



Propaganda, Narratives and Influence in Latin America: Iran, Hezbollah and Al-Tajammu

Jorge Paredes Esteban
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Summary

Since the end of the last century, Latin America has been a prominent area in which Iran has sought to expand its influence and scope of action. From drug smuggling to money laundering, from fundraising to recruitment and proselytism, even terrorist attacks, Iran-related activities in Latin America have been in motion from the Bolivarian Venezuela in the north to Argentina in the south, from the Chile in the west to Brazil in the east.

However, Iran has not been working on its own. It is not wrong to say that, in most cases, *ubi Iran, ibi Hezbollah*. The Lebanese Party of God not only was related to the terrorist attack against the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires (1992) or to the AMIA bombing (1994) but also, they have carried out fundraising, propaganda and smuggling operations.¹

Furthermore, other pro-Iranian organizations such as Al-Tajammu are playing a remarkable role in the spread of Iranian influence in the region. Al-Tajammu² is a pro-Iranian Lebanon-based organization with connections to Hezbollah, Shiite militias as well as with other terrorist organizations such as the Palestinian Islamic Jihad or the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

All these actors are taking advantage of the internet, webpages and the new social media platforms, as well as the points of convergence at the ideological level that they share with the radical revolutionary left characteristic of Latin America, mainly emphasizing the anti-imperialism discourse.

This paper focuses on the networks of Iran, Hezbollah and the pro-Iranian Al-Tajammu; the dissemination and broadcast channels, including radio stations, webpages, or YouTube channels, as well as the nexus, narrative and collaboration shared between Islamism and left-wing positions, the so-called *red-green alliance*, , mainly focusing on two countries, Argentina and Chile. The information offered in this paper is based on open-sources material, including different social medial networks.

Keywords: Iran; Hezbollah, Al-Tajammu, South America, Latin America

¹ For a more in-depth analysis on Hezbollah in LATAM, see D. Marinides, “Hezbollah in Latin America: A Potential Grey Zone Player in Great Power Competition”, Perry Center Occasional Paper, *William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies* (2021).

² M. Barak, “Al-Tajammu: a Pro-Iranian International Platform to Leverage the Resistance Axis”, *International Institute for Counter-Terrorism* (2021).

Red and Green Cooperation³

Before analyzing the Iranian, Hezbollah and Al-Tajammu presence in Latin America, it is necessary to consider the so-called *Red-Green alliance*. The strategy of all these three groups, Iran, Hezbollah, Al-Tajammu, in Latin America in order to expand their influence and enlarge the targeted audience has been to adopt a common rhetoric or discourse shared with Latin American revolutionary and Marxist left. Beyond the religious aspect, it is in the ideological-political plane where the true point of connection between these groups and the radical left occurs.

The first connection between the revolutionary left and the three groups is the emphasize of the **common enemies**. Thus, the most important connection is the recognition of the **United States** as the «Great Satan», as the imperialist oppressor of the people. The second common enemy would be the **State of Israel**. However, Israel is more hated by Iran, Hezbollah and other pro-Iranian platforms that hated by the revolutionary left of Latin America itself.

In addition, another important red-green nexus is **anti-imperialism**, identifying **globalization** as the greatest stage of modern cultural, economic and political imperialism and colonialism. In this context, world powers (the U.S. and its Western allies) battle against the developing world in a fight for the control of resources.

The United States is portrayed as the foremost imperialist power oppressing working and Muslim masses. This kind of framing resonates well among both radical Leftists and Islamists. For Leftists, the U.S. involvement in the greater Middle East can be understood primarily on economic terms [...] For the Islamists, American wars in the Middle East are just another episode in a long line of Western interventions to grab resources and land from the *ummah*⁴

Moreover, in relation to this point, it is common to both red and green discourses the idea of **anti-capitalism** and a fierce opposition to American **neoliberalism**.

