
FRIENDS OF ISRAEL INITIATIVE

Hezbollah: Profile of a Terrorist Organization

Jacques Neriah
Shimon Shapira

Paper No. 10
October 24, 2012

Hezbollah: Profile of a Terrorist Organization

1. Hezbollah (“Party of Allah”): An Iranian Creation

Immediately following the establishment of the Islamic Republic in 1979, Iran made a strategic decision to export the Islamic Revolution to the Arab and Islamic world. For this purpose, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini appointed Ayatollah Ali Montazeri to create the “second revolution.” In Iran a special apparatus was formed, staffed by Montazeri’s men, that was tasked with setting up and supporting Islamic movements throughout the Arab and Islamic world that were prepared to adopt Iran’s model of Islamic rule.¹

Lebanon was the first target selected, given its unsettled political condition and its large Shiite population that had maintained links with Iran for many years. During the 1970s, Lebanon had become the crucible for the senior Iranian revolutionary leadership, who took refuge there and underwent military training. Khomeini’s tape-recorded messages were also produced in Lebanon and then disseminated throughout Iran to spread the imam’s doctrine.

Iran’s drive to take over Amal, the dominant Shiite movement in Lebanon before 1982, was unsuccessful. Amal refused to accept the principle of Vali-e Faqih, a fundamental tenet of the Islamic Republic that mandated religious and political fealty to the Iranian leader. Amal refused because it viewed itself first and foremost as a Lebanese movement loyal to the Lebanese state.

Hence, Tehran decided to establish a new Shiite movement that would constitute an alternative to Amal and would faithfully represent Iranian aspirations in Lebanon. The task of setting up the new movement was entrusted to the Iranian ambassador in Damascus, Ali Akbar Mohtashemi, before the First Lebanon War in summer 1982. Mohtashemi formed the Lebanon Council, which included representatives of pro-Iranian Shiite movements. He headed that body until the consolidation of all the Lebanese Shiite movements that opposed and/or had split off from Amal, and then founded Hezbollah.

Exploiting the governmental vacuum that followed the 1982 war, Iran sent to Lebanon a task force of some 1,500 Revolutionary Guard instructors and fighters headed by Ahmad Mutavassilian, commander of the 47th Brigade (Rassoul Allah). Mutavassilian was among the four Iranian Diplomats kidnapped and killed by the Lebanese Forces in 1982. He was not the Iranian military attaché as claimed by Tehran but, rather, the first commander of the Revolutionary Guard in Lebanon. The Revolutionary Guard's task was to train and advise those who were the first to join Hezbollah and assist in forming the new movement's institutions, whose nucleus had been established in Baalbek. Hezbollah's second leader, Abbas Moussawi, took part in the first course the Revolutionary Guard offered in Lebanon.

There is no doubt that the First Lebanon War, as well as the entry of the multinational force of American, British, French, and Italian military contingents, served as an opportune target for Hezbollah and accelerated its military empowerment. Furthermore, the prolonged Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon (1982-2000) greased the wheels of Hezbollah's Islamic revolution and led to its military, political, and social buildup. The Lebanese state failed to impose its governmental authority on the Shiites in southern Lebanon, the Bekaa Valley, and southern Beirut. The monopoly on the use of force, a major constituent of state sovereignty, was expropriated by Hezbollah from the Lebanese government.

Hezbollah is headquartered in Lebanon and operates in its sovereign territory. Yet, despite frequent claims to the contrary in the West, Hezbollah is not a national Lebanese movement,² although it is represented in the Lebanese parliament by virtue of a special dispensation granted by Iranian leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei in 1992. Illustrative of this state of affairs is the fact that during the first days of Hezbollah, the fallen fighters' coffins were wrapped with the Iranian flag, which was replaced at a later stage by Hezbollah's flag. At no moment was the Lebanese flag considered in this context. Nasrallah himself acts as Khamenei's personal emissary in Lebanon. He and his men are not loyal to Lebanon's president or government but to the Iranian leader, who is the Marja-e Taqlid (source of emulation), the Vali-e Faqih who has the ultimate say within the organization.

This loyalty is not purely religious, and it is totally different from the authority exercised by the Pope in the Vatican. This involves political subordination in every shape and form. Indeed, in March 2007, Nasrallah's deputy, Sheikh Naim Qassem, admitted that Hezbollah requires permission from Iran's supreme leadership for its operations.

For this reason, one should view Hezbollah's military force – which extends far beyond the military force of any other political movement in the world, as well as beyond the force of many sovereign states – as the long arm of Iran.³

Hezbollah originally disavowed Lebanon's sectarian political system and sought to replace it with an Islamic state modeled on Iran's theocracy. However, after internal debate, Hezbollah stood candidates for the Lebanese parliamentary election in 1992, the first post-civil war election. It has maintained a solid parliamentary presence since then, averaging around ten seats in the 128-seat parliament. Following the establishment of a national-unity government in May 2008, Hezbollah and its allies were granted one-third of the government's seats, allowing them to wield veto power over its policy. In the June 2009 elections, Hezbollah's Loyalty to the Resistance parliamentary bloc won fourteen seats – twelve for Hezbollah members and two for Sunni allies in the Islamic Action Front.⁴

In early 2011, Hezbollah's political influence increased significantly thanks to the collapse of the unity government of Prime Minister Saad Hariri. The collapse was triggered by cabinet tensions between the government and the Hezbollah-led opposition over an upcoming UN report that threatened to indict Hezbollah for a pivotal role in the 2005 assassination of former prime minister Rafiq Hariri, Saad Hariri's father. Hezbollah threw its full weight behind Najib Mikati as a rival candidate for Prime Minister and worked with Maronite leaders, especially with Michel Aoun in order to swing the vote in his favor, ensuring Hariri's defeat. In the new government of Prime Minister Mikati, Hezbollah and its allies have eighteen seats in the thirty-member cabinet.

On 30 June 2011, the UN Special Tribunal for Lebanon – set up to investigate Rafiq Hariri's assassination – submitted to Lebanese authorities an indictment and arrest warrants for four Hezbollah militants: Mustafa Badereddine (brother-in-law of Hezbollah's deceased military leader Imad Mughniyeh), Sami Issa, Selim Ayyash, and Assad Sabra. In response, Nasrallah announced that Hezbollah would not recognize Interpol's nor the UN Special Tribunal's authority over its operatives and would block any attempts to arrest them on Lebanese territory.

