

Name: Hezbollah

Type of Organization:

- Militia
- political party
- social-service provider
- terrorist
- transnational
- violent.

Ideologies and Affiliations:

- · Iranian-sponsored
- **Islamist**
- jihadist
- Khomeinist
- Shiite

Place of Origin:

Lebanon

Year of Origin:

1982

Founder(s):

Ali Akbar Mohtashemi—Iran's then-ambassador to Syria; Imad Fayez Mughniyeh; Grand Ayatollah Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah; Abbas al-Musawi

Places of Operation:

Lebanon, Syria, Germany, Mexico, Paraguay, Argentina, Brazil, Iran, United Arab Emirates

Overview

Also Known As:

- Ansar Allah¹
- Followers of the Prophet Muhammed² Islamic Jihad Organization⁸
- Hizballah³
- Hizbollah⁴
- Hizbu'llah⁵
- Islamic Jihad⁶

- Islamic Iihad for the Liberation of Palestine⁷
- Organization of the Oppressed on Earth⁹
- Organization of Right Against Wrong¹⁰
- Party of God¹¹
- Revolutionary Justice Organization¹²

Executive Summary:

Iran helped create the terrorist group Hezbollah in Lebanon in the early 1980s in order to expand its influence in the region. Under the pretense of fighting foreign occupiers in Lebanon, Hezbollah has been responsible for murderous terror attacks against Israeli, American, and Jewish targets around the globe. Despite its rhetoric of freeing Lebanon from foreign occupation, Hezbollah has made no secret that it is heavily supported by foreign powers, namely the Islamist Iranian regime.

Iran has transferred mass quantities of weapons, fighters, and other supplies to Hezbollah through its Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, using Syria as a transfer point. It has been responsible for transferring thousands of rockets, which Hezbollah has used against Israeli civilians, notably in the 2006 Second Lebanon War which was sparked by a



Hezbollah cross-border raid that resulted in the deaths of eight soldiers and capture of two others. In addition to its violently anti-Israel position, Hezbollah's loyalty to Iran and Syria has translated into Hezbollah involvement on behalf of the embattled Syrian regime in that country's civil war.

Like Iran, Hezbollah considers the United States and Israel to be its chief enemies, which has led to a global terrorist campaign against the two nations. Until September 11, 2001, Hezbollah was responsible for killing more Americans than any other terrorist organization. Among other deadly attacks, Hezbollah has been linked to the 1983 attack on U.S. Marine barracks in Lebanon; the 1992 suicide bombing at the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires, Argentina; the 1994 suicide bombing of the Argentine Jewish Mutual Association in Buenos Aires; and the 2012 bombing of an Israeli tourist bus in Bulgaria. Hezbollah is also suspected of involvement in the February 2005 Beirut suicide bombing that killed 23 people, including former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri.

Complicating Hezbollah's status, the terror group has woven itself into Lebanon's social fabric, setting up charities and providing services in the southern part of the country where government authority is weaker. These social services have boosted Hezbollah's popularity enough to allow it to become part of the Lebanese political structure. Since 1992, Hezbollah has had a presence in the elected government. The terror group received veto power in the Lebanese government after armed conflict broke out between Hezbollah and the Lebanese army in 2008.

In 2012, the European Union branded Hezbollah's armed wing a terrorist organization, but distinguished it from Hezbollah's political wing. Ahead of the designation, Europe's leaders were divided over the label out of fear of complicating their relationships with Lebanon. Though the EU distinguished between Hezbollah's political and armed wings, the terror group considers itself a singular organization, and its leadership has continued to pursue a terrorist agenda with Iranian aid.

Doctrine:

The Shiite terrorist group Hezbollah ("the Party of God") emerged in Lebanon in 1982 following Israel's invasion to halt cross-border guerilla attacks by the Palestine Liberation Organization. Hezbollah's stated goal was to fight "for the liberation of the occupied territories and the ejection of the aggressive Israeli forces." Its ideology was modeled on Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's 1979 Iranian revolution. As counterterrorism expert Matt Levitt notes, Within the setting of the Lebanese civil war, "the 1982 Israeli invasion and subsequent occupation of southern Lebanon created the space in which Iranian diplomats and agents could help fashion the unified entity Hezbollah from a motley crew of Shi'a militias and groups." Iran thus viewed the rise of Hezbollah as an opportunity to extend its influence, cultivating Hezbollah as a proxy force, providing funding, training, and weaponry through Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC).

Hezbollah pledged its loyalty to Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and modeled its ideology on Khomeini's 1979 Iranian revolution. ¹⁵ According to counterterrorism expert Matthew Levitt, within the setting of the Lebanese civil war, "the 1982 Israeli invasion and subsequent occupation of southern Lebanon created the space in which Iranian diplomats and agents could help fashion the unified entity Hezbollah from a motley crew of Shi'a militias and groups."

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Allegiance to Iran

Hezbollah is first and foremost an instrument of the Iranian regime. The group's 1985 manifesto explicitly states, "We are the sons of the umma (Muslim community)—the party of God (Hizb Allah) the vanguard of which was made victorious by God in Iran." Furthermore, the group is explicit in its submission to the Iranian supreme leader's decrees, avowing its compliance to the dictates of "one leader, wise and just, that of our tutor and faqih (jurist) who fulfills all the necessary conditions: [Ayatollah] Ruhollah Musawi Khomeini." ¹⁸



Hezbollah is devout is in its adherence to Khomeini's philosophy of *vilayat-e faqih* (rule of the Islamic jurist), which calls for the absolute rule of a single jurist over religious and state affairs. Khomeini used the concept to seize absolute power as Iran's supreme leader, and Hezbollah pledged its allegiance to Khomeini and his successor, Ali Khamenei. In a 2012 interview, Hezbollah's Deputy Secretary-General Naim Qassem called vilayat-e faqih "the reason for Hezbollah's establishment." According to Qassem, in 1982, the so-called Committee of Nine—the predecessor to Hezbollah's Shura Council—sent a delegation to receive Khomeini's blessing in Tehran. According to the account of Hezbollah Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah, Khomeini told them to "rely on God" and "spoke of victories that we now see." 19

After that 1982 meeting, Iran reportedly sent 1,000 IRGC soldiers to provide military training, ²⁰ and in February 1985, Hezbollah formally emerged and issued its manifesto. Hezbollah pledged loyalty to Khomeini, demanded the expulsion of foreign forces (i.e., Israel, France, and the U.S.) from Lebanon, called for Israel's destruction, and called for the creation of an Islamic state in Lebanon. ²¹

As an Iranian proxy, Hezbollah's perceived threat environment is almost identical to Iran's—Tehran's enemies are Hezbollah's enemies. Like Iran, Hezbollah considers the U.S. and Israel to be its chief foes. The group's manifesto describes the U.S. as the root of abomination and declares that its "determination to fight the U.S. is solid." Among Hezbollah's earliest major attacks on U.S. and Western interests was the 1983 truck bombing at a U.S. Marine compound in Beirut, which killed 241 U.S. service members. The group also carried out a simultaneous truck bombing on French forces in Beirut, killing 58 soldiers. Soldiers.

Since Khomeini's 1989 death, Hezbollah has maintained its allegiance to the Iranian supreme leader's successor, Khamenei. For example, Hezbollah and the IRGC's external wing, the Quds Force, reportedly agreed in January 2010 to cooperate in attacking Israeli, U.S., and Western targets. In 2012, Hezbollah pledged to defend Iran against any attack by the United States or Israel. The group has also joined the IRGC in its ongoing fight to support the Assad regime in Syria. During an October 2016 Hezbollah rally in Beirut, many of the thousands of Hezbollah supporters in attendance reportedly wore pictures of Khamenei in their headbands. In turn, Khamenei has pledged Iran's continued support for Hezbollah, which he had called a "source of honor for the Muslim world" earlier in the year.

According to Subhi al-Tufayli, Hezbollah's first secretary-general from 1989 to 1991, Iran has supported Hezbollah in order to expand its own influence in the region. "There is no voice within Lebanon's Shia community that is not tied to Iran," he told the London-based *Arab Weekly* in May 2016.³¹

Anti-Israel Stance

Hezbollah claims that it is in confrontation with Israel, "the Zionist entity," which it maintains is built on land aggressively "wrested from" its rightful owners while Israel trampled "the rights of the Muslim people." Hezbollah refuses to accept any ceasefires, treaties, or peace agreements, and sees only one end to its "struggle" against Israel, namely "when this entity is obliterated." One of the Muslim people."

Hezbollah has been linked to numerous terrorist attacks against Israeli and Jewish targets since its inception, including: the 1992 suicide bombing at the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires, Argentina, which killed 29 and injured 240;³⁴ the 1994 suicide bombing of the Argentine Jewish Mutual Association (AMIA) in Buenos Aires, killing over 80;³⁵ and the 2006 cross-border attack in which Hezbollah operatives killed eight Israeli soldiers and abducted two more, launching a summer war with Israel.³⁶

In May 2000, Israel withdrew its forces from its security zone in southern Lebanon to internationally recognized borders, the so-called Blue Line. ³⁷ Following Israel's withdrawal, Hezbollah justified its continued reliance on terrorism by arguing that Israel still occupied seven villages in the Golan Heights along the border known as the Shebaa Farms. This area was



part of Syria when Israel took the territory during the 1967 war, and the U.N. recognized Shebaa Farms in 1974 as occupied Syrian territory. Syria and Hezbollah contend that while the Shebaa Farms is located in the Golan Heights, it actually sits on land considered to be Lebanese territory. This depiction has provided Hezbollah with a justification to thus "liberate" the territories from Israel.³⁸

In November 2009, Hezbollah created a new political manifesto that identified the United States as "the centre of polarization and hegemony in the world" and reaffirmed its opposition to Israel, which it identified as "a constant threat and an impending danger to Lebanon." According to the manifesto, the United States is committed to "dominating the nations politically, economically, culturally and through all aspects," which leaves only "the choice of resistance." The manifesto further asserts that Israel "embodies an eternal threat to Lebanon - the State and the entity - and a real hazard to the country in terms of its historical cravings in land and water...." Moreover, "The 'Israeli' threat to this country started since the establishment of the Zionist entity in the land of Palestine, an entity that did not falter to divulge its aspirations to occupy some parts of Lebanon and to grasp its wealth, mainly its water... This entity began its aggression on Lebanon since 1948 from the border to the depth of the country...."

Hezbollah's updated manifesto renewed its commitment to terrorism, couched in the language of "resistance" to Israel. "Resistance" was elevated to the status of a national responsibility, extended to all Lebanese citizens. According to the manifesto, "The Resistance role is a national necessity as long as the 'Israeli' threats and aspirations persist." Hezbollah called for Lebanon to "approve a defensive strategy that depends on a popular resistance" to defend the country against "the 'Israeli' threat."

