The Return of Iranian Terrorism to Europe

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Abstract
Authorities in Belgium, France, and Denmark arrested several Iranian operatives, including an Iranian diplomat, in a plot to plant a bomb to disrupt a political rally of the Iranian opposition in Paris, France and to assassinate an opposition leader in Denmark. Time has come for European leaders to acknowledge the Iranian/Hezbollah terrorist threat looming high in the continent and act accordingly.
The French plot

On June 30, 2018, Amir Sadouni, 38, and his wife, Nasimeh Noami, 33, were arrested by the Belgian police and charged with attempted terrorist murder and preparing an act of terrorism. On board of their car were found 500 grams of TATP explosives, as well as a firing mechanism. The couple planned to go to Villepinte, north of Paris, to commit an attack against the Organization of the Mujahideen of the Iranian People (PMOI/MEK or MKO, Mojahedin-e-Khalq Organization), an opposition movement to the Islamic Republic, which was holding a major meeting there to denounce the European tour of the Iranian president Rouhani.¹

The operation could have killed hundreds or more among the 25,000 activists present, and also important personalities, including Bernard Kouchner, Ingrid Betancourt, Stephen Harper, former Canadian Prime Minister, and even Rudolph Giuliani, former mayor of New York and current lawyer of Donald Trump.

The couple confessed that the TATP was given to them that morning, in Luxembourg, by Assadollah Assadi, a diplomat at the Iranian embassy in Vienna, Austria.²

Three people of Iranian origin were arrested in France to assess their link to the Brussels’ suspects. Two were released due to a lack of evidence against them while the third, Merhad A., was held for questioning as suspected accomplice of the pair in Brussels.³

In a statement released on October 2, 2018, French authorities announced that, following the foiled attack in June, France has frozen the assets of two Iranian citizens, Assadollah Asadi and Saeid Hashemi Moghadam, as well as those of a branch of the Iranian Ministry of Intelligence (MOIS), which has "sponsored" the planned attack. "This act of extreme gravity envisaged on our territory could not remain unanswered," wrote the Ministers of the Interior, Foreign Affairs and Economy, respectively Gérard Collomb, Jean-Yves Le Drian and Bruno Le Maire, in a joint statement. Tehran denied the charges.⁴

Following this project of attack, relations have strained in recent months between Paris and Tehran. In early September, Iran accused the French authorities of being slow to react after a demonstration of Kurdish militants in front of the Iranian Embassy in Paris, who broke windows by projectile jets. France has recommended its diplomats to postpone any trip to Iran because of security risks and a "hardening" of the Iranian authorities after the Villepinte

¹ Jean-Dominique Merchet, L’opération antiterroriste de Grande Synthe est liée à une tentative d’attentat de l’Iran (Anti-terror operation in Grande Synthe linked to Iran’s attempted bombing), l’Opinion, October 2, 2018.
² Vincent Jauvert, Assadi, l’espion iranien qui voulait commettre un massacre en France (Assadi, the Iranian spy who wanted to commit a massacre in France), L’OBS, October 2, 2018.
⁴ Jauvert, Assadi, the Iranian spy who wanted to commit a massacre in France.
thwarted attack. The appointment of a French ambassador to Tehran to replace François Sénémard has been put postponed.5

**Hezbollah involvement in the French plot?**

On October 2, 2018, some 200 French policemen staged twelve searches in the Grande-Synthe, a city in northern France, at the headquarters of the Shiite association "Center Zahra France" and the homes of its main leaders, because of their "strong support" to "several terrorist organizations." This center could have been used as logistical support for Iranian operations in France. Official sources confirmed that the operation against Center Zahra France is directly related to the attempted bombing in Villepinte, which was foiled thanks to the collaboration of the Israeli services.6

The financial assets of Center Zahra and also associations Shia Federation of France, Anti-Zionist Party and France Marianne TV, as well as those of four people, were frozen for six months. The Center is accused of contributing to "the spread of Shiite radical Islam on a European scale."

