



The speech delivered by Hezbollah Secretary General Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah during the Permanent Conference of the Resistance under the title "The Conference of the Resistance in the Battle of Awareness and Memory" in the Lebanese University (Al Hadath), 20 May 2009.

I take refuge in Allah from the stoned devil. In the Name of Allah, The Compassionate, The Most Merciful. Praise be to Allah, The Lord of the world. Peace be on our Master and Prophet – The Seal of Prophets – Abi Al Qassem Mohamad Bin Abdullah and on his chaste and kind Household, chosen companions and all the prophets and messengers. Your Eminence, scholars, brothers and sisters, peace be upon you and Allah blessing and mercy.

First, I want to thank dear brethren Sheik Maher for his affection, trust and good faith and I also like to congratulate you all on these dear days – the days of victory and liberation which made new glory to our nation and great awareness besides finding a historic event that might never be wiped from the memory of this nation. Brothers and sisters, true is the title of the conference because indeed from the very beginning until goals are achieved and the battle comes to an end, we are engaged in a battle of awareness in our nation and a battle of awareness by our enemy. The memory is part of this battle. It is a part of the battle of awareness in which we are all engaged. In the presence of professors, scholars and dear ones, I don't need to stress the importance of the element of awareness in the resistance and its victory, the nation's awakening and achievement of goals to defend its honor, existence, sovereignty and sanctuaries. But in brief, I like to say that awareness is not one of the elements or pillars or conditions of the rise of the resistance movement or its continuity. In fact, I consider it the first or primary condition. Yes, awareness is the condition for the existence of the resistance. It is the condition for the existence of this rising, revolution and victory. No, it is not the second, third or fourth condition. It is the first and primary and most important condition. Even on the basis of religious education or Gnosticism, the first necessary and obligatory step in man's movement towards Allah, Al Mighty is awareness. Man must be awakened. He must become conscious about who he is, where his foothold is, where his eyesight rests, where he must head and what his goal is. If he wasn't aware of that, he can't move. And if he moved, his movement would be aimless and at random. It won't have a definite track and definite stages. Consequently, he will move in life in a haphazard way. Thus awareness is the condition of existence and continuity because unawareness in any stage of resistance and jihad and in any stage of self-disciplining might lead to deviation from the right path. Thus awareness is a condition for existence, continuity and perfection because in as much as awareness is deep-rooted and strong, it will be greater in quality and quantity. It will also become broader and it will help in speeding up the achievement and reaching of the pursued goal. This is the case with the resistance movements since the beginning of the struggle with the Israeli enemy.

I believe all the resistance leaderships and movements have utilized this point forcefully to attract the group of fighters and strugglers who are the mainstay of the resistance. The basis of the resistance may not be but awareness and knowledge on behalf of this group of what they are doing and where they are heading to. So we need this awareness as a mainstay for the resistance as far as its fighters are concerned as well as on the level of popular embracement of any resistance movement (This is vital because we are talking about the resistance as a popular choice) and on the level of the nation (That's because the nature

of the struggle taking place makes it impossible to be decisively settled by the resistance of one and only one country but rather by the whole nation through the integration of its resistance movements, joint efforts and unification of capacities and capabilities to be under the disposal of the battle).

Still there is one point to be recorded as an achievement by the resistance movements. Besides finding great awareness in the nation on the Arab-Israeli struggle since their onset and besides recording a great history in the nation's memory to which we may resort (and which I will talk about later), the resistance movements have made an additional record especially in recent years and stages. In fact, the resistance wasn't content with defensive efforts or activities as far as awareness is concerned. So it was not limited to the formation of the awareness of our peoples, nation and resistance fighters; I can also say that it entered in an offensive phase when it started interfering in the awareness of the enemy. This is called by the enemy as "branding awareness".