Syria, ISIS, and the Broader Middle East

As an Iranian proxy, Hezbollah has taken up arms alongside Syrian and Iranian forces in defense of the Syrian regime in that country's civil war. In 2012, the U.S. Treasury levied additional sanctions on Hezbollah for its support of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's regime. According to Treasury, since the beginning of the Syrian civil war in early 2011, Hezbollah provided "training, advice and extensive logistical support to the Government of Syria's increasingly ruthless efforts to fight against the opposition." ⁴⁵

As of October 2016, Hezbollah and Syrian forces were reportedly besieging some 40,000 Syrians in three towns, preventing them access to medical treatment. During an October 2016 rally in Beirut, Nasrallah promised that Hezbollah would "continue to bear our great responsibilities of jihad" in Syria. In January 2015, in response to Israeli airstrikes on alleged weapons shipments to Hezbollah in Syria, Nasrallah called the strikes an aggression against Syria's regional allies. As such, Syria's allies have the right to retaliate, according to Nasrallah. Hezbollah's activity in Syria has its domestic detractors as well. Subhi al-Tufayli, Hezbollah's first secretary-general from 1989 to 1991, has accused Hezbollah of being a "partner in the killing of the Syrian people." He denounced Hezbollah members who fight alongside Russians, and called

Hezbollah's role in Syria is not limited to fighting anti-government rebels. Under Iranian direction, Hezbollah has also fought against ISIS, which Nasrallah described as a growing threat to the region and an existential threat to Lebanon in an August 2014 interview with the Lebanese newspaper *Al-Akhbar*. Hezbollah has also fought against the Nusra Front (Jabhat Fateh al-Sham). On October 19, 2016, Qassem told Hezbollah's Al-Manar TV that Hezbollah "will not leave Syria as long as there is a need to confront takfiri groups."

on the Hezbollah leadership to heed Lebanese opposition to the group's involvement in Syria. 49

In November 2016, Hezbollah held a public parade in the Syrian city of Qusair to highlight its role in the conflict. The terror group showcased U.S. and Russian armored personnel carriers and tanks. The U.S. State Department issued a statement that it was "gravely concerned" and investigating how Hezbollah acquired U.S. equipment.⁵³ The United States provides aid to the Lebanese military, which denied that U.S.-provided weaponry had been transferred to Hezbollah.⁵⁴



Hezbollah's participation in Syria has resulted in an increasingly antagonistic role vis-à-vis the Middle East's Sunni Arab nations, which oppose Iran's regional ambitions. The Gulf Cooperative Council (GCC) labeled Hezbollah a terrorist group in March 2016 because of its "hostile acts" against GCC member states, recruitment for "terrorist attacks, smuggling weapons and explosives, stirring up sedition and incitement to chaos and violence," and participation in the Syrian civil war. ⁵⁵ The Arab League also labeled Hezbollah a terrorist group that month, accusing Hezbollah and the IRGC of financing and training terrorist groups and interfering in regional affairs. The GCC had previously sanctioned Hezbollah in 2013 for its role in Syria. ⁵⁶

Social Role

While Hezbollah promotes itself as a guardian of Lebanon against foreign invaders, it also provides social services to the Lebanese people in areas where the government lacks a strong presence, such as in the south. For example, in 2004, Hezbollah provided \$100,000 a month to the al-Janoub Hospital in the southern Lebanese city of Nabatiyah. After the 2006 Hezbollah-Israel war, Lebanese citizens quickly forgot that Hezbollah instigated the conflict as the organization provided money for housing and welfare. "We have ideology and support. Our success can be seen in the peaceful existence between the Lebanese army and the military wing of Hezbollah," said Hezbollah member Mohammed Ghosen. ⁵⁷

Political Role

Hezbollah has played a major role in Lebanese politics since 1992. Subhi al-Tufayli, Hezbollah's first secretary-general from 1989 to 1991, said in May 2016 that Hezbollah has complete control over Lebanon's army, which "must follow wherever Hezbollah leads." 58

Hezbollah entered Lebanon's political arena in 1992, when it won eight of the country's 128 parliamentary seats in elections. ⁵⁹ In 2005, Hezbollah won 23 seats, claiming a massive victory in southern Lebanon. ⁶⁰ In 2008, Lebanese Prime Minister Fouad Siniora banned Hezbollah's private telecommunications network, sparking clashes between Hezbollah fighters and Lebanese soldiers. After two weeks of fighting, Qatar negotiated the Doha Agreement, which called for a national-unity government and granted the Hezbollah-led opposition veto power in the Lebanese government. ⁶¹ This essentially gave Hezbollah the ability to bring the government to a complete halt should it veer from Hezbollah's agenda. In the 2009 election, Hezbollah and its allies were defeated by the U.S.-supported "March 14" alliance. Many were surprised by this result. ⁶²

In January 2011, Hezbollah ministers resigned from the government shortly before the U.N.-backed Hariri tribunal was expected to issue indictments of four Hezbollah members over the assassination of former Lebanese prime minister Rafik Hariri in 2005. The resignations led to the collapse of the government led by Hariri's son, Saad Hariri. In late January 2011, the Hezbollah-backed businessman Najib Mikati was appointed as the new prime minister. In the new (what some commentators referred to as) "Hezbollah government," Hezbollah received two portfolios as part of the 30-member strong government. The majority of the remaining ministers were from Hezbollah-allied factions.

Lebanese Prime Minister Tammam Salam formed a new unity government in February 2014, awarding Hezbollah and the Sunni-led bloc of former prime minister Saad Hariri eight portfolios each. Among other ministries, Hezbollah controlled the foreign ministry and ministry of industry. ⁶⁶ On October 31, 2016, Lebanon's parliament elected MP Michel Aoun as president. ⁶⁷ Aoun is a former general and Maronite Christian who heads the Free Patriotic Movement, which allied with Hezbollah in 2006. ⁶⁸ Lebanon had been without a president since May 2014, and some Lebanese MPs blamed Hezbollah for preventing the government's approval of a new president. ⁶⁹

Leadership Structure:

According to the Congressional Research Service, Hezbollah's Shura Council is the central leadership body. Initially, the



Shura Council appointed a secretary-general to lead the group for a three-year term. However, after the Council elected Hassan Nasrallah in 1993, it allowed him and future secretaries-general to exceed two consecutive terms. ⁷⁰ The Shura Council also oversees Hezbollah's five separate assemblies: the political assembly, jihad assembly, parliamentary assembly, executive assembly, and judicial assembly. ⁷¹

The External Security Organization, a.k.a. the Islamic Jihad Organization, is Hezbollah's foreign operations organ. This is the Hezbollah unit responsible for Hezbollah's international acts of terrorism.⁷²

The Foreign Relations Department (FRD) is responsible for Hezbollah's global outreach efforts. The State Department designated the FRD as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist in January 2017. According to the State Department, the FRD "is involved in covert operations around the globe, which include recruiting, fundraising and gathering intelligence on behalf of" Hezbollah."⁷³

Hezbollah is represented in the Lebanese government by the Loyalty to the Resistance bloc. Hezbollah first entered Lebanon's parliament in 1992, winning eight of 128 seats in the country's first elections since 1972. Hezbollah's political party has since played a major role in Lebanon's governing coalitions since 2008. Following the election of Hezbollah ally Michel Aoun as president in October 2016, two Hezbollah parliamentarians and 15 Hezbollah political allies were appointed to Lebanon's 30-minister government. To

While the United States has designated Hezbollah as a whole as a terrorist entity, the European Union has separated Hezbollah's political party and designated only Hezbollah's military wing. ⁷⁶ Nonetheless, there is no distinction between Hezbollah's political and military wings. Both are subservient to the Shura Council, led by Nasrallah. A 2011 Congressional Research Service report identified Hezbollah's "unified leadership structure that oversees the organization's complementary, partially compartmentalized elements." Hezbollah's leadership has confirmed Hezbollah's unitary leadership that informs both its militants and its politicians. In a 2000 interview with a Lebanese newspaper, Hezbollah deputy leader Naim Qassem said that "Hezbollah's secretary-general is the head of the Shura Council and also the head of the Jihad Council, and this means that we have one leadership, with one administration."

Financing:

Iranian Support

Hezbollah receives extensive financial support from the Iranian government. Iran helped develop the organization to boost its own "ability to deploy armed revolutionaries among the [Shiite] strongholds" in Lebanon, according to analyst Anoushiravan Ehteshami. During the Iran-Iraq War, Iran viewed Hezbollah as its opportunity to gain access to the wider Arab world. 79 The IRGC provided Hezbollah with its initial financial support and training. 80

Iranian financial and military support is largely passed to Hezbollah through the Quds Force, the elite branch of the IRGC. ⁸¹ The U.S. Department of Defense estimated in 2010 that Iran provides Hezbollah with \$100 million to \$200 million annually. ⁸² Iran allegedly provided up to \$600 million to Hezbollah for its political campaigns, and Israeli intelligence estimated that Iran had directly provided Hezbollah with more than \$1 billion from the end of the 2006 war to 2009. ⁸³ In 2004, Mohammed Raad, then-leader of Hezbollah's "Loyalty to the Resistance Bloc" in the Lebanese parliament, acknowledged that Hezbollah had received funding from Iran for "health care, education and support of war widows." ⁸⁴

However, in 2009—due to the devastating effects on the Iranian economy resulting from international sanctions because of its nuclear program—Iran reportedly cut Hezbollah's budget by as much as 40 percent.* Hezbollah turned to its already thriving criminal enterprises to make up the shortfall.

In June 2016, Nasrallah denied that Hezbollah has any outside business ventures or sources of income other than Iran. "We are open about the fact that Hezbollah's budget, its income, its expenses, everything it eats and drinks, its weapons and



rockets, come from the Islamic Republic of Iran," he said in a publicly broadcasted speech. ⁸⁵ In response to U.S. financial sanctions, Nasrallah warned that "[as long] as Iran has money, we have money... Just as we receive the rockets that we use to threaten Israel, we are receiving our money. No law will prevent us from receiving it." ⁸⁶

Transnational Criminal Activities

Contrary to Nasrallah's declarations that Hezbollah has no sources of income other than Iran, ⁸⁷ the group is active in illicit transnational criminal activities, primarily in South America's Tri-Border Area (TBA). These activities include drug trafficking, intellectual property theft, and money laundering. Additionally, many Arabs in the region send money to Hezbollah. According to a mosque leader in Cuidad del Este, Shiite mosques had "an obligation to finance" Hezbollah. Counterterrorism expert Edward Luttwak of the Pentagon's National Security Study Group called the TBA Hezbollah's most important base outside of Lebanon. ⁸⁸ Hezbollah receives approximately \$20 million a year from its activities in Latin America, according to a 2009 Rand Corporation report. ⁸⁹ "The money is used to maintain a military structure and finance social activities ... in Lebanon and the diaspora," according to analyst Paulo Botta of the Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies in Córdoba, Argentina. ⁹⁰

Hezbollah has established a global network for moving cocaine in the United States and Europe, according to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). Law enforcement refers to this network as "the Lebanese Hizballah External Security Organization Business Affairs Component (BAC)." It was founded by deceased Hezbollah commander Imad Mughniyah. The network maintains business relationships with South American drug cartels and launders proceeds in what is known as the Black Market Peso Exchange. La Oficina de Envigado is one of the South American cartels involved with the BAC. It is responsible for the movement of large amounts of cocaine in the United States and Europe. The DEA has targeted the BAC network since early 2015 in an ongoing operation called Project Cassandra. In February 2016, the DEA revealed it had made several arrests in Hezbollah's drug-trafficking operation. In October 2016, the DEA charged three suspected Hezbollah members with using Miami banks to launder \$500,000 in cocaine money for a Colombian drug cartel.