Center Zahra, founded in 2005, aims "to make the message of Islam known through the eyes of the Prophet and his family; to make them known, to translate their thoughts and to testify to their works ". Directed by Yahia Gouasmi, Jamel Tahiri and Abdelkrim Khalid, it appears at first sight as a spiritual center compiling quotes from the Qur'an and theological videos. Gouasmi, a former halal butcher from the North, is a French citizen of Algerian origin converted to Shia Islam who has visited Iran several times and openly attests to be close to the Iranian authorities.

On the Center’s website one can find a speech by Hassan Nasrallah, the secretary general of Hezbollah. In an article dated February 11, the Zahra Center celebrates the 39th anniversary of the "victory of the Islamic Revolution" in Iran, "this revolution that thwarted all the plans of imperial-Zionism." On its website, the association also relays articles of the Anti-Zionist Party (PAS), which was created in 2009, has 300,000 subscribers on Facebook. and wants to be the "standard-bearer of the fight against Zionism".7

The Zahra Center’s YouTube channel has 8,700 subscribers. It regularly broadcasts the preaching of a certain Sheikh Jamel Tahiri, who introduces himself as a Shia imam educated in the Bekaa, a Lebanese stronghold of Hezbollah. The other contents are conspiracy speeches

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6 Merchet, *Anti-terror operation in Grande Synthe linked to Iran’s attempted bombing*.
7 Arnaud Bevilacqua, À Grande-Synthe, le préfet du Nord fait fermer le Centre Zahra France (In Grande-Synthe, the prefect of the North closes the Center Zahra France), *La Croix*, October, 7, 2018.
hostile to Israel, the United States and Saudi Arabia, or religious issues. The organization's alignment with Iranian positions is complete.

In addition to the Anti-Zionist Party, Center Zahra hosts several organizations, such as the Shia Federation of France or France Marianne Télée. The French authorities suspect that they legitimize jihad and apologize for movements such as Palestinian Hamas and the military wing of Hezbollah, which are on the list of terrorist organizations in the European Union. "It's a very closed community, we do not really know what's going on inside, there are often guards in front of the entrance," testified a local resident.

The treasurer of the Center was sentenced on October 24 by the Dunkirk Criminal Court to eighteen months in prison, six of which closed, for illegal possession of weapons. In his appearance in court, he said he held the weapons because he believed the center and the Shia community were "at risk", particularly after the attack on the Bataclan.

The association is ostracized by the small Shia community of France, whose representatives consider it a radical political group.

The links with the antisemitic French radical right

Yahia Gouasmi gained relative notoriety in the late 2000s, after the founding of the Anti-Zionist Party. In the 2009 European elections, he associated his party with a list of voters led by the controversial defector of the Communist Party and the Front National, Alain Soral, and the humorist Dieudonné, who already occupies the margins of the public scene because of his antisemitic positions. The only common point between these personalities is to make profession of "anti-Zionism". In the entourage of Alain Soral and Dieudonné also appear negationist figures like Robert Faurisson and Kémi Séba, founder of the Ka Tribe identity movement, dissolved in 2006 for incitement to racial hatred and anti-Semitism. Gouasmi was present alongside Dieudonné when the French humorist first met in 2009 the then Iranian President, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

When the "anti-Zionist" coalition cracked in 2014, rivalries between its different members led to allegations of embezzlement involving the assumption of Iranian funding for the 2009 European list.

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8 Allan Kaval, Le Centre Zahra : entre influence iranienne et mouvance conspirationniste française (The Zahra Center: between Iranian influence and French conspiracy movement), Le Monde, October 2, 2018.
9 Ibid.
10 Le trésorier de l’association religieuse Centre Zahra condamné à six mois de prison pour détention illégale d’armes (Treasurer of Center Zahra Religious Association Sentenced to Six Months in Prison for Illegal Possession of Weapons), Le Monde, October 24, 2018.
11 Ibid.
The Danish plot

In late September 2018, authorities closed bridges into Copenhagen and suspended train operations in connection with a terrorist case. Three dangerous people involved in a "serious crime" and travelling in a Swedish-registered car were hunted by Danish police.

