

# RESEARCH BRIEFING JANUARY 2018

# THE CASE AGAINST HIZBOLLAH one party, one flag, one ideology

The text and illustrations may only be reproduced with prior permission of Community Security Trust. Published by Community Security Trust. Registered charity in England and Wales (1042391) and Scotland (SC043612). Copyright © 2018 Community Security Trust.

Hizbollah flag in London, Copryright: Jewish News UK / Steve Winston



# CONTENTS

Executive Summary 4	Support for terrorism, the glorification of terrorism and international crime
Introduction5	Hizbollah's antisemitism 20
UK proscription legislation and Hizbollah <b>6</b>	Hizbollah flags in the UK 22
The illusion of Hizbollah's separate wings 8	Al-Quds Day: origins and contemporary observance
Political activities exist to support Jihadi-military activity10	Conclusion 26
Hizbollah and Iran target Jewish communities worldwide11	

### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

- The Lebanese Hizbollah organisation is a single, indivisible entity. While it operates through a multilayered organisational structure, Hizbollah ("Party of God") has always been a unified organisation under a single leadership. Hizbollah in its entirety therefore engages in military, political, parliamentary and social welfare activities. UK legislation and UK Government policy, however, distinguish between separate military and political wings of Hizbollah. Under UK law, only the so-called 'military wing' of Hizbollah is listed as a Proscribed International Terrorist Organisation.
- Hizbollah in its entirety meets the criteria for full proscription under the Terrorism Act 2000. Hizbollah leaders openly and repeatedly state that no substantive separation exists between its different wings. The assertion that their wings are operationally distinct is artificial and unsustainable. Given that Hizbollah is indeed a unified organisation, as its own leaders assert, then it is just as "concerned in terrorism" as its so-called 'military wing', which is proscribed under UK law.
- Hizbollah's political leaders have for years "encouraged terrorism" and expressed "the unlawful glorification of terrorism" – Home Office criteria for a proscribed organisation – in their statements supporting violent jihad and martyrdom operations. They have also repeatedly glorified Hizbollah's military leaders, constantly associating themselves with the organisation's military activities and military leaders and lauding them, encouraging others to follow in their footsteps.
- Hizbollah and Iran are responsible for anti-Jewish terrorist attacks worldwide. Hizbollah and Iran (primarily through the Islamic Revolutionary Guard

Corps' special operations "Qods Force" branch) have been linked to numerous terrorist attacks and plots against Jewish communities worldwide from the 1980s to the present. Hossam Yaakoub, a Hizbollah member arrested in Cyprus in 2012, told Cypriot Police: "I was just collecting information about the Jews. This is what my organisation is doing, everywhere in the world."

- Hizbollah's official television station, Al-Manar TV, disseminates antisemitic conspiracy theories, glorification of terrorism and incitement to violence.
  Al-Manar invented the antisemitic conspiracy theory that 4,000 Jews or Israelis did not go to work in the World Trade Centre on 9/11, based on alleged advice from Israeli security services. The conspiracy theory of Jewish or Israeli involvement in the 9/11 terrorist attacks has since become a widespread antisemitic libel.
- The annual Al-Quds Day march and rally in London is a public display of support for a terrorist organisation that incites antisemitism and damages community cohesion. Every year, this event includes the display of Hizbollah flags, along with banners and speeches including inflammatory rhetoric. The purpose of this demonstration in London, as elsewhere throughout the world, is to agitate for violent "resistance" and the destruction of the State of Israel under the euphemism of "liberating Al-Quds" (Jerusalem). The context is militaristic, not political. The domestic consequence of the artificial division within Hizbollah in current UK law and policy is the public support for a terrorist organisation and the presence of antisemitism on the streets of London. These are detrimental to social cohesion and damage community relations.

### INTRODUCTION

CST has long pressed for Hizbollah to be fully banned in Britain. We have joined our Jewish communal partner groups in raising the issue repeatedly at meetings with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and with successive Prime Ministers, as well as with politicians and civil servants. CST strongly believes that Hizbollah's long documented record of global anti-Jewish and anti-Israel terrorism means that it must be totally outlawed. Specifically, this requires the removal of the current artificial legal distinction between the group's so-called 'military' and 'political' wings.

The 'military wing' is banned in the United Kingdom and the European Union, but the 'political wing' is allowed to operate. This is despite Hizbollah itself denying that any such distinction exists. Supporters of Hizbollah in the UK exploit this by claiming that their Hizbollah flags are being flown in support of the 'political wing', despite the actual flag prominently displaying an assault rifle at its centre and being used by Hizbollah fighters in Lebanon and Syria.

Britain has suffered too much from terrorism for Hizbollah to continue in this semi-legal status, with its supporters free to wave its militaristic flag, complete with assault rifle, on British streets. This Research Briefing is a comprehensive explanation of why Hizbollah is indivisible and why it should be fully proscribed under the Terrorism Act 2000.

Hizbollah poster glorifying deceased political and military leaders, Copyright: Al-Manar



# UK PROSCRIPTION LEGISLATION AND HIZBOLLAH

Hizbollah considers itself to be – and operates as – a single, indivisible entity. Nevertheless, UK law and UK Government policy continue to distinguish between separate military and political wings. Under current UK legislation, only the so-called 'military wing' of Hizbollah is listed by the Home Office as a Proscribed International Terrorist Organisation.

At first, in March 2001, the UK Government included only Hizbollah's "External Security Organisation" on its list of proscribed groups.<sup>1</sup> Seven years later, in March 2008, the UK extended this proscription to include the entire Hizbollah Military Wing. Additionally, HM Treasury also applies financial sanctions against the Hizbollah Military Wing, specifying that "this listing includes the Jihad Council and all units reporting to it, including the External Security Organisation."<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the UK Government played a central role in leading the EU to proscribe the Hizbollah Military Wing under the EU's Common Position 931 terrorist designation regime in July 2013.<sup>3</sup>

At a policy level, UK governments have justified the claim that Hizbollah has separate political and military wings on the grounds that Hizbollah's political activities are an integral component of Lebanon's political reality. In May 2013, Alistair Burt MP (then the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs) detailed this position in Parliament:

"It is worth highlighting from the outset the distinction that I am making between Hezbollah's political and military wings. I am referring to Hezbollah's military wing, and not to Hezbollah as an organisation, as a terrorist group. It is a difficult distinction to make. The hon. Gentleman set out his case very well. At present the United Kingdom is still persuaded that the military and political wings of Hezbollah are organisationally distinct. It is important to recognise that Hezbollah's political wing is and will remain an important part of Lebanon's political scene. The EU shares that consensus."<sup>4</sup>

This Briefing will show that, in fact, the entirety of Hizbollah meets the legal requirements for full proscription under the Terrorism Act 2000. The Home Office guidance to the legislation reads as follows:

"Under the Terrorism Act 2000, the Home Secretary may proscribe an organisation if she believes it is concerned in terrorism, and it is proportionate to do. For the purposes of the Act, this means that the organisation:

- commits or participates in acts of terrorism;
- prepares for terrorism;
- promotes or encourages terrorism (including the unlawful glorification of terrorism); or
- is otherwise concerned in terrorism."<sup>5</sup>

As is demonstrated throughout this briefing, Hizbollah leaders openly and repeatedly state that no substantive separation exists between its different wings; and its political leaders repeatedly and explicitly promote, encourage and glorify its military activities. Therefore, the assertion that Hizbollah's wings are operationally distinct is artificial and unsustainable. And if Hizbollah is indeed a unified organisation, as its own leaders assert, then the entire organisation is just as "concerned in terrorism" as its banned military wing.