South American authorities have also targeted Hezbollah for various illicit activities on the continent. In May 2013, Brazilian police arrested Hezbollah member Hamzi Ahmad Barakat on suspicion of defrauding newly arrived Lebanese immigrants through a network of front companies. In 2002, police arrested Barakat's brother, Assad Barakat, for using his electronics store to raise funds for Hezbollah. In 2008, Colombian authorities arrested members of a drug cartel that allegedly smuggled cocaine to the U.S., Europe, and the Middle East, while laundering hundreds of millions of dollars and sending a percentage to Hezbollah.

Hezbollah's criminal activities have also penetrated North America. In 2000, U.S. federal authorities charged 18 people with smuggling cigarettes from North Carolina into Michigan, where cigarettes command higher prices because of higher taxes. According to authorities, the smugglers had been sending their profits to Hezbollah since 1996. In 2002, authorities convicted the smuggling ring's leaders, brothers Muhammad and Chawki Hammoud, of cigarette smuggling, credit card fraud, money laundering, and racketeering.

In August 2012, U.S. authorities seized \$150 million from the Lebanese Canadian Bank, which they accused of laundering money from an international car smuggling ring that raised money for Hezbollah.⁹⁷ In July 2014, the U.S. Treasury Department sanctioned a network of companies in Lebanon, the United Arab Emirates, and China for allegedly procuring engines, communications equipment, and navigation equipment for Hezbollah from U.S., European, Canadian, and Asian companies.⁹⁸

Financial Sanctions

In December 2015, the U.S. government passed the Hizballah International Financing Prevention Act of 2015. The



legislation makes disrupting Hezbollah's financial and logistics networks a U.S. policy goal by utilizing "diplomatic, legislative, and executive avenues to combat Hizballah's criminal activities in order to block that organization's ability to fund its global terrorist activities." The legislation threatens sanctions on any financial institution that deals with Hezbollah or its Al-Manar media arm. In the aftermath of the bill's passage, Lebanese banks reportedly refused to open new accounts for Hezbollah members. However, Al-Monitor cited an anonymous banking expert who said that Hezbollah maintains its own banking system, which would be unaffected by the U.S. legislation.

Recruitment:

Hezbollah has invested in programs targeting every stage of Lebanese youths' education, from primary school to university. Hezbollah runs networks of schools, camps, and religious programming throughout Lebanon. By targeting youth, Hezbollah gains new recruits and builds the domestic support responsible for its electoral successes.

Hezbollah's youth wing, the "Mahdi Scouts," offers programs similar to those of the American Boy Scouts, except that it indoctrinates support for Shiite and Hezbollah ideology. Scouts display pictures of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the late leader of Iran's Islamic Revolution, and pledge their allegiance to Hezbollah. Graduates go on to become Hezbollah recruits or contribute to local support. Hezbollah also runs summer camps, field trips, and religious holiday programing. It maintains student outreach groups in unaffiliated schools. A network of religious teachers across the country is charged with promoting Shiite values and Hezbollah's mission.

Hezbollah reportedly employs recruiters to vet candidates for proper values, such as piety and modesty. ¹⁰⁷ According to journalist Nicholas Blanford, "those that drink, smoke, chase girls and drive fast cars stand little chance." ¹⁰⁸ This process can sometimes take several years. "Only if they are good men do we let them join our ranks," said an unidentified Hezbollah member. ¹⁰⁹ Recruits who pass this stage are then vetted for security before starting a regiment of religious education and basic military training. Recruits are free to leave if they decide during the training process Hezbollah is not right for them. ¹¹⁰

Shiite Hezbollah has expanded its recruitment to include Sunnis and non-Muslims. In 2009, it formed the Resistance Brigades in order to recruit Sunni allies. ¹¹¹ By 2013, its ranks had swelled to approximately 500. ¹¹² In response to clashes between the Brigades and locals in Lebanon, Hezbollah cut the number of fighters to between 200 and 250. ¹¹³

Since 2012, Hezbollah has been fighting on behalf of Syria's President Bashar Assad against al-Qaeda, the Nusra Front, and other rebels. To boost its ranks, Hezbollah sought out 15,000 new recruits in the fall of 2013.¹¹⁴

The fight against ISIS in Iraq and Syria has spurred Hezbollah to recruit young Christian, Druze, and Sunni Muslim men in east Lebanon. According to local media reports, Hezbollah is providing the recruits with weapons and training "to counter the threat of ISIS and its affiliates." Sectarian violence in Syria's civil war, which has spilled over into Lebanon, is attracting new volunteers to Hezbollah's cause. This is a major shift from when Hezbollah first involved itself in Syria in 2012. Many Lebanese felt then that Syria was not their fight and Hezbollah should keep its focus on Israel. As suicide bombings and other violence gripped Lebanon, attitudes changed. "The war is here now. It is across the borders and in our areas. We have to protect ourselves," said an unidentified Lebanese teacher. 116

Training:

In its early years, Hezbollah obtained critical training from Iran's IRGC. ¹¹⁷ Hezbollah has since developed a network of training camps in Lebanon. It has also built a cultural machine that produces materials that foster an appreciation for Hezbollah's patronage, its ability to empower Lebanese youth and support the society, and cultivate a deep distrust of Israel. The process of becoming a soldier continues at Mustafa schools, where students undergo religious studies, pray for



Islamic Resistance fighters, and are inculcated with a sense of military brotherhood and discipline. As of 2011, Hezbollah did not allow fighters under the age of 18, but youth have a basic understanding of military training and weapons. Hezbollah reportedly lowered its fighting age to 16 in August 2014. Hezbollah reportedly lowered its fighting age to 16 in August 2014.

Hezbollah sends recruiters to villages where the group has influence. Potential recruits are pious, well-behaved, and intelligent. Recruiters develop a relationship with a potential recruit for months and sometimes years, eventually asking them to join. These activated recruits join out of a sense of religious obligation, desire to resist occupation, and even peer pressure. 120

Fighters have to pass through a phase of *tahdirat*, or preparation, where they are taught about Iran's Islamic revolution, scholarly Islamic texts, and a motif of martyrdom. During the second stage, *intizam*, or commitment, members undergo basic military training. Both of these phases last approximately a year.¹²¹

The initial military training program lasts for 33 days, during which recruits learn basic guerrilla warfare and physical fitness. The training takes place in the heavily wooded Bekaa Valley. Pecruits are dropped off with bare essentials and required to find their way back to their bases. They are forced to march across unsteady limestone with rock-filled backpacks. The trainees are given only one canteen of water per day, and are pressured to perform uphill sprints and pushups. During the night, each recruit performs at least one hour of guard duty. 123

In addition to these tests meant to build fitness and endurance, recruits are trained in the use of standard Hezbollah weaponry—AK-47 and M-16 assault rifles, the PKC 7.62 light machine gun, the .50 caliber heavy machine gun, and the RPG-7—until they can strip, reassemble, and load each weapon blindfolded. Trainees are taught to shoot both day and night and learn the importance of conserving ammunition. Each fighter is taught how to install roadside bombs and landmines. They study the Israeli army's armored vehicles and are instructed to fire RPGs at vulnerable spots. Recruits become adept at camouflage and stealth—learning various crawls and how to lie in observation for hours—and become expert navigators, using maps, compasses, and GPS instruments. Hezbollah also provides training to protect fighters against nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare. 124

This level of training is required for all recruits, even those who may eventually play ancillary roles for Hezbollah. Each fighter is trained in first aid and basic medical support. They are also required to take written and practical exams in the field. After fighters have attained a certain level of religious scholarship and military training, some travel to Iran and sometimes Syria for specialized training. Hezbollah has been accused of working with the Quds Force of Iran's IRGC, as well as training and advising Syrian government forces. Top combat training is reserved for Hezbollah's Special Forces unit, where recruits are subject to two 45-day programs with a five-day break in between.

Hezbollah leaders insist that the group's resistance is of a higher quality than other jihadist groups due to its ingrained faith in Islam, readiness for martyrdom, and integrity of leadership. 128

^{1 &}quot;Country Reports on Terrorism 2014," U.S. Department of State, April 2015, http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2014/239413.htm.

² "Country Reports on Terrorism 2014," U.S. Department of State, April 2015, http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2014/239413.htm.

³ "Country Reports on Terrorism 2014," U.S. Department of State, April 2015, http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2014/239413.htm.

⁴Jonathan Masters and Zachary Laub, "Hezbollah (a.k.a. Hizbollah, Hizbu'llah)," Council on Foreign Relations, January 3, 2014, http://www.cfr.org/lebanon/hezbollah-k-hizbollah-hizbullah/p9155.

⁵ Jonathan Masters and Zachary Laub, "Hezbollah (a.k.a. Hizbollah, Hizbu'llah)," Council on Foreign Relations, January 3, 2014, http://www.cfr.org/lebanon/hezbollah-k-hizbollah-hizbullah/p9155.

⁶ "Country Reports on Terrorism 2014," U.S. Department of State, April 2015, http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2014/239413.htm.

[&]quot;Country Reports on Terrorism 2014," U.S. Department of State, April 2015, http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2014/239413.htm.

 $^{^{8} \}text{``Country Reports on Terrorism 2014,'' U.S. Department of State, April 2015, } \underline{\text{http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2014/239413.htm}}.$

⁹ "Country Reports on Terrorism 2014," U.S. Department of State, April 2015, http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2014/239413.htm.



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COUNTER EXTREMISM PROJECT

Hezbollah

Key Leaders



Hassan Nasrallah Secretary-General



Naim Qassem
Deputy Secretary-General



Mustafa Badreddine Military commander (deceased)



Hussein al-Khalil Top Political Adviser to Nasrallah



Ibrahim Amin al-Sayyid Head of Political Assembly



Hashem Safieddine Head of Executive Assembly



Mohamed Yazbik Member of Shura Council and Logistics Coordinator



Hassan Al Laqis Former Senior Leader - Deceased



History:

• October 31, 2016:Lebanon's parliament elects as president MP Michel Aoun—whose Free Patriotic Movement allied with Hezbollah in 2006.

Sources: "Michel Aoun elected president of Lebanon," Al Jazeera, October 31, 2016, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/michel-aoun-elected-president-lebanon-161031105331767.html;Ben Lynfield, "Political victory for Hezbollah expected in Lebanon election," *Jerusalem Post*, October 31, 2016, http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Political-victory-for-Hezbollah-expected-in-Lebanon-election-471274.