A Norwegian citizen of Iranian origin was arrested in Sweden on 21 October in connection with the alleged plan. Norway had since extradited to Denmark the man who was seen taking pictures of the Danish home of a leader of The Arab Struggle Movement for the Liberation of Ahvaz (ASMLA), an Arab nationalist insurgent group that advocates for a separate Arab state in Khuzestan Province of Iran.12

Danish Prime Minister Lars Lokke Rasmussen described the alleged planned assassination by Iran of an exiled separatist leader as "totally unacceptable." The Iranian ambassador to Copenhagen was summoned to the foreign ministry over the allegations. Denmark has recalled its ambassador from Tehran and is consulting other EU countries about imposing new sanctions against Iran.13

Interestingly, on November 7, 2018, Danish police arrested three members of ASMLA on suspicion of having praised those behind the September 22, 2018 terror attack in Iran. Police spokesman Bjoerke Kierkeaard said that violates Danish laws and they could face fines or up to two years in prison.14

The Norwegian connection

Mohammad Davoudzadeh Lului, 39, born in Ahvaz and a resident of Isfahan, is an officer serving Iran’s Ministry of Intelligence (MOIS) for the last 10 years. He is the Norwegian citizen of Iranian origin arrested at the Göteborg airport in Sweden on October 21, 2018, at the request of the Danish government, when he returned from Iran. He was extradited to Denmark for prosecution in the terrorist plot against an Iranian Arab citizen in Denmark.

Significantly, according to a report by the National Council of Resistance of Iran, Davoudzadeh was dispatched to Norway in 2008 pretending to be a refugee to acquire Norwegian citizenship, which provided him with a lot of facilities for performing the duties

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13 Ibid.
assigned by the MOIS. Despite his legal asylum status, he has traveled to Iran many times. Davoudzadeh was in close contact with Iran’s ambassador and the embassy in Norway. Davoudzadeh was tasked with approaching the PMOI and the NCRI in Norway. People’s Mojahedsin Organization of Iran (PMOI), also known as Mujahedin-e-Khalgh (MEK), the largest and longest-standing Iranian opposition group, is also part of the National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI), a large coalition of dissidents and organizations that support democratic regime change in Iran. The MOIS pays special attention to Norway because of the “official presence of the PMOI and NCRI” in that country.

One of Davoudzadeh’s missions in Oslo was the formation of front commercial companies and associations for spying and preparing the ground for terrorist acts and bypassing sanctions. For example, along with two others, by the names of Marjan Gharib (a relative of Davoudzadeh) and Parviz Khodabandeh Shahraki, he set up the Norwegian-Iranian Friendship Association.

Interestingly, according to the PMOI document, the MOIS tried to trap Per Sandberg, a Norwegian politician of the Progress Party, who served as the Norwegian Minister of Fisheries from December 2015 to August 2018, using his relationship with 28-year old Bahareh Letnes (née Nasserabad), an Iranian-born woman who had immigrated to Norway in her teens. He repeatedly went to the regime's embassy without the consent of the Norwegian government, and had travelled to Iran too, an issue which ultimately led to his resignation from the government and his party.

**Netherlands as ground for Iranian political assassinations**

The Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD) confirmed on July 6, 2018, that two Iranian embassy staff had been expelled from the country. AIVD declined to provide further explanation publicly. Tehran responded by summoning the Dutch ambassador and condemning the deportation of its diplomats.