The anti-globalization/anti-capitalism frame has certain components (e.g., fight against social injustice and exploitation, North-South divide, dominance of Western multinationals) which can be appealing both to adherents of political Islam and revolutionary Marxism. It focuses on

³ For an in-depth analysis of this issue, see E. Karagiannis & C. McCauley, “The Emerging Red-Green Alliance: Where Political Islam Meets the Radical Left”, *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25 (2013), pp.167-182.

⁴ E. Karagiannis & C. McCauley, “The Emerging Red-Green Alliance: Where Political Islam Meets the Radical Left”, *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25 (2013), pp. 176-177.

capitalism's "inherently unjust" nature which serves the interests of Western powers to the detriment of (working and Muslim) masses⁵

Within this ideological context, both *reds* and *greens* make use of the **dialectic rhetoric of oppressor-oppressed**. For the leftists, Western economic structures oppress the working class and for Islamism, the pagan/secular West has systematically oppressed Muslims in their lands. In both cases, only the revolution and direct action can end with this imbalance. Taking another step, «Both have an eschatological view of history that includes the inevitability of a final battle between good (Socialist progress/Dar al-Islam) and evil (capitalist reaction/Dar al-Harb), and both can justify violence to achieve this goal»⁶.

Finally, because of the Latin American conjuncture itself, the defense of regimes such as the Venezuelan or the Cuban (countries where the rhetoric of revolution and resistance to the oppressor is even stronger) appears as a nexus between revolutionary-Marxist groups and Iran, Hezbollah, Al-Tajammu. Thus, it is common to see their members defending Hugo Chávez's legacy, Nicolás Maduro, Fidel and Raúl Castro or the current Cuban president Miguel Díaz-Canel⁷. On the other hand, Latin American leftists related to these groups have incorporated the defense of the Iranian regime or the Palestinian cause to their discourse.

Prominent Iranian actors: the Rabbani Network in Argentina and Chile

The origins of pro-Iranian activities in Latin America can be traced back to the 90s, to a network of Iranian assets in Argentina. From this initial network, the *Rabbani Network*, other pro-Iranian actors have organized their activities in Argentina and then expanded to other countries like Chile. Later on, Iranian agents in both Argentina and Chile have developed cooperation links with other pro-Iranian actors and networks such as Al-Tajammu.

Within Argentina and Chile, the person responsible for the Iranian activities is a high-ranking Iranian, **Mohsen Rabbani**, former Iran's cultural attaché in Buenos Aires. There is an Interpol Red Notice against him due to his implication in the 1992 and 1994 terrorist attacks in Argentina. He is the international affairs advisor to the Al-Mostafa Al-Alam Cultural Institute (today called **Al-Mustafa Open University**) in

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁷ TeCs Tertulias en Cuarentena. "MI CUBA". Wafica Ibrahim. Directora de Al Mayadeen para América Latina defiende a Cuba", YouTube video, 2:11, November 15, 2021.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8a9NvM8MPP0>

Qom, Iran. The mission of the university is the dissemination of Shia Islam worldwide. Rabanni is responsible of running certain Hezbollah activities on behalf of the Qods Force as well as running his own network for recruitment and training. Roger Noriega, visiting fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, has exposed the aim of the «Rabanni Network»:

Rabanni was credentialed as Iran’s cultural attaché in the Argentine capital, which he used as a platform for extremist propaganda, recruitment and training that culminated in the attacks in the 1990s. In fact, he continues to exploit that network of Argentine converts today to expand Iran’s and Hezbollah’s reach—identifying and recruiting operatives throughout the region for radicalization and terrorist training in Venezuela and Iran (specifically, the city of Qom)⁸

From this network, two of the Rabanni’s disciples are playing a key role today. The first, **Abdul Karim Paz**. “Argentine convert to Shiite Islam, studied under Rabanni in Qom for five years”⁹. He is currently living in Iran. The second, **Suhail Assad**, lecturer and recruiter. Both Karim Paz and Assad have been active in Chile and in Argentina.