1. "Hizbollah" ("Party of God") is transliterated in numerous ways and there is no single spelling convention. This document uses Hizbollah but retains the spelling used in texts quoted from published sources. Therefore, alternative spellings include Hizballah, Hizbullah, Hezbollah and Hizb Allah.

2. "Consolidated List of Financial Sanctions Targets in the UK," HM Treasury, 9 January 2018

3. European Union designation of Hizballah Military Wing, COUNCIL DECISION 2013/395/CFSP, Official Journal of the European Union, 26 July 2013

4. House of Commons Debates, Daily Hansard, 3 May 2013

5. "Proscribed Terrorist Organisations," Home Office, 3 May 2017 Aftermath of attack on bus filled with Israeli tourists in Burgas, Bulgaria by Hizbollah in 2012. Copyright: EFP



#### WHAT DOES THE HOME OFFICE SAY ABOUT HIZBOLLAH?

The language of the Home Office proscription list that describes the reasons for the military wing's banning is worth a closer look:

"Hizballah Military Wing – Hizballah's External Security Organisation was proscribed March 2001 and in 2008 the proscription was extended to Hizballah's Military apparatus including the Jihad Council. Hizballah is committed to armed resistance to the state of Israel, and aims to seize all Palestinian territories and Jerusalem from Israel. Its military wing supports terrorism in Iraq and the Palestinian territories."<sup>6</sup>

When Hizbollah speaks about resistance against Israel and liberating Palestine, it has in mind the complete elimination of Israel. The proscription language states that Hizbollah "aims to seize all Palestinian territories and Jerusalem from Israel," but Hizbollah considers all of Israel – and the entire expanse of territory from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea – to be Palestinian territory, not only the West Bank and Gaza. Hizbollah considers Israel in any borders to be illegitimate and all of Israel to be "occupied territories." Hizbollah Deputy Secretary-General Naim Qassem, writing in his 2007 book, cites a 1968 statement by Ayatollah Khomeini to underline Hizbollah's sense of obligation to destroy Israel through jihad:

"The extortionist government of Israel, through its tendentious plans for Islamic nations and Muslims, represents a great danger. It is feared that confrontation may become impossible should Muslims show lassitude. Given that the danger is directed at the very essence of Islam, it is the duty of all Muslims, and specifically of Islamic states, to take the initiative for the obliteration of this pond of decay with all possible means, and not to decline the *mujahideen* any assistance towards this end."<sup>7</sup>

6. "Proscribed Terrorist Organisations," Home Office, 3 May 2017 (italics in original)

7. Naim Qassem, Hizbullah: The Story from Within (London: Saqi, 2010): pgs. 286-87 (italics in original)

### THE ILLUSION OF HIZBOLLAH'S SEPARATE WINGS

Hizbollah leaders and its foundational documents have consistently and repeatedly stated that Hizbollah is a single, unified organisation in structure, goals and methods. While it operates through a multilayered organisational structure, Hizbollah has always been a unified organisation under a single leadership. Therefore, Hizbollah in its entirety engages in military, political, parliamentary and social welfare activities. Moreover, the separation made in UK law between political and military wings does not reflect the reality of Hizbollah's activities and undermines UK efforts against terrorism.

### Hizbollah 'Open Letter' foundational document (February 1985):

"As to our military power, nobody can imagine its dimensions because we do not have a military agency separate from the other parts of our body. Each of us is a combat soldier when the call of jihad demands it and each of us undertakes his task in the battle in accordance with his lawful assignment within the framework of action under the guardianship of the leader jurisprudent."<sup>8</sup>

# Hizbollah Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah (July 2013):

"The story of military wing and political wing is the work of the British. They always find such ways out. All facts and developments prove that Israel and America exerted great efforts and exercised enormous pressures on the EU countries to adopt this position. Therefore, we do not need to search for evidence and information to prove that the Israelis are mainly behind this decision."<sup>9</sup>

#### Hizbollah Political Affairs Official Ammar Moussawi (July 2013):

"Everyone is aware of the fact that Hezbollah is one body and one entity. Its military and political wings are unified."<sup>10</sup>

Protester in London with labels attached to Hizbollah flags and clothes to try to avoid the UK ban on the military wing of Hizbollah. Copyright: The Jewish Chronicle



8. "Hizballah Issues 'Open Letter' On Goals, Principles," CIA Library Reading Room, 6 January 1985. The "Open Letter" was also translated in the Jarusalem Quarterly 1988 and is available as "The Hizballah Program – An Open Letter," ICT, 1 January 1998.

9. Speech by Hassan Nasrallah, reacting to EU designation of its military wing, broadcast on Al-Manar TV on 24 July 2013. Translation by BBC Monitoring, "Israel, USA pressured EU to blacklist Hezbollah – Nasrallah," 25 July 2013.

10. "Ammar Moussawi says EU decision slur to Lebanon," National News Agency (Ministry of Information Lebanon), 25 July 2013

#### Member of Hizbollah Political Bureau, Muhammad Fannish (January 2000):

"[N]o differentiation is to be made between the military wing and the political wing of Hezbollah."<sup>11</sup>

#### Sheikh Naim Qassem, Hizbollah's Deputy Secretary-General, has stated numerous times that Hizbollah is one body with a unified leadership:

- 2012: "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."<sup>12</sup>
- 2010: In explaining Hizbollah's organisational framework, Qassem explained how the party's top Council, *al-Shura*, was composed: "Five boards or council assemblies were finally created, these being: the *Jihad* Assembly; the Political Assembly; the Executive Assembly the Parliamentary Assembly; and the Judicial Assembly. Leadership of each of these was to be assigned to one Council member...The Council is considered to be at the top of the strategic objectives pyramid, in charge of drawing the overall vision

and policies, overseeing the general strategies for the Party's functions, and taking political decisions. The Secretary General is charged with supervisory, administrative and guidance responsibilities, coordination between the members of the Council and the various Assembly Heads, as well as expression of the Party's official leadership stance."<sup>13</sup>

- 2009: "Hezbollah has a single leadership... All political, social and jihad work is tied to the decisions of this leadership...The same leadership that directs the parliamentary and government work also leads jihad actions in the struggle against Israel."<sup>14</sup>
- 2000: "If the military wing were separated from the political wing, this would have repercussions, and it would reflect on the political scene. But Hezbollah has one single leadership, and its name is the Decision-Making Shura Council. It manages the political activity, the Jihad activity, the cultural and the social activities...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."<sup>15</sup>

11. Rebecca Allyn, "Outside View: Hezbollah as a terror group," UPI, 23 December 2004. The quotation is from an original statement made on Al-Manar TV on 18 January 2000. A fuller translated comment was published in the . report "Hezbollah," ITIC Centre for Special Studies, June 2003: pg. 34

12. Quoted in Daily Star (Beirut), 7 October 2012 (emphasis added)

13. Qassem, Hizbullah: The Story from Within: pgs. 130-31 (italics in original)

14. Borzou Daragahi, "Lebanon's Hezbollah savors increasing legitimacy," LA Times online, 13 April 2009 (emphasis added)

15. Comments originally appeared in al-Mustaqbal (Lebanon), 31 December 2000 and are quoted in the report "Hezbollah," ITIC Centre for Special Studies, June 2003: pg. 34 (emphasis added)

9

### POLITICAL ACTIVITIES EXIST TO SUPPORT JIHADI-MILITARY ACTIVITIES

To emphasise the absence of any practical separation between Hizbollah's political and military activities, Hizbollah leaders have repeatedly explained that its political work exists to support and promote its military and terrorist activities.