According to *Mashreqh News*, a state-backed Iranian news outlet close to the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), the expulsion of the Iranian diplomats was related to the investigation of two murder cases in the Netherlands that Dutch authorities attributed to Iranian agents. The first case was the November. 8, 2017 murder of Ahmad Mola Abou Nahez, also known as Ahmad Nissi, the founder of the ASMLA. The second investigation was the December 15, 2015 assassination of Mohammad-Reza Kolahi Samadi in the Almere municipality. Kolahi Samadi, a former member of MKO, had been on the Tehran’s wanted

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16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.
Ahmad Mola Nissi, a 52-year-old refugee living in the Netherlands since 2005, was believed to have been responsible for attacks in Khuzestan province in Iran in 2005, 2006 and 2013, on oil facilities, the office of the Khuzestan governor, other government offices, and banks. Mola Nissi focused in recent years on media activities and fund raising. He was killed while he was preparing to establish a television station backed by Saudi-trained personnel and funding that would target Khuzestan.\textsuperscript{19}

ASMLA strives for independence of Iran’s south-eastern oil-rich province of Khuzestan, home to Iran’s ethnic Arab community. Following an attack in September 2018, perpetrated by a commando of five people, who opened fire on a IRGC military parade in Ahvaz, Iran accused Denmark, the Netherlands and Britain of harboring members of militant opposition groups. The attack was claimed separately by the Islamic State (IS) and an Arab separatist group.\textsuperscript{20} Iran has since conducted several operations in Iraq and Syria in retaliation.

The Belgian connection

Tasnim News Agency, an Iranian news outlet close to the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), has released photos of the arrested terrorist Amir Sadouni at MKO gatherings, claiming they show that MKO itself staged the Paris plot as an act of provocation. Indeed, Belgium granted Sadouni asylum as a member of MKO. But the photos could also be interpreted as evidence of the regime’s use of Sadouni to spy on MKO, a role that European officials conclude he has taken on for Iran in recent years.\textsuperscript{21}

Several years ago, Assadi, the Iranian diplomat, approached Sadouni under the alias Daniel, saying he was an Iranian intelligence agent seeking information about MKO. Shahin Gobadi, an MKO spokesman, said Mr. Sadouni and his wife were supporters of the group, though not in its inner circle. For years, he attended MKO meetings around Europe and reported his findings back to "Daniel." One day, "Daniel" asked Sadouni's wife to carry a makeup pouch containing explosives to one of the meetings and set it off there.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{BBC News}, “Denmark accuses Iran of activist murder plot.”
\textsuperscript{21} Daveed Gartenstein-Ross & Ali Alfoneh, \textit{Analysis: New pattern of Iran-backed assassinations abroad?}
Belgian authorities have also requested the extradition of the man identified as Merhad A., who was detained in Paris when the alleged plot was uncovered. Belgian police believe Merhad A., also Belgian national of Iranian origin is an accomplice of the husband-and-wife team.23

The Iranian European intelligence network

The Iranian diplomat Assadollah Assadi was working at the Iranian Embassy in Vienna since 2014. He was arrested at a resting area next to the highway in Bavaria. In his red Ford sat three companions whose role was not clear, but because there was no evidence of explosives in the car, the three other persons were freed.24

This happened only one day before the visit of Iranian President Hassan Rouhani to Vienna. The Iranian ambassador was called to the Foreign Ministry in Vienna and Austrian authorities declared they will deprive the Iranian of his diplomatic status.25

European counterintelligence services have long considered the Iranian embassy in Vienna as Tehran's spying hub in Europe and Assadi as the leader of the Iranian underground operations.26

Paris blamed Saeid Hashemi Moghadam, an Iranian deputy minister of intelligence in charge of operations, for the foiled attack against the rally of the Mujahedín of the Iranian people in Villepinte. This announcement follows several months of investigations conducted in the utmost discretion by the French services in connection with certain foreign partners, including Israel, Belgium, Germany and Albania - Albania being a base of the Mujahideen.27

Dowlat Nowrouzi, the NCRI representative in the UK, identified the “Organization of Foreign Intelligence and Movements” within the MOIS as the department responsible for the terrorist activities outside Iran, particularly in Europe and the US. The NCRI also identified Reza

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25 Kronen Zeitung, Wien entzieht Iraner seinen Diplomatenstatus (Vienna deprives Iranians of their diplomatic status), July 3, 2018..
26 Jauvert, Assadi, the Iranian spy who wanted to commit a massacre in France.
27 Le Monde, AFP and Reuters, Paris accuse le renseignement iranien d’avoir commandité le projet d’attentat de Villepinte (Paris accuses the Iranian intelligence of having ordered the project of attack of Villepinte), October 2, 2018.
Amiri Moghaddam as the head of this organization who reports directly to the Intelligence Minister, Mahmoud Alavi. Assadollah Assadi, directly reported to Amiri Moghaddam.\(^28\) The UK Office of NCRI published a diagram of the MOIS structure under the Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei and one on the Chain of Command for the terror attack against the Paris Free Iran Convention (see Annex).