Argentinian Federal Prosecutor Alberto Nisman also exposed in a report¹⁰ this network and uncovered the apparatus that Rabanni and his disciples are using to expand Iran’s influence in the region. Nisman points that the Rabanni network uses mosques for the spread of Shiite Islam, proselytizing and as recruitment centers. At this point, when someone is recruited, he is invited to continue his religious studies in Al-Mustafa University in Qom, Iran. The report also points how they carry out various recruitment and funding operations. With all that, the report explores the propaganda apparatus. Within this apparatus, during the 1990s, some communication channels were launched or promoted by Rabanni. Among them, **radio station «Armonia»**, frequency AM 1600. In Radio Armonia, Karim Paz conducted radio programs with another person related to the network, **Mohsen Ali**.

⁸ R. Noriega, Hearing on “Iran’s Influence and Activity In Latin America” before the *United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, Peace Corps, and Global Narcotics Affairs* (2012), p. 5.

https://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Roger_Noriega_Testimony1.pdf

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ A. Nisman, Dictamen sobre las redes terroristas iraníes a través de América Latina (29 de mayo de 2013) <http://albertonisman.org/nisman-report-dictamina-on-sleeper-cells-full-text-2/?lang=es>

Almost 30 years later, this network has not stopped but has grown, moving to the Internet, to webpages and social media. Abdul Karim Paz assiduously participates in a wide range of YouTube channels, webpages and social media accounts. The same with Suhail Assad or Mohsen Ali. They are even still collaborating with each other. An example is **AnnurTV**¹¹. It is a news webpage with articles about Islam, world politics and society as well as news regarding the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Iran, Yemen, *Israeli regime*). The webpage has other sections like AnnurLIFE or IslamZONE, where they post articles about culture, Islam in the Middle East, in Europe and in other places. In the section dedicated to opinion, various articles written by Abdul Karim Paz and Mohsen Ali are found. AnnurTV also has Facebook, Twitter and Instagram accounts as well as a YouTube channel. According to its webpage, Annur TV is linked to the Argentinian Islamic Organization (Organización Islámica Argentina).

For his part, Mohsen Ali is running his own webpage called **Casa para la Difusión del Islam**¹². He uses it to preach Shia Islam. In the webpage, there is also an advertisement of the radio station Armonia AM 1600 that Rabbani promoted during the 1990s. He also has a Facebook profile and a YouTube channel. In Ali's YouTube channel interviews of Abdul Karim Paz are found.

Moreover, **Suhail Assad**, the second of Rabbani's disciples, appears many times in another YouTube channel, **ARABTV**¹³. There are also linked Instagram and Facebook accounts. They are run from Chile.

In addition to all this, the Rabbani network seems to have grown. There are new and younger recruits. In Mohsen Ali's webpage appears an article praising Ayatollah Khomeini written by **Kamel Gomez**.

Kamel Gomez is an Argentinian Shiite Muslim, he studied in Iran and was a disciple of Abdul Karim Paz both in Argentina and in Iran. He intervenes in other channels and webpages like «**Con otros ojos**»¹⁴, in some of them with Abdul Karim Paz¹⁵. In the latter webpage, another young man appears named **Ángel Horacio Molina**.

¹¹ <https://www.annurtv.com/>

¹² <http://casaparaadifusiondelislam.blogspot.com/>

¹³ ARABTV. YouTube Channel. January 21, 2014.

https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC3_cEDPJ7YenP6AGVOAQmyQ

¹⁴ <https://oidislam.blogspot.com/search?q=kamel+gomez>

¹⁵ TeCs Tertulias en Cuarentena. "DIÁLOGO RELIGIOSO ANTIIMPERIALISTA". YouTube video, 5:12:54. March 21, 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WTlkdp_AJCA