Israel had always been on the offensive when talking about waging media and psychological wars. It was Israel which used to impose on us certain thinking trends, evaluations and conclusions for their resulting emotional repercussions, feelings and positions. But now and for the first time, the resistance - with its jihadi, media and political practice as well as psychological war - is branding the Israeli awareness as acknowledged by elite enemy leaders. As you might have noticed, one of the most importance results of the series of confrontations and events (the victory of year 2000, the rising of Al Aqsa Intifada, July War, the steadfastness of Gaza in the latest war) was that it hit the heart of Israeli awareness. No matter how hard some Arab media stations try to belittle these victories, they will never convince enemy military leaders or the enemy population that what struck Israel was not a total sweeping defeat. It's not important what some Arab media stations (whose origin, financial source and aim are well-known) say about us. What is important is what is taking place on the other bank (the memory, intellect, feelings, emotions and evaluation of the enemy to the course of the struggle especially in the recent years).

As an evidence to what I am saying, before and during July War, the Israeli media – for instance, the various Israeli TV outlets – used to make a live broadcast and prompt interpretation for any speech made by me or by any of the resistance leaders in Lebanon or Palestine. (In fact, my speeches used to have the lion's share in this live broadcast). That wasn't pursuant to the freedom of expression, presenting the other viewpoint or the transparency of Israeli media. No, that was an attempt from the Israeli media administration to present me or the others who talk in the name of the resistance (perhaps the term "resistance leaders" is somehow an exaggeration. Let's rather say the official spokesmen of the resistance of whom I am one) to strengthen the Israeli society as that mutates the image of the resistance or presents a terrorist image for the resistance. This was how Israelis used to think. But after July War – perhaps even in the last stages of the war – Israelis reached a conclusion saying that this live show which the Israeli media used to provide me and the other leaders with has a positive influence on the Israeli public opinion what serves the resistance! It also touches on the Israeli awareness, administration and determination as it exposes the enemy leaders' decisions and choices and belies whatever information they give, and consequently brands the awareness of the other party. Thus one of the lessons drawn from July War is that from that time onwards, they started avoiding live broadcast. They rather broadcast excerpts which do not serve the war of the resistance on the enemy society and some mutated parts or stances (as they do here in Lebanon these days) that serve the enemy one way or another. In brief, I wanted to mention this point to stress that in the awareness battle, we have moved from the defensive stage to the offensive stage. Thus the media, psychological and political battle is following up closely, intelligently, firmly and with determination the jihadi battlefield in which the mujahedeen in Palestine and Lebanon are making historic epics.

Brothers and sisters! In the awareness battle we combating, we have elements of strength which we must focus on for benefit (as we did in fact) and also to develop our benefit. First we have the force of righteousness. That means that the cause our resistance (not to reiterate the terms Lebanese, Palestinian... resistance movements, I will say resistance meaning the resistance in the region against the Israeli project and occupation) is fighting for is fair, righteous, legitimate and flawless. This rightful cause is opposite to the fabricated artificial cause (such as the Israeli cause). Well there were political conditions that brought them (Israelis) to Palestine. They were searching for a homeland for the Zionist entity. Argentine and also Uganda were put forth along many other places around the world for a homeland. But the interest of the great forces in the world especially the English colonialism determined that this antagonistic entity be implanted in the heart of our Arab nation to form an advanced barracks for the western colonial forces. So interest met there. Come along then, Zionists! We will help you in building your entity. To fit in that entity in Palestine, they fabricated a definite theory. They aroused the story of the 3000 years, the promised land, the historic and divine right to build Israel on that land... Now were the great political interests to meet on taking the Jewish Zionists to Argentine, indeed they would have fabricated a story other than the promised land and Allah Almighty's promise to Abrams, Isaac and Jacob... If they were to have interest in Uganda or any other place, they would have indeed made another theorization.

The Zionist theory, idea and ideology to legitimize occupying Palestine and the establishment of the Israeli entity in Palestine have void bases. It was a mere consequent of interests meeting together. On the other hand, in the cause or the resistance, we don't need to search for the meeting of great political interests which necessitates that we fight or for fabricating a theory and an ideology to take such and such stance. Rather the resistance cause fights for a crystal-clear right. There is a land called Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Jordan... (the Arab land in general). There are Palestinian people living on the land of Palestine for thousands of years. This people own this land and its decision. This people have the first right to decide its fate. Then came who wanted to uproot (and actually uprooted) a great portion of this people, threw them in exodus camps, killed them, perpetrated massacres against them, deprived them of their natural rights and erected on the bodies of children a state called "Israel".

