



The speech delivered by Hezbollah Secretary General Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah during the Resistance and Liberation Day held in Mashghara on Saturday, 25 May 2013.

I take refuge in Allah from the stoned devil. In the Name of Allah, The Compassionate, The Most Merciful. Peace be on the Seal of prophets, our Master and Prophet, Abi Al Qassem Mohammad and on his chaste and pure Household and on his chosen companions and on all messengers and prophets. Peace be upon you and Allah's mercy and blessings.

Thanks for your attendance, and welcome on your day – the day of your victory, the day of your resistance, the day of your salvation from the occupation.

First, I would like to offer my felicitations on the great and fragrant anniversary of the birthday of our lord and master – The prince of Believers, Imam Ali Bin Abi Taleb (Peace be upon him). I also felicitate you on this great national day – the Day of Resistance and Liberation.

In these moments, we recall all the martyrs, all the families of martyrs, all the wounded, all the detainees, all the freed detainees, and all our people who remained steadfast in their lands and tolerated the repercussions of their steadfastness. We recall all those who offered sacrifices whether from the army, the people and the resistance and whether Lebanese, Palestinians, or Syrians – on top of whom the senior leaders – the master of the Islamic Resistance martyrs, Sayyed Abbass Mussawi, the Sheikh of the Islamic Resistance martyrs, Sheikh Ragheb Harb, and the field leader of the victory, Hajj Imad Moghniyeh, along all the martyrs who offered sacrifices. Was it not for their sacrifices, this victory and this day was not to have taken place.

Special regards to our people in western Bekaa among whom we wanted our ceremony to take place this year. We wanted them to host our ceremony to recall this good land and its great martyrs and dear fighters and loyal, proud, and steadfast people who offered massive sacrifices, and to recall and announce our high-estimation to the people of this region and the central role they played in the history of the resistance, the jihad of the resistance, the sacrifices of the resistance, and the victory of the resistance.

Allah Al Mighty says in His Holy Qoran: {We sent Moses with Our Signs. Bring out thy people from the depths of darkness into light, and teach them to remember the Days of Allah. Verily in this there are Signs for such as are firmly patient and constant, grateful appreciative}.

For sure, May 25, 2013 is one of the Days of Allah in which Allah's mercy, blessing, victory, support, kindness, and bounty on our steadfast and resistant people were manifested. Likewise, Allah's wrath, anger, might, and overwhelm on the Zionists who occupied, aggressed, humiliated, and surmounted were manifested. Thus our victory was one of the Days of Allah, and their defeat was one of the Days of Allah as well. Such a day which came to be a day for the resistance and liberation must remain vivid in our recollection and must be marked by the generations to come.

Brothers and sisters! On this day which came to be a day for resistance and liberation must remain vivid in our recollection and be entrusted from one generation to another – from our children to our grandchildren and our great grandchildren because it sums up a deep national historic experience and

great sacrifices, morals, lessons, pains and expectations, and because it is the way which is always open before an honorable, noble, revered future.

This is one of the days of Allah which must not be forgotten as must other days in our age: the day on which Israel pulled out from Gaza Strip because of the Palestinian resistance and the sacrifices of the Palestinian people on September 2005, as well as the day on which America pulled out from Iraq due to the Iraqi resistance and the sacrifices of the Iraqi people in December 2011. These are great days which must be turned into Holidays on the level of the homeland as well as on the level of the entire nation. They are not only holidays for the Lebanese, the Palestinians in Gaza, and the Iraqis. They are rather holidays for the entire nation which is targeted by the US-Israeli project embodied in the military occupations of our countries and lands; thus these days must be unforgettable. Likewise, we must not forget the very gloomy days which we must mark every year: the Nakba of May 1948 and the Naksa of June 1967. We must put these days besides each other in our modern history. There is a Nakba; there is a Naksa; and there are victories. The Nakba which took place in 1948 is not only a catastrophe that befell Palestine and the people of Palestine only. It is rather a catastrophe that befell all the Arabs, all the Muslims, and all the peoples of the region whether Christians or Muslims. It is wrong to deal with this Nakba as a catastrophe that concerns a definite country and a definite people. Our nation, our region, and the peoples of our region are still to our day and after 65 years bearing the consequences, impacts, and repercussions and severe, negative results of that Nakba. The same applies when we talk about the Naksa. We must recall these painful events to draw lessons and morals from them. Moreover, we must muster our courage from the victories which took place. Some people want us to forget these days because they want us without recollection, history, and consequently, without a cause.

Brothers and sisters! This year we mark this day while we as Lebanese and as peoples of the region confront a group of threats, challenges, and dangers on top of which are two grave dangers which I will talk about in the available time. I will also talk about the means of confronting them. The first danger is that which has been existing and continuous since the Nakba: It is Israel and its intentions, greed, and schemes. This is the first danger.