- May 2016:Senior Hezbollah military commander Mustafa Badreddine is killed in artillery shelling in Damascus, Syria. He is the most senior Hezbollah leader to be killed fighting in Syria to date. Badreddine was reportedly in charge of Hezbollah's operations in Syria. He had also been accused of masterminding the 2005 assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri.Sources: "Hezbollah: Mustafa Badreddine killed in rebel shelling," Al Jazeera, May 14, 2016, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/hezbollah-mustafa-badreddine-killed-shelling-160514070756124.html;Agence France-Presse, "Hariri tribunal axes trial of slain Hezbollah commander," Al-Monitor, July 11, 2016, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/afp/2016/07/lebanon-hezbollah-trial-hariri.html.
- January 28, 2015: Hezbollah launches an anti-tank missile at an Israeli military vehicle near the border with Lebanon, killing two Israeli soldiers.

Mortar bombs hit an Israeli military position in the Golan Heights. Sources: "Israel tells U.N. will defend itself against Hezbollah," Reuters, January 28, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/28/us-mideast-israel-lebanon-troops-idUSKBN0L11QQ20150128; "Mortar bombs hit Israeli military position in Golan Heights: army," Reuters, January 28, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/28/us-mideast-israel-lebanon-golan-idUSKBN0L115A20150128.

- January 18, 2015:An Israeli helicopter conducts a missile strike in Syria, killing five Hezbollah operatives.

 Among the dead are Mohamad Issa, an Iranian Hezbollah general and former commander in the IRGC, as well as Jihad Mughniyeh, son of Hezbollah's late military commander Imad Mughniyeh. Sources: "Israeli source confirms attack in Syria: Israeli TV," Reuters, January 18, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/18/us-israel-syria-hezbollah-idUSKBN0KR0SG20150118; "Late Hezbollah military leader's son killed in Israeli strike in Syria sources close to Hezbollah," Reuters, January 18, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/18/mideast-crisis-syria-israel-idUSL6N0UX0PD20150118.
- September 20, 2014:Hezbollah reportedly uses armed drones for the first time, attacking a Nusra Front target. Source: Peter Bergen and Emily Schneider, "Hezbollah armed drones? Militants' new weapon," CNN, September 22, 2014, http://www.cnn.com/2014/09/22/opinion/bergen-schneider-armed-drone-hezbollah/.
- July 2013:The European Union labels Hezbollah's armed wing a terrorist organization. Source: Justyna Pawlak and Adrian Croft, "EU Adds Hezbollah's Military Wing to Terrorism List," Reuters, July 22, 2013, http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/07/22/us-eu-hezbollah-idUSBRE96K0DA20130722.
- May 2013:Hezbollah chief Nasrallah admits to Hezbollah's role in the Syrian civil war and pledges to defend the Syrian regime.

Source: "Hezbollah Promises Syria 'Victory,'" BBC News, May 25, 2013, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-22669230.

- July 18, 2012:A suicide bomber attacks a tour bus in Burgas, Bulgaria, killing five Israeli tourists and the Bulgarian driver, and wounding 35 other Israeli tourists.

 U.S. intelligence accuses Hezbollah of carrying out the attack under Iranian guidance.Sources: Nicholas Kulis and Eric Schmitt, "Hezbollah Is Blamed in Attack on Israeli Tourist Bus in Bulgaria," New York Times, July 19, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/20/world/europe/explosion-on-bulgaria-tour-bus-kills-at-least-five-israelis.html;Agence France-Presse, "Bulgaria court delays trial of Burgas bus bomber accomplices," Times of Israel, September 26, 2016, http://www.timesofisrael.com/bulgaria-court-delays-trial-of-burgas-bus-bomber-accomplices/.
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- January 2011: After a dispute with Lebanese Prime Minister Saad Hariri about indictments in the assassination of his father, Hezbollah quits Lebanon's unity government, causing it to collapse. Source: Martin Chulov, "Lebanon's Unity Government Collapses," Guardian (London), January 12, 2011, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/12/hezbollah-quits-lebanon-unity-government.
- October 2008:U.S. and Colombian authorities break up an international cocaine smuggling and money-laundering ring
 that allegedly used some of its profits to finance Hezbollah.
 Source: Chris Kraul and Sebastian Rotella, "Drug Probe Finds Hezbollah Link," Los Angeles Times, October 22, 2008,
 http://articles.latimes.com/2008/oct/22/world/fg-cocainering22.
- February 12, 2008:A car bomb in Damascus kills Imad Fayez Mugniyah, considered Hezbollah's top planner of worldwide terrorist operations.

Hezbollah accuses Israel, which denies involvement. In January 2015, a former U.S. intelligence official reveals that the CIA and Mossad are responsible. Sources: James Risen, "Before bin Laden, One of World's Most Feared Men," New York Times, February 14, 2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/14/world/middleeast/14mugniyah.html; Adam Goldman and Ellen Nakashima, "CIA and Mossad killed senior Hezbollah figure in car bombing," Washington Post, January 30, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/cia-and-mossad-killed-senior-hezbollah-figure-in-car-bombing/2015/01/30/ebb88682-9 68a-11e4-8005-1924ede3e54a_story.html.

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Violent history:

According to former CIA director George Tenet, "Hezbollah, as an organization with capability and worldwide presence, is [al-Qaeda's] equal, if not a far more capable organization." Hezbollah is credited with attacks against Israeli soldiers during Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon; the 1983 attack on U.S. military barracks in Lebanon; and the 1985 hijacking of TWA Flight 847, as well as other attacks. In 2012, U.S. State Department Counterterrorism Coordinator Daniel Benjamin said, "Hezbollah and Iran will both continue to maintain a heightened level of terrorist activity and operations in the near future," and could launch attacks "with little or no warning."

In its more-than-three-decade history, Hezbollah has transformed—thanks largely to Iranian patronage—from a singularly focused terrorist group fighting Israel into a developed army participating in regional conflicts. Hezbollah's use of drone technology illustrates its advancement in weaponry. Hezbollah began using Iranian-supplied drones in 2002, primarily for reconnaissance missions. In September 2014, Iranian media reported that Hezbollah had used an armed unmanned aerial vehicle to kill 23 members of the Nusra Front in Lebanon—a significant leap forward in weapons technology for the terrorist group. ¹³² In August 2016, Hezbollah released video footage of its use of armed drones to drop cluster bombs on Syrian rebel forces near Aleppo, Syria. ¹³³

The following is a list of areas where Hezbollah has staged violent activities:

Violence against Israel

Since Israel's May 2000 evacuation from southern Lebanon, Hezbollah has been responsible for cross-border raids, most notably the July 12, 2006, attack that killed eight Israeli soldiers and resulted in the captivity and deaths of two other soldiers. In the ensuing 34-day war, Hezbollah fired thousands of rockets, supplied by Iran, into Israeli territory. During the course of the war, Hezbollah killed 39 Israeli civilians and 120 soldiers, while Israel killed more than 850 Lebanese—most of whom were reportedly civilians. According to a report by the American Jewish Congress, the disproportionately high civilian casualty count on the Lebanese side was due to Hezbollah's use of civilians as human shields. The report claims that Hezbollah "operated from civilian areas to deter the Israeli military," and further states that Hezbollah's operatives "stashed weapons in hundreds of private homes and mosques, had fighters transporting missiles closely follow ambulances," and fired rockets near areas where U.N. monitors were working. 135

The Center for Strategic and International Studies estimated in a 2006 report that Iran had transferred 10,000 short-range Katyusha-type rockets, with launchers, capable of reaching 7 to 12 miles inside Israel, as well as an unknown number of longer-range rockets capable of hitting targets almost 50 miles inside Israel, as well as unmanned aerial vehicles. ¹³⁶ U.N. Resolution 1701, which ended the 2006 conflict, demanded that Hezbollah disarm. ¹³⁷ U.N. Resolution 1559 in 2004 also called for "the disbanding and disarmament of all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias." ¹³⁸ According to a 2014 State Department report, Hezbollah has stockpiled 60,000 to 70,000 missiles in Lebanon since the end of its 2006 war with Israel. ¹³⁹

Though Hezbollah has focused its military capacity in Syria since 2012, it has continued to target Israel. On January 28, 2015, for example, a Hezbollah missile hit an Israeli army position inside Israel, killing two Israeli soldiers. ¹⁴⁰ In January 2016, Hezbollah targeted an Israeli patrol on the Israeli side of the border with an improvised explosive device. ¹⁴¹ In October 2016, Israeli authorities charged six Lebanese members of a Hezbollah cell who had been arrested in recent months for allegedly attempting to plant bombs near the Israeli city of Haifa. ¹⁴²

Violence in Lebanon

Hezbollah undertook a campaign of violence against U.S., Israeli, and other international targets in Lebanon throughout the 1980s. These attacks include the 1983 attack on the U.S. embassy in Beirut, which left 63 people dead, 143 and the



suicide truck bombing of U.S. Marine barracks later that year, which left 242 U.S. service personnel dead. Simultaneously with the Marine barrack bombing. Hezbollah targeted French military barracks, killing 58 French service members.¹⁴⁴

Hezbollah has been responsible for violent clashes with Lebanese security forces, such as in May 2008 when Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah openly threatened war with the Lebanese army. Further, Hezbollah's actions in the Syrian civil war have spilled into Lebanon, resulting in confrontations with the Nusrah Front and other rebel groups inside Lebanese territory. Is last also targeted Hezbollah strongholds inside Lebanon, including a November 2015 twin suicide bombing in Beirut, which left 43 dead. It dead.

In 2011, two suspected members of Hezbollah were indicted in the 2005 Beirut bombing that killed former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and 22 others. Hezbollah denies participation in the attack.

Hezbollah's campaign in Syria has spilled over into Lebanon, with clashes against the Nusra Front, ISIS, and other rebel forces within Lebanon's borders. For example, in May 2015, Hezbollah and Nusra fighters fought in eastern Lebanon, about 30 miles from the Syrian border, according to Lebanese security. ¹⁴⁹ In June 2013, Syrian rebels fired 18 rockets and mortars into eastern Lebanon. A Hezbollah member and 17 Nusra Front fighters were reportedly killed in ensuing battles inside Lebanon. ¹⁵⁰

Transnational Violence

Hezbollah has not limited its terrorism to the region. The group is suspected of carrying out a number of transnational attacks as well. According to the U.S. Department of State, Hezbollah "increased the pace of its terrorist plotting" in 2012. ¹⁵¹

TWA Flight 847

On June 14, 1985, Hezbollah terrorists, armed with grenades and a 9-mm. pistol, hijacked TWA Flight 847 on its way from Athens to Rome. The hijackers demanded passengers with "Jewish-sounding names" identify themselves. The terrorists forced the plan to land in Beirut, where they shot passenger Robert Stethem, a U.S. Navy diver, and threw his body out of the plane, reportedly in retaliation for a failed negotiation. Hezbollah demanded the release of more than 700 prisoners held in Israel, Cyprus, and Kuwait in exchange for the remaining 39 hostages. The terrorists released most of the hostages, but kept five on board until their negotiated release on June 30. 152

On January 13, 1987, German authorities arrested one of the suspected hijackers, Mohammed Ali Hammadi, as he brought explosives into the Frankfurt airport. Soon after his arrest, two German citizens in Lebanon were kidnapped in an attempt to dissuade Germany from extraditing Hammadi to the U.S. ¹⁵³ A German court tried Hammadi and handed him a life sentence in 1989, ¹⁵⁴ but he was released on parole in 2005 after serving only 19 years. ¹⁵⁵ Hammadi remains on the FBI's Most Wanted list. ¹⁵⁶

Argentina:

On March 17, 1992, a van carrying 220 pounds of explosives drove onto the sidewalk outside the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires and blew up, killing 23 people and wounding 242. ¹⁵⁷ Hezbollah claimed responsibility in a statement to a Beirut-based Western news agency, declaring, "with all pride that the operation of the martyr infant Hussein is one of our continuing strikes against the criminal Israeli enemy in an open-ended war, which will not cease until Israel is wiped out of existence." ¹⁵⁸ The "martyr infant Hussein" refers to the 5-year-old son of Hezbollah leader Abbas Moussawi. Both were killed in an Israeli airstrike on February 16, 1992.