In his book, Deputy Secretary-General Naim Qassem explains how Hizbollah's parliamentary work exists to support jihad, rather than as an alternative to it:

"The Party is a resistance and a politicized body, a liberator and a servant of the people, one working in the political, cultural, social, educational, parliamentarian and other spheres. It is therefore a Party concerned with the plights of the people at all levels, just as Islam draws the path for man at all levels.

True, the Party's concerns may tilt to one side over another given the circumstances. Lebanon's previous conditions did not allow for proper parliamentary elections, and as such Hizbullah was not concerned with parliamentary functions. Today, circumstances are so conducive, and Hizbullah has therefore entered the parliamentary turf with those convictions it holds dear, a move that contributes to the support and completion of those convictions. The Party's preparedness and level of response to the first round of parliamentary elections (1992) gave the impression that Hizbullah had changes its course and altered its priority concerns. But the declaration was clear at the time: parliamentary work would not affect the quest for jihad; it was, rather, complementary to and supportive of jihad. Involvement in Parliament is complementary to Hizbullah's various roles. Experience bore out this declaration. Hizbullah's parliamentarians were effective in their endeavours, while the Resistance pursued its *jihad* mission also with success and efficacy. Work was therefore complementary within the Party's framework, the Party standing for religious beliefs, *jihad*, politics, culture and more.

It would be erroneous for Hizbollah to follow a one-track approach and neglect other practical functions, for then it would lose its Islamic particularity, which translates into a comprehensiveness of direction."<sup>16</sup>

In an interview with a Lebanese newspaper in 1992, Hizballah Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah stated that Hizbollah's political activities enable its "resistance" activities:

"In reality, we were, and will always be, the party of the resistance that [operates] from Lebanon in reaction to occupation and daily aggression. Any party, movement or faction that abandons resistance under any pretext, and for any reason, is giving up on a sacred duty. Our participation in the elections and entry into the National Assembly do not alter the fact that we are a resistance party; we shall, in fact, work to turn the whole of Lebanon into a country of resistance, and the state into a state of resistance."<sup>17</sup>

16. Qassem, Hizbullah: The Story from Within: pgs. 340-41 (italics in original, emphasis added)

 Nicholas Noe (ed.), Voice of Hezbollah: The Statements of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah (London: Verso, 2007): pg.
The original interview with Nasrallah originally appeared in Al-Watan Al-Arabi on 11 September 1992 (emphasis added)

# HIZBOLLAH AND IRAN TARGET JEWISH COMMUNITIES WORLDWIDE

For over 30 years, Hizbollah and Iran (primarily through the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps' special operations "Qods Force" branch, herein IRGC-QF) have been responsible for anti-Jewish terrorist attacks worldwide. From the late 1980s to the present, they are linked to numerous terrorist attacks and plots against Jewish communities globally and Israeli citizens abroad.<sup>18</sup> These include:

- July 1985: Islamic Jihad Organisation (IJO), a front name for Hizbollah, claimed responsibility for the bombing of the Great Synagogue and Jewish old age home in Copenhagen, Denmark.
- September 1986: a wave of bombings against Jewish communal institutions and private targets in Paris by Lebanese Shiites under the operational control of Hizbollah. Thirteen were killed and over 250 injured.
- March 1989: Hizbollah operative, Bassem Raghib Maki, was planning a bombing attack in Germany and was found with information about Jewish, Israeli and other targets.
- November 1989: Spanish Police arrested eight suspected terrorists following the discovery of a massive arsenal of explosives hidden in a Lebanese-registered freighter that docked at Valencia harbour. The eight were subsequently identified as Hizbollah members, and it is believed that they were planning to mount attacks throughout Europe against Jewish targets.
- March 1992: a car bomb killed Ehud Sadan, the Security Chief at the Israeli Embassy in Ankara, Turkey. Farhan Osman, who had dual Turkish-Iranian citizenship, confessed to carrying out the murder on orders from Iran, who had provided weapons and training.

- March 1992: a car bomb attack at the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires, Argentina levelled half of the building, killing 29 and injuring 252. IJO claimed responsibility but subsequent investigations also blamed Iranian involvement.
- May 1992: Police in Bucharest, Romania defused a car bomb outside the city's Jewish community building, and the operation is thought to have been carried out by Hizbollah.
- July 1994: the truck bomb attack on 18 July against the Buenos Aires Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA) headquarters, was ordered by Iranian government leaders and carried out by Hizbollah. Eighty-five people were killed.
- July 1994: the detonation of an explosive device mid-flight on Alas Chiricanas Airlines Flight 00901 en route from Colón, Panama to Panama City.
- April 1996: Paraguayan Police arrested members of an Iranian-controlled Hizbollah terrorist cell in the tri-border area of Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay on their way to attack a Jewish institution.
- November 1999: Following the arrest of Indonesian Hizbollah operative Pandu Yudhawinata in Manila Airport, authorities discovered a number of Hizbollah operatives across Thailand. He also revealed Hizbollah plans to recruit operatives to target locations in various Southeast Asian countries, including Israeli companies, synagogues, American and Israeli visitors, offices of El Al and Israeli and American ships.

18. Terrorist Incidents against Jewish Communities and Israeli Citizens Abroad 1968-2010, CST, July 2011. Also see "Eighteen times Iran has targeted Jews or Israelis: man on trial in Berlin this week," CST, 9 March 2017 The aftermath of the car bomb attack on the Israeli Ministry of Defence representative to New Delhi in 2012. Copyright: Partha Sarkar/Xinhua/Zuma Press



- May 2008: Hizbollah operatives were implicated in a failed attempt to bomb the Israeli Embassy and the Jewish community centre in Baku, Azerbaijan.
- May 2011: Hizbollah operatives from Beirut attempted to murder Israeli consul Moshe Kimchi in Istanbul, Turkey.
- January 2012: A foiled plot to attack the Israeli Embassy and Chabad emissaries at the Or Avner Jewish school in Baku, Azerbaijan was attributed to a cell of three Azerbaijani terrorists, reportedly handled by Iran.
- January 2012: a Lebanese man with alleged links to Hizbollah arrested on suspicion of planning to carry out attacks against Israeli targets in Thailand.
- February 2012: the failed attempted car bombing of the Israeli embassy in Thailand.
- February 2012: the foiled plot to assassinate then Israeli Defence Minister Ehud Barak during a visit to Singapore.