Ángel Horacio Molina studied in Qom¹⁶, in Al-Mustafa Open University as Abdul Karim Paz, and is now a researcher and lecturer in **Centro de Estudios Islámicos, Árabes y Persas "Dr. Osvaldo A. Machado Mouret"**, an Argentinian cultural center associated with Al-Mustafa Open University. He is also active in a left-wing radio station in Argentina named **Radio Popular Che Guevara**¹⁷, where he conducts a radio program called *Desde los márgenes*¹⁸. The content of the program includes topics such as the situation in the Middle East, the promotion and defense of the «Axis of Resistance», opposition to Zionism and the promotion and defense of the Palestinian cause. In the program, Wafica Ibrahim, Nicola Hadwa or Lisandro Brusco are interviewed (they will be referred to later).

Apart from the Rabbani network, there is one TV channel controlled by the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB) that is directed to Latin American Spanish-speaking audiences. This is **Hispan TV**. They have TV and radio emissions, webpage¹⁹ and a wide variety of social media accounts, including YouTube or Facebook. The two Rabbani disciple, Abdul Karim Paz and Suhail Assad, as well as Kamel Gomez and Ángel Horacio Molina actively participate in Hispan TV activities and programs.

Hezbollah

As said in the introduction, *ubi Iran, ibi Hezbollah*. If the presence of Hezbollah in Latin America is analyzed in relation to the previous section, attention must be directed to Hezbollah's online presence and online propaganda addressing Spanish-speaking audiences in Latin America. The communication strategy of Hezbollah has been to translate its webpages and communication channels into Spanish and to promote them, as well as the creation of different social media accounts in Spanish

Thus, the traditional Hezbollah-operated **Al-Manar** has translated its website into Spanish²⁰. From this website, news, speeches from Hezbollah leaders, public statements from the organization and other content are being constantly published and updated in Spanish. There is also a link to a Telegram group in Spanish. Moreover, they created a Twitter account in Spanish, which has been blocked and cancelled by Twitter.

¹⁶ <https://ar.linkedin.com/in/%C3%A1ngel-horacio-molina-54773a17b>

¹⁷ <https://radiocheguevara.org.ar/>

¹⁸ <https://radiocheguevara.org.ar/programacion/desde-los-margenes/>

¹⁹ <https://www.hispantv.com/>

²⁰ <https://spanish.almanar.com.lb/>

In addition, there is one relevant pro-Hezbollah media outlet operating in Latin America: **Al Mayadeen**. This Lebanese media network has followed the same path as Al-Manar. They have created a website in Spanish²¹ and social media profiles, from YouTube to Telegram. Among Al Mayadeen workers, there is one relevant person that is specially involved in expanding Al Mayadeen presence in Latin America. This is **Wafica Ibrahim**, a Lebanese journalist, who is the Al Mayadeen director for Latin America and adviser to Al Mayadeen Board of Directors regarding Latin America. She collaborates with different associations in Latin America such as the *Asociación de Solidaridad Árabe Latinoamericana "José Martí"*, and works with different Latin American TV channels like TeleSUR (left-wing channel linked to the Venezuelan regime), Cubavisión Internacional or Canal Caribe (both dependent of the Cuban regime). **Pro-Iranian organizations: the case of Al-Tajammu**

Other actors are linked to the diffusion of pro-Iranian propaganda and collaborate in some way or another in the so-called «Axis of Resistance». Among those organizations Al-Tajammu is found. Its members are religious or secular and are focused on fighting American and Zionist imperialism. It is a Lebanese organization, although it was formed in Cairo and it has connections with Hezbollah or Shiite militias in Yemen or Iraq and has ties or close relations with organizations or groups like the Palestinian Islamic Jihad or the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Al-Tajammu's activity focuses on expanding its circle of supporters through cooperation with various organizations and schools of thought such as the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood, Egyptian Nasserists, communists in Iraq, left wing supporters in the west and more [...] Its ideologic platform specifies its goals while highlighting armed resistance as a modus operandi against enemy forces²²