2. Hezbollah: The Political Structure

The highest authority of this intricate structure since 1992 is Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, the secretary-general of Hezbollah and main architect of its policy. Nasrallah directs all aspects of the organization's agenda – military, political, and social. As such he is responsible for its terrorist activities. These are consistent with its vision and strategy, which in turn derive from the founder and first leader of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Khomeini, and also are subordinate to Hezbollah's patrons and sponsors in Tehran and Damascus. Nasrallah is seconded in his task by a seven-seat Shura Council (Shurat Karar), Hezbollah's top decision-making body. Along with Nasrallah, the current Shura Council, as elected in November 2009, includes:

- Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah – secretary-general
- Sheikh Naim Qassem – deputy secretary-general
- Sayyed Hashem Safi al-Din – head of the Shura Council Executive (Shura Tanfiziyyah)
- Sheikh Mohammed Yazbek – head of the Judiciary Council
- Sayyed Ibrahim Amin al-Sayyed – head of the Political Council
- MP Haj Mohammed Raad – head of the Loyalty to the Resistance Bloc (the Hezbollah faction in the Lebanese parliament)
- Hussein Khalil – political assistant to the secretary-general
- The name of the person who replaced Mughniyeh, who headed the Jihad Council – the supreme military body – and represented it in the Hezbollah leadership, was not publicized for security reasons. However, according to reliable sources, Mustafa Badereddine, Mughniyeh's brother-in-law and nicknamed Hajj Zu al-Fikar, has been named to replace him.⁵

3. The Military Apparatus and the Terrorist Network

Despite a tendency – mainly in Europe, motivated by political interests – to differentiate between the organization's military and political wings, the leadership itself has stressed time and again that Hezbollah is a package entity and the distinction between the wings is inexistant. It was put plainly by Muhammad Fannish, member of Hezbollah's Political Bureau: "I can say that no differentiation is to be made between the military wing and the political wing of Hezbollah."

Some analysts have also tried to identify moderate trends in Hezbollah by drawing a false distinction between these two wings. The British government did so as well in early 2009. However, Nasrallah's deputy, Naim Qassem, told the *Los Angeles Times* that Hezbollah's leadership controls both its social-welfare and jihadi activities: "The same leadership that directs the parliamentary and government work also leads jihad actions."⁶ As late as October 2012, Qassem was quoted as saying: "We do not have a military wing and a political wing. We do not have the 'Party of God' and the 'Party of Resistance.' These [differences], which some are trying to market, do not exist and are rejected."⁷

In fact, Hezbollah was created first and foremost as a military tool. It could thereby protect its own political existence in a hostile milieu and also help expand Iran's Islamic Revolution. Since its creation, Hezbollah has been busy building up its forces for a confrontation in the Lebanese arena but also, and mainly, to confront Israel. Hezbollah's success in accelerating Israel's decision to withdraw from the so-called security zone in southern Lebanon in 2000 and afterward in the military showdown of 2006, as well as its successes in harassing Israel with guerrilla warfare, have given Hezbollah's leaders a sense that they could in certain circumstances inflict heavy losses on Israel and still survive attacks by its army.

Here it is worth stressing that Hezbollah has taken measures to prepare for any potential new confrontation with Israel. Reportedly Hezbollah, supervised by Iranian experts, has finished building a new array of tunnels in the area south of the Litani River, based on lessons learned in the Second Lebanon War. The tunnels are equipped with advanced, independent communication networks of fixed fiber optics and include lighting, ventilation, water, kitchens, and bathrooms to enable fighters to spend long periods underground. Similar tunnels were also reported in Wadi al-Shara in the Hermel area, very close to the Syrian border. These tunnels are of strategic importance because of what is hidden in them, almost certainly various types of missiles.

Lessons of the 2006 war are still being learned and exercises are being conducted in preparation for a possible confrontation with Israel. Hezbollah has been practicing defensive deployments together with an offensive deployment that simulated the conquest of parts of the Upper Galilee, which has recently become one of Hezbollah's highest priorities. Pertinent information indicates that in the event of another war with Israel, Hezbollah will launch ground assaults into northern Israel, using commando

troops to raid military, industrial, transport, communication, and civilian targets. It also was reported that Hezbollah had begun preparing residents of southern Lebanon for the possibility of war, including the clearing-out of shelters in the villages of Maroun al-Ras and Aita al-Shaab, and the town of Bint Jbeil.

The operational plan to conquer the Galilee was first aired in Nasrallah's announcement on 16 February 2011, as part of events marking the third anniversary of Mughniyeh's assassination. Nasrallah told his fighters to be prepared for the fact that, should Israel launch a war against Hezbollah, they would be conquering the Galilee. Since that announcement, Hezbollah forces have been training and preparing to carry out Nasrallah's order.

The operational plan Hezbollah has formulated in tandem with senior Iranian strategic experts is based on using a force of five thousand fighters who have recently trained in Iran, particularly in the context of this plan. Another report said that Hezbollah forces had completed intensive training in Iran and had been deployed in southern Lebanon and the Bekaa Valley. It was further reported that in the area of Maydon in the western Bekaa Valley, Hezbollah engineering units had finished excavation work and the improvement of positions, while engineering units of the Iranian army had mined areas in the eastern Bekaa Valley that were seen as possible landing sites for Israeli special forces tasked with attacking Hezbollah's missile and artillery deployment.

4. Iran and Syria as Hezbollah's Suppliers and Instructors

Hezbollah receives military training, weapons, and financial support from Iran, and political and military support from Syria. Following Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000, its military strength grew significantly. Since the Second Lebanon War, Hezbollah has been in a rearmament process with most of the equipment coming from Iran (and some from Syria). Hezbollah now has sixty thousand short-, medium-, and long-range missiles; it has also acquired antitank missiles, anti-aircraft cannons and missiles of various ranges (SA-7, SA-8, and SA-14 shoulder-launched missiles), arms and equipment for small-scale maritime warfare, motorized gliders, and sophisticated communication and intelligence equipment.

The Qods Force (Jerusalem Force) of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard is also deployed in Lebanon and assists Hezbollah. The Qods Force provides military guidance and support for terrorist attacks against Israel, especially those carried out by Hezbollah and Palestinian secular as well as Islamic terrorist organizations. Iran's military support to Hezbollah includes training and instruction on various military and operational topics; in all, a far-reaching military assistance down to the tactical level. No other terrorist organization is known to enjoy such a massive, well-coordinated, and ongoing supply of such high-quality arms. This means Iranians are instrumental in planning Hezbollah's operational-terrorist activities and capable of triggering regional deterioration whenever they see fit.

Iran also gives Hezbollah financial assistance estimated by Israeli intelligence sources at \$700 million yearly. (In addition, Hezbollah tries to generate its own financial resources through fundraising in Western countries and in West Africa, where a sizable Lebanese Shiite Diaspora is sympathetic to Hezbollah's goals, and through criminal activities, mostly counterfeiting and drug smuggling from South America via West Africa to Europe and elsewhere.)

Syria, for its part, has been a strategic supporter of Hezbollah since its founding. Syria prevented Hezbollah's dismantlement in the wake of the 1989 Tai'if Agreement, which, among other things, put an end to the rule of militias in Lebanon and enabled Hezbollah's expansion to its present dimensions. Damascus regards Hezbollah as a strategic partner and hence is a major source of military support along with Iran. Syria also facilitates the arms flow through its aerial gates from Iran to Hezbollah in Lebanon, where the weapons are stockpiled in underground warehouses.

5. Hezbollah's Terrorist Network

Since its very first days in 1982, Hezbollah, along with its activity in Lebanon, has pursued a global terrorist strategy. It has set up operational apparatuses throughout the world and carried out terrorist attacks against Israeli and U.S. targets. While active in a variety of arenas, Hezbollah has focused on South America, Southeast Asia, Jordan, the Persian Gulf, and the European continent.

The group is known by several names and front organizations including the Revolutionary Justice Organization, the Organization of the Oppressed, and

Islamic Jihad. Hezbollah also assumed most of the apparatus and remaining personnel from the 1980s umbrella coalition of groups known as Islamic Jihad.

