Council of Human Rights with 27 votes in favor, 11 against and 9 abstentions, condemned Zionist regime.

### **12<sup>th</sup> August, 2006**

Lebanese government accepted the ceasefire. Due to expansion of battle ground towards Israel, tens of Israeli tanks and armored personnel carriers were destroyed, killing over 20 Zionist soldiers.

### **13<sup>th</sup> August, 2006**

More than 200 rockets fired by Hizbollah on the last day of war. Olmert's cabinet accepted the ceasefire.

# Appendix V

## A Brief History of Exchange of Prisoners between Arabs and Israel

The prisoner exchange deal between Israel and Arabs has a long history and it started from 1948 war.

1. During 1948 Arab-Israel war, 156 Israeli soldiers were taken prisoners by Egypt, 673 by Jordan, 48 by Syria and 8 by Lebanon. Israel took 5021 Palestinians, 1098 Egyptians, 57 Syrians, 36 Lebanese, 28 Saudis, 25 Sudanese, 24 Yemins, and 17 Jordanians as prisoners. Israel exchanged prisoners with each country separately and the last exchange took place took place with Syria on 21<sup>st</sup> July, 1949.

2. On 30<sup>th</sup> September 1954, ten Israeli sailors on a merchant ship 'Bat Galim' were taken captive in Suez Canal by Egyptian army. However, after the intervention of UN Security Council, they were released on 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1955.

3. In December 1954, 5 Israeli soldiers who were on a special mission to Golan Heights, were kidnapped by Syrian army. One of them, Yuri Ilan committed suicide in prison and his dead body was returned to Israel after two days. The remaining 4 were returned to Israel after 15 days in exchange for 41 Syrian prisoners.

4. After war in the year 1956, Israel released 5500 Egyptian captives and Egypt released 4 Israelis in exchange.

5. On 17<sup>th</sup> February 1961, soldiers of Golani Brigade carried out an operation to invade parts of Golan Heights. However, 2 of them were captured by Syria. They were later returned back to Israel.

6. On 21<sup>st</sup> December 1963, during a prisoner exchange deal between Syria and Israel, 11 Israeli soldiers and civilians were exchanged for 15 Syrians.

7. During 1967 Arab-Israeli war, 15 Israeli soldiers were captured by joint Arab forces (11 by Egypt, 2 by Iraq, 1 by Syria, 1 by Lebanon). Israel took following prisoners: 4338 Egyptian

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

soldiers and 899 civilians, 533 Jordanian soldiers and civilians, 368 Syrian soldiers and 205 civilians. Exchange of these prisoners started on 15<sup>th</sup> June 1967 and completed on 13<sup>th</sup> January, 1968. Syria rejected returning the body of famous Israeli spy 'Eli Cohen<sup>128</sup>' who was caught in Damascus, to Israel.

8. On 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 1968, during prisoner swap deal between Jordan and Israel, 12 Jordanian prisoners were released by Israel, while Jordan gave back one missing Israeli soldier and two coffins filled with remains to Israel.

9. In the year 1970, twelve Israeli soldiers were captured by Egypt and 3 by Syria. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of August the same year, one injured Israeli pilot and one soldier were set free by Egypt. Syria also released 3 Israeli soldiers in a prisoner swap deal on 9<sup>th</sup> June, 1972 and in return, 5 Syrian officers were released by Israel.

10. On 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1973, 3 Israeli pilots who in Syrian jail for last 3 years were released in exchange for 46 Syrian prisoners.

11. During October 1973 war, 242 Israeli Soldiers and Officers were taken prisoners by Egypt, 68 by Syria and 4 by Lebanon. On 6<sup>th</sup> June 1974, in five days' time, some of these prisoners were exchanged.

12. On 5<sup>th</sup> April 1974, Egypt returned bodies of 39 Israeli soldiers and in return, Israel freed 92 Egyptian prisoners.

13. On 5<sup>th</sup> April 1978 in a military operation that took place against an Israeli military convoy near Rashidiyah refugee camp<sup>129</sup> located in the south of Tyre city, 4 soldiers were killed and 1 soldier by the name of Abraham Imran was taken captive. This Israeli soldier was exchanged in the famous prisoner swap deal known as 'Norous' that took place between Israel and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (linked to Ahmed Jibreel) was returned to Israel on 14<sup>th</sup> March 1979 in return for release of 76 Palestinians from Israeli jails.