Although the main area of Al-Tajammu's operations is the Middle East, there are some members identified in Latin America, especially Chile and Argentina. These members are establishing relations with the **Latin American revolutionary and Marxist left**. The common ground is anti-imperialism and the fight against America and Israel. Their objectives are the «dissemination of resistance culture through advanced and

²¹ <https://espanol.almayadeen.net/>

²² M. Barak, "Al-Tajammu: a Pro-Iranian International Platform to Leverage the Resistance Axis", *International Institute for Counter-Terrorism* (2021), pp. 4-5.

developed programs in the fields of thought, education, propaganda, politics and more»²³ as well as fighting against Israel on behalf of the Palestinian cause.

In order to achieve their goals in Latin America, they participate with the revolutionary or Marxist left in Argentina or Chile and have an extensive presence in some media channels, websites as well as in social media. An example of this is **Lisandro Brusco** who conducts a radio program in **Radio Popular Che Guevara**²⁴. In the radio's webpage, they publish articles about current affairs, politics, society and culture from a revolutionary and leftist point of view. Many about Palestine and anti-Zionism can be found. **Ángel Horacio Molina**, mentioned above, also conducts a radio program in this station. **Brusco** have also collaborated with the pro Hezbollah Lebanese al-Mayadeen channel.

Another member of Al-Tajammu that is very active is **Nicola Hadwa**. who assiduously participates in a wide range of media channels. He participates in ARABTV with **Suhail Assad**, one of the two favorite Rabbani disciples and is also involved as a collaborator in the activity of Hispan TV and Al Mayadeen. He is also involved in different cultural associations or groups like the **Comité Chileno de Solidaridad con Palestina** that is focused on promoting and defending the Palestinian cause.

Another active member of the organization is **Susana Khalil**²⁵. She participates in Al Mayadeen media activity and is also involved in various cultural platforms in defense of Palestine, mainly in Venezuela. Khalil is the founder of the *Asociación de Socorro al Pueblo Palestino Canaan-Venezuela*²⁶, that promotes the defense of the Palestinian cause, its historical roots in the Canaanite people and a strong opposition to Israel and Zionism.

Two case studies: Tertulias en Cuarentena and Resumen Latinoamericano

Having analyzed Iran, Hezbollah and Al-Tajammu, their networks and the *red-green* connection, two cases will be analyzed as an example of how they operate in cooperation with each other and an example of the narrative they use:

1. *Tertulias en Cuarentena*, (YouTube channel);

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ <https://radiocheguevara.org.ar/>

²⁵ https://twitter.com/susana_khalil

²⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/groups/asociacioncanaan/> | <https://twitter.com/canaanvenezuela> | <http://www.canaan.org.ve/>

2. *Resumen Latinoamericano* (webpage).

Tertulias en Cuarentena²⁷ is a YouTube channel, created in Spain by two Spanish, **José María (Txema) Sánchez** and **Juan Luis (Juanlu) González Pérez**, who are at the same time conductors in many of the videos posted in the channel. Both are members of an internationalist and anti-imperialist organization, ***Frente Antiimperialista Internacionalista*** (FAI). Although it was created in Spain by two Spanish, the channel and the content of the videos have a clear projection to Latin American audiences. The channel has 2,540 subscriber (and growing) and around 255,620 views.

The videos they post are all about politics in different countries of Latin America, anti-imperialism, a defense of the Palestinian cause, in support of Iran, Venezuela and Cuba²⁸ as well as opposing the U.S., Israel, neoliberalism and capitalism. There are interviews, presentation of books, conferences and talks or conversations.

The interesting point is that in this channel, all the people mentioned above gather together to promote their agenda and narrative. In many of the talks posted in the channel intervene all together Abdul Karim Paz or Kamel Gomez, the Al Mayadeen presenter Wafica Ibrahim, or Al-Tajammu members Lisandro Brusco, Nicola Hadwa or Susana Khalil.