Hezbollah's main areas of operation⁸ are in the Shiite-dominated districts of the Bekaa Valley, the southern suburbs of Beirut, and southern Lebanon. It has offices and training facilities in Iran and Sudan. Hezbollah also has a unit designed for operations in the Palestinian territories. The detention of a Hezbollah militant in Egypt's northern Sinai in April 2009 led to Nasrallah publicly admitting that Hezbollah-organized networks were operating in the area, attempting to smuggle weapons across the border to Hamas in the Gaza Strip.

Hezbollah also has training facilities on the Isla de Margarita off the northern coast of Venezuela, and is believed by the authorities to maintain a presence in the Tri-Border Area (TBA) around the towns of Ciudad del Este in Paraguay, Foz de Iguazu in Brazil, and Puerto Iguazu in Argentina, although the organization's strength in this area was believed to have temporarily declined in the 1990s. Argentinean intelligence indicates that the perpetrators of the 1992 attack on the Israeli embassy and the 1994 attack on the Jewish Cultural Center, both in Buenos Aires, were harbored among the large Lebanese community in this region.

Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs further claimed in July 2009 that Hezbollah had an active cell in Colombia's La Guajira Department, near the border with Venezuela. Israeli officials alleged that the cell had infiltrated mosques in the area and was engaged in fundraising. These claims were seemingly supported by evidence presented to the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence in July 2011, which focused on the extent of Hezbollah's alleged presence and activity in Latin America. According to statements made to the subcommittee, Hezbollah's presence in the region was growing and it had been building relationships with local political leaders and governments over the preceding two decades, with the administration of Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez (reelected in October 2012 for a fourth presidential mandate) allegedly being the main target of Hezbollah's efforts at creating a favorable environment for its activities. Although Hezbollah was deemed the most prominent of the several Islamist militant movements active in Latin America, its activities were reportedly primarily focused on fundraising and forming long-term commercial links rather than establishing a military presence.

Hezbollah was also assessed to maintain a network of approximately eighty operatives in twelve countries across the region, with growing engagement in Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina, and Mexico. Witness statements at the hearing also suggested that the Isla de Margarita was eclipsing the TBA “as the principal [Hezbollah] safe haven and the center of operations in the Americas.” Hezbollah was further alleged to have developed cells embedded in fifteen major Latin American conurbations to raise funds for the movement among the local Muslim populations.

Hezbollah has also operated in West Africa since the early 1980s. As in Latin America, most of Hezbollah’s infrastructure is based on local Lebanese Shiite communities. Hezbollah has institutionalized a framework for “donations” from Lebanese businessmen in the African diaspora. Lebanese-owned businesses across West Africa were approached by Hezbollah for a “contribution” on a yearly or semiannual basis, with the amount to be contributed a defined fraction of the firm’s revenue. Those contributions were collected, generally in cash, by Hezbollah envoys who in turn transferred the funds to the Middle East by courier. Some contributions are genuine voluntary donations meant for Hezbollah-run political and social service organizations, but many are little more than “organized extortions.”⁹

West Africa with its influential and lively Lebanese diaspora is a favorite region for Hezbollah to recruit new members, launder money, operate front companies, and be deeply involved in the illegal diamond trade. In the diamond trade, Hezbollah operates in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Congo. According to U.S. intelligence officials, Hezbollah “maintains several front companies in sub-Saharan Africa” that are assumed to include import-export companies. The same sources say that many Hezbollah activists in South America’s TBA relocated to Africa because of the investigations of Hezbollah stemming from the 1992 and 1994 Buenos Aires bombings.

In May 2009, the U.S. Department of the Treasury designated Kassim Tajideen and Abd al-Menhem Qubaysi, “two Africa-based supporters of the Hezbollah terrorist organization, under E.O. 13224, by freezing any assets the designees have under U.S. jurisdiction and prohibiting U.S. persons from engaging in any transactions with them.” Kassim Tajideen, who operates a network of businesses in Lebanon and Africa, has contributed tens of millions of dollars to Hezbollah and has sent funds to it through his brother, a Hezbollah commander in Lebanon. Tajideen and his brothers run cover companies for Hezbollah in Africa.

Most impressive is Hezbollah's penetration of Nigeria. The "Nigerian Hezbollah," actually called the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN), is the main gateway to the country. The IMN is most identified with its leader, Sheikh Ibrahim Zakzaky, who began his political career as a Sunni fundamentalist student leader. He converted to Shiism in the mid-1980s, and his movement has grown rapidly since he was embraced by Iran. Zakzaky's opportunistic association with Tehran was rewarded with substantial funds and training, both religious and military. His movement operates in Nigeria's northern Muslim states of Kano, Kaduna, and Zaria. A report of the Nigerian Security Organization noted that the training Zakzaky received in Iran included "planning and executing student unrest" with a view to overthrowing the Nigerian government.

In February-March 2012, Sheikh Zakzaky made a six-week trip to the Iranian religious city of Qom where he met Sheikh Jaafar al-Hadi and Ayatollah Haeri Shirazi, who in a shocking appearance on Iran's state television asserted that instead of arresting and suppressing the opposition protesters after the 2009 elections, it would be better to kill them. As he put it: "The more of them are killed, the more beneficial. If the armed forces kill some of them, it is to our benefit." He insisted that killing the opposition protesters "is sanctioned by obedience to Allah and the prophet and is handed down to the Supreme Leader."

Iranian and Hezbollah activity in Africa, as in Latin America, goes beyond legitimate political, economic, social, and cultural domains to terrorism and subversion, threatening not only outside actors and interests but the very stability of the host countries. The diplomatic and political crisis resulting from Iran's involvement in the clandestine and illegal shipment of weapons (July 2011) to three West African states, Nigeria, Senegal, and Gambia, is a clear example of this potential threat and should be taken into account by other African states where Iran is active.¹⁰

Hezbollah has traditionally been reluctant to associate itself with other terrorist organizations, being mistrustful of outsiders and believing most Palestinian groups to be riddled with informants. Nevertheless, in 2002, there were reports that Hezbollah was coordinating with militant Palestinian groups in their confrontation with Israel. The groups were said to include Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – General Command (PFLP-GC). Israeli officials have repeatedly accused Hezbollah of supporting militant groups in the Palestinian territories. In particular, Hezbollah has been accused of supplying

Hezbollah: Profile of a Terrorist Organization

weapons and training to autonomous factions of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, such as the Imad Mughniyeh Group. During the height of the Second Intifada, which began in late 2000, Israel repeatedly accused Hezbollah of recruiting Palestinian suicide-bombing cells in the West Bank. These cells were mainly aligned with the fragmented Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades and had accepted Hezbollah financing in return for perpetrating attacks on Israel. In this respect, Hezbollah had established direct influence over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.¹¹

Following the terrorist attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001, there were allegations from U.S. and Israeli sources that Hezbollah was allied to Al-Qaeda – allegations that Hezbollah has strongly denied. The 9/11 Commission Report stated that “Al-Qaeda members received advice and training from Hezbollah” in the past, although it went on to say that there is “no evidence that Iran or Hezbollah was aware of the planning for what later became the 9/11 attack.”