On July 18, 1994, a suicide bomber exploded at the Argentine Jewish Mutual Association (AMIA) community center in



Buenos Aires, killing 85 people and wounding 300.¹⁵⁹ In 2006, Argentinian prosecutors called for the arrest of a handful of Iranian officials, including former President Hashemi Rafsanjani, in connection to the attack.¹⁶⁰ The following year, prosecutors named several suspects, including Iran's then defense minister, Gen. Ahmed Vahidi, who was commander of a special unit of the IRGC in 1994.¹⁶¹ According to Argentinian prosecutors, Iran planned and financed the AMIA attack, which Hezbollah then carried out.¹⁶²

In 2013, Argentina and Iran agreed to a joint investigation into the 1994 attack. Detractors, including Argentinian Jewish groups and a number of opposition legislators, condemned the deal, arguing it would hinder the investigation and that Iran could not be trusted. "The bombing is being debated with the Iranian government, which ordered it," said Ricardo Gil Lavedra of the Argentinian legislature. Guillermo Carmona, president of the Argentine Foreign Relations Committee, called the agreement the only possibility for Argentinian legal officials to question Iranian suspects in Tehran. Despite Iran's cooperation agreement, Interpol refused to rescind the six arrest warrants for Iranian suspects, including Iranian Defense Minister Ahmad Vahidi, in the bombing. As of October 2016, Argentina continues to issue international extradition requests for Iranian suspects.

Bahrain:

Bahrain has a Shiite majority but is ruled by a Sunni monarchy. Bahraini intelligence from defected Syrian soldiers revealed that Hezbollah had trained Bahraini cells to carry out terrorist attacks within the country. ¹⁶⁶ Bahrain's 2013 decision to become the first Arab nation to label Hezbollah a terrorist organization was to "protect Bahrain's security and stability from Hezbollah's threats," according to Bahraini MP Adil al-Asoumi. ¹⁶⁷

Bulgaria:

On July 19, 2012, a suicide bomber exploded aboard a tourist bus in Burgas, Bulgaria, killing five Israeli tourists and a Bulgarian bus driver, and wounding 35 Israeli tourists. There are clear signs that say Hezbollah is behind the Burgas bombing, according to Bulgarian Interior Minister Tsvetlin Yovchev. Bulgarian authorities accused two suspected Hezbollah members, Australian citizen Meliad Farah, 32, a.k.a. Hussein Hussein, and 25-year-old Canadian citizen Hassan El Hajj Hassan, of providing logistical support for the bombing. Bulgaria turned the information over to EU police but planned to try them in absentia beginning in late 2016.

Cyprus:

A Cypriot court sentenced Lebanese-Swedish national Hossam Taleb Yaccoub to three years in prison in 2013 for planning attacks on Israeli targets. Hezbollah had paid Yaccoub since 2011 to collect information on Israeli tourists, including Israeli flights arriving in Cyprus and registration plates of buses carrying Israeli tourists. Yaccoub admitted to collecting the information but denied any plans for an attack. 173

Syria:

Syria is Iran's main supply route to Hezbollah in Lebanon.* Extending Iran's influence, Hezbollah has been actively fighting on behalf of the besieged Syrian government in that country's civil war. Hezbollah actively joined the fighting on behalf of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad in 2013. In August 2012, the U.S. government sanctioned Hezbollah for its support of the Assad regime in Syria, and said Hezbollah has "directly trained Syrian Government personnel inside Syria and has facilitated the training of Syrian forces by Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, Qods Force." The United States also accused Hezbollah of playing "a substantial role in efforts to expel Syrian opposition forces from areas within Syria." 174

According to news reports, Hezbollah fighters were heavily involved in the Syrian town of Qusair in May 2013, after the



Syrian government launched an offensive to retake the town from rebel forces. The BBC reported the deaths of several Hezbollah fighters and Hezbollah chief Hassan Nasrallah's pledge to defend the Syrian regime: "This battle is ours... and I promise you victory." ¹⁷⁵

Hezbollah has promised to remain in Syria. In April 2014, Nasrallah said, "The problem in Lebanon is not that Hezbollah went to Syria, but that we were late in doing so. This resistance will remain solid, with its head hung high, protecting its people and its nation." In October 2016, Nasrallah reiterated Hezbollah's determination to remain engaged in Syria. 177

In June 2017, Hezbollah openly threatened to attack U.S. forces in Syria if the United States "crosses any red lines." 178

Venezuela:

In October 2007, authorities found homemade bombs outside of the U.S. embassy in Caracas, Venezuela. According to Caracas Police Commissioner Wilfredo Borrass, the bombs were "made to make noise and publicity." ¹⁷⁹

Other International Terrorist Activity:

Hezbollah plots have also been uncovered in Azerbaijan, Egypt, Thailand, as well as throughout South America, Southeast Asia, Europe, and various countries in the Middle East. 180

Other Criminal Activities:

Colombia:

U.S. and Colombian investigators in 2008 broke up an international cocaine smuggling and money-laundering ring that allegedly used some of its profits to finance Hezbollah. Colombian investigators accused kingpin Chekry "Taliban" Harb of acting as a link between South American cocaine traffickers and Hezbollah. Harb's ring gave Hezbollah 12 percent of its profits, according to investigators. ¹⁸¹

Mexico:

U.S. officials have accused Hezbollah of using Lebanese Shiite expatriates to negotiate contracts with Mexican crime bosses, using Mexican drug routes to smuggle people and contraband into the U.S. Admiral James G. Stavridis, then commander of the U.S. Southern Command, testified in 2009 that the link between illicit drug trafficking "including routes, profits, and corruptive influence" and "Islamic radical terrorism" is a growing threat to the United States. ¹⁸²

- In 2008, Mexican authorities sentenced Salim Boughader Mucharrafille, a Mexican of Lebanese descent, to 60 years in prison on charges of organized crime and immigrant smuggling. Mucharrafille, who owned a cafe in Tijuana, was arrested in 2002 for smuggling 200 people, reportedly including Hezbollah supporters, into the U.S. 183
- In 2001, Mahmoud Youssef Kourani crossed the border from Mexico in a car and traveled to Dearborn, Micigan. He was later convicted on a 2003 indictment that charged him with providing "material support and resources... to Hezbollah." ¹⁸⁴

United States:

- In 2002, North Carolina convicted Hezbollah operatives of smuggling cigarettes across state lines and sending more than \$1.5 million of their profits to Hezbollah in Lebanon.
- During the late 2000s, the FBI broke up a Hezbollah counterfeiting ring, led by Hezbollah member Hassan Karaki, which attempted to sell stolen and counterfeit currency to an undercover FBI informant. The group bought what they thought to be stolen property from the undercover officer and shipped to Michigan, California, Paraguay, Brazil, Belgium, Bahrain, Slovakia, Lebanon, Syria, and Iran. The counterfeiting ring's purchase money came from Hezbollah



agent Danni Tarraf, who asked the undercover agent if he could provide guided missiles and 10,000 "commando" machine guns. 185

- Hezbollah agent Dib Harb, looking for a buyer for counterfeit currency, told the FBI that Iran produces high-quality counterfeit currency in Lebanon for Hezbollah. The FBI went to Beirut in February 2009 to meet with Karaki, Harb's boss, who revealed that Hezbollah had smuggled just under \$10,000 into Lebanon from Iran through Turkey and Syria. Harb told the FBI that Hezbollah also produces counterfeit money from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the EU. 187
- On October 9, 2015, U.S. authorities arrested two "Hezbollah associates" on charges of conspiring to launder narcotics
 proceeds and international arms trafficking. Iman Kobeissi allegedly arranged to obtain firearms and heavy weapons
 for Hezbollah and other independent criminal groups in Iran, according to the DEA. Kobeissi's accused co-conspirator,
 Joseph Asmar, was charged with money laundering conspiracy.¹⁸⁸

Other Transnational Criminal Activity:

According to Hezbollah agent Dib Harb, Hezbollah cells commit robberies across the world and send the money to Iran, where it is held before being distributed to Hezbollah in Lebanon. He also revealed that Hezbollah produces fake European documents, including passports and visa stamps.¹⁸⁹

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Designations:

Designations by the U.S. Government:

January 25, 1995: The Department of the Treasury designates Hezbollah as a Terrorist Organization that threatens to disrupt the Middle East Peace Process (under Executive Order 12947). 190

October 31, 2001: The Department of State designates Hezbollah as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (under Executive Order 13224). 192

August 10, 2012: The Department of the Treasury designates Hezbollah as providing support to Syrian government (under Executive Order 13582). 194

June 11, 2013: The Department of the Treasury designates Ali Ibrahim al-Watfa, Hezbollah supporter; Abbas Loutfe Fawaz, Hezbollah supporter; Ali Ahmad Chehade, Hezbollah supporter; and Hicham Nmer Khanafer, Hezbollah supporter as expanding Hezbollah influence in West Africa (under Executive Order 13224).