Brothers and sisters! In all religious, divine, legal, legitimate, moral and humanistic laws as well as the international law and all the rightful, fair and just norms in the world, we are before a crystal clear flawless cause. Here I would like to say that one of the most important points of strength of the resistance (whether in its awareness, awareness making and awareness practicing in the struggling battlefield) is that it is clearly, flawlessly and unequivocally rightful. As I used to say before, if we examined all the struggles taking place in all countries in the whole world between one people and another, one state and another, between different groups of peoples or between one axis and another, we won't find a clearer and more obvious cause in its legality, justice, humanistic and moral aspects than the cause of the resistance in its struggle with the Zionist enemy in the region.

There might be a degree of doubt or uncertainty in some causes. Some wills might be shaken with some hesitation. Returning to one's soul, one might ask: Are we rightful? Is our path rightful? Is our goal rightful? But as far as the resistance movement is concerned, there is no place for that. Its clearness is absolute. When man achieves absolute clearness in a rightful cause, he won't care "whether he befalls death or death befalls him? Isn't it?

The whole world questions the secret behind this legendary steadfastness of the resistance mujahedeen in Lebanon, Palestine and the people of the resistance in Lebanon and Palestine and their ability to stand massacres and great sacrifices without their determination shaking. That's because the true reason is not

political or loyalty to an organization or the course of the battle. The reason is rather the background which is that of rightfulness and justice from which they take off and which forms the foundation of their jihadi and martyrdom will. "Both are good according to them: victory or martyrdom." Thus its youths as their elderly face death fearlessly and with no hesitation. That's because if we are rightful we don't care if "death befalls us or we befall death." This is point one.

The second points of strength on which we rely to develop awareness is credibility; the actual ability to prove the credibility of the path which the resistance calls for. That means when the resistance calls for a rightful cause (the cause of liberating the land, sanctuaries and homelands) it draws one and only one choice. Now others want to benefit from other means. It's up to them. We do not object to that. But seriously the choice is that of jihadi resistance which armed resistance forms its spearhead. We are not talking about a military resistance only. The armed jihadi resistance in the battlefield forms the spearhead of the comprehensive jihadi resistance which touches on the intellect, knowledge, education, politics, mobilization and the media....

When such a choice is aroused, the debate becomes on the efficiency of this choice. Is this choice efficient? Would it lead somewhere? These questions are related to awareness and ideology? I told you from the beginning that the resistance is engaged in a battle of awareness. It might not be difficult for the resistance movements to convince the peoples of our Arab and Islamic nation of the rightfulness of this cause. Even those who promote the culture of succumbing to Israel and those who have signed so called peace treaties with Israel, when you argue with them, they agree with you that the cause is just and rightful. They say: Yes Palestine from the sea to the river is the right of the Palestinian people. Indeed there is no legal or legitimate right that backs the establishment of the Israeli entity on a part of Palestine's land. Even those who signed peace treaties are ready to agree on the rightfulness of the cause.

So I believe that this stage is the easier stage in the battle of awareness. The more complicated stage in the battle of awareness is convincing them with the choice, track or course that serves this cause. This is not easy. Many people have made the right configuration of the target but their choice for the track or course was wrong. They got lost and went astray for decades. Some nations were lost and went astray for hundreds of years. Here we are not talking about individuals or small groups getting astray but rather about nations. When one person deviates from the right track, he is easily put back again on the right track. If someone is going to Tripoli and he went on the wrong track, it is easy for him to go to the right track again. But if a nation deviated from the right track, it'll be difficult to put it on the right track again. That would demand great efforts and long time, and many interests might be lost in the process of restoring the right path.

The main issue in the battle of awareness is adopting the right choice that leads to the target. If we did not select the right choice we will derail and never reach the goal, while our enemy will be mightier, more powerful, superior and able and the pillars of his project will become more steadily deep-rooted. Here lies the difficulty in the issue. When you talk with people, you use all courtesies: the military choice, armed struggle, armed strife and jihad (in its specific meaning i.e. fighting for the sake of Allah and wider general significance). Indeed this costs much for more than one reason. First it is simple to convince someone that your case is just. That might cause no burdens. His conscience might be at ease for backing your fair cause. But when he agrees with you on the armed choice, there will be some burden on he who assumes this choice, supports this choice and the nation or country in which he who adopts this choice is present.