The second danger is the changes taking place in Syria, in our surrounding, at our borders, on the gates of our cities, villages and houses, and the predominance of Takfiri groups in the field.

To confront the first danger, we must first look southwards – unfortunately, we are in a time in which we became obliged to look southwards and northwards. Southwards, we find Israel still carrying on in its project in occupied Palestine with utmost serenity. It is not subject even to criticism by the international community: Judaizing of Al Qods, Judaizing Palestine, confiscating the territories remaining in the territories occupied since 1948, settling in the West Bank, arresting detainees....

This very Israel and since July War 2006 has been carrying daily drills. It's preparing itself and putting schemes and reconsidering plots. It stages war maneuvers and combed arms maneuvers. It also stages maneuvers on the internal front level. A year after 2006, Israel staged a maneuver on the internal level which it dubbed Turning Point I. On the following years, it maneuvered Turning Point II, III, IV, V, and VI. Every year, there is a comprehensive maneuver in the entire entity on the level of the internal front. What does the internal front mean? The maneuver starts with the Premier, the army, the police, and the civil defense. They check shelters, warning sirens, communication means, ambulances, hospitals, roads, and the capacity to receive the displaced and emigrants. They have been carrying comprehensive maneuvers yearly for six years by now. This year, and namely tomorrow on Sunday – perhaps many of the Lebanese don't know that – they will carry a maneuver on the internal front level. This year,

however, they did not call it Turning Point VII. They rather called it Strong Force I. So they carried six maneuvers on the internal level and scrutinized the points of weakness.

I am not talking about all of this to waste time. They pointed out the various points of weakness and gaps here and there and addressed them in the following year and the years that followed. Now, the enemy is saying: I have a strong internal front, and I'm ready for war on all fronts and for the worst hypotheses.

Unfortunately, man talks about his enemy who is working properly concerning his interests and schemes. Moreover, they formed a new government portfolio dedicated to protecting the internal front. So there is an internal front minister whose job is to run the entire internal front in case anything took place against the entity. This is a case; there is a person in charge of it. Whereas here in Lebanon when the Ethiopian airplane fell in the sea, we got lost. Who is responsible of the catastrophe of the airplane which fell in the sea? Point at the person in charge. Who is in charge of the evacuation operations? Who is responsible of the people and the administration? We got lost; whereas the enemy has an internal front minister.

Anyway, Israel threatens Lebanon every day. It musters its troops and tanks on our southern borders. Troops have been mobilized for several months by now and not from a day or two or a week or two ago. They are at a high level of readiness. It stages an aggression on Syria, shells Syria, and threatens.

Let's talk about Lebanon. Since 2006, Israel is preparing, getting armed, maneuvering, plotting, addressing the gaps, and controlling the simplest detail in the fighting front and the internal front. I have a question: What have we prepared in Lebanon? I mean by "we" the Lebanese and the Lebanese state. When I say the state I do not mean the government only. I do not mean this president or that president. I talk about the state as a whole. What did the Lebanese state prepare to confront any potential danger which may take place in the region on the Israeli level? What did the Lebanese people do for any potential danger apart from what the state prepared? Did the Lebanese people call on their state and the state's institutions to prepare and resume the responsibility?

Let's talk frankly about this topic. Here we are talking frankly. In the other topic, we will talk frankly too. We must not be courteous to each other. That's because we are at a critical historical moment. We are at a sensitive historic moment. There is no time for courtesies. There is no time to hide behind our fingers. There is no time to bury our heads in the soil. It is rather time to raise our heads high and to confront hurricanes and to resume responsibilities. This is the stage we are passing through now.

Thus we came to talk frankly: What have we did then? This is the Lebanese state. What have we done then?

Let's start with the army. We all call for a strong army able to defend the nation and to assume responsibility. I will ask about their number? What about the human force? What about the arms? What about the equipment? What about providing the army with capabilities and capacities which enable it to deter the enemy? What about the awe of our national army in the eyes of the enemy? There is no answer.

Let's talk from 2005 to this day. That's because before 2005, there used to be a hanger on which everyone used to hang everything. It's the Syrian custody. We are now a state of sovereignty, independence, and freedom, and the Lebanese state is independent. Well great! For eight years what have we done as far as the army is concerned? What have the state done so far? We all know the status by now.

Well, at times we hear no answer or mere excuses only: There is a problem in funding; nobody is assisting us, the Americans are putting a veto. It is not allowed. It is forbidden. No Arab army is allowed to get armed if these arms are to fight Israel. No Arab army is allowed.