They post videos of interviews made by the Iranian Hispan TV, TeleSur (controlled by the Venezuelan regime), Russia Today or Al Mayadeen. They defend the Iranian regime²⁹ (for example, they consider Qasem Soleimani an internationalist martyr) and interview Iranian officials³⁰. In addition, other members

²⁷ TeCs Tertulias en Cuarentena. YouTube Channel. October 11, 2020.

https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCQypB-J9uDwnTQr9e1i_8ow

²⁸ TeCs Tertulias en Cuarentena. "'MI CUBA". Wafica Ibrahim. Directora de Al Mayadeen para América Latina defiende a Cuba", YouTube video, 2:11, November 15, 2021.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8a9NvM8MPP0>

TeCs Tertulias en Cuarentena. "Cuba y su Revolución son patrimonio de la humanidad. Cuba no se toca", YouTube video, 2:13, November 10, 2021.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XXAm01sEhSE>

TeCs Tertulias en Cuarentena. "Venezuela tiene con qué. Jornada Mundial en Defensa de la Democracia y la Verdad de Venezuela", YouTube video, 15:48, November 17, 2021.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zdxBWO-bgV0>

²⁹ TeCs Tertulias en Cuarentena. "Tertulia XXVI, República Islámica de Irán", YouTube video, 4:15:45, September 25, 2021.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ATQdzYYo19Y&list=PLpzQHnlk8BoCwJXlkAA3j_jHCh0znewVS&index=15

³⁰ TeCs Tertulias en Cuarentena. "TERTULIAS EN CUARENTENA, HABLANDO CON... Dr. ABBAS KHAMAYAR Consejero cultural de Irán en El Líbano", YouTube video, 1:12:57, October 14, 2020.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2JFjwUeMs6o&list=PLpzQHnlk8BoDPK3DBMIMpQ1fzJy1Krki4&index=5>

of various groups related to the Palestinian cause are interviewed or participate in the videos. For example, **Fayed Badawi**, the spokesperson for Europe of the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** is interviewed by Wafica Ibrahim³¹.

It is interesting to note that one of the founders and conductor of the talks Juanlu González always appears in the videos with the flags of Hezbollah, Palestine, Syria, Cuba and Venezuela in the background.

Most videos are a perfect example of the mixture of red and green discourses, with the topics of anti-imperialism, America and Israel as the enemy, anti-capitalism, anti-neoliberalism, the oppression rhetoric and the defense of the Palestinian cause.

Resumen Latinoamericano³² is a webpage created in Argentina. The director is **Carlos Aznárez**. The webpage is «the other side of the news of America and the Third World». On the website it is stated that they work against disinformation or «media terrorism». From feminism to «social ecology», from economy to culture, the topics treated in the webpage are the most varied. Moreover, they have special pages dedicated to regional areas such as Russia, the U.S., Europe, Africa or the Middle East.

The general narrative is given from a leftist perspective, stressing anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism. Furthermore, within the section dedicated to the Middle East, they have a subsection dedicated to Syria, Yemen or dedicated to Saudi Arabia, which is not very favorable to the kingdom³³; a subsection dedicated to Palestine defending the cause and against Israel³⁴; and a subsection for Lebanon, in which they echo the words of Hezbollah leaders, they defend the organization, and they attack those that consider Hezbollah a terrorist organization³⁵.

This news webpage uses as sources for their articles media outlets such as Al Mayadeen, the Iranian Hispan TV or the Hezbollah-operated Al Manar. The website also advertises and reviews videos and talks from Tertulias en Cuarentena. Along with this, the platform is used by the people working on the expansion of Iran's influence, such as Kamel Gomez, Ángel Horacio Molina or Abdul Karim Paz, who is

³¹ TeCs Tertulias en Cuarentena. "TECs HABLANDO CON... FAYED BADAWI y WAFICA IBRAHIM", YouTube video, 1:57:45, May 23, 2021.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hsgSFSkOjgg&list=PLpzQHnlk8BoDPK3DBMIMpQ1fzJy1Krkj4&index=13>