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<sup>128</sup>Eli Cohen (1924 - 1965) was a famous Israeli Mossad spy. He played a deciding role in the outcome of the Six-Day Arab-Israel War. Eli Cohen was third in line to succeed as president of Syria at the time he was caught. In January 1965, he was caught in the act of sending a radio message to Israel. After found guilty of espionage, he was publicly hanged in Damascus on 18<sup>th</sup> May 1965.

<sup>129</sup> Over 27, 000 Palestinians live in this camp.

## Appendix V: A Brief History of Exchange of Prisoners...

14. On 4<sup>th</sup> September 1982 in a village 'Bhamdoun'<sup>130</sup>, situated in the Mount (Jabal) Lebanon, 6 Israeli soldiers were taken prisoners by Fatah Movement and 2 more were taken by the PFLP commanding headquarters. The 6 soldiers, together with one Israeli pilot were exchanged for 4500 Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners released from the notorious prison 'Ansar' situated in the Ansar<sup>131</sup> village in South Lebanon and 63 Palestinian prisoners from Israeli jails on 13<sup>th</sup> November 1983.

15. On 28<sup>th</sup> June, 1984, Syria returned 3 Israeli soldiers and bodies of 5 more to Israel in exchange for 291 Syrian soldiers and 13 civilians who were released by Israel with bodies of 74 Syrian soldiers.

16. On the midnight of 20-21<sup>st</sup> May, 1985 during the famous prisoner swap deal known as 'Al-Jaleel' between Israel and the PFLP command, 1150 Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners together with a Japanese prisoner named 'Kozo Okamoto' who had participated in the 'Operation Lod airport'<sup>132</sup> were released from Israeli Etlit jail in return for two Israeli soldiers 'Yuski Gurov' and 'Nasim Shalom' who were captured in Bhamdoun together with another Israeli soldier 'Haazi Shaei' who was taken captive on 11<sup>th</sup> February 1982 during a battle in the 'Sultan Ya'qub' village located in the West Bekaa valley<sup>133</sup>.

17. On 12<sup>th</sup> September 1991, on the basis of deal between Israel **and** Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the body of Israeli soldier 'Sameer As'ad' was returned in exchange for 'Ali Abdullah' who was living in exile, was allowed to return to his native village 'Abu Dees'<sup>134</sup> in Israel.

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<sup>130</sup>A town situated 23 kilometers from Beirut on the main road to Damascus. The population is mostly Orthodox Christian.

<sup>131</sup>Ansar or Insar is a village in south Lebanon, between Nabatieh and Tyr. It was famous in the 1980s for the detention camp Israel made with over 5,000 prisoners, Lebanese, Palestinian and others.

<sup>132</sup>On May 30, 1972, Kozo Okamoto along with two other Japanese, Yasuyuki Yasuda, and Tsuyoshi Okudaira, arrived at Israel's Lod Airport in Tel Aviv, via Air France Flight 132 from San Juan, Puerto Rico, United States. After disembarking from the plane, they took out automatic weapons and killed 25 Israelis and injured 71 others. The attack was a joint operation of the PFLP and the Japanese Red Army. In the letter claiming official responsibility for the attack, the PFLP referred to it as *Operation Deir Yassin*, as revenge for the 1948 Deir Yassin massacre. Kozo Okamoto was captured and sentenced to life imprisonment in Israel. After his release from prison in Israel, Kōzō Okamoto moved to Libya, then Syria, and finally to Lebanon. He later converted to Islam and in 2000 was given asylum in Lebanon.

<sup>133</sup>Also written as Bekaa or Biqā' is a fertile valley in east Lebanon, located about 30 km east of Beirut.

<sup>134</sup>Located near Jerusalem.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

18. In 1991, first exchange operation took place between Israel and Hizbollah and accordingly, in 3 stages, 91 Lebanese prisoners and bodies of 9 martyrs were returned to Lebanon in return for 2 Israeli soldiers, captured by Hizbollah in February 1986 in the village of 'Kunin' (South Lebanon) were returned back to Israel. In the first stage, on 11<sup>th</sup> September 1991, 51 prisoners were released from the notorious 'Al-Khiyam' prison (South Lebanon) in return for bodies of 9 martyrs that were given back to Lebanon. In 2<sup>nd</sup> stage, on 21<sup>st</sup> October of the same year, 5 prisoners were set free including one from Israeli 'Ramleh'<sup>135</sup> prison and in the third stage, on 1<sup>st</sup> December, 25 prisoners from 'Al-Khiyam' prison, including two women were released.