I give Lebanon as an example because we lived this experience as did the Palestinians who lived a long similar experience. I remember for example in 1982 we brought along the forces which established the

resistance (Hezbollah wasn't alone. Hezbollah was one of these forces). A group of forces established the great resistance after the invasion of 1982. The brothers and sisters remember that when we used to discuss the issue with the people (even in our houses, families and the milieu of believers in Allah, the Hereafter, the Judgment Day and the Qoran), they used to say: "Your cause is rightful, but the path you are tracking is incorrect". You know we accredit something to the sheiks who say "a scholar can always find a way out". That means that whoever wants to fight Israel can indeed find a fatwa to do that. And he who wants to lag behind the fighting field finds a fatwa for that. He who wants to make peace with Israel finds a fatwa for that. So the whole story is that he wants a fatwa even if it is a wrong fatwa. He will be able to find a religious scholar who makes him a fatwa. For instance, on the day on which the peace accord was signed with Israel (in which Israel was recognized and two-thirds of the land was handed to Israel), one of the sheiks might say quoting the Qoran (And if they inclined to peace, incline thou also to it). Then the whole story will be over. Is this a right or wrong evidence? That doesn't matter. In fact, he is foreign to the issue. But anyway that's an example on "a scholar can always find a way out".

Back then, they used to tell us (We were young men then, most of us): You are enthusiastic. (Make not your own hands contribute to your destruction). This is forbidden on believers. They aren't to contribute to their own destruction. We can't fight and confront Israel. In juristic and religious discussions, believers and Islamic movements used to resort to this terminology. On the national level, some political powers, media outlets and elites used to remind us that the eye can't resist the awl. We are weak. We have no capacities and capabilities. This is Israel which in six days defeated several Arab armies on several fronts. We are but a few Lebanese youths. How are we to defeat Israel? This was the logic. Well this is the problem of awareness, ideology, choice-making and decision-taking. Yes indeed we got engaged in many discussions at first which were of an intellectual, juristic, emotional and psychological nature. We wanted some enthusiasm besides benefiting from former experiences. But the point of strength of the resistance is that in few years it could through jihad and fighting in the battlefield, blood shedding and self-martyrdom (There were great self-martyrs from the various parties and forces. We start with the operation of the prince of self-martyrs Ahmad Qasir in Tyr which led to the destruction of the Israeli military commander headquarters and the death of more than 100 officers and soldiers in an unprecedented operation in the history of the Arab-Israeli struggle. You all can still remember the pale face of Ariel Sharon as he stood on the remains of that edifice as well as Begen's announcement for a three-day-mourning in Israel) make awareness on the level of the people and the nation of the rightfulness and credibility of the choice of resistance.

Consequently we did not rely on the experiences of others and say in history that happened and in Vietnam that took place No we –our youths- did that experience. So let no one say Lebanon has its own distinctions. That's because whatever you want to say the answer is always ready: That's Lebanon which has its own distinctions that vary from other countries in the region and the world. Lebanon can't be compared to any other country and their experiences. Lebanon is another story. Well in Lebanon -the different story as they say- a group of young men in the prime of their ages practiced resistance and led it too. Let's take the leaders of the resistance – at least the leaders of Hezbollah. From the very beginning the resistance leaders – of who on the jihadi level martyr Hajj Imad Moghneyih has become known (because our jihadi leaders become known after they are martyred and after they pass away). How old were they back in 1982? They were 21 or 22 years old. So Lebanon with its special status and formula, its youths and people who embraced the resistance could prove the credibility of the resistance. Thus in the days of victory crowned on May 25, I like to put right that the first humiliating sweeping unconditional defeat for the Israelis on Lebanese territories wasn't on May 25, 2000, but rather in 1984 and 1985 when the Israelis were forced to get out of Beirut, the capital, Dahyieh (Beirut's southern suburbs), Mount Lebanon, a part of Western Bekaa, Sidon, Tyr and Nabatiyeh. Still when Israel's allies then mediated that

Israel delay its pull out for one week so that they strengthen one another, the Israelis refused to delay their pull out one day. This was the first defeat which found the basis for the great defeat in 2000.