- February 2012: a network of IRGC and Hizbollah operatives planned attacks on Jewish and American targets in Azerbaijan.
- February 2012: an explosive device attached to the car of an Israeli Ministry of Defence representative in New Delhi, India was detonated, seriously injuring his wife.
- February 2012: the foiled attempt to bomb an Israeli diplomatic car in Tbilisi, Georgia.
- July 2012: Two men, alleged by local officials to be members of Iran's IRGC-QF, were arrested in Kenya in possession of explosives, having gathered information on a synagogue and the Israeli Embassy.
- July 2012: the suicide bomb attack on a bus of Israeli tourists in Burgas, Bulgaria, which killed 6 people and injured 32.
- March 2013: Nigerian authorities discovered a Hizbollah cell with a cache of weapons in the city of Kano, reportedly intending to attack Israeli and Western interests.

 Joby Warrick, "Elaborate surveillance operation raises concerns about broader Hezbollah attacks", Washington Post, 27 February 2013

20. "Peru police to press charges against alleged Hezbollah detainee," Reuters, 10 November 2014; Stuart Winer, "Hezbollah operative targeted Jews, Israelis in Peru," Times of Israel, 30 October 2014

21. Ely Karmon, "Jihadists threats to Latin America and Hezbollah and Iran in Peru," ICT, 12 December 2016

22. "Two Men Arrested for Terrorist Activities on Behalf of Hizballah's Islamic Jihad Organization," US Department of Justice, 8 June 2017

- March 2013: a Cyprus court found Hossam Yaakoub, a dual Lebanese-Swedish national, guilty of planning to attack Israelis and holding membership of a criminal organisation. The Hizbollah operative told Cypriot police that, "I was just collecting information about the Jews. This is what my organisation is doing, everywhere in the world."<sup>19</sup>
- October 2014: Peruvian police arrested Mohammed Amadar (AKA Mohammed Galeb Hamdar) in Lima after discovering he had traces of explosives. Amadar confessed to being a member of Hizbollah. He had hundreds of pictures of possible targets in Peru, and was allegedly gathering hostile intelligence against Israeli and Jewish locations, including the Israeli Embassy; areas frequented by Israeli hikers; Chabad religious centres and Jewish community centres.<sup>20</sup> Traces of TNT, detonators and other bomb making paraphernalia were found in the basement of his house.<sup>21</sup>
- June 2015: a Cyprus court sentenced a 26-year-old dual Lebanese-Canadian national to six years in prison after he pleaded guilty to all criminal charges,

including membership of Hizbollah. He confessed that bomb-making material he had stockpiled in Larnaca was to be used to attack Israeli or Jewish interests in Cyprus.

- March 2017: A German court convicted Pakistani national Haidar Syed Mustafa on charges of spying for IRGC-QF. Mustafa had collected information about, and hundreds of photographs of, possible Jewish and Israeli targets for attacks in Germany and in France.
- June 2017: Ali Kourani (from the Bronx, New York) and Samer El Debek (from Dearborn, Michigan) were arrested in the US for their alleged activities on behalf of Hizbollah.<sup>22</sup> They allegedly received military-style training and performed different missions on behalf of the group's unit in charge of planning and coordination of intelligence, counterintelligence and terrorist activities. Their alleged activities included locating US and Israeli embassies abroad, identifying Israeli military personnel in New York, gathering information regarding operations and security at US airports and carrying out surveillance of US military and law enforcement facilities in Manhattan and Brooklyn.

Weapons cache belonging to Hizbollah cell discovered in Kano, Nigeria in 2013, Copyright: YouTube/EuroNews



# CASE STUDIES: HIZBOLLAH'S CONSECUTIVE ATTACKS ON 18 AND 19 JULY 1994

#### AMIA truck bombing attack

On 18 July, Hizbollah carried out a truck bomb attack against the Buenos Aires Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA) headquarters, an attack now known to have been ordered by Iranian government leaders, which killed 85 people.

After international authorities and Argentina conducted a far-reaching investigation into the attack, the official Argentinian indictment stated: "the decision to carry out the AMIA attack was made, and the attack was orchestrated, by the highest officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran at the time, and that these officials instructed Lebanese Hizbollah – a group that has historically been subordinated to the economic and political interests of the Teheran regime – to carry out the attack."<sup>23</sup>

#### Alas Chiricanas airline bombing attack

On 19 July, the day after Hizbollah blew up the AMIA Jewish centre, Alas Chiricanas Airlines Flight 00901, a small passenger plane, exploded mid-flight en route from Colón, Panama to Panama City. Of the 18 passengers, 12 were Jewish, including three Americans and four Israelis.<sup>24</sup> All 21 passengers were killed, including the bomber, who had smuggled the explosive device onboard. The FBI has identified the bomber as Ali Hawa Jamal.<sup>25</sup>

Within days of both attacks, Hizbollah claimed responsibility under the name Ansar Allah ("Partisans of God"), one of its many front names, in Sidon, Lebanon. The statement declared as follows:

"Suicide martyr squads have been formed to confront and combat Zionism everywhere. The Argentina and Panama operations are evidence of this continuing confrontation. What happened in Argentina and Panama is not going to stop. We shall carry on until we wipe out the Zionists and justice prevails throughout the entire world."<sup>26</sup>

Image of the aftermath of the bomb attack against the headquarters of AMIA, Copyright: Wikimedia



23. "AMIA Indictment – 2006 Report," Investigations Unit of the Office of the Attorney General Alberto Nisman, 25 October 2006: pg. 15

24. Matthew Levitt, "How Trump Is Going After Hezbollah in America's Backyard," Politico, 30 November 2017

25. FBI Seeking Information bulletin, "Ali Hawa Jamal – Deceased".

26. Original report in New York Newsday (23 July 1994) and quoted in "The Struggle is Now Worldwide" Hizballah and Iranian-Sponsored Terrorism, Anti-Defamation League Special Report, January 1995: pg. 28 Map of Hizbollah and Iran's global reach: attacks and plots against Jewish communities and Israelis worldwide, Original map copyright: Free Vector Maps



Timeline of Hizbollah and Iran's global reach: attacks and plots against Jewish communities and Israelis worldwide



# SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM, THE GLORIFICATION OF TERRORISM AND INTERNATIONAL CRIME

UK law proscribes the Hizbollah military wing partly on the grounds that it "supports terrorism in Iraq and the Palestinian territories." By the UK Government's own logic, this reasoning should apply to the whole of Hizbollah. The support that Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah and other Hizbollah officials repeatedly show for such terrorism is evidence that Hizbollah, from its most senior leaders down, fulfils the Terrorism Act 2000 proscription criteria for a group that "promotes or encourages terrorism (including the unlawful glorification of terrorism)." For years, Nasrallah and others have used violent rhetoric to describe the merits of violent "Islamic Resistance" and to encourage acts of terrorism in Israel and the West Bank/Gaza.