19. After 5 year's gap, Germany started acting as a mediator for prisoner swap negotiations and through it mediation, 45 prisoners from 'Al-Khiyam' prison and bodies of 123 Lebanese resistance fighters were exchanged for 17 dead bodies of soldiers of Antoine Lahoud<sup>136</sup> and two dead bodies of Israeli soldiers on 21<sup>st</sup> July, 1996.

20. On 7<sup>th</sup> April 1997, on the basis of exchange deal between Israel and Hizbollah, 3 Lebanese prisoners were released by the Lahoud's SLA's group headed by George Khouri. He was later killed<sup>137</sup> in one of operations of Islamic Resistance in Jezzine.<sup>138</sup>

21. On 5<sup>th</sup> September 1997, while attempting a commando operation in the village of Insariyah [Ansariyah] located near seashore of South Lebanon, the Israeli army suffered serious losses and 12 Zionist commandoes were killed at the hands of Hizbollah and their remains were also taken away. Later an exchange took place between Hizbollah and Israel in which Israel released 60 Lebanese prisoners (including 10 from prisons inside Israel) and 40 bodies of martyrs of resistance including the body of martyr Seyyid Hadi Nasrullah, the son of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah, Secretary General of Hizbollah in return for the remains of Israeli soldiers including 'Itamar Eiliya'<sup>139</sup> who were killed in the failed Insariyah operation.

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<sup>135</sup>Located near Tel Aviv

<sup>136</sup>The commander of the Christian South Lebanese Army fully supported by Israel in the 'security zone' inside South Lebanon.

<sup>137</sup>On 18<sup>th</sup> September, 1997 when Islamic Resistance attacked and completely forced back the SLA mercenaries from Jezzine area.

<sup>138</sup>A beautiful town located 22 km from Saidon (Saida, Sidon) and is touristic resort of South Lebanon because of its beautiful landscape and its 40m high waterfalls.

<sup>139</sup>Itamar Eiliya was the Israeli commando who carried explosives on his shoulders during this operation. Almost no remains of his body were left as the explosives he was carrying blew up when Islamic Resistance fighters attacked the Israeli commandoes in Insariyah at midnight.



## Appendix V: A Brief History of Exchange of Prisoners...

22. On 13<sup>th</sup> September 1998, Israel released 'Suha Beshara'<sup>140</sup> the most famous female Lebanese prisoner, who endured ten years of captivity and torture in the notorious Al-Khiyam prison. This brave lady had fired bullets and injured Antoine Lahoud, the head of Israeli mercenary SLA and was caught.

23. On 26<sup>th</sup> September 1999, with the mediation of Germany, 5 Lebanese prisoners were released from Ayalon Israeli prison and in return Hizbollah gave pledge that it will seriously pursue the case of lost Israeli pilot 'Ron Arad'<sup>141</sup> until facts are clear. In the same year, 8 more prisoners were also released.

24. In the year 2000, several prisoners were released. Details are given below:

- On 13<sup>th</sup> January, 25 prisoners were released from the Khiyam prison and 2 were released from Ayalon Israeli prison.
- On 28<sup>th</sup> January, 'Muhammad Budayr' was released from the famous 'Nafha al-Sahrawi' Israeli prison.
- On 9<sup>th</sup> March, 8 prisoners were released from Khiyam prison
- On 19<sup>th</sup> April, 13 prisoners were released from Ayalon Israeli prison
- On 4<sup>th</sup> May, 5 prisoners and 4 more were released on 18<sup>th</sup> May from Khiyam prison

25. On 10<sup>th</sup> June 2002, 'Muhammad Barzawi'<sup>142</sup> was released from one of the Israeli prisons. He was taken captive during Islamic Resistance operation in 'Tumat Niha'<sup>143</sup> near Jezzine.