Between parentheses, I would say that Russia likes to sell Syria anti-aircraft rockets. So the rockets are not to stage aggressions against any country. They are to defend Syria. They are S-300 rockets. However, the Americans and the Europeans are intervening against that. Syria is not allowed to possess S-300 rockets because that makes an imbalance. However, some Arab states are being sold advanced US weapons by billions of dollars. Why? That's because there are guarantees and certainty that not one bullet from these weapons would be shot on Israel. The true fear is from the Lebanese Army. It's national army. If this army is given orders, the political cover, and the capacities, it will fight as the resistance is fighting. Why? That's because the men in this army have the very nature of the men of the resistance. Its men are the children of this people. The men of this people are the children of this environment. This is the national culture. This is the nature of the Lebanese people.

Now I will move to the civil level. On the civil level, what have they done? What has the Lebanese state done? Since 1948 to this very day, what has it done on the civil level? This is the internal front in Lebanon. Look! Israel is afraid from rockets. It's not afraid from air force. It is difficult to find air force which may reach Israel. However, Israel has the strongest air force in the Middle East and can reach any place in the Lebanese internal front. Who is responsible of the internal front? Which minister or official or general manager or organization or administration is responsible? Let's keep the administration aside. What have they done concerning hospitals, ambulances, national defense forces, or at least concerning warning sirens or radars that indicate that airplanes have entered the country's airspace? There is nothing of this sort at all. We do not even have infrastructure. When the Israelis stage maneuvers on the internal front level, they check the shelters. In Lebanon we have no shelters to check. They check the security rooms. In Lebanon, we do not have security rooms. Why? That's because there is not. There is not a responsible state.

Is it required that the resistance assumes the responsibility of civil domain as well? The state has to answer this great question. Well, yes we must exclusively record that there are achievements on the level of the infrastructure which were made in the South. That was not achieved pursuant to the determination of the state or to a decision made by the state. Today is a day for fairness. To be fair, I say that was achieved due to personal efforts and demands made by Speaker Nabih Berri within the game of the state and authority that exists in Lebanon. However, apart from that what did take place? Tell me what you did. This is the great glorious Lebanon state.

Brothers! In the Lebanese state, in all generations and stages, confidence is acquired and not imposed. You can't tell people to trust you in spite of their will. You must have a performance and conduct that make people trust you and entrust you with their blood, honor, money, children, generations, lands, future, and dignity. This is not achieved via a word or a decision. This is achieved through practice.

For example on the civil level, do you know what do they do in Israel? They construct settlements along the border – they did so at the border with Lebanon, Syria, Golan, and Jordan. So originally there would be no town or village. They build a village and call it a settlement. They bring in Jews from Ethiopia, Romania, Argentina, and from all around the world and let them live by our borders and pay them allowances. They support them, provide them with lands, facilities, and job opportunities, train them, and supply them with arms as well. That's because these settlements have a security role on the border, and they are a part of a defensive plot according to the Israelis.

On the other side, our front villages from the sea to Bint Jbeil to Marjoun, to Hasbayeh until reaching Rashaya and the entire border area are nearly uninhabited. We have towns and villages for hundreds of years. So we did not make a village. These villages have their own people, residents, and owners. It's not required from the state except to set a program to let these people to make them remain in their lands. It is not required that the state pay them allowances. Let it only offer them job opportunities so that they stay in their land. Why is it that the front towns are almost uninhabited? That's because there is not a responsible state. Few days ago, when talking about the resistance in Golan started – if you follow up with the news you would have noticed – the settlers in Golan started demanding the Israeli cabinet which started discussing rearming the settlers in Golan. As for our villages at the border, the arms which are owned by people are according to the Lebanese state and many political forces illegitimate and must be disarmed.

There are totally two different mentalities. So the problem here is not administrative. The problem is in the mind, essence, nature, and orientation. There is a strategic problem. There is a problem which is that the Lebanese state in its construction does not deal with Israel as an enemy. It does not deal with Israel as a threat. The last concern for many of the Lebanese officials since the establishment of this state until this very day is to think of means to confront the Israeli threat, and what would we do if we faced an aggression to defend Lebanon, the Lebanese people, and Lebanon's dignity. Here lies the problem. So it is an essential and not an administrative problem.

Well yes, some in Lebanon prepared to confront any Israeli threat in the future and any Israeli aggression in the future. This was made by a part of the Lebanese people – namely the resistance. I do not mean only the resistance of Hezbollah. You know that I always say that today's victory is the fruit of all efforts, sacrifices, fighters, parties, factions and everyone who exerted an effort in this path starting by the first establishment of the Lebanese resistance by His Eminence absented Imam Sayyed Mussa Sadr (May Allah safely restore him and his friends) until reaching everyone who offered any sacrifice in this path and for this sake.