In February 1992, Nasrallah explained that:

"The long-term strategy of the Islamic Resistance is clear and does not require additional explanation. It involves fighting against Israel and liberating Jerusalem, as well as Imam Khomeini's proposal namely, ending Israel as a state."<sup>27</sup>

In January 2004, Nasrallah described Hizbollah fighters as follows:

"The feat that the Islamic Resistance has accomplished today, through the hard work of its *mujahidin*, is not a victory for a single group, faction, party, or state; we want it to be a victory for an entire culture and an entire path."<sup>28</sup>

On 17 July 2017, Hizbollah's Al-Manar TV reported that Hizbollah described the shooting attack against Israeli Police officers standing outside the Temple Mount in Jerusalem as a "courageous" and "blessed jihadi" operation.<sup>29</sup>

The interconnectedness of Hizbollah's political and military activities is confirmed by the

Imad Mughniyeh and Hassan Nasrallah venerated in a Hizbollah poster, Copyright: YouTube/PressTV



27. Noe (ed.), Voice of Hezbollah: pg. 63. The original interview with Nasrallah appeared in Lebanese newspaper As-Safir on 27 February 1992

28. Noe (ed.), Voice of Hezbollah: pg. 303. Nasrallah's comments were made on 29 January 2004 (italics original)

29. "Hezbollah Hails Palestinian Jihadi Operation in Al-Aqsa Mosque," Al-Manar TV, 17 July 2017. BBC Monitoring also provided a translation, "Hezbollah says Al-Aqsa Mosque attack "blessed" operation," 17 July 2017 honour and glory that Hizbollah has afforded to assassinated senior Hizbollah military leaders Imad Mughniyeh (killed in February 2008) and Mustafa Badreddine (killed in May 2016).

Imad Mughniyeh served as Hizbollah's "top militant commander"<sup>30</sup> and oversaw its network of operational cells worldwide. For example, Mughniyeh reportedly masterminded the 1983 bombings in Beirut that killed 241 US Marines and 58 French soldiers. Since his assassination, Hizbollah posters in Lebanon have displayed Mughniyeh and Nasrallah on either side of the group's emblem (see opposite).

Mustafa Badreddine replaced Mughniyeh as Hizbollah's top commander. According to the US Treasury, Badreddine was "responsible for Hizbollah's military operations in Syria since 2011" in support of Assad's regime, and he used to accompany Nasrallah for weekly strategic coordination meetings with President Assad in Damascus.<sup>31</sup> Badreddine also reportedly served on Hizbollah's Shura Council.<sup>32</sup>

Speaking on 20 May 2016 during Badreddine's memorial service, Nasrallah praised him as the "martyrleader" and described him as follows:

> "As usual, when we talk about martyrs during their lives, we almost always use their jihadi codenames. For example, we say "Sayyed Zulfiqar", "Hajj Radwan", "Hajj Alaa" etc. But after their martyrdom, we almost always go back to using their real names. Thus we say: Sayyed Mustafa, Hajj Imad... For this reason, I will now use this name: Sayyed Mustafa.

Sayyed Mustafa was one of the first men of this Resistance who worked in this Resistance from its (very) first moments and hours. Sayyed Mustafa was one of the first men of this Resistance, from its first moments and hours."<sup>33</sup>

During a speech on the 40th day after Badreddine's assassination, Nasrallah admitted that, "Brother Sayyed Mustafa was responsible for several files; for example, the jihadi file in Iraq, the jihadi file in Syria, and other files."<sup>34</sup>

Hizbollah's Deputy Secretary-General Naim Qassem spoke at Badreddine's military-style funeral. Footage from the funeral service shows the presence of Hizbollah officials in attendance and receiving condolences.<sup>35</sup>

In May 2002, Nasrallah delivered a speech defending the use of Palestinian "martyrdom operations" – his term for suicide bombings:

#### Hassan Nasrallah glorifiying commander Mustafa Badreddine, Copyright: Al-Manar



"The major factor in victory was that those who love death - this is not new to you as you have experienced it for 20 years - defeated those who fear death. This is the equation. Those who see death and martyrdom as a way to immortal life defeated those who see death as destruction and loss. Here lies the greatness of Islam and the teachings of Muhammad, may God's peace be upon 30. "Treasury Designates Hizballah Leadership," US Treasury, 13 September 2012

31. "Treasury Sanctions Hizballah Leaders, Military Officials, And An Associate In Lebanon," US Treasury, 21 July 2015

32. "Obituary: Hezbollah military commander Mustafa Badreddine," BBC News, 14 May 2016

33. "Sayyed Nasrallah's full speech on Martyr Leader Sayyed Mustafa Badreddine's Memorial," Alahednews (Lebanon), 20 May 2016

34. "Sayyed Nasrallah's Full Speech on Martyr Leader Sayyed Mustafa Badreddine's Forty-Days Memorial," Alahednews, 4 July 2016. Also see: "S. Nasrallah: Hezbollah Will Reinforce Troops in Aleppo to Achieve Major Victory," Al-Manar, 27 July 2016

35. "Funeral held for top Hezbollah commander killed in Syria," Press TV, 14 May 2016; "Hezbollah mourns top commander killed in Syria," AP, 16 November 2016

17

him and his descendants, who teaches us how to make life with knowledge, ability, richness, and wealth. He also taught us how to make life even through death. Some criticize the resistance in Lebanon and Palestine and the resistance movements in general by saying that they only have a culture of death. I say to them that we have the culture of life. It is you who have the culture of death. This is because the nation whose holy places are desecrated and does nothing, and the

nation that does not respond when the honour of its women is violated is a dead nation, although it eats and drinks. Yes, we make life through death.

...We sacrifice our blood, the blood of our sons, beloved ones for the sake of our nation, peoples and holy places so that we will live in dignity and pride. This is the weapon of loving martyrdom, sacrifices and readiness for death. Nobody can rob us of this weapon. In November 2002, Nasrallah spoke at the annual Al-Quds Day event and again defended the use of suicide bombers against Israel:

"What the Palestinian people do through their martyrdom-seeking operations against all the targets are legitimate, honourable, legal, humanitarian and ethical actions, for they seek to end injustice, corruption, occupation, evil and cancer. This is the truth.

Image of top Hizbollah commander Mustafa Badreddine's military-style funeral. Copyright: Ramallah News



...This is because those who issued fatwas prohibiting the martyrdom operations are known to the Muslims and the Muslim youths, especially those affiliated with the Islamic movements. Those who issued such fatwas are the religious scholars who work for the rulers. The religious scholars who issue fatwas supportive of the rulers' desire, and not in accordance with the holy Koran and Prophet Muhammad's tradition, do not express religion at all."<sup>36</sup> For this reason, we announce here at this stage that Lebanon, Palestine, the Arabs and Muslims have been unjustly treated[.] Consequently, their actions are in self-defence. We do not commit aggression against anyone and we are not warmongers. Those who attack us, occupy our land, violate our holy places and trample on our dignity will find out that we are tough and that we are ready to shed our blood, that would gush under the feet of the aggressor and invader, irrespective of their identities, whether they are Zionist Jews or Zionist Americans.