26. On 25<sup>th</sup> August 2003, Israel returned bodies of two Hizbollah martyrs, 'Ammar Hussain Hammoud' and 'Ghassan Za'tar'<sup>144</sup> and in return the German mediator was allowed to meet

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<sup>140</sup>Full name: Souha Fawaz Bechara. She wrote a book on her experiences of resistance entitled: Resistance: My Life for Lebanon

<sup>141</sup>Lieutenant Colonel Ron Arad, was on a mission to carry Israeli air attack near Sidon in Lebanon, on 16<sup>th</sup> October, 1986 when damage to the aircraft forced Arad and the pilot to eject. The pilot was rescued a few hours later, but Arad was captured by the Lebanese Amal militia. Hizbollah has clearly stated that Ron died during an escape attempt in May 1988.

<sup>142</sup>Muhammad Barzawi, 39-year-old Hizbollah prisoner was in Israeli captivity for 15 years.

<sup>143</sup>Located in Western Bekaa Valley.

<sup>144</sup>Hammoud was martyred during a resistance operation against an Israeli military convoy between Qulaia and Marjayoun road in South Lebanon on December 30, 1999. Ghassan Za'tar was martyred in clashes with Israeli troops in November 1998 in Iqlim al-Tuffah in South Lebanon.

## The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat

'Elchanan Tannenbaum'<sup>145</sup>, the Israeli colonel who was tempted to travel to Lebanon and then captured by Hizbollah.

27. On 29<sup>th</sup> January 2004, by the mediation of Germany, a prisoner exchange deal was finalized between Hizbollah and Israel, on the basis of which, 435 Lebanese and Arab prisoners (23 Lebanese, 400 Palestinians, 5 Syrians, 3 Sudanese, 3 Moroccans, and 1 Libyan), 1 German in addition to the bodies of 59 martyrs of resistance and maps of the landmines that were laid in the occupied areas of South Lebanon by Israeli Army and its mercenary SLA headed by Antoine Lahoud were exchanged for the bodies of 3 Israeli soldiers killed and taken into possession by Hizbollah in an operation in the Lebanese Shebaa Farms<sup>146</sup> area on 17<sup>th</sup> October, 2000 and also 'Tannenbaum' the captured Israeli colonel. It was also mutually agreed that the facts will be pursued for the lost Lebanese, Palestinians, and Iranians and the Israeli pilot 'Ron Arad' and similarly, for the freedom of 'Samir Kuntar'<sup>147</sup>, the oldest Lebanese prisoner in the Israeli captivity.

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<sup>145</sup>Israeli Mossad colonel who was intelligently lured into Lebanon via Dubai for spying against Hizbollah by the undercover Hizbollah officers. His kidnapping was announced on 16<sup>th</sup> October 2000 by Hizbollah.

<sup>146</sup>Fertile Lebanese land located in the south on border with Israel. It measures about 22 km<sup>2</sup> and is still under the occupation of the Zionist regime.

<sup>147</sup>Samir Kuntar was martyred on 19 December 2015 (aged 53) during preplanned Zionist air force attack on Jaramana, Syria.

## Index

### 1

14<sup>th</sup> March Alliance, 19, 20, 21, 68, 70,  
78, 84

### A

Abdullah, 26, 32, 37, 38  
Abraham Imran, 121  
Abu Dees, 122  
Abu Mazin, 35, 36  
Acre, 48, 49, 115  
Adshit al Qusayr, 47  
Africa, 23, 87  
Aita Al-Shaab, 46  
Aitaroun, 46  
Al-Aqilah, 53, 54  
Al-Biq, 98  
Al-Dahiya, 45, 83  
Al-Hasbani River, 102  
Al-Hayat, 79  
Ali Abdullah, 122  
Al-Jaleel, 114, 121  
Al-Jalil, 81  
Al-Jalil security operations, 10  
Al-Jazeera, 29, 117  
Al-Khalisah, 118  
Al-Khayam, 83  
Al-Khiyam prison, 46, 102, 122, 123  
Allamah Seyyid Fadlullah, 115  
Alma ash Shab, 46  
Al-Manar, 29, 35, 38, 97, 108, 114  
Al-Masna'a, 83  
Al-Masnaa, 66  
Al-Mustaqbal, 45, 57, 79  
al-Qaida, 20  
Al-Quds, 118