After 30 years of amassed experiences, human and materialistic capabilities, Lebanon today possesses this power. This power – the resistance with all its factions - defeated Israel and brought it out of Beirut, Mount Liban, Sidon, Tyr, Nabatiyeh, Western Bekaa, Rashaya and later on from the border line. It also confronted Israel in July 2006, and since that war to our day it is continuing its mission and industrious efforts to get armed, prepared and trained. Yes this is what exists today. What do the Lebanese have now? This is what they have. When the Israelis look at Lebanon, they fear this. On the other hand, many in Lebanon search for means to get rid of what we have – this resistance. They are not able to disarm the resistance. Here I am telling you: You are not able to disarm the resistance because by these arms the resistance fought and defeated Israel. These arms are embraced by the people. You are not able to disarm the resistance. Let's confiscate these arms then – meaning that arms must be in such and such place or are used following orders from such and such a post and the like....

Brothers and sisters! All of these evoked suggestions – I do not want to carry an argument as I want to tackle the other topics – do not defend a homeland, or defend a country, or deter an enemy.

The current status quo may deter the enemy. However, at this stage, if we decided or agreed on putting the resistance, the arms of the resistance, and the fighters of the resistance under the order of the state, that would be the end of these arms, the resistance, this status quo, this deterrence power and this awe.

Why is it so? It's because now we have a state which can't guard a funeral for a martyr in Sidon. We

have a state which can't stop this bloody, painful, sorrowful struggle in Tripoli. We have a state that can't agree on a new election law. We have a state of sects and a state of regions.

Do you believe that a state as this can take a decision to confront the enemy or deter it or frighten it and make it observe its limits? This is not the case. Following July War we said: Build a strong, fair, able state and I would be the first along with my brethren to go back to our mosques, schools, and plantations. We will still be resistance men who would fight following the orders of the state.

However, what state must it be? It must be a strong, fair, able state.

Under all circumstances, I call on the officials in the Lebanese state – all officials in the Lebanese state – and on the people too to recognize the true grave danger. Let no one act as if there are no dangers and as if Israel is peaceful and calm.

No! Israel is getting ready and maneuvering. It is mobilized, and it is following all changes and developments in the entire region. We can't know the procedure which the enemy may take.

Brothers! The one who is honored today – Imam Ali Bin Abi Taleb – says: If you sleep, that does not mean you are overlooked. Sleep as much as you want; your enemy is vigilant, ready, waiting to seize the opportunity and take the initiative. What are you doing on your behalf?

Indeed in the Islamic resistance, we will carry on assuming our responsibilities. Let no one mistakenly believe that media campaigns, pressures, and doubts may make any difference. That would not change anything. As for putting us on the list of terrorist organizations, we have been put on the list of terrorist organizations for a long time. This is mere ink on paper which makes no difference.

For over thirty years, we have not been living in the field only; we are also living a psychological, media, and political war and under massive pressures. However this couldn't one day harm our will, determination, and resolution. Thus I tell our people who trust the resistance and bargain on the resistance that their resistance will remain by their side and defend them, and they will always raise their heads victoriously Inshallah.

In the framework of talking about a strong, able, responsible state, we say that the presence of a state under whatever circumstances – even if it is not strong and able – is better than having no state or vacuum or chaos. Any state is better than chaos, on rational, religious, and moral grounds. Today, this parliamentary event is due, and the Lebanese and all the parliamentary blocs failed to reach a new election law. The campaign lasted for a year against us. Today the campaign came to an end, and rightness came to be revealed. For a year, a campaign has been waged against Hezbollah particularly and against March 8 Bloc and against all our political alliance. However – praise be to Allah – we had the lion's share from this campaign: Hezbollah want to take the country to vacuum; Hezbollah does not want a parliament; Hezbollah does not want elections; Hezbollah does not want a government; Hezbollah is establishing for vacuum in the entire state because Hezbollah wants to take the country to another place. On Friday, it was verified that this was all groundless fabrication and lies. Why? That's because we were waiting for a new election law but could not reach it. There is the law of 1960 which is cursed by the Lebanese, rejected by the Lebanese, buried by the Lebanese, and then the Lebanese disinterred. There can't be anything worse than that. However, we took a decision to run the elections before March 14 to tell them that we refuse vacuum and the law of 1960.

Consequently, we are today before three options: either that people go to elections according to the law of 1960, or that we head towards extending the term of the current government – and we agree on

extension while discussing the period of extension or a miracle takes place or I don't know when and we agree on a new law. However, for sure we are against vacuum.