In January 2018, German authorities discovered and investigated ten suspected IRGC-Qods Force operatives. In March, Albania arrested two Iranian operatives for terrorist plotting. Several years ago, Germany arrested and subsequently convicted a Qods Force operative who was surveilling the head of a German-Israeli group and his associates. Iran was responsible for not one but two separate plots in Cyprus, in 2012 and in 2015.\(^29\)

Indeed, since January 2012, Iran and Hezbollah operatives were responsible for a campaign of some 20 foiled and failed terrorist attacks against mainly Israeli and Jewish targets, but also American and British ones, involving Iranian, Lebanese and local citizens. Targets as diverse as Azerbaijan, Thailand, Georgia, India, Kenya, South Africa, Singapore and others showed the global reach of the Iranian and Hezbollah terrorists. Two plots involved directly Europe.\(^30\)

In Cyprus, police arrested on July 7, Lebanese-born Swedish citizen Hossam Yaakoub in possession of photographs of Israeli targets, including information on tour buses carrying Israeli tourists and Israeli flights to and from the island. Two weeks after the arrest in Cyprus, a group of Hezbollah operatives, one of them a French citizen, blew up the bus carrying Israeli tourists at the Burgas airport in Bulgaria, killing six people and wounding scores.

The Cyprus case is important on several grounds. On March 28, 2013, the court sentenced Yaakoub to four years in prison. His conviction, in tandem with the Bulgarian government's declaration that Hezbollah was behind the July 2012 Burgas bus bombing, increased the pressure on the European Union and led to the Council of the European Union’s decision on July 22, 2013, to designate Hezbollah’s "military wing" as a terrorist organization. Yaacoub, a member of Hezbollah since 2007, had been on “previous missions with Hezbollah,” in Turkey as well as in Netherlands and France.\(^31\)

However, it seems that the Europe authorities did not really challenge the terrorist threat as materialized in 2012. In Cyprus itself a new plot was thwarted, where Hussein Bassam Abdallah, a dual Lebanese-Canadian citizen, stockpiled 8.2 tons of ammonium nitrate, a


popular chemical explosive. He pled guilty to all eight charges against him, including participation in a terrorist group (read: Hezbollah).

This latest plot reveals that the EU's warnings to Hezbollah not to operate on European soil have not dissuaded the group.32

The rationale for the latest Iranian terrorist offensive in Europe

Officials and pundits in Europe have expressed surprise at the latest wave of Iranian terrorist attempts on the continent, taking in consideration the efforts of the European main powers to circumvent the U.S. latest sanctions.

There are possibly two main reasons for the toughening of the Iranian position and the decision to take risks, even when the success of the European tour of President Rouhani was at stake: the grave economic and social situation in Iran, as expressed in the huge manifestations since December 2017 and the growing threat from Sunni minorities’ discontent; and the need to challenge the U.S. sanctions after its withdrawal from the JCPOA nuclear deal.