Al-Safir, 44  
Alternative Coalition, 16  
Al-Wazzani River, 102  
Amal Movement, 19, 21, 39, 79, 82, 104,  
123  
Amer Peretz, 31, 35, 75, 101, 103, 107,  
116, 119  
America, 9, 14, 16, 89, 96, 98, 107  
Amine Gemayel, 10, 21, 77  
Ammar Hussain Hammoud, 123  
Amr Moussa, 87  
An-Nabatiyah, 83  
An-Nahar, 57, 79  
Ansar, 121  
Antoine Lahoud, 122, 123  
Anwar Sadat, 10, 87  
Apache helicopter, 44, 53, 62  
Arab League, 24, 87, 114, 116  
Ariel Sharon, 15, 64  
Asia, 14, 23  
Austria, 32  
Ayalon Prison, 123  
Ayatullah Sistani, 115

### B

Baalbek, 46, 53, 66, 83, 118  
Bahrain, 97, 115  
Bashar al-Asad, 37, 65, 78, 107, 118  
Bat Galim, 120  
Beersheba, 49  
Beirut, 10, 24, 46, 66, 68, 78, 79, 81,  
83, 86, 87, 97, 98, 103, 108, 114,  
116, 121, 122  
Beirut International Airport, 10, 114  
Bekaa, 46, 47, 53, 66, 82, 83, 97, 122,  
123

Bhamdoun, 121  
Bint Jubeil, 46, 61, 62, 83, 99, 105, 108,  
117  
Bouday, 53  
Brigadier General Gal Hirsch, 63  
Bristol, 106  
Britain, 98  
Brussels, 25

## C

Cairo, 24, 87  
Central Lebanese Bank, 82  
Chavez, 100  
China, 44, 58, 91  
Cobra helicopter, 44, 72  
Condoleezza Rice, 25, 27, 30, 33, 79, 89,  
91, 99, 100, 107, 116, 117  
Costa Rica, 38

## D

Damascus, 27, 66, 71, 120, 121  
Dan Gillerman, 30  
Dan Halutz, 62, 63  
Defense News, 64, 71  
Detlev Mehliis, 20  
Doha, 32

## E

Egypt, 9, 10, 17, 25, 31, 32, 37, 38, 40, 58, 86,  
87, 88, 115, 120, 121  
Ehud Olmert, 16, 17, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35,  
46, 58, 69, 75, 76, 90, 101, 107,  
114, 116, 118, 119  
El Salvador, 38  
Elchanan Tannenbaum, 123  
Eli Cohen, 120  
Elias Ataei, 57  
Emile Lahud, 19, 21, 76, 77  
England, 9, 32, 33, 44

Etlat jail, 121  
Europe, 14, 18, 23, 84, 90  
European Alliance, 78  
European Union, 18, 21, 24, 25, 30, 52,  
90, 91

## F

Fajr 3, 49  
Fajr 5, 49  
Fajr-2, 49  
Fatah, 15, 17, 28, 36, 121  
Finland, 25, 58  
Fouad Siniora, 21, 26, 28, 29, 31, 36, 39, 56,  
68, 77, 78, 85, 114  
France, 9, 21, 22, 24, 25, 29, 32, 33, 58, 91, 121

## G

Gaza, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 34, 36, 53, 63,  
64, 65, 71, 100, 101  
Gaza Strip, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 71  
General Alain Pellegrini, 58  
General Benjamin Gantz, 64  
General Haim Erez, 64  
General Moshe Kaplinsky, 62, 119  
General Nir Amir, 64  
General Yoshi Heman, 72  
George Bush, 23, 33, 39, 116  
George Khouri, 122  
Germany, 25, 32, 122, 123  
Ghana, 58  
Ghandouriyeh, 46, 47  
Ghassan Za'tar, 123  
Gil, 16, 34, 35  
Gilad Shalit, 17, 18  
Golan Heights, 10, 120  
Golani Brigade, 61, 120  
Gush Etzion, 17

## H

Haaretz, 62, 75, 119  
Haazi Shaei, 122  
Hadera city, 50  
Haifa, 48, 49, 50, 81, 114, 115, 119  
Haim Ramon, 30, 36  
Hamas, 15, 16, 17, 18, 28, 30, 33, 36,  
37, 38, 63, 71, 84, 88, 89, 90, 115  
heliborne operations, 46, 66, 67  
Hizbollah, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21,  
24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35,  
36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49,  
50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61,  
62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74,  
75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89,  
90, 91, 92, 95, 97, 109, 110, 114, 115, 116,  
117, 118, 119, 122, 123  
Holland, 58  
Hosni Mubarak, 32, 37  
Hurst Freinig, 27