Now we come to the second note. We renew our call for sparing Lebanon any internal clash or conflict. We disagree over Syria. You fight in Syria; we fight in Syria; then let's fight there. Do you want me to be more frank? Keep Lebanon aside. Why should we fight in Lebanon? There are different viewpoints, different visions, and different evaluation of obligations. Well so far so good. However, let's spare Lebanon fighting, struggle and bloody confrontations. We are committed to this, and every day we assert this commitment in action and in practice. What took place in Sidon in the past couple of days is very bad; however, we kept aside as we do not want to make a problem. We care for Sidon, the people of Sidon, and the security of Sidon. What is taking place in Tripoli must be stopped by all means.

This is an unfruitful absurd bloody clash. Whoever wants to defend Syria, whoever wants to back the opposition let him go to Syria. Whoever wants to advocate the regime let him go and fight in Syria too. Keep Tripoli to its kind people whether in Bab Attabbaneh or Baal Mohsen or the other neighborhoods. This conflict makes the heart shed blood and the soul sad. Thus we here renew this call and tell our brethren and people in Tripoli that there is no hope in this fighting which will lead only to more pain, suffering and melancholies. I call on all of them to frankly and unanimously agree that the state and the state's security and military institutions – especially the Lebanese Army – are the only and the true guarantee to our civil peace. Thus we must resort to it to confront any internal problem or clash of this sort.

Now we move to the other topic. No doubt tackling this topic is very sensitive and very critical as it puts us before a totally new stage.

Brothers and sisters! What is taking place in Syria is very crucial and decisive for Lebanon, for our present and our future time. Today and as I have said at the beginning of my speech, let's not hide behind our finger and bury our heads in the soil. Let's not deal with what is taking place in Syria as if we live in Djibouti. No, we are here at the border with Syria. God willing we are strong enough to talk and strong enough to act. Thus, let's talk with the required frankness in this critical historic moment.

I will make a quick briefing. Since the beginning of the events in Syria, we had a clear political stance. We said that the popular calls for reforms are righteous. We said that this regime has important positive points especially concerning the resistance and opposition. It also has negative points and imperfections. Thus reforms are required, and the way for reforms is political dialogue. No one is to target his rifle or to open fire on anyone else. Neither the regime nor the opposition is supposed to do so. We know what Syria means to Lebanon, to the region, to the Arab-Israeli struggle, to the resistance movements, and to the Palestinian cause. Thus from the very first day and despite our humble capabilities as a party but investing our good and great relations on the regional level, I personally along with President Bashar Assad and other personalities and sides in the opposition sought to undertake political dialogue so as to reach a political settlement. Here I bear witness that President Assad agreed but the opposition refused. If anyone is asking about the issue from a legitimate and jurisprudential level, the Syrian leadership from the very beginning and all through the way used to agree to sit at the dialogue table to reach a political solution. It used to accept carrying essential reforms in the regime. However, the opposition used to refuse dialogue since the very beginning and still does so to our very day nurturing the hope that the regime will be brought down within few months. They depended on definite data and imagined that he who is backed by the US, France, Britain, Germany, Europe, Arab oil countries, Turkey...will gain victory for sure within few months or few weeks.

There was something wrong in their estimations. Anyway, events developed quickly within two years. It was clear that an axis was being formed from all of these countries which I have mentioned a while ago. This axis is led by the United States which is for sure the final decision maker. The English, the French, the Italian, the German, the Arab, the Turkish... all of them work for the American. We also know that this axis is implicitly supported by Israel because the US project in the region is Israeli cum laude. In fact, there is not anything else. There is not anything called the US project in the region other than the Israeli project. AL Qaeda and other Takfiri groups got enrolled in this axis. They were paid for that and they were offered facilities from all over the world. Let no one convince us that these tens of thousands of fighters from the various Takfiri and extremists groups – who refuse everything but themselves – came stealthily to Syria. They were given visas and offered facilities. The gate was opened before them to come to Syria. A media, political, diplomatic, economic, and financial war was launched on Syria. Tens of thousands of fighters from all over the world were funded, armed and then exported to Syria. Tens of thousands of fighters did not annoy so called Syria's friends in Amman a couple of days ago. However a small group from Hezbollah entered Syria; that was considered foreign intervention.

Well, we did not intervene all over the past period of time. We did not intervene until some months ago. To be honest with you, we remained working with the various sides to the effect that Syria would be demolished; it would fall; it would be lost; there is no way out other than through dialogue. We invested all our relations with Islamic forces, national forces, and nations. However, all of that was in vain. The other axis insists on carrying on in the battle to the end. They do not talk about dialogue. There is nothing other than toppling the regime by all means.