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October 8, 1997: The Department of State designates Hezbollah as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (under Section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act). ¹⁹¹

March 23, 2006: The Department of the Treasury designates Al-Manar Television, Al-Nour Radio, and their parent company, Lebanese Media Group, as arms of Hezbollah. 193

September 13, 2012: The Department of the Treasury designates Hezbollah Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah; senior leader Mustafa Badr al-Din; senior leader Talal Hamiyah; and senior commander Ali Mussa Daqduq al-Musawi for providing support to the Syrian government (under Executive Order 13582). 195

January 9, 2017: The Department of State designates Ali Damush, aide to Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah and leader of Hezbollah's Foreign Relations Department, and military commander Mustafa Mughniyeh as Specially Designated Global Terrorists.¹⁹⁷

Designations by Foreign Governments and Organizations:



Israel— listed Hezbollah as a terrorist organization on April 11, 1996. 198



European Union— listed the Hezbollah Military Wing as a terrorist organization on July 22, 2013. 199



United Kingdom—listed listed the Hezbollah Military
Wing as a terrorist organization
on February 11, 2001.²⁰⁰



Canada—listed listed Hezbollah as a terrorist organization on December 10, 2002.²⁰¹





The Netherlands—listed Hezbollah as a terrorist organization in 2004. 2002



Australia—listed Hezbollah's External Security Organization as a terrorist organization on June 5, $2003.^{^{203}}$



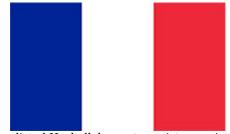
Bahrain—listed Hezbollah as a terrorist organization on April 9, 2013. 204



Gulf Cooperation Council—designated Hezbollah a terrorist organization on March 2, 2016. The GCC includes Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates.²⁰⁵



New Zealand—listed Hezbollah as a terrorist organization on February 10, 2010. 206



France—listed Hezbollah as a terrorist organization on May 22, 2013.²⁰⁷



Germany—banned al-Manar on October 29, 2008.²⁰⁸



The Arab League—designated Hezbollah a terrorist organization on March 11, 2016. ²⁰⁹ The following Arab countries have protested or rejected the Arab League designation: Egypt, ²¹⁰ Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Algeria, and Tunisia. ²¹¹

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Associations:

Ties to Extremist Entities designated by the U.S. or foreign governments:

Kata'ib Hizballah (Iraq)

The U.S. designated Kata'ib Hizballah a Foreign Terrorist
Organization in 2009. According to the U.S. Treasury,
Kata'ib Hizballah is responsible for numerous terror
attacks against U.S. forces in Iraq and is ideologically
linked to Lebanese Hezbollah.²¹²



<u>Hamas</u>

Hezbollah and Hamas both had strong ties to Syria prior to the outbreak of the civil war in 2011. Hamas's political leadership, long based in Syria, left the country in 2012, driving a wedge between Hamas and Iran. In spite of their respective Sunni-Shiite divisions, Hamas and Hezbollah began to repair ties during 2014. ²¹³ In January 2015, Hamas military leader Mohammed Deif reportedly called for Hezbollah and Hamas to unite in battling Israel. ²¹⁴ After the Gulf Cooperation Council designated Hezbollah a terrorist organization in March 2016, Hamas signed an Iranian statement of support for Hezbollah. ²¹⁵



government and the IRGC

Iran has supported of Hezbollah since its establishment in the 1980s. Hezbollah modeled its ideology after Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's 1979 Iranian revolution, while Iran saw Hezbollah as an opportunity to extend its influence and cultivated Hezbollah as a proxy force. Iran

has thus provided extensive funding, training, and weaponry to Hezbollah through its Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC). In the early 1980s, Iran reportedly sent 1,000 IRGC soldiers to provide military training and transform local Shiite militants into Hezbollah.²¹⁶ In its 1985 manifesto, Hezbollah pledged loyalty to Khomeini. 217 Iran has provided millions of dollars worth of funding and weaponry to Hezbollah over the years. For example, during Hezbollah's 2006 war with Israel, the IRGC transferred sufficient cash and rockets to Hezbollah to make the terror group a threat to millions of Israeli civilians. 218 The Center for Strategic and International Studies estimated in a 2006 report that Iran had transferred 10,000 short-range Katyusha-type rockets, with launchers, capable of reaching 7 to 12 miles inside Israel. In addition, Iran provided an unknown number of longer-range rockets capable of hitting targets almost 50 miles inside Israel, as well as unmanned aerial vehicles.²¹⁹ Iran continues to be a primary sponsor of Hezbollah.

Hezbollah and the IRGC's Quds Force reportedly agreed in January 2010 to cooperate in attacking Israeli, U.S., and Western targets.²²⁰ In 2012, Hezbollah pledged to defend Iran against any attack by the United States or Israel.²²¹ In April 2016, Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei pledged Iran's continued support for Hezbollah, a "source of honor for the Muslim world." 222



Lebanese Media

Group: Al-Nour Radio and Al-Manar Television Hezbollah has set up its own media empire in Lebanon through the Lebanese Media Group, which acts as a propaganda tool for the Shiite group. 226 The U.S. designated the Lebanese Media Group as a global terrorist entity and an arm of Hezbollah in 2006.



Al-Qaeda

The relationship between Hezbollah and al-Qaeda dates back to the 1990s, when a small group of al-Qaeda members visited Hezbollah training camps in Lebanon.²²³ Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden and Hezbollah leader Imad Mugniyeh later agreed during a meeting in Sudan that Hezbollah would provide the fledgling al-Qaida with explosives and training, in exchange for money and manpower.²²⁴ Hezbollah reportedly helped al-Qaeda traffic diamonds and gold through Africa following the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks. 225



Ties to other entities:



Syrian Government

Syria has long been a conduit between Iran and Hezbollah. In 2011, as the Syrian civil war was beginning, Hezbollah chief Hassan Nasrallah praised Syrian President Bashar Assad and pledged support for the regime. The terror group took the connection to unprecedented levels of cooperation in 2013 when it entered the Syrian civil war on behalf of Assad. Assad. Assad. 228

According to news reports, Hezbollah fighters were heavily involved in a battle in the Syrian town of Qusair in May 2013, after the Syrian government launched an offensive to retake the town from rebel forces. The *BBC* reported the deaths of several Hezbollah fighters, and Hezbollah chief Nasrallah pledged to defend the Syrian regime: "This battle is ours... and I promise you victory."

Hezbollah has promised to remain in Syria. In April 2014, Hassan Nasrallah said, "The problem in Lebanon is not that Hezbollah went to Syria, but that we were late in doing so. This resistance will remain solid, with its head hung high, protecting its people and its nation." In November 2016, Hezbollah held a public parade in the Syrian city of Qusair, during which the terror group showcased U.S. and Russian armored personnel carriers and tanks. The U.S. State Department issued a statement that it was "gravely concerned" and investigating how Hezbollah acquired U.S. equipment. 231

Los Zetas

In a 2011 indictment of Lebanese druglord Ayman Joumaa, U.S. authorities revealed close ties between Hezbollah and Mexican drug cartels, including Los Zetas. Authorities accused Joumaa of conspiring to smuggle over 90,000 tons of cocaine into America, laundering over \$250 million for the cartels, and helping to smuggle Colombian drugs through Mexico between 2005 and 2007. And 2007.

Also in 2011, U.S. prosecutors indicted a Lebanese man on charges of trafficking drugs and laundering money for Colombian drug cartels as well as Los Zetas.²³⁴

Houthis

After the Shiite rebel Houthi group stormed Yemeni government buildings in September 2014, Yemeni intelligence sources claimed that Hezbollah was aiding the Houthis to "[b]oost their control of Yemen's capital, Sana'a...."



Palestinian Authority

After the Gulf Cooperation Council designated Hezbollah a terrorist organization in March 2016, Palestinian Charge d'affaires in Iran, Mohammad Jawhar, signed an Iranian statement of support for Hezbollah.²³⁶





Russia maintains "contacts and relations" with Hezbollah, according to Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Bogdanov. Russia does not view Hezbollah as a terrorist group because it has never committed a terrorist act on Russian territory, Bogdanov told a press conference in November 2015. He further called Hezbollah and Hamas "legitimate societal-political forces." ²³⁷

La Oficina de Envigado

La Oficina de Envigado is a South American drug cartel that works with Hezbollah's External Security Organization Business Affairs Component to facilitate Hezbollah's drug and money laundering activities. La Oficina de Envigado is responsible for the movement of large amounts of cocaine in the United States and Europe. 238

Associations or networks between group and terrorist actions/organizations:

As shown above, Hezbollah is tied to a number of terrorist attacks, terrorist organizations, criminal activities, and insurgencies.

Political connections to U.S. or global leaders:

In its capacity as part of the Lebanese government, Hezbollah maintains ties with international leaders. As such, countries that have diplomatic relations with Lebanon have a relationship with Hezbollah by extension. This has caused problems for countries that have sought to sanction Hezbollah without jeopardizing Lebanese relations. For example, in considering whether to label Hezbollah a terrorist organization in 2013, European leaders were wary of how the designation would affect European relations with Lebanon. As a result, the European Union labeled only Hezbollah's armed wing as a terrorist organization. ²³⁹

In October 2016, Lebanon elected MP Michel Aoun—leader of the Hezbollah-allied Free Patriotic Movement (FPM)—as its new president. Aoun signed a memorandum of understanding with Hezbollah in 2006 that formed a political alliance between the FPM and Hezbollah. On February 12, 2017, Aoun told Egypt's CBC television station that Hezbollah has a "complementary role to the Lebanese army" and Lebanon needs the terror group for "as long as the Lebanese army is not strong enough to battle Israel."

Former British Member of Parliament George Galloway has been an outspoken supporter of Hezbollah, accusing Israel of war crimes against the Palestinians while defending Hezbollah and the Syrian regime against accusations of terrorism. In 2010, for example, Galloway defended Hezbollah from accusations that it was involved in the 2007 assassination of former Lebanese prime minister Rafik Hariri, saying, "I believe, and I don't know anybody who is objective in this matter who does not believe, that Hezbollah are absolutely innocent of this crime, and it is time that the tribunal looked to the people who benefited from this crime... in Israel."²⁴³ In 2011, while appearing on Hezbollah's Al-Manar TV, Galloway again defended Hezbollah and accused Israel of involvement in Hariri's murder.²⁴⁴

Former U.S. Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota appeared on Hezbollah's Al-Manar TV in 2007 and praised the station. He also called Hezbollah and Hamas resistance fighters. The U.S. designation of the groups as terrorist groups was at the behest of Israel, he said. He went on to accuse "the Arabs involved in 9/11" of working with "the Zionists." ²⁴⁵ Abourezk served in the House of Representatives from 1971 to 1973, when he was elected to the Senate, where he served until 1979. ²⁴⁶



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- ²²⁴Eben Kaplan, "The Al-Qaeda-Hezbollah Relationship," Council on Foreign Relations, August 14, 2006, http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-organizations-and-networks/al-qaeda-hezbollah-relationship/p11275.
- ²²⁵Eben Kaplan, "The Al-Qaeda-Hezbollah Relationship," Council on Foreign Relations, August 14, 2006, http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-organizations-and-networks/al-qaeda-hezbollah-relationship/p11275.
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²⁴⁶ "Former U.S. Senator James Abourezk to Hizbullah TV: The Arabs Who Were Involved in 9/11 Cooperated with the Zionists. Alan Dershowitz Is a Real Snake. I Watch Al-Manar TV in the U.S.," MEMRI, August 30, 2007, http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/1551.htm.



Media Coverage:

Arab Media

While Western media will mostly acknowledge Hezbollah's terrorist activities, Arab media tends to tell a different story, particularly in Lebanon.

The Daily Star, a Lebanese newspaper, is a prime example. A 2002 article in the Daily Star essentially reprinted a speech by Nasrallah verbatim without any analysis. Nasrallah stated, "Christian Zionists[want to]... redraw the world's political map."²⁴⁷ He added the "U.S. empire" was "slithering" over the Middle East, but that the U.S. and Israel would lose their war against the Muslim world.²⁴⁸

The *Daily Star*'s coverage of Hezbollah could be colored by solidarity with Hezbollah's goals and a general Lebanese aversion to Israel, or by Hezbollah's proximity and fear of retribution. Evidence appears to support the former supposition.