## I

Ikhwan al-Muslimeen, 40, 88  
Independent Palestine, 16  
India, 58  
Indonesia, 58  
Insariyah, 122  
International Committee of Red Cross, 27  
Intifada, 17  
Iran, 6, 21, 30, 31, 32, 33, 37, 38, 49,  
54, 55, 56, 57, 64, 75, 77, 79, 91,  
92, 97, 107, 119  
Iraq, 20, 33, 47, 87, 88, 101, 115, 120  
Ireland, 58  
Islamic Jihad, 71, 88, 89  
Islamic Resistance, 11, 12, 46, 47, 52, 55, 56,  
60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 76, 78, 86, 90,  
122, 123  
Israel, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17,  
18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27,

28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37,  
38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49,  
50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59,  
60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68,  
69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78,  
79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89,  
90, 91, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101,  
103, 104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111,  
114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120,  
121, 122, 123

Israel Beiteinu, 16  
Israeli-Lebanese General Armistice  
Agreement, 110  
Italy, 25, 32, 33, 58  
Itamar Eiliya', 122

## J

Jacques Chirac, 91  
Jamaa al-Islamiya, 78  
Jane's Defence Weekly, 48, 49  
Jerusalem, 38, 48, 100, 101, 122  
Jezzine., 122, 123  
John Bolton, 23  
Jordan, 9, 10, 25, 31, 32, 37, 38, 40, 58, 67, 86,  
87, 88, 115, 120  
Jordan River, 9, 10  
José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, 33

## K

Kadima, 15, 16, 17, 30, 34, 35, 37, 76  
Kafr Kila, 46  
Karmiel, 48, 49, 81  
Katyusha, 10, 48, 49, 60, 62, 81  
Kerem, 15, 17, 34, 38  
Kerem Shalom, 17, 18, 36  
Kfar Giladi, 62, 118  
Kfar Shuba Hills, 105  
Khalid Mish'al, 30, 37  
Kiryat Shmona, 48, 81, 118  
Knesset, 15, 16, 30, 35, 118

Kofi Annan, 20, 23, 27, 29, 30, 69, 106, 112,  
116  
Kozo Okamoto, 121  
Kunin, 122  
Kuwait, 82, 97, 115

## L

Labour, 16, 31, 34, 35  
LBC, 45, 79  
Lebanese Maronite Christians, 19, 57, 77  
Lebanese Society, 21, 74  
Lebanon, 9, 10, 11, 12, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23,  
24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35,  
36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50,  
51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63,  
64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76,  
77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89,  
90, 91, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103,  
104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112,  
114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123  
Likud, 15, 16, 76, 119  
Litani operations, 10  
Litani River, 27, 31, 46, 47, 58, 59, 69, 102, 111

## M

Ma'ale Adumim, 17  
Ma'alot-Tarshiha, 48  
Mahmood Ahmadinejad, 37  
Major General Udi Adam, 62, 63, 119  
Malaysia, 26, 58  
Marada Movement, 76  
Marjayoun, 46, 123  
Maroun al-Ras, 45, 46, 117  
Marwahin, 102  
Marwan Hamadeh, 57  
Meir Sheerit, 17  
Meretz-Yachad, 16  
Merkava Tank, 44, 51, 52, 62, 63, 64, 98  
Michel Aoun, 19, 21, 22, 39, 76  
Microbial Complex, 115

Middle East, 9, 25, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37,  
38, 40, 64, 66, 67, 68, 72, 81, 87, 88, 89, 90,  
91, 92, 95, 96, 98, 99, 103, 107, 113, 115,  
116, 117  
Mirsad-1, 49  
Mofaz, 76  
Mohammad Ra'ad, 28, 63  
Mohsin Bilal, 65  
Morocco, 58  
Moshe Arens, 103  
Moshe Katsav, 36  
Mossad, 20, 53, 66, 101, 120, 123  
Muhammad Barzawi, 123  
Muhammad Budayr, 123  
Muhammad Yazbek, 54  
Musa Abu Marzooq, 71

## N

Nabateyeh, 114  
Nabih Berri, 19, 79  
Nafha al-Sahrawi, 123  
Nahariya, 48  
Naqoura, 46, 58  
Nasim Shalom, 121  
Nasrallah Sfeir, 19, 21, 57, 77  
National Dialogue, 18, 19, 20, 21, 68  
National Union, 16, 34  
NATO, 58, 116  
Naval Covertte, 51  
Naval Sa'ar class-5 warship, 51, 61, 62, 67  
Netanyahu, 76, 119  
New York, 24  
Norous, 121