Well, I know that through these couple of years, there were reasonable suggestions and appropriate settlements. The Syrian leadership implicitly agreed on them, and they are still secretive so far. These suggestions and settlements were presented to regional states but were rejected because these states can't bear the remaining of this regime by any means. No matter if Syria would be destroyed. What is important is that this regime is brought down. In the past few months, we reached the following estimation: Many changes took place in Syria. Well after two years, what is the given? There is an opposition abroad. We are not accusing all. Some people do not have ties and are not affiliated. They are logical and have a viewpoint. They have rightful calls, and they are ready to carry dialogue. This is their natural right, and we respect this right. This is true for a part of the Syrian opposition.

There is another part. Well brothers! There is a part employed by the CIA, the Pentagon, and the so and so intelligence. Their decision is not in their hands. Well, this is the opposition abroad.

Do the land, the armed groups, the regions from which the state pulled out or from which the state was pulled out and came to be under the control of the armed groups listen to the opposition abroad? Now they want to carry discussions in Geneva. Do these armed groups listen to them? The west, the Arabs, intelligence agencies, media outlets, you and I know the following truth: The greatest power and the overwhelming current which dominates over the political forces controlling over the field is the Takfiri group. No one from them listen to the opposition abroad. Anyway, I previously mentioned that they were brought along to be fought with. Afterwards, they will pay the price for that. In whatever settlement that takes place in Syria, they will pay the price. Now the western states seem to be perplexed from this rapid change in the Syrian armed groups before their peoples and public opinion. Well, how are you arming people of this kind?

This characteristic started to dominate the Syrian opposition which is obtaining funds and arms from several Arab and regional states. These Arab countries want to get rid of the regime and of these groups as well. Thus they facilitated these groups' departure from the country; however, they are aware that

one day they will come back to the country. They have acquired fighting experiences and avaricious ways in slaughtering and killing and are ready for any kind of confrontation. We will talk about this later on.

Well, this is our estimation now. Brothers and sisters and all those who are listening to us in the Arab and Islamic world! The story is not anymore, a people revolting against a regime. It's not that of reforms anymore. The man is ready to make reforms. Let's head to dialogue then. But no, the story had become totally different.

Well, this exists now in Syria. Now I will say our vision clearly on which we build our acts and deeds. We consider that the takeover of these groups on Syria, or on a number of Syrian provinces especially these bordering Lebanon pose a great danger on Lebanon and the Lebanese and not only on Hezbollah or the Shiites in Lebanon. That poses danger on Lebanon, the Lebanese, the Lebanese state, the Lebanese resistance, and common existence. I have evidence on that. I am not unfairly accusing these groups. In case these groups took over the provinces bordering Lebanon, they will pose threat to the Lebanese whether Muslims or Christians. When I talk about Muslims, I mean Sunnites, Druze, Shiites, and Alawis. So I do not mean the Shiites only. I mean the Sunnites first. Do you want evidence? Take Iraq as evidence. Today those who are fighting in Syria are an extension to the so called Islamic Iraq State organization. Ask the Sunnites in Iraq about the Islamic Iraq Organization. How many Sunni scholars did they kill? How many leaders of Sunni Islamic parties which are not affiliated to it did they kill? How many mosques in Al Anbar, Falloujeh, Mousel, Ninewa and other cities did they bomb? So they did not bomb only mosques and Husseiniyas for Shiites and Christian churches. No! They also killed many sheikhs of clans. This organization brags that they have executed 4000 or 5000 suicide operation in Iraq. Most of these suicide operations targeted Iraqis from all sects, factions, religions, and races. I want to tell you even more. A couple of days ago or a week ago elections were taking place in Pakistan. Isn't that true? Do you know what the problem with the Takfiri mentality is? They label others unbelievers for the most trivial reason and not only for ideological or factional reasons. They label others unbelievers for political reasons also: whoever partakes in the parliamentary elections is an unbeliever. His blood is permissible. His money is permissible. His honor is permissible. This is the Takfiri mentality. They do not discriminate whether he who is partaking in elections is Sunni or Shiite or Christian. That makes no difference to them. They state this fatwa openly. They have always killed people at ballot boxes in Iraq- in all the Iraqi provinces. Well, how many people did they kill in Pakistan? Most of those who were killed in Pakistan and in the election campaigns and at the ballot boxes are Sunni Muslims and Sunni scholars. Scholars who wear Turbans were killed by Taliban in Pakistan because they label whoever partakes in the Parliamentary elections as unbelievers.

I do not claim. I have polls. I say that this Takfiri mentality killed in Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Somalia - in these four countries only – Sunnites much more than other Muslims, Christians, non-Muslims, and non-Christians. This is the mentality of Takfiri groups.

O Lebanese people! O peoples! I am a brother who is advising you. I am your young child. There is an experience before your eyes, why do you make yourselves blind not to see it. Tunisia is suffering from this epidemic; Libya is suffering from this epidemic; all the states which made this epidemic and exported it are suffering from it. We are promised that Lebanon would be afflicted by this epidemic.