The U.S. government has accused Hezbollah of providing weapons and training to Shiite Muslim insurgents in Iraq, in particular Kataib Hezbollah (KH). U.S. officials have also alleged that Hezbollah has links with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) in Colombia and that Hezbollah has provided weapons to FARC in return for narcotics. In June 2012, the United States formally asked Iraq to extradite a suspected Hezbollah operative accused of orchestrating a 2007 kidnapping that resulted in the killing of five U.S. military personnel. Ali Mussa Daqduq was captured in 2007 and was accused of being a surrogate for Iran’s Qods Force operatives. According to the U.S. sources, Daqduq joined the Lebanese Hezbollah in 1983. The Lebanese-born Daqduq was sent to Baghdad by Mughniyeh to set up Hezbollah cells there in conjunction with Iranian intelligence. In August 2012, the Iraqi government refused to comply with the U.S. extradition request.¹²

6. Hezbollah’s Terrorist Modus Operandi

During the 1980s, Hezbollah was behind a series of terrorist attacks against Western targets, following a policy dictated by Iran. In the 1990s, after a shift in Iranian policy, Hezbollah lowered its anti-Western profile and focused on terrorist activity against Israeli and Jewish targets. In February 1992, Nasrallah succeeded Moussawi, who had been killed by Israel, as Hezbollah secretary-general. In parallel, Mughniyeh was chosen to head

Hezbollah's military wing and its terrorist apparatus – the Islamic Jihad. The latter was behind Hezbollah's terrorist activity in the 1980s and early 1990s. It included a few operatives whose work was totally clandestine. Mughniyeh reported directly to Nasrallah; on the ground, all his actions were coordinated by Iranian intelligence with a direct connection to the Iranian political leadership.

In the course of the 1990s, the Islamic Jihad was replaced by the ESO (External Security Organization), with Mughniyeh still at its head. After his death he was replaced by Talal Hammiyeh, a former colleague of Mughniyeh from the days of the Islamic Jihad. Hamiyyeh took part in many terrorist attacks against U.S., Western, and Israeli targets. One example was the hijacking of the TWA plane to Beirut in June 1985.

Mughniyeh was the mastermind behind Hezbollah's suicide-attacks tactic. He himself recruited the first suicide bomber, the seventeen-year-old Ahmad Qasir, who blew himself up in the first suicide attack against the Israeli army headquarters in Tyre on 11 November 1982. Qasir was recognized as a martyr and the Iranian Postal Authority published a special stamp edition in his honor. Since this first instance, suicide attacks became the preferred Iranian and Hezbollah tactic against Israeli, U.S., and Western targets.

It should be noted that Hezbollah's global terrorist infrastructure depends on Iranian official institutions worldwide: embassies, consulates, military and economic attachés, as well as semiofficial facilities such as mosques, cultural centers, financial and trade companies, without omitting Iranian banks such as Saderat and Melli and the national carrier, Iranair. All those institutions participate actively in providing Hezbollah the logistical support needed to perpetrate terrorist attacks and act as facilitators for the operatives before and after attacks. The Iranian Ministry of Intelligence, as well as Qods Force commanders responsible for the Lebanese arena, play a very crucial role in the preparation and execution of all Hezbollah terrorist attacks.

7. Europe as an Operational Platform for Hezbollah's Attacks against Israel

Hezbollah terrorist activity in Europe has never stopped. Over the past two years alone (2010-2012), according to Israeli Mossad director Tamir Pardo and Israel Security Agency (Shin Bet) director Yoram Cohen, Iran and

Hezbollah have tried to carry out terrorist attacks in over twenty countries around the world.¹³ Furthermore, Daniel Benjamin, the U.S. State Department's counterterrorism coordinator, declared in August 2012: "Our assessment is that Hezbollah and Iran will both continue to maintain a heightened level of terrorist activity and operations in the near future." He added:

We are increasingly concerned about Hezbollah's activities on a number of fronts, including its stepped up terrorist campaign around the world.... And we assess that Hezbollah could attack in Europe or elsewhere at any time with little or no warning.... Hezbollah maintains a presence in Europe and its recent activities demonstrate that it is not constrained by concerns about collateral damage or political fallout that could result from conducting operations there.... Hezbollah believes there have been sustained Israeli and western campaigns against the group and its primary backers Iran and Syria over the past several years and this perception is unlikely to change.... Both remain determined to exact revenge against Israel and to respond forcefully to the Western-led pressure against Iran and Syria.

Benjamin concluded: "This suggests more acts of terrorism by both Hezbollah and Iran are likely and they will continue to pose a serious threat for the foreseeable future."¹⁴

The first indication that Hezbollah was using Europe¹⁵ as a staging ground for terrorist attacks came in April 1996 when Hussein Mikdad, a Lebanese Hezbollah operative, flew from Zurich, Switzerland, to Israel using a stolen UK passport. He was reportedly constructing an explosive device in a Jerusalem hotel room when it exploded and severely injured him, causing the loss of both legs and one arm.

Another example was a young German from Braunschweig named Stephan Josef Smyrek who converted to Islam in 1993. Smyrek found two Hezbollah operatives who recruited him and helped him connect with Hezbollah in Lebanon in 1996. In August 1997, he traveled to Lebanon for training in the use of explosives, light arms, and other weapons. On 28 November that year, he was arrested at Israel's Ben-Gurion Airport, reportedly planning a suicide bombing. Smyrek was convicted of being a member of Hezbollah and of aiding it by collecting information.

In October 2000, Fawzi Ayoub, a senior Hezbollah operative with Canadian citizenship who had a long record of involvement in terrorism activities,

traveled from Lebanon to Europe. Using a forged U.S. passport under the name Frank Mariano Boschi, he went from Greece to Israel by ship. Sent by Hezbollah to perpetrate a bombing in Israel, he was arrested while seeking to find bomb components in June 2002. Ayoub was released in a prisoner exchange in 2004. In 2009, he was indicted in the United States for using a falsified U.S. passport to carry out a bombing on behalf of Hezbollah, and he is currently on the FBI's Most Wanted Terrorists list.

In January 2001, a Lebanese Hezbollah operative named Jihad Aya Latif Shuman was arrested in Jerusalem by the Israeli police. Shuman, a UK citizen, had entered Israel with his UK passport. He admitted he was a Hezbollah operative and had been sent to Israel to carry out terrorist attacks.

Early in 2002, Khaled Kashkush, an Israeli Arab studying medicine in Germany, was introduced to Muhammad Hashem, a Hezbollah senior handler. He was arrested upon arrival at Ben-Gurion Airport in July 2008.

8. Survey of Hezbollah Activities in Specific European Countries¹⁶

Cyprus

On 11 May 1988, a Hezbollah operative named Omar Hawillo was arrested following a failed attempt to use a remote-control device to detonate a car bomb driven by another Hezbollah operative in front of Israel's embassy in Nicosia.

In 1997, a Hezbollah operative was discovered collecting intelligence on the U.S. embassy in Nicosia.

On 7 July 2012, a Lebanese national whom Cypriot investigators have linked to Hezbollah was arrested in Limassol, Cyprus, on suspicion of planning terrorist attacks against Israeli targets. He had been traveling from the UK on a Swedish passport, and was trying to collect intelligence on the movements of Israeli tourists in Cyprus. The man confessed that he initially intended to carry out an attack on the Israeli embassy in Nicosia, but was deterred after observing the security measures at the building. He then focused on plans to blow up an El Al plane and attack tour buses used by Israeli tourists.