³² <https://www.resumenlatinoamericano.org/>

³³ <https://www.resumenlatinoamericano.org/category/medio-oriente/arabia-saudita/>

³⁴ <https://www.resumenlatinoamericano.org/category/medio-oriente/palestina-internacional/>

³⁵ <https://www.resumenlatinoamericano.org/category/medio-oriente/libano/>

interviewed by the director Carlos Aznárez; it is also used by Wafica Ibrahim, from Al Mayadeen or by Al-Tajammu members including Nicola Hadwa, Susana Khalil or Lisandro Brusco. They all write articles, interview people or are interviewed and take advantage of the red-green nexus and narrative with the common topics.

These two case studies, Tertulias en Cuarentena and Resumen Latinoamericano, help understand how Iran, Hezbollah or pro-Hezbollah platforms, as well as organizations like Al-Tajammu work in Latin America, how they are expanding their messages and how are exploiting revolutionary leftist media outlets. In the two cases, Tertulias en Cuarentena and Resumen Latinoamericano, news, articles, op-eds. and videos with pro-Iranian content are mixed with other information material not related to the Middle East or Iran. Among leftist-biased news or op-eds., material generated by Iranian scholars or sympathizers, by pro-Hezbollah communicators or by Al-Tajammu members is somehow «infiltrated» in this type of webpages, YouTube channels or social media profiles.