36. Hassan Nasrallah's speech was broadcast on Al-Manar TV on 23 May 2002. Translation by BBC Monitoring, "Hezbollah leader defends use of "martyrdom" to continue intifadah," 24 May 2002 (emphasis added) They will only find in our region men and women who are ready for martyrdom, irrespective of the source of the aggression and the invasion, or the party that violates sanctities. They will find men and women who were raised to espouse a culture which rejects injustice and humiliation. Their slogan will always be to fight forever, and this will remain their slogan."<sup>37</sup>

Hizbollah's international criminal activities are often overlooked, but they constitute an important source of the organisation's funding.<sup>38</sup> These illicit ventures include drugs and arms smuggling, money laundering of drug proceeds and document fraud, which is done to assist with its operational needs. In recent years, Hizbollah criminal facilitators have been arrested worldwide, including in France and Lithuania,<sup>39</sup> and in January 2018 the US Department of Justice announced a new task force to investigate networks and individuals providing support to Hizbollah's financing and narcoterrorism activities.<sup>40</sup> Hizbollah has been particularly involved in the drug trade in South America, and its global network is responsible for the trafficking of large quantities of cocaine in Europe and the US. In February 2016, for example, the US Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), working in cooperation with other US agencies and European authorities EUROPOL and EUROJUST, uncovered a massive Hizbollah money laundering and drug trafficking scheme. The authorities targeted Hizbollah's External Security Organization Business Affairs Component (BAC), which was founded by Imad Mughniyeh.<sup>41</sup> According to the DEA:

"Members of the Hizbollah BAC have established business relationships with South American drug cartels, such as La Oficina de Envigado, responsible for supplying large quantities of cocaine to the European and United States drug markets. Further, the Hizballah BAC continues to launder significant drug proceeds as part of a trade based money laundering scheme known as the Black Market Peso Exchange."<sup>42</sup>

#### HIZBOLLAH'S JIHADIST-MILITARY-POLITICAL NEXUS

Hizbollah's political leaders are involved in the conception and planning of its military strategy. In an interview in August 2006, Nasrallah claimed that Hizbollah's decision to launch an operation to kidnap Israeli soldiers on the Israeli-Lebanese border in July 2006, which led to a month-long war between Israel and Hizbollah, was taken jointly by the political and military leadership: "I am not the one who takes the decision to carry out the capturing operation. The group has a political leadership and a military command. There are no less than 15 individuals involved in such a decision. These 15 individuals, be they political or military elements, have long political and jihad experience, and have been the leaders of the resistance from 1982 until 2006."<sup>43</sup> 37. Hassan Nasrallah's speech was broadcast on Al-Manar TV on 29 November 2002. Translation by BBC Monitoring, "Lebanon: Hezbollah leader Nasrallah pledges support for Palestinians," 29 November 2002 (emphasis added)

38. For a comprehensive assessment of Hizbollah's global terrorist and criminal activities, see Matthew Levitt, Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God (London: Hurst & Company, 2013)

39. Katherine Bauer, Patrick Clawson and Matthew Levitt, "Police Note: Reinforcing the Role of Sanctions in Restraining Iran," Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2017

40. Attorney General Sessions Announces Hezbollah Financing and Narcoterrorism Team, US Department of Justice, 11 January 2018

41. "DEA and European Authorities Uncover Massive Hizballah Drug and Money Laundering Scheme," US Drug Enforcement Administration, 1 February 2016; Derek Maltz statement, "Attacking Hezbollah's Financial

42. "DEA and European Authorities Uncover Massive Hizballah Drug and Money Laundering Scheme," DEA, 1 February 2016

43. Noe (ed.), Voice of Hezbollah: pg.393. The original interview with New TV (Lebanon) was on 27 August 2006

19

### HIZBOLLAH'S ANTISEMITISM

While anti-Jewish terrorism worldwide has been the most violent expression of Hizbollah's antisemitism, Hizbollah and its leaders have also disseminated anti-Jewish incitement, propaganda and threats of violence. Hizbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah has openly expressed a genocidal ambition to destroy all the Jews/ Israelis who gather in one place:

> "But I'll tell you. Among the signs [...] and signals which guide us, in the Islamic prophecies and not only in the Jewish prophecies, is that this State [of Israel] will be established, and that the Jews will gather from all parts of the world into occupied Palestine, not in order to bring about the anti-Christ and the end of the world, but rather that Allah the Glorified and Most High wants to save you from having to go to the ends of the world, for they have gathered in one place-they have gathered in one place-and there the final and decisive battle will take place."<sup>44</sup>

From its inception, Hizbollah was an organisation driven by antisemitic conspiracy

Nazi-style salutes at a Hizbollah military parade

45. Quoted in Esther Webman, Anti-Semitic Motifs in the Ideology of Hizballah and Hamas, Tel Aviv University's Project for the Study of Anti-Semitism, July 1998 (emphasis added)

44. Yair Rosenberg,

"Did Netanyahu Put

Anti-Semitic Words in Hezbollah's

Mouth?," Tablet,

(emphasis added)

9 March 2015

46. Quoted in "The Struggle is Now Worldwide". Hizballah and Iranian-Sponsored Terrorism, Anti-Defamation League Special Report, January 1995: pg. 26 (emphasis added)

47. Quoted in ADL Special Report, January 1995: pg. 31 (emphasis added)



theories and a vision of a global war against the Jews. The late Grand Ayatollah Mohammad Hussain Fadlallah, among the group's most influential religious figures, described Jews in the context of an international conspiracy for the acquisition of global power to advance Jewish self-interest:

#### "The Jews want to be a world

superpower. This racist circle of Jews wants to take vengeance on the whole world for their history of persecution and humiliation. In this light, the Jews will work on the basis that Jewish interests are above all world interests. No one should imagine that the Jews act on behalf of any super or minor power; it is their personality to make for themselves a future world presence."<sup>45</sup>

In 1992, a Hizbollah statement to a Lebanese newspaper, released under its Islamic Jihad front name, threatened the violent elimination of Israel and Jews: "The war is on until Israel ceases to exist and the last Jew in the world has been eliminated. Israel is completely evil and must be erased from the face of the Earth."<sup>46</sup>

In November 1994, Hizbollah released a statement opposing any normalisation of ties between Arab countries and Israel and threatening to target Jewish businessmen and tourists travelling to these countries: "The [Islamic] nation will resist normalization and will serve blows to it. **The Jews will not be safe**, neither in their tourism or their trade."<sup>47</sup> The following month, on 18 December 1994, Nasrallah reiterated the warning, stating that, "the Islam of strugglers and martyrs, **is coming to you Jews, in south Lebanon, in Palestine, and all over the world. It will vanquish you**."<sup>48</sup> Al-Manar TV, Hizbollah's official television network, disseminates the organisation's ideology and broadcasts conspiracy theories, antisemitism, glorification of terrorism and incitement to violence. The station has been sanctioned, banned or restricted in the US, Canada, France, Australia, Spain and the Netherlands. In December 2004, the United States placed Al-Manar on its Terrorist Exclusion List.<sup>49</sup> In March 2006, the US Treasury designated Al-Manar as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist Entity.<sup>50</sup>

As an example of its antisemitic incitement, Al-Manar was the first to make the claim that 4,000 Jews or Israelis did not go to work in the World Trade Centre on 11 September 2001, based on alleged advice from Israeli security services. On 13 October 2001, the *Washington Post* confirmed that this hoax originated in a September 17th report on Al-Manar.<sup>51</sup> The conspiracy theory of Jewish or Israeli involvement in 9/11 has since become a widespread antisemitic libel.