This is the danger. This mentality does not accept dialogue. They have nothing called trimming edges. They have nothing called priorities. They have nothing called common points. They have nothing other than labeling others unbelievers for the most trivial reasons. You are an unbeliever! It's not only so! Your blood, money, and honor are permissible. What future for Syria do you foresee under the mentality of

such groups? What future for Lebanon, for Palestine, for the peoples of the region do you foresee? Can you tell me? Let's be logical. Put the factional and the sectarian issue aside. This is a grave danger.

So we are not approaching the issue from a Shiite or Sunni perspective as some try to accuse us. We are rather approaching the issue from a perspective from which we see Muslims and Christians alike threatened by this current, mentality, and Takfiri project that is creeping to the region. Here I am telling you. This project is funded and backed by America because this is what remained for it to destroy the region and thus to take over it again before the awakening of the peoples, the up-rising of the peoples, and the wills of the peoples.

I do not want to frighten anyone. This is the truth. Thus you saw that from the very beginning people from the Syrian opposition used to say that the regime would be brought down in two months or three. The regime would be toppled and we will come to you in Lebanon. They said so. This exists in newspapers and in media outlets. By that time, we haven't had issued a political stance yet. They were offering credit cards to the Americans and the Israelis: we are ready to avenge from the resistance which had made victory in 2000 and which foiled the Neo-Middle East Project in 2006. We are ready. We want you to support us.

From the very beginning, they kidnapped the Lebanese visitors in Aazaz. Then the aggression against the Lebanese in Reef Al Qusair was launched to displace them. This has come in the framework of this mentality, comprehension, and vision. This is first. I have three points to highlight. First we have this development which is called the dominance and control of the Takfiri group which – in case it over dominated – would render the future of Syria, Lebanon, and the region very tough and dark.

Second, Syria is not anymore the battlefield for a popular revolution against a political regime. It is rather a square for imposing political projects led by America, the west and their representatives in the region. Well, we all know that the US project in the region is an absolutely Israeli project.

Third, I frankly say that Syria is the backbone of the resistance, and the support of the resistance. The resistance cannot sit with hands crossed while its backbone is held vulnerable and its support is being broken or else we will be stupid. Stupid is he who stands motionless while watching death, the siege and conspiracy crawling towards him. He would be stupid then. However, the responsible, rational man acts with absolute responsibility.

Brothers and sisters! Should Syria fall in the hand of the Americans, the Israelis, the Takfiri groups and America's representatives in the region which call themselves regional states, the resistance will be besieged and Israel would reenter Lebanon, impose its conditions on Lebanon, and renew its greed and projects in it. Lebanon then will enter the Israeli era again. If Syria falls, so will Palestine, the resistance in Palestine, the West Bank, Gaza, and Holy Al Qods. If Syria falls in the hands of America, Israel, and the Takfiri groups, the peoples of our region and the countries in our region will head towards a dark and tough era. This is our estimation.

There are two parties in the struggle. The first struggle is the US-western-Arab-regional axis along with the Takfiri groups in the battlefield. These are those who stab chests, behead, disentomb, and destroy the past which is 1400 years old. In the past, the followers of the various religions had often lived peacefully, and mosques, churches, and shrines remained intact under governments which were mainly Sunni. However, these today are destroying the past, the present, and the future. They refuse any political solution and insist on fighting.

On the other hand, there is a state or a regime which has a clear stance from the Palestinian cause, the

resistance movements, and the Zionist project and is at the same time announcing its permanent readiness for dialogue and for political solution and reforms. Whoever wants to be here or there is free to do so.

As for Hezbollah, it can't be in a front which Israel, the US, and those who stab chests, behead others, and disentomb graves.

You may be wherever you want. As for Hezbollah, it can't be in a front which wants to destroy all achievements, waste all sacrifices, and drag us again as slaves to America and Israel pursuant to ever renewing Neo Middle East projects which we have toppled their previous version with the blood of thousands of martyrs.

Hezbollah can't be in the other side, in the other front, and in the other position. You may be wherever you want to be. Whoever wants to remain neutral is free to do so. Whoever believes that he can't change the equation is free to believe so. Since 1982, there have been many who believe they can't change the equation at a time the Lebanese resistance changed not only the local equation but also the regional equation.

From this stance, we today consider ourselves defending Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria.