So at an early time, the resistance could prove in the field the rightfulness and efficiency of this choice. That's what we must forcefully rely on. We are promoting the culture of resistance and the awareness of the resistance. Due to the field action on which the political speech and psychological war were built, the Israeli awareness was branded. A great number of false concepts fabricated by the Israelis and later believed by them were proved void. Among such falsities is the legend of the undefeatable army, God's chosen people and the entity's promised victory by God Almighty (which was defeated after all). Thus is the importance of the battle of branding awareness led by the resistance. Brothers and sisters, the resistance did not rely on speeches. (That's because some tried to compare the speech of the resistance in recent years to the comments of "Saeed" during 1967 war and what preceded and followed. (I don't know if the name is correct). Maybe our generation does not remember that very well. But no, that's not the case. The psychological war waged by the resistance in Lebanon and Palestine and avenged against the Zionist awareness was not a war based on assumptions but rather on a war based on great field events and achievements that roiled the faces of Israelis in the mud. Do you still remember the scene of the five Israelis in the square of Marjoun who were wailing like children? How much does that do with the awareness? The Palestinian resistance rockets during the recent war in Gaza have given scenes viewed by our world, Arabs and Zionists. Do you remember the Zionist official and that Zionist minister who –when hearing the boom of rockets – hid his head under a car tire? This scene was not the result of a speech but rather of a rocket, battle, and confrontation. It's the field action.

The third point which must be highlighted is the ability to mobilize. Well we are resistance movements (not from Mozambique or Argentine or Brazil) but rather we are the children of this land and the nations in this region. We, as well as our grandfathers and fathers, belong to the civilizations, divine religions, rich cultures, verse, prose, literature, heroism, chivalry, emotions, tenderness, generosity, prophets, messengers, good men, great fighters, and glorious martyrs of this region. We belong to its Testament, Bible and Qoran and thus we possess the heritage, legacy, intellectual, cultural, ideological and psychological wealth and fortune which enable us to get engaged in a true awareness battle based on true intellectual, cultural, moral, emotional, literary and romantic pillars and this is one of the most important points of strength of the resistance.

There is no doubt that the Qoranic speech which was introduced to the resistance battle in recent years has great, deep and significant impact in the momentum of the resistance, embracing the resistance, the tolerance and patience people have to endure sufferings, great losses and sacrifices. Whatever we resorted to whether from the east or the west and borrowed from men of letters, poets and enthusiasts from here or there, nothing can turn the course of the battle as (It is not ye who slew them; it was Allah; when thou threwest it was not thy act, but Allah's). Whatever we tried we can't make people tolerate more and stand better what had befell them and make them more firm in the battle and the continuity of the confrontation as (If ye are suffering hardships, they are suffering similar hardships; but ye have hope from Allah, while they have none). To make people enthusiastic and deep root their ideologies and awareness the Qoranic verse says: (If Allah helps you, none can overcome you: if He forsakes you, who is there, after that, that can help you? In Allah, then let believers put their trust). Where from can we get such words? If the whole world met and schemed against your right, cause and people as what took place in Sharm El Sheik in 1996, if man made a two or three-hour speech he won't be able to convey the meaning conveyed by the Holy Qoranic verse (Men said to them: A great army is gathering against you; but it increased their faith; they said: for us Allah sufficeth, and He is the best disposer of affairs). The Qoranic speech tackles jihad, faith, Heavens, dignity, nobility, seeing one's pain and patience in the eye of Allah,

what awaits mujahedeen, martyrdom and the surprise hid for martyr, divine victory, divine support and divine backing which we do not only read but also witness with our eyes, minds and hearts in the battlefield among which was July War. Indeed when we possess such a treasure, it is one of the points of strength which helps us in the battle we are combating.