In 2003, Al-Manar broadcast a 29-part special TV drama for Ramadan, called Ash-Shatat ("the Diaspora"), which was based on the antisemitic conspiracy text *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The show depicted Jewish characters involved in a plot to take over the world, alongside other classical antisemitic calumnies such as the medieval 'blood libel' charge that Jews murdered Christian children to use their blood for religious rituals.

In her study of Hizbollah's antisemitic motifs, Esther Webman concluded that "Hizbollah's brand of anti-Semitism" is typical of contemporary violent Islamist groups, "combining traditional Islamic perceptions with Western anti-Semitic terminology and motifs to express its opposition to Zionism... [which], in turn, is equated not only with the State of Israel but also with imperialism and with Western arrogance."<sup>52</sup> In Naim Qassem's book, he quotes Biblical verses about the Israelites' conquest of Canaan to 'prove' that "the Zionist project was formed with a focus on religious fanaticism and Semitic prejudice...the basic foundation of the racially prejudiced Zionist movement is expansion, an aim supported by religious foundations drawn from the Torah."<sup>53</sup> By contradistinction, Qassem later quotes Quranic verses, Ayatollah Khomeini and references to the Twelfth Imam (the Hidden Imam Al-Madhi) to prove, in his words, that "there is no separation between the religious duty of liberating Palestine and the Godly promise of victory. Both represent sufficient motive for resistance and *jihad*."<sup>54</sup> Hizbollah, as Webman acknowledges, often "calls to distinguish between Judaism and Zionism," but the group "at the same time reinforces its anti-Zionism by reviving the ancient Islamic enmity toward the Jews, revealing that essentially there is no separation between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism."

Placard at Al-Quds Day march in Houston, Texas. Copyright: ADL



48. Quoted in ADL Special Report: pg. 31 (emphasis added)

49. "Addition of Al-Manar to the Terrorist Exclusion List," US State Department , 28 December 2004

50. "U.S. Designates Al-Manar as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist Entity Television Station is Arm of Hizballah Terrorist Network" (JS-4134), US Treasury, 23 March 2006

51. Michael Dobbs, "Myths Over Attacks on U.S. Swirl Through Islamic World - Many Rumors Lay Blame on an Israeli Conspiracy", Washington Post, 13 October 2001: pg. A22

52. Esther Webman, Anti-Semitic Motifs in the Ideology of Hizballah and Hamas, Tel Aviv University's Project for the Study of Anti-Semitism, July 1998 (emphasis added)

53. Qassem, Hizbullah: The Story from Within: pgs. 262-63

54. Qassem, Hizbullah: The Story from Within: pgs. 286-89

### HIZBOLLAH FLAGS IN THE UK

The display of Hizbollah flags in the UK is a major source of controversy and community tension. These are often flown during anti-Israel demonstrations and especially during London's annual Al-Quds Day march, along with associated banners and speeches including inflammatory rhetoric. Because the so-called 'political' and 'military' wings of Hizbollah use the same flag and emblem, the current interpretation of UK legislation creates a situation whereby British Police and the Crown Prosecution Service are unwilling to classify the use of Hizbollah flags as an offence under Section 13 of the Terrorism Act 2000.<sup>55</sup>

At the Al-Quds Day march in London in June 2017, some demonstrators holding Hizbollah flags or wearing Hizbollah emblems affixed a sticker stating: "This flag is to show my support for the political wing of Hizbullah." Therefore, the domestic consequence of the artificial division within Hizbollah under current UK law and policy is to allow public support for a terrorist and antisemitic organisation on the streets of London, all of which is damaging to social cohesion and community relations.

In July 2017, the London Assembly passed a motion condemning the Al-Quds Day march and the presence of Hizbollah flags, calling on the Mayor of London to write to the Home Secretary to take action.<sup>56</sup> In turn, Mayor Sadiq Khan stated as follows:

"I share the concerns of the Jewish community about support shown for Hezbollah, which is an illegal, proscribed and antisemitic organisation. Antisemitism or hate crime of any kind has no place in our city, where we don't just tolerate diversity, we respect and celebrate it.

I remain in contact with the Met Commissioner about this issue, and will be writing to the Home Secretary to make strong representations on behalf of London's Jewish communities about their legitimate and understandable concerns. I will continue to work with the Met and communities across the capital to do everything in my power to crack down on extremism and ensure London's Jewish communities feel safe and secure in London."<sup>57</sup>

In January 2018, during a Parliamentary discussion on extremism, Oliver Dowden MP specifically asked Home Secretary Amber Rudd about the inflammatory nature of flying Hizbollah flags in London. In response, the Home Secretary stated that she is sympathetic to this matter and has discussed it with senior leadership at the Metropolitan Police. She also acknowledged that although only the military wing is proscribed, "its flags are the same as those of the political wings that are not proscribed."

Below is a transcript of the full exchange:58

#### Oliver Dowden:

Flying the flag of the political wing of the anti-Semitic terrorist organisation Hezbollah is provocative, incites extremism and is deeply offensive to our Jewish community, but the flag can still be seen flying at events such as the al-Quds day marches in London. Will the Home Secretary update the House on what steps are being taken to prevent that from happening?

#### Amber Rudd:

I am aware of, and very sympathetic to, the issues that my hon. Friend has raised. I have discussed the matter with Assistant Commissioner Mark Rowley, and I know that the police are not ignoring it. As my hon. Friend has rightly said, only Hezbollah's military wing is currently a

55. "Terrorism Act 2000, Part II, Section 13," Legislation.gov.uk

56. "Assembly wants action over Al Quds Day parade," London Assembly, 6 July 2017

57. Ben Welch, "Sadiq Khan to urge Home Secretary to impose full ban on Hezbollah," Jewish Chronicle (London), 6 July 2017 (emphasis added)

58. House of Commons Oral Answers to Questions, Hansard, Volume 634, 8 January 2018 (emphasis added) proscribed terrorist organisation, but its flags are the same as those of the political wings that are not proscribed. For an offence to be committed, the context and manner in which the flag is displayed must demonstrate that it is specifically in support of the proscribed military wing of the group.

As the next section of this briefing will demonstrate, the purpose of Al-Quds Day from its inception, along with the descriptions of Al-Quds Day from Iranian and Hizbollah political leaders, is to support the "resistance" aspects of Hizbollah's activities – i.e., its military activities. It is not a celebration of Hizbollah's social welfare or parliamentary activities, but supports its goal seeking the destruction of Israel. The logical conclusion is that the use of Hizbollah flags and emblems on the Al-Quds Day march is an expression of support for Hizbollah's military activities, not a political expression. Moreover, if the flag is truly a representation of political statement, this begs two other questions: (a) why do Hizbollah fighters use it? and (b) why does it include an image of an assault rifle?

#### THE SYMBOL OF HIZBOLLAH



Hizbollah's flag is the organisation's most recognisable symbol. It is used by its fighters on military operations and is ubiquitous at Hizbollah rallies and events in Lebanon. It is also flown in the UK and other countries by Hizbollah supporters, especially during annual Al-Quds Day events worldwide. The emblem consists of several important features:<sup>59</sup>

 In the centre, the largest Arabic word in green reads "Hizbollah." The red Arabic text underneath this word provides the full name of the organisation: "Hizb Allah–Al-thawra Allslamiya fi Lubnan" ("Hizbollah, the Islamic Revolution in Lebanon").