## O

Occupied Palestine, 7, 11, 12, 16, 17, 26, 34,  
36, 82, 84, 86, 88, 89, 99, 100, 101, 108, 121,  
122  
Odaisah, 46  
Omar Karami, 78

Operation Grapes of Wrath, 10  
 Operation Lod airport, 121  
 Operation Summer Rains, 18  
 Organization of Islamic Conference, 26  
 Oxfam, 82

## P

Palestinian Fighting Groups, 65  
 Palestinian Resistance Groups, 65  
 Persian Gulf, 88  
 Petrochemical Complex, 115  
 Popular Front for the Liberation of  
   Palestine, 16  
 Progressive Socialist Party, 19, 57, 78, 85  
 Putrajaya, 26

## Q

Qana, 23, 32, 37, 52, 53, 83, 96, 117, 118  
 Qantara, 46, 47  
 Qassam rockets, 17  
 Qatar, 23, 24, 32  
 Qur'an, 95, 96

## R

Ra'ad Rockets, 49  
 Rafiq Hariri, 15, 18, 20, 68, 78  
 Ramlah, 122  
 Rashidiyah refugee camp, 121  
 Resolution # 1515, 113  
 Resolution # 1559, 11, 18, 19, 21, 25, 26,  
   27, 28, 30, 33, 55, 68, 77, 78, 79,  
   80, 109, 110, 111  
 Resolution # 1655, 109  
 Resolution # 168, 111  
 Resolution # 1680, 27, 28, 68, 109, 110  
 Resolution # 1697, 23, 109  
 Resolution # 1701, 24, 27, 29, 36, 53, 59,  
   69, 106, 109, 119  
 Resolution # 425, 58, 109, 111

Resolution # 426, 58, 109, 111  
 Resolution # 520, 109  
 Rome, 25, 26, 28, 30, 90, 117  
 Ron Arad, 123, 124  
 Russia, 25, 33, 44, 64, 91

## S

Sa'ad Hariri, 19, 21, 22, 29, 39, 45, 68, 78  
 Sagger AT-3, 49  
 Saida, 83, 122  
 Salim al-Hoss, 78  
 Sameer As'ad, 122  
 Samir Geagea, 19, 20, 21, 22, 57, 77  
 Samir Kuntar, 124  
 Saud al-Faisal, 32  
 Saudi Arabia, 22, 25, 31, 32, 37, 38, 40, 58, 67,  
   70, 77, 78, 82, 86, 87  
 Serge Brammertz, 20  
 Seyed Hassan Nasrullah, 97, 107  
 Seyyid Ali Khamenei, 95, 96, 107  
 Seyyid Hadi Nasrullah, 122  
 Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah, 11, 12, 19, 20, 29,  
   35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 44, 46, 51, 61, 68, 76, 79,  
   86, 95, 97, 114, 115, 118, 119, 122  
 Shas, 16, 35  
 Shebaa Farms, 19, 21, 27, 31, 76, 77, 78, 102,  
   105, 109, 111, 123  
 Sheikh Abdullah bin Jabreen, 40  
 Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabir al-Thani,  
   32  
 Shimon Peres, 16  
 Shmistar, 53  
 Sinai Desert, 10  
 Soviet Union, 9, 10, 58  
 Spain, 25, 32, 33, 58  
 Spigot AT-4, 49  
 Suez Canal, 9, 120  
 Suha Beshara, 123  
 Suleiman Franjeh Jr., 76  
 Sultan Ya'qub, 122  
 Sunni Future Movement, 22

Switzerland, 32  
 Syria, 9, 10, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32,  
 33, 37, 38, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 65, 66, 68, 69,  
 75, 77, 79, 87, 88, 97, 107, 116, 118, 120,  
 121

## T

Taibeh, 46  
 Taif Accords, 110, 111  
 Taif Agreement, 28  
 Talal Arslan, 78  
 Tayyibah, 47  
 Tel Aviv, 38, 48, 49, 50, 115, 121, 122  
 Teshreen, 71  
 The Third Way, 16  
 Tony Blair, 33  
 Toophan, 49  
 TOW, 49  
 Tumat Niha, 123  
 Turkey, 25, 31, 32, 58, 67  
 Tyre, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 61, 66, 83, 114, 118,  
 121  
 Tzipi Livni, 53, 69