Greece

Following its departure from Athens on 14 June 1985, TWA flight 847 was hijacked and its 153 passengers taken hostage and beaten by Hezbollah terrorists Muhammad Ali Hamadi and Hassan ‘Ez al-Din. During the stop in Beirut, one passenger, U.S. navy diver Robert Dean Stethem, was murdered.

Bulgaria

On 18 July 2012, a suicide bomber who was later identified by U.S. officials as a Hezbollah operative detonated a bomb on a tour bus transporting Israelis at Burgas Airport. Five Israelis and the Bulgarian bus driver were killed, and thirty-two Israelis were injured.

Denmark

In July 2004, Iyad Khaled Muhammad al-Shawa, a Danish citizen of Lebanese origin, visited his brother in Lebanon. His brother introduced him to a Hezbollah operative named Abu Ahmed, who asked al-Shawa to assist Hezbollah by traveling to Israel to survey potential military targets and recruit Israeli Arabs. On 29 December that year, al-Shawa flew to Israel and went to the northern Galilee town of Tarshiha to visit his uncle. Al-Shawa was arrested on 6 January 2005 after he was caught filming military installations while on a train from Acre to Tel Aviv.

Italy

In November 1984, a Hezbollah operative was arrested upon arriving from Lebanon to Switzerland after he had been found in possession of arms. His arrest led to the uncovering of an operational network comprised of Lebanese students who had planned an attack against the U.S. embassy in Rome.

Spain

In April 1985, a bomb went off at a restaurant near the joint U.S.-Spanish Torrejon de Ardoz airbase that was frequented by U.S. service personnel. Eighteen Spanish citizens were killed and eighty-two others injured. Hezbollah claimed responsibility for the attack.

In November 1989, Spanish police arrested Hezbollah operatives who were attempting to smuggle 440 pounds of plastic explosives inside a nineteen-

ton shipment of canned goods from Lebanon into Madrid and Valencia. Reportedly, the explosives were intended for attacks in France and on U.S. targets in Europe.

In 2004, Spain banned Hezbollah's Al-Manar satellite TV channel from broadcasting to Latin America.

United Kingdom

From 1985 to 1990, Hezbollah targeted Westerners living in Lebanon, including UK citizens, by kidnapping them and holding them hostage.

Mustafa Maza, a Hezbollah operative, was killed in August 1989 in a London hotel when the luggage in his possession exploded.

On 8 September 2006, the U.S. Department of the Treasury designated Bank Saderat PLC, the UK subsidiary of an Iranian bank, as a supporter of Hezbollah terrorism. From 2001 to 2006, the bank had been used to transfer \$50 million from Iran to Hezbollah. In July 2010, the UK Treasury included Bank Saderat PLC as a "designated person" on its sanctions list subject to "financial measures" taken against Iran.

Germany

Hezbollah has had members in Germany since the organization's establishment in 1982. The German internal security service reported in 2011 that 950 members and supporters of Hezbollah were operating within Germany.

On 13 January 1987, Hezbollah terrorist Muhammad Ali Hamadi was arrested upon arriving at Frankfurt Airport from Lebanon for carrying liquid explosives in his luggage. Hamadi had previously carried out the hijacking of TWA flight 847 in June 1985. Within days, Hezbollah kidnapped and threatened to kill two German citizens in Beirut if Hamadi were to be extradited to the United States. Hamadi was tried in Germany in 1989 and sentenced to life in prison with the possibility of parole. In 2005, he was freed by a German parole board after almost nineteen years' imprisonment and sent back to Lebanon.

On 28 January 1987, Hamadi's older brother Abbas Ali Hamadi, also a Hezbollah terrorist, was arrested at Frankfurt Airport upon arriving from

Lebanon. Five gallons of liquid explosives were found near his home in Saarland, Germany. On 19 April 1988, a German court sentenced him to thirteen years in prison. In 1993, he was released and sent back to Lebanon.

In 2002, the German government closed down the Al-Shahid Social Relief Institution and the Al-Aqsa Educational Foundation, both charitable organizations that raised funds for Hezbollah.

France

Hezbollah's first attack against France was carried out in October 1983. In Beirut, a Hezbollah suicide terrorist driving a bomb-laden truck killed fifty-eight paratroopers from France's 1st Parachute Chasseur Regiment, part of the Multinational Forces Command on an international peacekeeping mission in Lebanon.

From 1985 to 1990, Hezbollah targeted Westerners living in Lebanon, including French citizens, by kidnapping them and holding them hostage. In parallel to the kidnappings in Lebanon, from 7 December 1985 through 17 September 1986 Hezbollah carried out a wave of fifteen bombing attacks in Paris, killing thirteen people and injuring 250. The cell involved was led by Fouad Ali Saleh, a Sunni Tunisian who had converted to Shiism, was recruited by Iran, and received explosives and direction from Hezbollah operatives.

In 1989, Hezbollah devised a scheme of carrying out suicide attacks using small aircraft crashing onto French ships. Iran trained a number of Hezbollah operatives to fly small single-engine aircraft for this purpose.

In December 2004, France's Council of State banned Eutelsat, a France-based satellite TV company, from broadcasting Al-Manar, Hezbollah's official TV channel. The ban was instated because Al-Manar had violated an agreement that it would not broadcast content that might incite to hatred or violence.

Poland

In August 2008, Rawi Fouad Sultani, an Israeli Arab, met a Hezbollah operative named Salman Harb at a youth camp in Morocco. Sultani told Harb that he exercised at the same gym as Lieutenant-General Gabi Ashkenazi,

then chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces. Harb asked Sultani to remain in contact, and later that year invited him to visit Poland. Sultani traveled to Poland where he met Harb's brother, Sami, a Hezbollah handler. During the meeting, Sami Harb asked Sultani to provide information on Israeli military bases and soldiers. He also asked for information about Ashkenazi, the location of the gym, its security arrangements, and details about Ashkenazi's security detail. Sultani was arrested in Israel in August 2009.

Russia

In September 1985, Hezbollah kidnapped four Soviet diplomats in Lebanon. They were set free following PLO leader Yasser Arafat's intervention.

From 1995 to 1999, Hezbollah recruited Palestinian students in Russia for a terrorist apparatus there. The students collected operational intelligence on Israeli and Jewish targets in Russia, focusing mainly on the Israeli embassy in Moscow. They were also told to gather intelligence on U.S. institutions in Moscow.

9. Hezbollah's Image in the Arab World

Since its inception in 1982, Hezbollah was at the receiving end of Iranian and Syrian support. However, since the so-called Arab Spring began, and especially since the rebellion in Syria erupted, Hezbollah has been providing combatants who fight the rebels together with combatants sent by Iran; the aim is to help Bashar Assad's regime survive. At first Hezbollah denied any direct and active involvement in Syria. But as the rebellion continued, hints surfaced and it became clear that Hezbollah was strategically backing Assad at the request of Iran. The event that most revealed Hezbollah's deep involvement was the death of Ali Hussein Nassif (alias Abu Abbas), who was Hezbollah's most senior officer in Syria and commanded all its forces there. Nassif was buried with great pomp in his Lebanese village of Buday; the higher Hezbollah echelons were represented by Mohammad Yazbek, head of its Judiciary Council and one of the seven who compose the Shura Council. Nassif in his early fifties was among the first field commanders of Hezbollah.