The paper picked up an Agence France-Presse report on July 29, 2014, that referred to Hezbollah as "a militant" group. 249 The paper's bias, however, is clear, as a report the day before, written by the *Star* and not a foreign press service, referred

to Hezbollah as a "resistance group." The *Star* ran a 2013 report, also by Agence France-Presse, on al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahri, saying Hezbollah's participation in Syria "exposed the ugly face of Hasan Nasrallah" and Hezbollah is

just an "instrument" of Iran. ²⁵¹ Printing these reports without alteration suggests the newspaper does not fear retribution and, despite its own biases, does respect international news organizations. The 2013 piece offered no response from Hezbollah, demonstrating that the terror group does not censor the newspaper, proving the *Daily Star's* ideological bent in its more positive coverage of Hezbollah.

When referencing Hezbollah, Al Jazeera uses terms such as "resistance" and occupation." For example, after the EU's 2013 decision to designate Hezbollah's armed wing a terrorist group, Al Jazeera put quotation marks around the word "terrorists" in the headline. The article sought to explain the impact of the label and whether Hezbollah should be described as a terrorist or resistance group. ²⁵² The author explained that "the movement was created as a resistance to the Israeli occupation in Lebanon..."

Israeli Media

Israeli media regularly refers to Hezbollah as a terrorist organization and generally takes a more hardline approach to the organization. Given that Hezbollah has launched numerous rockets and other attacks on Israeli civilian centers, this is not surprising. Israeli news outlets such as *The Times of Israel* and *The Jerusalem Post* will regularly pick up news from outlets outside of Israel on new speeches by Hezbollah leaders and the organization's actions, particularly when leaders, such as Nasrallah, make speeches calling for "resistance" against Israel.

²⁴⁷ Badih Chayban, "Nasrallah Alleges 'Christian Zionist' Plot," *Daily Star*, October 23, 2002, http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2002/Oct-23/21779-nasrallah-alleges-christian-zionist-plot.ashx#axzz33cF0Jcty.

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Western Media

Despite its established record as a terrorist organization, Western governments and Western media present conflicting assessments of Hezbollah. While governments in both the U.S. and EU have designated Hezbollah as a terrorist organization, Western media outlets have been more hesitant about describing Hezbollah as such in view of its political role in Lebanon. Nonetheless, Western media will typically reference Hezbollah's terrorist activities.

Following the 1983 attacks against U.S. targets in Lebanon, Western media did not provide extensive coverage of Hezbollah until the 1990s, when the group was linked to a growing number of international attacks.

While the U.S. labels Hezbollah a terrorist organization, media coverage of the group largely replaces "terrorist" with "militant." For example, *Reuters* uses the "terrorist" and "terrorism" labels only for quoted material. According to the *Reuters* handbook, "Terrorism and terrorist should not be used as single words in inverted commas (e.g. terrorist) or preceded by so-called (e.g. a so-called terrorist attack) since that can be taken to imply that *Reuters* is making a value judgment... Terror as in terror attack or terror cell should be avoided on stylistic grounds."²⁵⁴ Other Western news organizations appear to follow this example. A 2004 *Washington Post* article on the U.S. designation of Hezbollah's *Al-Manar* television station as a supporter of terrorism described Hezbollah as a "Lebanese militant group."²⁵⁵ In 2006, a *New York Times* report on Hezbollah's incursion into Israel, which left eight Israeli soldiers dead and two captured, described Hezbollah as a "querilla group."²⁵⁶

While European nations debated whether to label Hezbollah a terrorist organization during 2013, U.S., European, and Israeli media ran a number of op-eds from international leaders, such as Israeli Justice Minister Tzipi Livni and former Canadian justice minister Irwin Cotler, decrying Hezbollah's terrorist activities. Some sections of the media opposed the prospective "terrorist" label. For example, *The Guardian* hosted a forum for both Livni and Sami Ramadani, a university lecturer, to provide opposing arguments. Ramadani arguied that labeling Hezbollah a terrorist organization was "futile" and flew "in the face of the facts." Ramadani further stated, "Like all genuine resistance movements, the Lebanese resistance, led by Hezbollah, was born as a reaction to occupation." The European press thus attempted to cover all angles regarding the suitability of the label, while European leaders were at variance as they sought to balance the issue of Hezbollah's designation with the potential damage to Lebanese relations.

Though the EU did not take up the debate until 2013, there were calls for it to do so for many years previously. For instance, in 2006 the *Baltimore Sun* questioned why the EU would not designate Hezbollah a terrorist organization in spite of Hezbollah's attacks on Israel earlier that summer.²⁵⁹

The debate over what to label Hezbollah, both within the media and by governments, finds its origin in a 1998 piece by academic Augustus Richard Norton. Norton proposed that, despite Hezbollah's violent activities, its provision of social services in Lebanon creates two distinct parts of the organization: one dedicated to terrorism against Israel and the other to being a social-services organization.²⁶⁰

While Western media typically does not use the word "terrorist" to describe Hezbollah, media reports reference some of the terrorist attacks perpetrated by the group and the influence of Iran on its activities. Thus, Reuters recently described it as "an Iranian-backed Shi'ite Islamist group." The EU's debate over the designation of Hezbollah as a Foreign Terrorist Organization was sparked by the 2012 Bulgaria bombing, attributed to the Shiite terror group. The BBC reported in early 2013 that Bulgarian officials had linked the bombing to Hezbollah and the news agency included U.S. calls for Europe to label Hezbollah a terror group. ²⁶² Following the end of the 2006 conflict, a *New York Times* article reported on the Lebanese people returning to their homes, shocked by the damage. The article explored Hezbollah's position in Lebanese society, or, as one Lebanese professor called it, "a state within a non-state," referring to the failure of Lebanon's government to provide adequate services and security. ²⁶³

Further, media reports frequently note Hezbollah's ties to Iran and Syria. For example, when reporting on the U.S. ban of Hezbollah's television station *Al-Manar* in 2004, the *Washington Post* referred to Hezbollah as a "radical Lebanese political



party" whose military wing is "funded by Iran and dedicated to the destruction of Israel." 264

Although Western media may avoid specifically labeling Hezbollah a terrorist organization, it largely – but not always – recognizes Hezbollah's violent nature and terrorist history. A 2013 *New York Times* article on Hezbollah's vow to increase its presence in the Syrian civil war, for example, neglects to mention Hezbollah's connections to the murder of civilians. The article describes Hezbollah "as a popular movement to fight Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon... while firmly based in Lebanon's Shiite community, [it] has long tried to portray itself as a national resistance movement that exists to protect all Lebanese. The strength of its fighters, who constitute Lebanon's strongest military force, once made them —

and Mr. Nasrallah — heroes throughout the Arab world." 265 The article notes Hezbollah's annual commemoration of its 2006 war with Israel, crediting Hezbollah for rebuilding a nearby village destroyed in the war. However, the article omits

the fact that Hezbollah initiated the conflict by crossing the border and attacking Israeli soldiers. 266

²⁵⁴ Sean Maguire, "When Does Reuters Use the Word Terrorist or Terrorism?" Reuters, June 13, 2007, http://blogs.reuters.com/reuters-editors/2007/06/13/when-does-reuters-use-the-word-terrorist-or-terrorism/.

²⁵⁵ Mintz, "U.S. Bans Al-Manar, Says TV Network Backs Terror."

²⁵⁶ Greg Myre and Steven Erlanger, "Israelis Enter Lebanon After Attacks" New York Times, July 13, 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/13/world/middleeast/13mideast.html?pagewanted=all& r=0.

²⁵⁷Tzipi Livni and Sami Ramadani, "Should the EU Designate Hezbollah a Terrorist Organisation?" *Guardian*, July 22, 2013, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jul/22/eu-hezbollah-israel.

²⁵⁸Tzipi Livni and Sami Ramadani, "Should the EU Designate Hezbollah a Terrorist Organisation?" *Guardian*, July 22, 2013, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jul/22/eu-hezbollah-israel.

²⁵⁹ Aaron Resnick, "When Will EU Shun Hezbollah Terrorists?" *Baltimore Sun*, October 6, 2006, http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2006-10-06/news/0610060186 1 hezbollah-terrorist-organization-hamas.

²⁶⁰ Augustus Richard Norton, "Hizballah: From Radicalism to Pragmatism?" Middle East Policy Council, accessed January 28, 2015, http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/300/320/324/324.2/hizballah/norton.html.

²⁶² "Hezbollah Linked to Burgas Bus Bombing in Bulgaria," BBC News, last modified February 5, 2013, 2014, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-21342192.

²⁶³ John Kifner, "Hezbollah Leads Work to Rebuild, Gaining Stature," *New York Times*, August 16, 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/16/world/middleeast/16hezbollah.html.

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²⁶⁵Ben Hubbard, "Hezbollah Makes Vow to Step Up Syria Fight," *New York Times*, August 16, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/17/world/middleeast/hezbollah-makes-vow-to-step-up-syria-fight.html.

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Rhetoric:



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, March 21, 2016

"There will be no ceiling, limits or red lines. We can strike any target we want inside occupied Palestine." 267



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, February 16, 2016

"Israel knows Hezbollah has missiles and rockets that can strike anywhere in its territory. The inhabitants of Haifa are afraid of an attack... that will lead to the death of tens of thousands of inhabitants out of a population of some 800,000. What does this mean? It means that a few missiles on this ammonia site could have the result of a nuclear bomb."



Hashem Safieddine, March 14, 2015

"The axis of resistance in the region is stronger and more deeply rooted than they [the Lebanese anti-Syrian March 14 coalition] think." 269



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, January 30, 2015

"The resistance no longer cares about rules of engagement, and we do not recognize them in confronting the enemy. We have the right to confront the enemy at any time, place or manner." 270



Naim Qassem, Hezbollah Deputy Leader, January 25, 2015

"It is a Zionist attempt to lay the foundation for a new [military] equation in the framework of our struggle with them and achieve by these [January 18, 2015] strikes what they could not achieve in war... But Israel is too weak to be able to draw new steps or new rules... We will continue our jihad and we will be where we should be without [allowing] anything to stand in our way."²⁷¹



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, January 16, 2015

"We have had [Fateh-110 missiles] since 2006. We are now stronger than we ever were as a resistance movement." 272



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, January 16, 2015

Referring to alleged Israeli strikes on Syria: "The repeated bombings that struck several targets in Syria are a major violation, and we consider that any strike against Syria is a strike against the whole of the resistance axis, not just against Syria. The axis is capable of responding. This can happen any time."



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, January 16, 2015

"We are busy in Lebanon, in Syria and probably in other places. But our utmost priority remains to stay ready to confront Israel." 274





Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah Leader, January 15, 2015

"[Retaliation] is an open issue... It is not only Syria's right to respond but also it is the right of the axis of resistance to respond. When this right will be executed is subject to certain criteria... it could happen any time." 275



Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah Leader, January 15, 2015

"If the Israelis think that the resistance is weakened or exhausted ...then they are mistaken." $^{\rm 276}$



Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah Leader, November 2014

"The Israelis imagined that the developments in the region, particularly in Syria, will weaken the resistance... and would distract it from preparations [for a future war] and would drain it. I tell you today, that the resistance is stronger than before and is more developed and has more experience."