The fourth point is memory: the memory of the onset of this struggle and the historic memory. Here I'd like to ask you: Does the Qoranic and Islamic education starting by Eve and Adam, Satan and the sons of Adam, Noah, Hud, Saleh and all the peoples which preceded us fill our free time? No because history is for drawing lessons and conclusions. It's a school. Whoever benefits from a thousand years of history is like someone who has lived a thousand years. Whoever benefits from the lessons of 5000 years is like someone who has lived 5000 years. This is the prime pick of lessons. Most of the time of peoples in history is but lost (Like floating dust scattered about): eating, drinking, sleeping, picnicking... This is reiterated always. But it's the prime issues which the memory needs to be always activated. This is the main battle. The enemy always bargains on time so that we forget. "But we will not forget as long as the skies are blue." The enemy always bargains on forgetting. Time will make the Palestinian people forget their land. Those who live in camps will get old. Those who are in Palestine will die no matter how old they become. The new generations did not live in Palestine. They did not smell of its olive trees, flowers and blooms. Thus a great part of the Zionist project in which many Arabs are also participating is forgetfulness. On the other hand, you want to get engaged in a battle that activates the memory because it is the basis of the awareness we are talking about. Hereof comes the insistence to stress memory by Arab satellites, all the media outlets, radio stations, centers of studies, reports, books, exhibitions, songs and cultural ceremonies. Even this key - which we started seeing forcefully in recent years in camps, occasions and demonstrations in occupied Palestine where there are refugees - must turn to a symbol. The key of the house in Haifa and Yafa must be a symbol which children must be brought up on respecting and the young grow on adoring. We must confront the enemy through the points of strength of the resistance and its experiences especially during the last years. For it's a just resistance.

Let's talk about Hezbollah for example and the Islamic resistance. We acknowledge and admit that we respect and benefit from all the experiences which came before whether in their performance, execution, course, points of weakness and strength – apart from their intellectual ideological and ideological backgrounds. We rely on such experiences and consider them part of all the achievements made so far. You remember on May 25, 2000, when I stood in Bint Jbeil I did not say this is a victory for this party or that. That was the case from the very first day on which the resistance took off, from the first bullet fired in face of the Israeli occupation and Zionist project in the region. This is the resistance which guards the memory and does not renounce it, respects the memory and shows pride in it and is fair to it. Such resistance consequently carries on from where that previous resistance ended, because it is wrong to start from zero. There were many achievements made and recorded. We have to rely on that and carry on. That's what I call for always. If we acted as such, I believe that the memory – of performance, and sacrifices made by the resistance and fighters from all parties in the past stage – has helped us positively. Likewise, the aggressions and massacres perpetrated by the enemy, the way this entity was founded, the conspiracies, connivance and savageries practiced by the Zionists for 61 years or in the coming years must remain vivid in the making of awareness. Also the operations of the resistance, its performances and achievements must also be preserved to brand the Zionist awareness.

The fifth point is the jurisprudence and culture of priorities for resistance movements. This is a primary part in awareness and the making of awareness. We always used to call for the absolute priorities and not relative priorities for fighting occupation and confronting the Zionist project. This is what governed our performance all these years and does still govern it. This is what we used to call for and still call for in

Palestine in the performance of the Palestinian factions whether inside or outside Palestine. Even in some of the comments on some of the performances in Iraq, we used to declare our backing of the resistance against the occupation troops in Iraq though indeed we used to condemn all what harms the people of Iraq, massacres committing and the killing of people...

The jurisprudence or culture of priorities is a primary issue in the making of awareness and the call for the right track. On the basis of these points of strength which we possess, we must carry on working. Today the true challenge in the awareness battle is the following: Today we are engaged in a great and new battle of awareness which is going back to specifying the enemy. During the long past years, the resistance could clearly consecrate that Israel is the enemy and the Israeli project which is totally and absolutely backed and adopted by America is the enemy and the danger on this nation, Arab peoples, Arab governments and even the so called moderate Arab regimes. But since a few years there has been an American-western-Israeli effort that meets with some Arab effort which tries to present to the nation or to fabricate to the nation a false enemy to deviate it from the true enemy and the true confrontation. This enemy is at times called the Islamic Republic in Iran and which is presented under the title of Persian greed in Arab lands and recalls for this goal the Safawi state and its struggle with the Ottoman state. At other times this enemy is presented as Shiites, Shiism, Shiite invasion, Shiite croissant....This issue has been wrought on and is still being wrought on in a very strong way. Now with the arrival of Netanyahu-Liebermann, the Arabs are telling Netanyahu and Liebermann: Come on! Recognize the two states. Well there answer is: "The Iranian nuclear project". Well they tell Netanyahu: Let's address the Arab-Israeli struggle. He answers them: We must solve the Iranian issue first. Iran poses a threat to Israel and the Arabs. So Israel and the Arabs must cooperate together to confront the Iranian threat. Then we will address the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Israeli problems. Isn't this the logic on which Netanyahu government is relying today along with some Arabs?