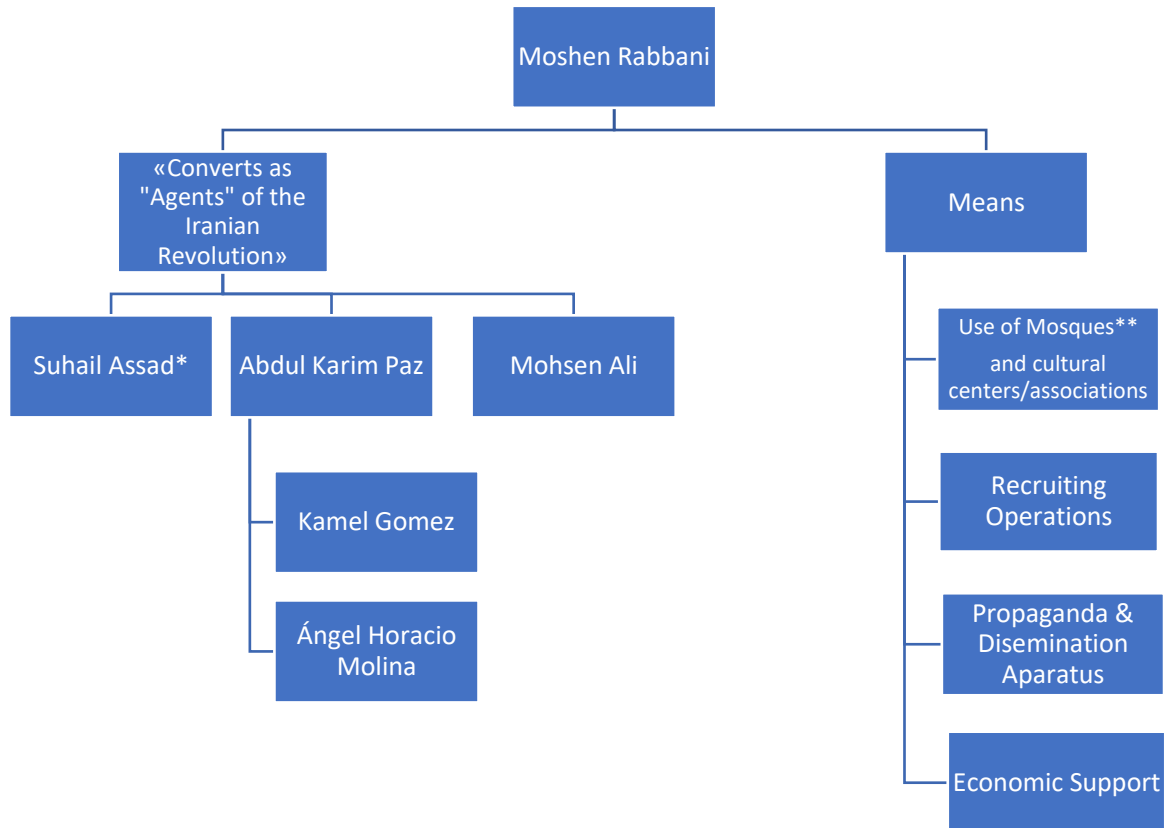
Conclusion

Since the 20th century, Iran has sought to expand its influence in the Latin American region. In order to achieve this goal, it has established officials and agents to carry out propaganda and recruitment operations, the spread of Shia Islam, and the infiltration of pro-Iranian agents not only in cultural associations and centers but also in communication and media outlets, news websites and in social media platforms.

From the Rabbani network to the activism of Al-Tajammu members in Chile or Argentina, the expansion of propaganda networks has not only been limited to classical means but has also moved online, to YouTube channels like ARABTV or Tertulias en Cuarentena or to webpages like Resumen Latinoamericano. This has been accompanied by the translation into Spanish of diffusion instruments such as Hezbollah's Al Manar or Al Mayadeen to target Spanish speakers in LATAM. In this scenario, the red-green cooperation and the ideological nexus between the revolutionary-Marxist left and pro-Iranian actors have promoted a shared discourse that enlarges the targeted audience.

In a nutshell, Latin America is the new propaganda battlefield for Iran, Hezbollah and pro-Iranian organizations with the arms of the advanced technology of the 21st century leveraging a shared narrative with the revolutionary Latin American left.

Annex 1: The Rabbani Network³⁶



³⁶ For the category of «Converts as "Agents" of the Iranian Revolution», see J. M. Humire, "Hearing on Threat to the Homeland: Iran's Extending Influence in the Western Hemisphere" before the *US House of Representatives Subcommittee on Oversight and Management Efficiency of the Committee on Homeland Security* (2013), pp. 30-32. <https://books.google.es/books?id=9yVohWpEXxwC&pg=PA31&lpg=PA31&dq=RABBANI+NETWORK&source=bl&ots=70WRZKlv4r&sig=ACfU3U0Z-GuZJLajLcHj6EDyG2HLILHJfg&hl=es&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwibzsPE6rP2AhUDvaQKHfYPAScQ6AF6BAgcEAM#v=onepage&q&f=false>

For an in-depth analysis on the means and this categorization, see A. Nisman, *Dictamen sobre las redes terroristas iraníes a través de América Latina* (29 de mayo de 2013), pp. 119-137. <http://albertonisman.org/nisman-report-dictamina-on-sleeper-cells-full-text-2/?lang=es>

* [Suhail Assad and Abdul Karim Paz are brothers-in-law. Karim Paz is married to Roxana "Masuma" Assad.](#)

** [The best example is At-Tahuid Mosque, in the Floresta neighborhood of Buenos Aires.](#) Rabbani was an Imam there. Then he was succeeded by Abdul Karim Paz.

Annex 2: Prominent Iranian actors: the Rabbani Network in Argentina



Mohsen Rabbani



Suhail Assad



Abdul Karim Paz



Mohsen Ali



Kamel Gomez



Ángel Horacio Molina

Pro-Hezbollah media outlet Al-Mayadeen

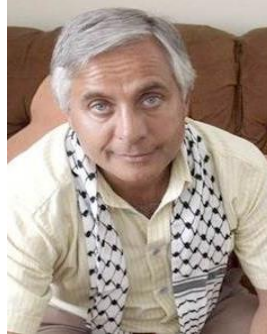


Wafica Ibrahim

Pro-Iranian organization: Al-Tajammu



Lisandro Brusco



Nicola Hadwa



Susana Khalil