Hashem Safieddine, October 2014

"Honestly speaking, we should say that the assistance Iran has provided at this crucial stage (in Lebanon) as the clashes between the army and terrorists rage on, is an appropriate and laudable help, because it would strengthen the army in practice, not just in words."

278



Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah Secretary-General, September 23, 2014

The U.S. "…launched atomic bomb attacks against people in Japan and launched wars in Vietnam [and]… supported [Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu in the 50-day war against Gaza… is not qualified ethically and morally to present itself as a fighter against terrorism or as a leader for an international coalition" against terrorism.²⁷⁹



Hassan Nasrallah, September 23, 2014

"America, is in our view, the mother of terrorism and the origin of terrorism." 280



Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah Secretary-General, September 23, 2014

"...America is the mother and source of terrorism and it is an ultimate supporter of Zionism." 281



Hashem Safieddine, August 26, 2014

"It is natural to expect our enemies to try and undermine our work and movement, and they have worked to do so throughout the past decades and have failed, and they are failing today."²⁸²

Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah Secretary-General, August 15, 2014





Israel is "a cancer... [and] the ultimate goal should be to remove it." 283



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, during a phone call with Hamas chief Khaled Meshaal in response to the conflict in Gaza, July 2014

"Hezbollah and the Lebanese resistance stand firmly on the side of the Intifada and the Palestinian people's resistance, and support Hamas' strategy and the just conditions it has set to end the conflict." ²⁸⁴



Naim Qassem, June 2014

"America and its allies are responsible for the bringing in and financing of Takfiri terrorism in our region through the Syrian gate." 285



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, May 2014

"This is one of the Israeli enemy's concerns. It looks at Syria and Iran [key Assad and Hezbollah backer]... and sees that they are giving all the help they can to the resistance." 286



Hassan Nasrallah, May 2014

"This is one of the Israeli enemy's concerns. It looks at Syria and Iran \dots and sees that they are giving all the help they can to the resistance."



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, April 2014

"The danger of the Syrian regime's fall has ended."288



Hassan Nasrallah, April 2014

"The danger of the Syrian regime's fall has ended." 289



Hassan Nasrallah, April 2014

"Yes, the explosion in the Shebaa Farms that Hezbollah has not claimed until now was the work of the resistance, which means the work of Hezbollah." 290



Naim Qassem, May 2014

"Israel is the main enemy. But the tactical priority depends on the direct threat, so our confrontation with takfiri groups derives from the direct danger they represent, and it does not affect our readiness to confront Israel. ... Israel is the enemy of humanity and truth. It cannot coexist with anyone. ... We don't have a military wing and a political one; we don't have Hezbollah on one hand and the resistance party on the other... Every



element of Hezbollah, from commanders to members as well as our various capabilities, are in the service of the resistance, and we have nothing but the resistance as a priority." 291



Naim Qassem, April 2014

"My conviction is that Assad will run and will win because he has popular support in Syria from all the sects - Sunnis and secularists. I believe the election will take place on its due date and Assad will run and win decisively." ²⁹²



Hashem Safieddine, February 5, 2014

"These stupid people are disillusioned if they think that with a suicide bomber here and a crazy man there they can alter the balance or affect this society [of resistance]. This is because we are a society that knows how to transform injustice and aggression into resistance, strength."²⁹³



Hassan Nasrallah, February 2014

"If the takfiris take over the [Lebanese-Syrian] border, they will continue car bombs and suicide bombings because that is their mindset. This danger threatens all Lebanese, whether they believe it or not. The battle will require sacrifices just like the resistance against Israel, and here too we will be victorious." ²⁹⁴



Hassan Nasrallah, November 2013

"Our fighters, our mujahedeen, are present on Syrian soil." 295



Hassan Nasrallah, August 2013

"If this battle with these takfiri terrorists requires that I and all of Hezbollah go to Syria, we will go to Syria." 296



Hashem Safieddine, April 2013

"We believe that our stance in Syria is a strength for the resistance and that the confrontation taking place in Syria is targeted against the resistance and its weapons."



Hashem Safieddine, February 2013

"We are aware of what is happening in Syria, and we are courageous and more ready than ever for resistance." 298



Hashem Safieddine, February 2013

"We are more sure every day that the challenges we face from Israel, America, and the Arab countries are huge—and that the Arab countries are spending money to destroy Syria and Hezbollah."²⁹⁹





Hassan Nasrallah, September 2012

In case of an American or Israeli strike against Iran: "A decision has been taken to respond and the response will be very great." 300



Naim Qassem, February 2012

"America knows that if there is a war on Iran, this means that the whole region will be set alight, with no limit to the fires."



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, December 2011

"We will never let go of our arms. Our numbers are increasing day after day, and we are getting better and our training is becoming better and we are becoming more confident in our future and more armed. And if someone is betting that our weapons are rusting, we tell them that every weapon that rusts is replaced."³⁰²



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, December 2011

"Our Arab and Islamic nations should know that the American administration is the enemy and the threat." 303



Hassan Nasrallah, December 2011

"We will never let go of our arms." 304



Hassan Nasrallah, December 2011

"The American administration abandons its followers and allies at the first crossroad to search for its interests. Our Arab and Islamic nations should know that the American administration is the enemy and the threat." 305



Hashem Safieddine, November 2011

"What the US seeks today in the region today is the same that it sought to do in Lebanon during the recent years. As it failed in Lebanon, its project in the region will also fail." 306



Hashem Safieddine, October 12, 2011

"The US is the farthest country from democracy." 307



Hashem Safieddine, September 15, 2011

"The conspiracy against the Lebanese resistance continues since its inception. The resistance has proven its ability to cope and foil the bets plotted against it through policies and misinforming propaganda." ³⁰⁸





Hashem Safieddine, September 15, 2011

"The resistance is no longer an option but turned to a rooted destiny that no power in the world can change." 309



Hashem Safieddine, September 15, 2011

"Western countries today are troubled and confused in light of the ongoing changes and they are moving in their way to collapse." 310



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, November 2009

"The American administration's unlimited support to Israel ... places the American administration in the position of the enemy of our nation and our peoples." 311



Hassan Nasrallah, November 2009

"The (resistance) is a permanent national necessity that should last as long as the Israeli threat, and in the absence of a strong, stable state in Lebanon." ³¹²



Hassan Nasrallah, 2009

"The American administration's unlimited support to Israel ... places the American administration in the position of the enemy of our nation and our peoples." ³¹³



Hashem Safieddine, August 9, 2009

The Israeli-Lebanese "war of 2006 will seem like a joke" next to Hezbollah's reaction if Israel should attack. 314



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, May 2009

"Our problem with them (the Israelis) is not that they are Jews, but that they are occupiers who are raping our land and holy places." 315



Hassan Nasrallah, May 2009

"Our problem with them (the Israelis) is not that they are Jews, but that they are occupiers who are raping our land and holy places." 316



Hassan Nasrallah, 2009

Addressing Hezbollah's stance toward Israel, Nasrallah issued the following statement: "This stand is firm, permanent, and final, and it does not tolerate any retreat or compromise even if the entire world recognizes Israel."³¹⁷

Naim Qassem, January 2009

"We need to say 'stop' to the United States. We must not allow the Americans to create





more mess in our internal affairs. Power has to be affiliated to those who have popularity, not to those who exploit the opportunities of others."³¹⁸



Hashem Safieddine, June 2008

"What happened in the prisoner issue is proof that the word of the resistance is the most faithful, strongest and supreme."³¹⁹



Zahra Maladan, editor of a women's magazine linked to Hezbollah, February 2008

"I tell my son, if you're not going to follow the steps of the Islamic resistance martyrs, then I don't want you." 320



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, 2008

After accusing Israel of assassinating a Hezbollah bombmaker, Nasrallah said, "You crossed the borders. Zionists, if you want an open war, let it be an open war anywhere."



Hashem Safieddine, November 24, 2006

"Lebanon does not have a legitimate and legal government, but only a group that claims to be a government, a group that is usurping the government... As far as we are concerned, any government or element in the world which regards [the Al-Siniora] government or its decisions as legal is part of the internal [Lebanese] dispute." "322



Hassan Nasrallah, September 2006

"It was an American war by providing the arms and the planning and by giving deadline after deadline to the enemy. What stopped the war was the Zionists' failure to defeat us." 323



Hassan Nasrallah, September 2006

"Today the resistance owns more than 25,000 missiles. ... The resistance has been able to regroup and rearm and regain its capability." 324



Naim Qassem, August 2006

[Seizing south Lebanon from Israeli control was] "the grandest and most important victory over Israel since it commenced its occupation [of Palestine] fifty years before - a liberation that was achieved at the hands of the weakest of nations, of a resistance operating through the most modest of means, not at the hands of armies with powerful military arsenals." 325

Hassan Nasrallah, July 2006

One day after a suicide bomber explodes in Tel Aviv: "There is no other means for the





Palestinians to defend themselves. That is why I cannot condemn this type of operation in occupied Palestine. $^{\tiny \text{II}326}$



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, 2002

"The US empire, which is slithering over our region, is incapable of arresting a single sniper in its capital." 327



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, 2002

"Their aim is to redraw the world's political map. It is said that several US presidents are affiliated with the Christian Zionists." 328



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, 2002

"If they [Jews] all gather in Israel, it will save us the trouble of going after them worldwide." 329



Hassan Izz-al-Din, Hezbollah member, October 2002

"If they [Israel] go from Shebaa, we will not stop fighting them. Our goal is to liberate the 1948 borders of Palestine." 330



Hassan Fadlallah, Al-Manar news director, 2002

"Neutrality like that of Al Jazeera is out of the question for us. We cover only the victim, not the aggressor. CNN is the Zionist news network, Al Jazeera is neutral, and Al Manar takes the side of the Palestinians." ³³¹



Firas Mansour, Al-Manar video editor mixing footage of Israeli soldiers firing on Palestinians in the West Bank with a Hezbollah fight song, 2002

"What I'm doing is synchronizing the gunshots to form the downbeat of the song. This is my technique. I thought of it. I'm going to call it 'Death to Israel.'"³³²



Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary-General, 2002

"Although the United States is powerful, it has its weaknesses... The US empire, which is slithering over our region, is incapable of arresting a single sniper in its capital." 333



Hassan Nasrallah, 2002

"If they (Jews) all gather in Israel, it will save us the trouble of going after them worldwide." 334

Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah, February 1992





"Israel will not escape vengeance... there would be much more violence and much more blood would flow." 335



Hezbollah Manifesto, 1985

- "We see in Israel the vanguard of the United States in our Islamic world. It is the hated enemy that must be fought until the hated ones get what they deserve. This enemy is the greatest danger to our future generations and to the destiny of our lands, particularly as it glorifies the ideas of settlement and expansion, initiated in Palestine, and yearning outward to the extension of the Great Israel, from the Euphrates to the Nile."
- "Our primary assumption in our fight against Israel states that the Zionist entity is
 aggressive from its inception, and built on lands wrested from their owners, at the
 expense of the rights of the Muslim people. Therefore our struggle will end only when
 this entity is obliterated. We recognize no treaty with it, no cease fire, and no peace
 agreements, whether separate or consolidated."³³⁶

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