- 2. Out of the word "Hizbollah" emerges a globe with an upraised arm grasping an assault rifle. The letter "A" of "Allah" is linked to the upraised arm grasping the assault rifle, signifying the ideological legitimisation of Hizbollah's armed resistance as being divinely sanctioned. A Quran sits upon the letter "b" of the word "Hizb," which is depicted in the shape of a traditional lectern used for Muslim scriptures.
- 3. The red Arabic text above the assault rifle is the Quranic verse: "Fa-inna Hizb Allah hum al-ghalibun" (Surah 5:56) ("Lo, the Party of God, they are the victorious ones.")

The Hizbollah flag closely resembles the official emblem of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC or Pasdaran), which played a key role in creating Hizbollah in the early 1980s. The IRGC and the IRCG-QF (its special operations branch), along with other associated branches and certain key individuals, are subject to HM Treasury asset freeze financial sanctions.<sup>60</sup>

59. Yehudit Barsky, "Terrorism Briefing: Hezbollah," American Jewish Committee, May 2003: pg. 6

60. "Consolidated List of Financial Sanctions Targets in the UK," HM Treasury, 9 January 2018. The UK Government's spelling convention is "IRGC Qods Force," whereas other sources use "IRGC Quds Force."

# AL-QUDS DAY: ORIGINS & CONTEMPORARY OBSERVANCE

Al-Quds Day<sup>61</sup> is an annual day chosen by the late Ayatollah Khomeini to call for Israel to be destroyed. It is normally marked on the last Friday of Ramadan and takes place internationally with marches and demonstrations.<sup>62</sup>

From its inception, the essence of Quds Day has been to call for the destruction of the State of Israel. In June 1979, Khomeini described the event as follows:

"The Day of Quds is the day of the uprising of the oppressed against the oppressors. The day of Quds is an international day...it is the day when the oppressed should arm themselves against the oppressors and rub their noses in the dirt...The Day of Quds is a day when the oppressed nations should assert their existence and rise up and defeat the oppressors as Iran did, and will continue to do...Israel, this enemy of mankind and humanity, which is creating disturbances every day and setting our brothers on fire in southern Lebanon, must know that its masters are no longer accepted in the world and therefore must leave the scene...The Day of Quds is the day when we shall discover what individuals and what regimes are in agreement with the international conspiracies against Islam. Those who do not participate are against Islam and in agreement with Israel."63

In Iran and Lebanon, these events often mix a combination of political campaigning and military displays. For example, footage of the 2015 Quds Day event in southern Beirut shows Hassan Nasrallah addressing an audience that included large posters of Iranian and Hizbollah leaders, including the late Hizbollah military operations chief Imad Mughniyeh.<sup>64</sup> Iranian and Hizbollah leaders have described Quds Day in militant terms:

Former President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad: "The Qods Day is not merely a strategic solution for the Palestinian problem, as it is to be viewed as a key for solving the world problems; any freedom lover and justice seeker in the world must do its best for the annihilation of the Zionist regime in order to pave the path for the establishment of justice and freedom in the world."<sup>65</sup>

Hassan Nasrallah speech on Quds Day (2015): "On al-Quds Day, I want to be frank with Muslims, Christians, Arabs, the Palestinians, the resistance movements, and everyone who backs and supports the Palestinian cause: You can't be with Palestine if you are not with the Islamic Republic in Iran. If you are an enemy to the Islamic Republic in Iran, you are an enemy to Palestine and al-Quds. Why? This is not a claim. It is because the only remaining hope after Allah Al Mighty [sic] to restore Palestine and al-Quds is the Islamic Republic and its support to the peoples and the resistance movements in this region on top of which is the Palestinian people...

...we in Hizbullah renew our pledge to Imam Khomeini, to our nation, to the peoples of our nation, and to our Lebanese people who are making sacrifices and daily offering martyrs in the resistance and on the path of the resistance. We renew our pledge of staying the resistance that defends its people, nation, and sanctities and of confronting the schemes of the occupation, settlement, and hegemony no matter how grave the sacrifices were and no matter how great the processions of martyrs grew because this is the only road that leads to al-Quds, to our dignity, and to victory."<sup>66</sup>

61. "Al-Quds" or "Al-Qods" is a transliteration of one of the Arabic names for the city of Jerusalem. Al-Quds literally means "The Holy One" in reference to the city. It is related to the Arabic words "Bayt al-Maqdis," which is a translation of the Hebrew name for the ancient Jewish Temple in Jerusalem "Beit HaMikdash" ("The Holy House").

62. "Al-Quds Day rally takes place in Tehran," Ruptly TV, 23 June 2017

63. The Imam Versus Zionism, Ministry of Islamic Guidance, Islamic Republic of Iran, 1983: pgs. 38-39 (emphasis added)

64. "Thousands of Lebanese mark International Quds Day in Beirut," Press TV, 11 July 2015

65. "Ahmadinejad: Qods Day to liberate Palestine, solve entire world problems," Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA), 2 August 2012

66. "Sayyed Nasrallah's Full Speech on Al-Quds Day," Alahednews, 10 July 2015 (emphasis added)



### CONCLUSION

The absurdity of the differentiation between the 'military' and the 'political' wings of Hizbollah is apparent.

Senior officials within Hizbollah deny any separation between the two wings, with Hassan Nasrallah even calling this artificial distinction "the work of the British".

Hizbollah has a long documented record of terror attacks against Jewish communities globally, which spans over three decades, as well as ongoing international criminal activities involving drug trafficking and money laundering. It does all this under one, unified leadership. Despite this, the 'political wing' is able to operate within the United Kingdom. This allows supporters of the group to fly the flag of Hizbollah in public, which includes the assault rifle at its centre. Senior ministers have acknowledged that the flag is not just representative of the so-called 'political wing', but represents the whole of Hizbollah, including its branches involved in international terrorism.

CST, alongside communal partners, have longcalled for the total ban of Hizbollah. Hizbollah is one entity and should be fully proscribed under the Terrorism Act 2000.

#### Hizbollah flag, Copyright: Wikipedia Commons/Upyernoz



27

### CST'S MISSION

- To work at all times for the physical protection and defence of British Jews.
- To represent British Jews on issues of racism, antisemitism, extremism, policing and security.
- To promote good relations between British Jews and the rest of British society by working towards the elimination of racism, and antisemitism in particular.
- To facilitate Jewish life by protecting Jews from the dangers of antisemitism, and antisemitic terrorism in particular.

- To help those who are victims of antisemitic hatred, harassment or bias.
- To promote research into racism, antisemitism and extremism; and to use this research for the benefit of both the Jewish community and society in general.
- To speak responsibly at all times, without exaggeration or political favour, on antisemitism and associated issues.

 f FACEBOOK Community Security Trust
✓ TWITTER @CST\_UK
✓ YOUTUBE CSTmedia
✓ NATIONAL EMERGENCY NUMBER (24-hour) 0800 032 3263 LONDON (Head Office) 020 8457 9999 MANCHESTER (Northern Regional Office) 0161 792 6666

WEBSITE www.cst.org.uk