It goes without saying that this stance would make us subject to great media and political campaigns. Even when we were silent and when we did not intervene, they sought - through their media pumping and media and psychological hegemony all through these two years in which man did not dare to say one word of righteousness - to make us followers of this project. They wanted us to parrot what others say and move as the wind moves us. Today we are aware that we will be subject to a massive campaign which has started a long time ago pursuant to what took place in the past few days. I would like to tell you that media campaigns did not ever calm down and will never calm down whether we intervened in Syria or not. There is an old decision which is funded with hundreds of millions of dollars and is aimed at spreading untrue articles, books, lies, slogans, fabrications, and news.

As for categorizing us on terrorist lists, this is not new. On the contrary, there are people in Lebanon and in other countries who wish that the head of a regional state mention their names. They wish to be mentioned by a known personality in the Arab world. Pursuant to this norm, we are mentioned by the head of the greatest power in the world. When he visited Israel, he remained reiterating the word Hezbollah from the first day to the last day of his visit. Well we are happy and not sad because Europe sees that we are able to change games. This is a great thing of which we are proud.

As for the terrorist list which you possess, it is of no effect.

Accusing us on sectarian basis is to no avail, and our history bears witness of that whether in Lebanon, Palestine, Bosnia and Herzegovina and everywhere else. Brothers! We went to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The best young men among us went there. We had camps. Perhaps this is the first time we talk about this issue with this degree of clarity. We fought there and martyrs fell. Whom were we defending? We were defending Sunni Muslims in Bosnia. There are no Shiites in Bosnia. All what we have borne so far as far as the Palestinian issue is concerned comes pursuant to our ideology. We bore that and are still bearing much harm. We can't be accused of sectarianism. Our stance in Iraq was clear. Our stance from all events is clear. Attempts to harm our will, morals, determination, and families of martyrs are a failure.

I would like to tell you something because in the past two days things which are groundless were

written. Go and interview the families of martyrs and hear what these kind honorable people say. They have grasped the truth before anyone else. All what I will say now have not been said by anyone before in the media or even in internal sessions.

Are we able to hold internal session for all people? Well we can hold sessions for our brethren; but we can't hold sessions for their fathers, mothers, wives, and daughters. They are saying what we are saying now. That means that we are a year and a half retarded from these noble people.

To every house our brethren went, they did not hear from the families of martyrs except great words which we have heard a part of only in our previous confrontations. Unfortunately, today a media outlet still insists that a father of two martyrs in Bekaa had a heart attack and thus died. He is still alive in fact, and he had sent me a message with the brethren who visited him saying that he is ready to be a part of this battle along with the rest of his children and all his money. These are the families of our martyrs.

Well they talk also about our young men. Here I am telling you that our young men do not go to fight by force. We do not force anyone. We never forced anyone all through our 30-year-history. Never a brethren went to the front unwillingly. They rather go willfully and consciously.

In fact today, we are committed to rationing due to the great enthusiasm our fighters and masses are showing. Many are not allowed to go because we are supposed to be present according to a limited and fully considered numbers. Otherwise, these dispirited liars would have seen a different scene as we are not only ready to declare jihad; in fact with a couple of words you would find tens of thousands of mujahedeen heading to these fronts.

We have taken procedures since a long time. If a family has a lone son, we do not give him permission to go to the front except pursuant to his parents' consent. Until this very day, the parents of lone sons send me a signed letters, and the sons tell us our parents gave us permission. Still the brethren say: no perhaps you imitated the signatures. Then the father and the mother would come and demand that their lone son be sent to the front. I took a procedure and told the brethren that even if the parents consented, don't send a lone son to the front.

Well I have letters from fathers and mothers who insist on us to allow their lone sons to go to the fronts.

You do not understand this resistance, the masses of this resistance, the environment of this resistance, and the culture of this resistance. You haven't understood it for thirty years by now, and you will never understand it. That's because you always understand in a wrong way. You make wrong consideration and thus you reach wrong conclusions. Wrong preludes lead to wrong conclusions.

Brothers and sisters! We are thus before an absolutely new era which have started now. It has started in a clear way in the past few weeks to be more precise. This new stage is called fortifying the resistance and protecting its backbone and fortifying Lebanon and protecting its backbone, and this is the responsibility of all of us.

I am not demanding from anyone to share us in assuming this responsibility. We do not want to depend on anyone. We are the people of this battle as we were the people of all the previous battles. We are its men; we are the makers of its victories Inshallah. We as well as you – our honorable generous people, people of endless bounty and generosity, people of patience and tolerance, and people of sacrifices and consolation – will carry on this path. We will shoulder this responsibility. We will tolerate all sacrifices and the repercussions of this stance and this responsibility.

At the end of the ceremony of the Resistance and Liberation Day, I tell you what I told you on the first days of July War 2006: O honorable people! O fighters! O heroes! As I used to promise you of victory always, I promise you victory again.

Hundred returns. Peace be upon you and Allah's mercy and blessings.