Indeed recently we heard good statements made by Amr Moussa and Saeb Erekat besides a number of officials saying that the real threat is posed by Israel and its nuclear program and not by Iran and the Iranian nuclear program. Yet the battle for awareness is big. So let's not say we have transcended this stage. The capabilities of this battle are very huge whether they be financial or on the level of media or mercenary elites. In fact, there are many capacities. To back them, they are exploiting history, the past and the present as well as analysis, lies, propagandas, fatwas and yellow papers. Today I see that this is the challenge. I want to remind the Lebanese and the peoples of the countries surrounding Palestine, that Israelis have always exploited this state of anxiety. Even in case of Lebanon, Israelis closely observe the intellectual, cultural and emotional experience. What people say when they (the Israelis) wage a war or a military operation against a country? So their considerations are not limited to weapons, ammunition and fighters. No they take the social environment into consideration.

Let's discuss the main reasons behind the great victory of the resistance achieved on May 25. Well back in 1982 when the Israeli enemy used to take a decision of war against Lebanon reaching up to the capital Beirut, they examined the environment closely. They reached conclusions drawn from accumulations (I don't want to make evaluations now). Since before 1975 and what followed up to 1982, Israel reached the following conviction with the help of conditions and atmospheres: O Christians in Lebanon. You are a minority in the vast sea of Muslims, in a vast ocean of Muslims. You are threatened of being uprooted. Your guarantee and supporter is but Israel. Consequently your existence and strategic interest is in cooperating with Israel and making alliance with Israel. Elites in the Christians milieu considered this choice. Now we don't want to evaluate their conditions because some people say that their conditions have led them there. Well these conditions are a different story. Here I'm considering results only.

This is as far as the Christians are concerned. As for Druze, also following the struggle which was taking place before 1982, Israeli elements tried to tell the Druze in Lebanon that your enemy is not Israel. It is rather the Maronites in particular and the Christians in general. They pose threat to your existence. Consequently to face the Christian- Maronite danger you are to resort to Israel as a guarantee for religious and sectarian minorities in the region. Then they (Israelis) came to the Shiites. (Well let's say facts as they are). But it is Imam Moussa Sadr who raised the Shiites on the fact that Israel is absolute evil and collaborating with Israel as well as collaborating with Israeli agents is forbidden. Imam Moussa Sadr also raised them up on refusing the then so called good wall. He made a fatwa that says clearly that even if someone in the border line and border villages is about to die and his staying alive was depended on entering the occupied territories for treatment, it is forbidden on him to enter and be treated by Israelis. Should he die he'd be a martyr. Also pursuant to the conditions we lived in before 1982 - apart from evaluating them – we might assume there are great Israeli infiltrations as it is clear these days. Today it is clear that those spies who were arrested are not only charged of collecting information but among their other charges were causing ordeals and creating armed clashes between the various forces, factions and parties. So after 1982, the Israeli reading of the social environment in southern Lebanon in particular and the Shiites of Lebanon in particular was that if the Israelis burst into Lebanon, the Shiites in Lebanon are annoyed and disturbed with the status quo and thus they will not fight. But this evaluation fell. That might have been present in the first days to a limited extent but no soon that collapse and fell in the first days. Thus was the onset of the resistance movement. The Israelis announced clearly that they were surprised with the resistance that was launched primarily in southern Lebanon.