Hezbollah has put itself in Iran's service on another front as well, hinting that in case of an armed conflict between Israel and Iran, it would not hesitate

to use its long-range missiles and other weapons to inflict dire damage on Israel's strategic facilities and also strike its home front.

Interestingly enough, Hezbollah has always enjoyed the overwhelming support of Lebanon's Shiite community, as well as a number of Christian, Druze, and Sunni allies in Lebanon. A large proportion of Lebanon's population has backed Hezbollah's right to maintain its military wing, which it claims to be the best means of defense against potential Israeli aggression. Hezbollah also has won in the past the sympathy of other Arabs and Muslims, particularly Palestinians, who appreciate the group's anti-Israeli stance. However, amid reports that the group was actively assisting the crackdown on antigovernment protesters in Syria – which began in mid-March 2011 – and compounded by several Hezbollah statements in support of Bashar Assad, the group's support in Syria was reported to have fallen dramatically. This appeared evident when several violent demonstrations across Syria saw burnings of Hezbollah flags.

In 2006, most of the Arab and Muslim world considered Hezbollah a legitimate resistance movement. However, the indictments for the Hariri killing significantly damaged the group's image and its crossover appeal in the Middle East's sectarian divides. Today most of the Sunni Arab world sees Hezbollah as an agent of Iranian influence, and hence would like to see its power in Lebanon diminished. Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia have condemned Hezbollah's actions, saying that "the Arabs and Muslims can't afford to allow an irresponsible and adventurous organization like Hezbollah to drag the region to war" and calling it "dangerous adventurism."

Following the 2009 Hezbollah plot in Egypt, Egypt officially classified Hezbollah as a terrorist organization. The publication of Hezbollah's subversive plan against Egypt, and the exposure of a Shiite group headed by a Hezbollah activist that planned to act against Egyptian targets under the cover of "logistical assistance" to the Palestinians, diverted attention from Hezbollah's challenge to the very foundations of Lebanese authority. One can safely assume that Hezbollah's activity in Egypt was performed with the full knowledge of Iran. The weapons shipment that departed Iran for Gaza was dispatched with Tehran's blessing. Iran was undoubtedly aware that Egypt might uncover Hezbollah's subversive activity, but believed the Egyptians would prefer to turn a blind eye and allow the weapons' passage to Gaza. Even if that was not the case, the Iranians posited military assistance to Hamas as a supreme interest of the Islamic Revolution and were prepared to pay the price of a deterioration in relations between the countries.

Nasrallah's verbal attacks against Egypt, including a summons to the Egyptian army to overthrow the Mubarak regime during Israel's Gaza operation, would not have been launched had Nasrallah not understood that in this way he was serving the wishes of his commanders in Tehran.

During the Bahraini uprising, Bahrain's foreign minister Khalid ibn Ahmad Al Khalifah labeled Hezbollah a terrorist organization and accused them of supporting the protesters.

Following the Second Lebanon War, other Lebanese including the government were resentful of the large damage sustained by the country and saw Hezbollah's actions as unjustified "dangerous adventurism" rather than legitimate resistance. They accused Hezbollah of acting on behalf of Iran and Syria. An official of the Future Movement, part of the March 14 Alliance, warned that Hezbollah "has all the characteristics of a terrorist party" and was moving Lebanon toward the Iranian Islamic system of government.

In August 2008, Lebanon's cabinet formulated a policy statement that recognized "the right of Lebanon's people, army, and resistance to liberate the Israeli-occupied Shebaa Farms, Kafar Shuba Hills, and the Lebanese section of Ghajar village, and defend the country using all legal and possible means."

Ghassan Tueni, a conservative, Orthodox Christian editor of the Lebanese daily *An-Nahar*, called Hezbollah an "Iranian import" and said "they have nothing to do with Arab civilization." Tueni believed Hezbollah's evolution was cosmetic, concealing a sinister long-term strategy to Islamicize Lebanon and lead it into a ruinous war with Israel. "Ask Mr. Nasrallah whether there would be a place for Christians in the Islamic Republic of Lebanon," he remarked. "You might remind him that we are not an external force. We've been here longer than the Muslims – we are not Afrikaners!" Tueni was assassinated in 2005.

10. Narcoterrorism and Criminal Activities

Since the 1980s, narcoterrorism has been a significant component in Hezbollah's international efforts to fund its Lebanese activities.¹⁷ Until the late 1990s, Hezbollah's main narcotics trafficking route was focused on the Mediterranean. Heroin from Lebanon and Syria was delivered to European mafia groups, which distributed it throughout Western Europe and transferred proceeds back to Lebanon.

In recent years, Hezbollah has focused on Europe as a delivery point for cocaine from South America, brought to Europe via Caribbean and African routes. In the Americas, the increasing strength of Mexican drug cartels over the past decades provoked a shift by South American drug traffickers toward Africa – to the advantage of Hezbollah, which draws major benefit from the Lebanese Shiite diaspora. West Africa has become a storage and transshipment region used by multinational organized-crime groups for narcotics shipments from Latin America to Europe, as documented by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration. A complex set of relationships emerged between Hezbollah and other terrorist organizations and various transnational drug-trafficking organizations as well as with local criminal organizations. Those relationships are based on services each side provides to its partners, with all parties making a profit.

Liberia under Charles Taylor, president from 1997 to 2003, used state institutions to protect and advance the activities of favored criminal enterprises, cooperating with organized-crime groups from multiple countries. Israeli criminals as well as Al-Qaeda and Hezbollah operated in the same geographic space without much friction. Taylor's resignation in 2003, which ended a civil war, led to multiple claims to the presidency, with Ellen Sirleaf ultimately elected president in 2006. Nonetheless, Liberia's status as a major drug-trafficking hub has persisted, with Al-Qaeda and Hezbollah essentially using the same Liberian smuggling networks in subsequent years.

Another example is Guinea-Bissau, which can be described as a narco-state since it is one of the more significant drug-trafficking hubs in West Africa. Guinea-Bissau-based Lebanese working on Hezbollah's behalf have directly engaged the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, FARC), thanks in part to the geography of the ninety-island archipelago. Narcotics are moved from Guinea-Bissau to Mauritania, Mali, and Niger, then transshipped to Northern Africa's Mediterranean coast and from there to final destinations in Europe.

In 2008, the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* reported that German police had discovered 8.7 million euros in the luggage of four Lebanese men at Frankfurt Airport. An additional 500,000 euros were found in their apartment in Speyer. The money contained traces of cocaine.

A year later, German police arrested two Lebanese men who had transferred large sums of money to people connected to Nasrallah and the Hezbollah

leadership. The men were suspected of selling cocaine in Europe and transferring the proceeds from Frankfurt back to Hezbollah in Beirut.

In December 2011, the United States indicted Ayman Joumaa, a Hezbollah financier and Lebanese drug trafficker, for heading a money-laundering and narcotics-smuggling network that transported tons of cocaine from South America to the United States, Africa, and Europe. Hezbollah received funds laundered by Joumaa and his associates, transferred via Lebanese exchange houses and the Lebanese Canadian Bank (LCB), a now defunct financial institution linked to Hezbollah.