Dowlat Nowrouzi, the NCRI representative in the UK, points to the continuation of the anti-regime protests in Iran for the past eight months as the reason of the attacks against the outside opposition forces. From the outset, the highest-ranking officials of the regime, including Rouhani and Khamenei, blamed the PMOI (MEK) for the uprising and stated that they would respond in the harshest manner. “Given the urgency and serious nature of the matter, it is willing to pay any diplomatic price for the sake of this goal”, she said at a press conference.33

The 22 September 2018 attack on an IRGC military parade in Ahvaz killing at least 25 people, including civilians, and injuring 60, by what seemed to be an ISIS operation in cooperation with the Ahvaz National Resistance, proved that the regime is not able to challenge the growing resistance of its Sunni minorities. The attack was a painful reminder of an even greater symbolic attack, in May 2017, against the Khomeini Mausoleum and the Iranian Majlis (Parliament) in Tehran. Then, the ISIS cell was formed of Kurdish jihadists members of an ISIS cell.34

Iran’s long history of targeting ethnic rights activists, including Iranians of Arab descent and Kurds, has long been rooted in the Islamic republic’s belief that they enjoy the support of the

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United States, Saudi Arabia and Israel in a bid to destabilize the country. Iran, long struggling to polish its tarnished image, could face sanctioning by Europe at a moment that it needs the Europeans the most, remarks James Dorsey, a known scholar and award-winning journalist.35 This case comes at the worst time for those in France and in Europe who are trying to save, in one way or another, the 2015 nuclear deal that Donald Trump withdrew the United States from it.

Officials and analysts express concern the foiled attacks in Europe mark an escalation in Iran’s willingness to undertake violent covert operations in the West, after years of relative restraint, as diplomacy with the U.S. falters. “They feel the constraints on them have been removed,” argues Bruce Riedel, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and former official at the Central Intelligence Agency, the White House and the Pentagon.36

Conclusion

After stressing that the latest Iranian terror plots demonstrate a pattern that goes well beyond the two incidents in France and Denmark, Giulio Terzi, former Foreign Minister of Italy, asks Western leaders to recognize the futility of attempting to bribe Iran’s leaders into compliance with international standards. A policy of “maximum pressure” is much more likely to compel reasonable behavior, he argues, especially now, given the explosive domestic situation in Iran.37

Danish Prime Minister Lars Lokke Rasmussen and intelligence chief Finn Borch Andersen called for European Union sanctions after they discovered the plot to kill Danish residents associated with the ASMLA.38

As it appears from the various Iranian and Hezbollah terrorist plots on European soil since 2012, their apparatuses use a wide range of militants of Iranian, Lebanese or other Shia origin, be it regular citizens of these countries (Sweden, Belgium, France, Netherlands, and others), as well as asylum seekers, for intelligence missions or as terrorist infrastructure.

Dozens of pro-Iranian Shia militias with tens of thousands of fighters, headed by the Hezbollah, whose military branch was designated a terrorist organization by the EU, invaded Syria and Iraq since 2011 to fight alongside the bloody Bashar al-Assad regime. It is of note that the European authorities, as well as academic experts, do not speak out about the potential

35 James M. Dorsey, Saudi Arabia and Iran: When it comes to exiles, the pot calls the kettle black.
36 Dalton, Bags of Cash and a Bomb Plot: Inside a Covert Iranian Operation in Europe.
37 Giulio Terzi, “Another Foiled Terror Plot Underscores The Need For Maximum Pressure On Iran,” The Federalist, November 12, 2018. Giulio Terzi was the Foreign Minister of Italy from 2011 until 2013. He is also a former Italian Ambassador to the United States and former Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations.
38 BBC, Denmark accuses Iran of activist murder plot.
threat from these Shia jihadists and the radicalization of at least part of the European Muslim youths, in the Shia revolutionary Khomeinist spirit.

Hopefully, the European Union and its member states will understand the need to stop the incipient Iranian threat to their security and interests and take the necessary tough measures against the Tehran regime and its servant Hezbollah.
Annex

CHAIN OF COMMAND FOR IRAN REGIME'S TERROR PLOT AGAINST THE FREE IRAN CONVENTION IN PARIS

All Khamenei - Supreme Leader

Hassan Rouhani – President

Mahmoud Alavi – Minister of Intelligence

Reza Amiri Moghaddam - Head of MOIS Foreign Intelligence & Movements Org.

Assadollah Assadi - MOIS station chief in Austria & coordinator of MOIS intelligence stations in Europe
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