Israelis always tried to influence the minorities in Lebanon and the region. The experience of the Christians, Druze and all who collaborated with Israel (including Saad Haddad) shows that the Zionists do not want from the region, its peoples, populations, sects, minorities and majorities but their project and safeguarding their project. They don't have any humanistic or moral relation with any man, sect or party in Lebanon. This is what they have exploited before. Today they are exploiting that at an early stage. Imagine that some elite voices in some states in the Gulf and other places are saying that we must cooperate with Israel and make alliance with it to protect the Arab world and (some even say more) the Sunnites from the Persian Shiite Iran. What does that mean? Now we are facing this challenge. Let no one undermine this issue.

In my opinion – and I have said that many times – the last battle the American-Zionist project is fighting in the region is the battle of creating an Arab-Iranian and a Sunni-Shiite struggle. Now if we foiled this battle, the satanic weapons of devilish American-Israeli mind in the region will come to an end. We will be before a clear battle in confronting this project. As for Iran, Iran is clear. It's the Imam of Iran who announced the holiest day in the history of Muslims in general. He announced the last Friday of the Holy month of Ramadan as the universal Day for Al Qods so that Al Qods remains in memory, religion, praying, fasting, and the night of Al Qadr (Fate). It's the very Iran which has altered the strategic alliances in the region with the toppling of the Shah. It's the very Iran which has opened the first embassy for Palestine in the world on the land of Tehran. It is the very Iran which never and will never tarry behind supporting the Palestinian people and the Palestinian resistance people. It's the very Iran which at the time when whoever supports the Palestinians is accused of sponsoring terrorism stands in daylight and announces its pride in supporting the Palestinian people and the resistance in Palestine and Lebanon. It's the very Iran that stands unconditionally on the side of resistance movements in the region. We are not allowed to feel ashamed when saying we have relations and contacts with Iran. We feel pride in the Iranian support, and we hope all the Arab and Islamic states as well as all the governments and regimes would support and back the resistance movements in Lebanon and Palestine on all levels as Syria and Iran are doing. What is shameful or embarrassing in that?

Here I am telling you, the voice of Iran today is the highest in the world in face of the Zionist project. Who dares to stand in a conference for the UN and say what President Ahmadi Najjad said about Zionism and Israel? Well he is not the head of a liberating movement to say his word and leave without taking consequences into consideration. No! He is the head of a state which has great economic and commercial interests with the world. But we see that leaders in Iran tackle Palestine and the Zionist project disregarding their interests. I as well as the Palestinian brethren who opened to Iran know this leadership very well. When Iran supported and is still supporting us to liberate our land and fight our enemy it does not impose any conditions on us. It doesn't ask anything from us or command us to do anything. It doesn't specify what is accepted and what is not. Even when we neglect it and do not praise it, it doesn't blame us but say what you are doing is good. We understand your conditions. Indeed this is a unique model in the world. When we say so to people they say that is impossible. No it is rather possible because it is related to the background on which the Iranian leadership relies. Iran considers that it is performing its religious, ideological, historic and moral duty, and if it does not perform it, it will be questioned on the Day of Judgment. Well if Iran now opened its doors wide to bargain over Palestine, the Palestinian people and the rights of the people in the region and even on its sovereignty and dignity, the Americans will have no problem with it. The Americans will rather be ready to adopt whatever serves its project or stop this project from falling.

I wrap up saying today especially to the gentlemen and brethren scholars that yes the battle of conscience today is fighting the scheme of ordeal, the scheme of fabricating a false enemy, misleading people about who the real enemy is and pushing the nation towards a battle or confrontation which no one but the Zionist enemy might benefit from. We must get entangled in the battle of awareness and carry on in the path of our resistance, Inshallah. I'm among those who strongly believe that the nation has transcended the stage of the awareness that establishes for victory and entered the stage of awareness that makes real victory as in 2000 and 2006. We as a nation are Inshallah (as they say) climbing up the ascending arch while our enemy is climbing down the descending arch. And victory is not but from Allah the Almighty, the Omnipotent.

Finally I pay my special regards to the family of martyr Leader Yahya Ayash and the great teacher Amin Sayyegh who are honored in this conference.