## U

UNIFIL, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31, 34, 36, 39, 43,  
 46, 52, 58, 59, 69, 70, 105, 106, 110, 111,  
 112  
 United Arab Emirates, 24, 115  
 United Nations, 9, 11, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23,  
 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 40, 41, 46, 52, 53,  
 55, 57, 58, 61, 68, 69, 77, 78, 79, 82, 90, 100,  
 105, 106, 109, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117,  
 118, 119, 120  
 United Torah Judaism, 16

US, 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26,  
 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 44,  
 45, 46, 47, 53, 55, 56, 61, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71,  
 78, 79, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 99, 100,  
 114, 116, 117, 119, 121

## V

Venezuela, 38

## W

Wadi al-Hujayr, 47  
 Wahabi, 20  
 Walid Junblatt, 19, 20, 21, 22, 57, 78, 79, 85,  
 107  
 Walid Muallem, 27  
 Washington, 32, 33, 50, 86  
 West Bank, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 100  
 World Public Opinion, 56

## Y

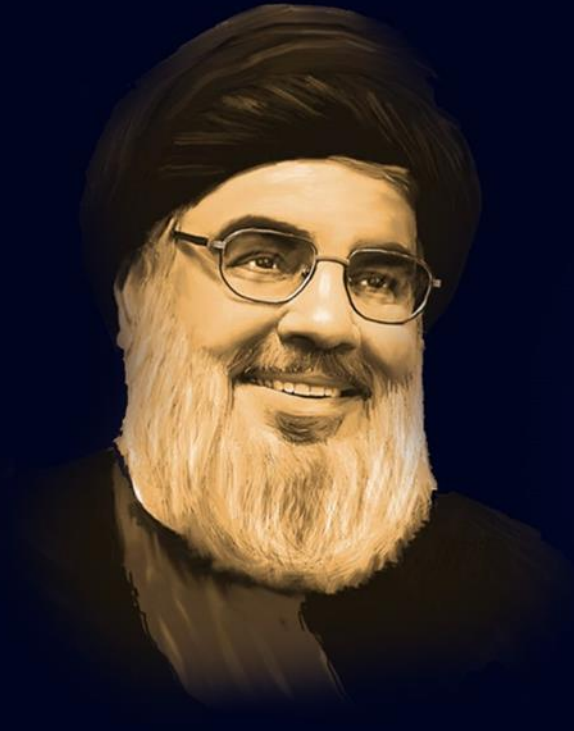
Yammounah, 53  
 Yasur, 62  
 Yemen, 31, 32, 87  
 Yuri Ilan, 120  
 Yuski Gurov, 121

## Z

Zilzaal Rockets, 49  
 Zionist Army, 46, 47, 48, 88  
 Zionist Regime, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17,  
 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 34, 35,  
 36, 37, 38, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 51, 53, 54, 55,  
 56, 60, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 74, 75, 77, 81, 82,  
 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 96, 114, 116,  
 117, 118, 119, 123







**The Bitter Flavor of the Greatest Defeat** provides in depth account of the historic defeat of the Zionist Regime in 33 days long war in 2006 at the hands of the powerful Hizbollah militias of Lebanon. This defeat shattered the myth of invincibility of Zionist regime since its illegitimate birth in 1947. A handful of Hizbollah soldiers guided by the highly capable, courageous and wise leadership of Seyyid Hassan Nasrullah and armed with light weapons and faith in God were able to repeat the history of victorious battles fought at the time of Prophet Muhammad (s). They were able to materialize the divine promise mentioned in the Holy Qur'an that the number of soldiers doesn't count in victory or defeat and those who believe in God and his Prophet (s) and do not take enemies of God as their friends, are supported by divine spirit and will be successful. The Zionist regime suffered crushing defeat and has since gotten weaker in all aspects to prevent its ultimately predicted downfall bound to come in the near future. This book provides comparative details of the Zionist army and Hizbollah, daily events of war, the complicity of USA and Western powers with the Zionist regime, inert and conspiring role of Arab Nations and the UN during 33 days of war and unparalleled heroism of Hizbollah and unwavering support of Iran to the oppressed nation of Lebanon.