In early February 2011, the U.S. Department of the Treasury designated the LCB as a “financial institution of primary money laundering concern” for colluding with Joumaa to launder his illicit profits and direct them to Hezbollah. In December 2011, the U.S. attorney in the Southern District of New York filed a civil complaint alleging that Lebanese financial institutions, including the LCB and two exchange houses linked to Hezbollah, had used the U.S. financial system to launder narcotics-trafficking and other criminal proceeds through West Africa and back into Lebanon. Authorities charged that as part of the massive trade-based money-laundering scheme, funds were sent from Lebanon to the United States to purchase used cars. Subsequently the vehicles were shipped and sold in West Africa, where the proceeds were mixed with narcotics-trafficking proceeds and transferred back to Lebanon.

According to a U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) press release from 24 November 2009, Hezbollah schemes exposed in the United States in 2009 alone ranged from stolen laptops, passports, and gaming consoles to weapons procurement and other types of material support, underscoring the scope of the criminal activity. In another case revealed by the Department of Justice on 23 November 2009, a German citizen of Lebanese origin named Dani Nemr Tarraf was arrested in Philadelphia after assuring conspirators that any weapons he purchased could easily be shipped to Hezbollah through the Syrian port of Latakia.

Hezbollah has long seen the United States and Canada as a permissive illicit financing environment where its supporters engage in a vast array of criminal activities to raise money and procure materials for the organization. In 2002, North Carolina-based Hezbollah operatives were convicted of channeling some of their profits (more than \$1.5 million) from an interstate cigarette-smuggling scheme back to their commanders in Lebanon. According to

court documents, members of the cell collected donations to be funneled to Hezbollah through the group's charities. The Canadian portion of this network was under the command of Hajj Hassan Lilu Laqis, Hezbollah's chief procurement officer. The cell succeeded in purchasing night-vision goggles, global positioning systems, stun guns, naval equipment, nitrogen cutters, and laser range finders to be smuggled into Lebanon.

Hezbollah also managed to gain support from Lebanese diaspora communities in Europe, mainly for building a web of import-export companies in Western Europe as part of its dormant network, with the aim of funneling large quantities of explosives and related equipment into target countries.

Throughout South America, Europe, and West Africa, Hezbollah supporters transfer funds to Lebanon. Only when accidents occur is this activity revealed to the public. In 2003, a French UTA flight from Lebanon to Benin crashed on takeoff. On board were Hezbollah officials carrying \$2 million in cash that had been raised from Lebanese living in West Africa.

In South America, the convergence of criminal syndicates, corrupt officials, and a flourishing economy in pirated goods, weapons, and drugs makes the aforementioned Tri-Border Area an ideal platform for Hezbollah since most of the TBA's cities are populated with Lebanese Shiites sympathetic to Hezbollah. According to Argentinean intelligence, there are hundreds of Hezbollah operatives in this area and apparently much higher numbers of supporters. In court documentation following Hezbollah's 1992 and 1994 Buenos Aires bombings, authorities noted that Hezbollah operatives were involved in smuggling, drug trafficking, weapons trafficking, documents counterfeiting, car thefts, forgery of products, and money laundering. In 2006, Hezbollah's central headquarters in the TBA was in the Galeria Page in Ciudad del Este in Paraguay, a building owned and managed by TBA Hezbollah members.

11. Hezbollah's Chronology of Terror

The following table is a summary of terrorist attacks and attempted terrorist attacks that, in our assessment, were perpetrated by Hezbollah. The table is not exhaustive even though it begins with 1982, and some failed or prevented terrorist attacks that took place in other countries are not listed. Some additional relevant events, apart from terrorist attacks, are included in the table.

1982 Hezbollah was established as a political, military, and social organization.

On 11 November, the first suicide bomber struck the Israeli headquarters in Tyre, Lebanon, killing 75 Israeli soldiers.

1983 In April, a suicide bomber attacked the U.S. embassy in Beirut killing 49 and injuring 120. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.

In October, an Islamic Jihad suicide-bomb attack on U.S. Marine and French military barracks in Beirut killed 241 U.S. and 56 French personnel.

On 4 November, an Islamic Jihad suicide attack on the Israeli headquarters in Tyre killed 28 Israelis and 32 Lebanese.

In December, there were vehicle-borne improvised-explosive-device (IED) attacks on the U.S. and French embassies in Kuwait.

1984 In January, a diplomat from Saudi Arabia, Hussein Farrash, was kidnapped; he was released in May 1985.

In February, Hezbollah assassinated a former Iranian general and his brother in Paris. A U.S. professor, Frank Regier, was also kidnapped; he was rescued two months later .

In March, U.S. journalist Jeremy Levin was kidnapped; he escaped in February 1985. Also in February 1985, CIA station chief in Beirut William Buckley was kidnapped and killed.

In April, Hezbollah attacked a restaurant near the U.S. air force base in Torrejón, Spain, killing 18 servicemen and wounding 83.

In May, Reverend Benjamin Weir, a U.S. citizen, was kidnapped; he was released in September 1985.

In September, a suicide attack on the U.S. embassy annex in East Beirut killed 23 people including two Americans. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.

In December, Kuwait Air Flight 221 to Tehran was hijacked; two U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) officials were murdered.

In January, Father Lawrence Jenco, a U.S. citizen, was kidnapped; he was released in July 1986.

1985 In March, a British professor, Geoffrey Nash, and a British businessman, Brian Levick, were kidnapped then released. Also seized were U.S. journalist Terry Anderson (released December 1991) and French diplomats Marcel Fontaine (released May 1998), Danielle Perez (released shortly thereafter), and Marcel Carton (released May 1988).

In May, Jean Paul Kaufmann and Michel Seurat, both French citizens, were kidnapped; Kaufmann was released in May 1988 while Seurat died in captivity in March 1986. American University director David Jacobsen was kidnapped; he was released in 1986. Dennis Hill, a British citizen, was killed.

In June, U.S. citizen Thomas Sutherland was kidnapped; he was released in November 1991. TWA Flight 847 en route to Athens was hijacked and held in Beirut for 17 days. The hijackers killed a passenger, U.S. navy diver Robert Stethem.

In July, Hezbollah simultaneously bombed the Northwest Orient Airlines office and a synagogue in Copenhagen, killing one person.

In December, Hezbollah factions were responsible for a series of bombings in Paris.

1986 In March, four French television journalists were kidnapped: Philippe Rochot, Georges Hansen (both were released in June 1986), Aurel Cornea (released in December 1986), and Jean-Louis Normandin (released in November 1987).

In April, Hezbollah bombed the Northwest Orient Airlines office in Stockholm and kidnapped two Cypriot students.

In September, U.S. citizens Frank Reed and Joseph Cicippio were kidnapped and the French military attaché in East Beirut was murdered. Reed was released in April 1990, Cicippio in December 1991.

In October, U.S. national Edward Austin Tracy was kidnapped; he was released in August 1991.

In December, Hezbollah kidnapped three Lebanese Jews in Beirut and later murdered them.

1987 In January, two German businessmen, Rudolph Cordes and Alfred Schmidt, British Church of England envoy Terry Waite, and U.S.

professors Jesse Turner, Alan Steen, Robert Polhill, and Mithileshwar Singh were all kidnapped in Lebanon. Cordes was released in September 1988, Schmidt in September 1987, Waite in November 1991, Turner in October 1991, Steen in December 1991, Polhill in April 1990, and Singh in October 1988.

In June, U.S. journalist Charles Glass was kidnapped; he escaped in August that year.

In July, Hezbollah hijacked an Air Afrique jetliner en route from Brazzaville, Congo, to Paris and killed one person.

1992 In February, Hezbollah secretary-general Sheikh Abbas Mousawi was assassinated by Israel; his wife, son, and bodyguards were also killed. Moussawi was replaced by Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah.

In March, the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires was blown up, killing 29. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility and said it was in retaliation for Moussawi's death.

In July, Hezbollah bombed the Amia building, a Jewish cultural center in Buenos Aires, killing 85 people and injuring hundreds. Hezbollah also attacked the Israeli embassy in London and a Jewish center in North London.

1994 In November, the Lebanese government denied a U.S. request to freeze Hezbollah's funds as part of the war on terrorism, claiming that the organization was a legitimate resistance group.

1996 Hezbollah bombed the Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia on June 25, 1996, killing 19 U.S. servicemen.

In July, the U.S. military in Iraq announced the arrest of an alleged Hezbollah operative, Ali Mussa Daqduq, who was suspected of involvement in training Iraqi Shiite "Special Groups."

2001 In January, Hezbollah bombed a U.S. embassy vehicle in Beirut.

In February, Hezbollah's top military commander, Imad Mughniyeh, was killed in Damascus. At his funeral two days later, Nasrallah declared "open war" against Israel.

2007 In May, *Der Spiegel* claimed that Hezbollah elements were involved in the February 2005 assassination of Rafiq Hariri. Hezbollah denied

the accusation, claiming it was a politically motivated attempt to influence Lebanon's parliamentary elections in June.

A Hezbollah plot was unveiled in Egypt, with 49 arrested.

2008 On 26 May, eight people were wounded when a bomb went off in Istanbul. The Italian daily *Corriere della Sera* subsequently alleged that the attack had been perpetrated by Hezbollah and had been intended to target the Israeli consul general in Istanbul, Moshe Kimchi. The report's allegations could not be independently substantiated.

2009 On 30 June, the UN Special Tribunal for Lebanon submitted an indictment and arrest warrants for four Hezbollah militants to the Lebanese prosecutor-general in connection with the Hariri assassination.

On 10 July, Interpol issued red notices for the four Hezbollah militants. A red notice seeks the arrest of a wanted person with a view to extradition. Unconfirmed media reports alleged that the suspects had fled Lebanon. On 30 July, the tribunal officially identified them as Mustafa Badereddine, Sami Issa, Selim Ayyash, and Assad Sabra.

On 13 December, a court in the city of Alexandria, Virginia, formally indicted a Lebanese national, identified as Ayman Joumaa alias Junior, aged 47, on charges of drug smuggling and money laundering linked to Hezbollah. Joumaa was alleged by officials to have maintained close links and cooperated with the Zetas drug cartel in Mexico in order to smuggle cocaine from Colombia, through Mexico, and into the United States; some of the money raised in the process was allegedly channeled to Hezbollah.

2012 On 5 January, Bulgarian intelligence services claimed to have foiled a plot by Hezbollah militants to carry out attacks on Israeli nationals in the capital, Sofia.

On 12 January, Thai security forces detained an alleged Hezbollah militant, identified as dual Swedish-Lebanese national Atris Hussein, at the Suvarnabhumi International Airport in Bangkok. Subsequent reports added that a cache of material used in the manufacture of explosives was discovered during a raid on a storage facility rented by Hussein in the Samut Sakhon district on the outskirts of Bangkok on 16 January.

On 24 January, IDF chief of staff Lieutenant-General Benny Gantz issued a statement that Hezbollah and other affiliated militant groups were attempting to attack Israeli targets overseas. In fact, he was referring to an attempt to assassinate two Jewish figures in Baku.

On 13 February, several senior Israeli government and security officials alleged that the Iranian government and Hezbollah had been responsible for an attack on an Israeli embassy vehicle in New Delhi and for emplacing a device under another such vehicle in the Georgian capital, Tbilisi, earlier that day. While the claims could not be independently substantiated, Nasrallah denied the allegations in a statement issued on 16 February.

On 14 February, there was an attempt to kill an Israeli diplomat in Bangkok.

On 21 February, the Azerbaijani Ministry of National Security claimed its security forces had detained an unspecified number of alleged Hezbollah militants and members of the “Iranian intelligence services” in an undisclosed area of the country on an unspecified earlier recent date. The statement added that those detained had been gathering intelligence and had acquired weapons for use in a planned attack in Baku, the capital.

In early July, two Qods Force operatives were arrested in Kenya while preparing a terrorist attack.

On 7 July, Cypriot authorities arrested a terrorist collecting intelligence on flights to Israel and on tour buses for Israeli tourists.

On 18 July, a suicide bomber whom U.S. officials later identified as a Hezbollah operative detonated a bomb on a tour bus transporting Israelis at Burgas Airport. Five Israelis and the Bulgarian bus driver were killed, and 32 Israelis injured.

On 20 August, a U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) official announced the seizure of \$150 million in connection with a Hezbollah money-laundering case first filed in 2011. The case alleged that Hezbollah made use of the U.S. financial system to launder profits from narcotics trafficking.

Notes

1. Shimon Shapira, "The Fantasy of Hezbollah Moderation," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, May 2010.
2. See Naim Qassem, *Hezbollah: The Story from Within* (London: Saqi, 2005).
3. "Iranian and Syrian media stepping up statements on the war," MEMRI Special Dispatch Series, no. 1239, August 2006.
4. *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, HIS Global Ltd., 2012.
5. *As-Safir*, 24 November 2009.
6. Tony Badran, "Hezbollah's Agenda in Lebanon," Hudson Institute, 16 May 2009.
7. "Qassem: Hezbollah Is 'Party of Resistance,'" *NowLebanon*, 6 October 2012.
8. *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, HIS Global Ltd., 2012.
9. Ely Karmon, "The Iran/Hezbollah Strategic and Terrorist Threat to Africa," *Journal of Counterterrorism and Homeland Security International*, fall 2012; see also Jacques Neria, "An Iranian Intelligence Failure: Arms Ship in Nigeria Reveals Iran's Penetration of West Africa," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, April 2012.
10. Karmon, *ibid.*
11. *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, HIS Global Ltd., 2012.
12. Phil Stewart, "U.S. asks Iraq to extradite Hezbollah suspect," Reuters, 1 June 2012.
13. "News," Arutz 7, 23 July 2012.
14. Naharnet Newsdesk, 10 August 2012.
15. Background information about Hezbollah and its involvement in anti-Israeli and international terrorism is according to the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, July 2006.
16. Based on Yehudit Barsky, "Hezbollah Activities in Europe," AJC Global Jewish Advocacy, n.d., and *ibid.*
17. Matthew Levitt, "Criminal Connections: Hezbollah's Global Illicit Financing Activities," Washington Institute, September 2012; Barsky, *ibid.*

Join the Initiative

www.friendsofisraelinitiative.org
info@friendsofisraelinitiative.org

On social networks

Facebook: Friends of Israel Initiative
Twitter: @Friendsisrael