

**MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN LIBYA**

**Name:** Muslim Brotherhood in Libya

**Year of Origin:** 1949<sup>1</sup>

**Founder(s):** Not determined

**Place(s) of Operation:** Tripoli, Misrata, Benghazi, North Eastern Libya

**Key Leaders:**

- Ahmed Abdullah Al-Suqi: Chair of the Muslim Brotherhood<sup>2</sup>
- [Mohamed Sowan](#) (credit: AFP): former head of MB Consultative Council, Leader of JCP<sup>3</sup>
- Bashir al-Kubty: JCP General Observer and former chair of the Muslim Brotherhood<sup>4</sup>
- Al-Amin Belhaj: Head of JCP's founding committee<sup>5</sup>
- Fawzi Bukatief (a.k.a.: Fawzi Abu Kitef): Head of the RBC<sup>6</sup>
- Soliman Abd al-Qadr: former General Observer<sup>7</sup>
- Khalifa Ghwell: Prime Minister of the Government of National Salvation and Speaker of the General National Congress<sup>8</sup>

**Associated Organization(s):**

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<sup>1</sup> Omar Ashour, "Libya's Muslim Brotherhood faces the future," *Foreign Policy*, March 9, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/09/libyas-muslim-brotherhood-faces-the-future/>.

<sup>2</sup> Moutaz Ali, "Muslim Brotherhood party says HoR terror list is defamation," *Libya Herald* (Tripoli), June 11, 2017, <https://www.libyaherald.com/2017/06/11/muslim-brotherhood-party-says-hor-terror-list-is-defamation/>.

<sup>3</sup> Omar Ashour, "Libya's Muslim Brotherhood faces the future," *Foreign Policy*, March 9, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/09/libyas-muslim-brotherhood-faces-the-future/>.

<sup>4</sup> Omar Ashour, "Libya's Muslim Brotherhood faces the future," *Foreign Policy*, March 9, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/09/libyas-muslim-brotherhood-faces-the-future/>.

<sup>5</sup> Cameron Glenn, "Libya's Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want," Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

<sup>6</sup> Omar Ashour, "Libya's Muslim Brotherhood faces the future," *Foreign Policy*, March 9, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/09/libyas-muslim-brotherhood-faces-the-future/>; Omar Ashour, "Libyan Islamists Unpacked: Rise, Transformation, and Future," Brookings Doha Center, May 2012, <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/5/02%20libya%20ashour/omar%20ashour%20policy%20briefing%20english.pdf>.

<sup>7</sup> Omar Ashour, "Libya's Muslim Brotherhood faces the future," *Foreign Policy*, March 9, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/09/libyas-muslim-brotherhood-faces-the-future/>.

<sup>8</sup> Mattia Toaldo, "A Quick Guide to Libya's Main Players," European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict); Theodore Karasik, "Why all eyes should be on Libya right now," *Al Arabiya*, May 4, 2015, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/views/news/middle-east/2015/05/04/Why-all-eyes-should-be-on-Libya-right-now.html>.

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- Justice and Construction Party (JCP)<sup>9</sup>
- General National Congress (GNC)<sup>10</sup>
- Government of National Salvation (GNS)<sup>11</sup>

The Libyan branch of the Muslim Brotherhood (i.e., the Brotherhood) is one of the largest Islamist parties in the country. Brotherhood members in [Libya](#) lead the country’s rogue Islamist government in Tripoli—known as the Government of National Salvation (GNS)—while also having members in the country’s unity government State Council.<sup>12</sup> The Brotherhood has also maintained strong ties to Islamist militias that once backed the former Islamist General National Council (GNC).<sup>13</sup> Three of the Libya Dawn militias are directly allied with the Brotherhood: the 17 February Martyrs Brigade (17 Feb), the Misrata militias, and the Libyan Revolutionaries Operations Room (LROR).<sup>14</sup>

The Libyan branch of the Brotherhood was established in Benghazi in 1949 by members of the Egyptian Brotherhood fleeing a government crackdown in Cairo. Colonel Muammar Gaddafi criminalized the Brotherhood after he came to power in Libya in 1969. Throughout the 1980s, the Gaddafi regime hunted down and executed Brotherhood leaders and operatives. Gaddafi warned that if Islamists wanted to practice *dawa* (proselytizing), they should do so outside of Libya. Many Brotherhood members fled the country as a result of the threat or else were arrested or forced underground.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Cameron Glenn, “Libya’s Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want,” Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

<sup>10</sup> Chris Stephen, “War in Libya – the Guardian briefing,” *Guardian* (London), August 29, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/29/-sp-briefing-war-in-libya>.

<sup>11</sup> Mattia Toaldo, “A Quick Guide to Libya’s Main Players,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict).

<sup>12</sup> Sasha Toperich, “Libya: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Last Stand?” Huffington Post, July 24, 2014, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sasha-toperich/libya-the-muslim-brotherhoods-last-stand\\_b\\_5618001.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sasha-toperich/libya-the-muslim-brotherhoods-last-stand_b_5618001.html);

Theodore Karasik, “Why all eyes should be on Libya right now,” *Al Arabiya*, May 4, 2015, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/views/news/middle-east/2015/05/04/Why-all-eyes-should-be-on-Libya-right-now.html>;

Mattia Toaldo, “A Quick Guide to Libya’s Main Players,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict).

<sup>13</sup> Chris Stephen, “War in Libya – the Guardian briefing,” *Guardian* (London), August 29, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/29/-sp-briefing-war-in-libya>.

<sup>14</sup> Cameron Glenn, “Libya’s Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want,” Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>; “Libya Dawn: Map of allies and enemies,” *Al Arabiya*, August 25, 2014, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2014/08/25/Libya-Dawn-Map-of-allies-and-enemies.html>; “Mapping Libya’s armed groups,” *Al Jazeera*, June 2, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/05/libya-armed-groups-explained-201452293619773132.html>.

<sup>15</sup> Omar Ashour, “Libya’s Muslim Brotherhood faces the future,” *Foreign Policy*, March 9, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/09/libyas-muslim-brotherhood-faces-the-future/>; Omar Ashour, “Libyan Islamists

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During Gaddafi's reign, some Brotherhood members who had fled Libya congregated in the United States to create a temporary Brotherhood group known as the "Islamic Group – Libya."<sup>16</sup> In 1982, several of the group's leaders attempted to return to Libya in order to reestablish the Brotherhood's presence. Gaddafi had many of them arrested or killed.<sup>17</sup>

Following the ousting of Gaddafi in 2011, the Brotherhood was quick to reestablish its presence in Libya. In March 2012, Brotherhood activist Mohamed Sowan formed the Justice and Construction Party (JCP), a political party that sought to establish a Libyan Islamist caliphate and which was reportedly modeled after the Egyptian Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party (FJP).<sup>18</sup> Three months later, the JCP came in second in Libya's first post-Gaddafi national parliamentary election, winning 34 out of 200 seats in July of 2012.<sup>19</sup>

Once in parliament, the JCP reportedly formed strategic alliances with independent seat holders to increase its political influence over the country's secular and nationalist coalition, the National Forces Alliance (NFA).<sup>20</sup> The JCP soon grew to become the most influential bloc in parliament. By May 2013, the JCP was able to push through the Political Isolation Law (PIL), which prevented Gaddafi-era officials from participation in Libya's political system for the next 10 years. According to BBC News, the JCP strategically constructed the PIL to target NFA

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Unpacked: Rise, Transformation, and Future," Brookings Doha Center, May 2012, <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/5/02%20libya%20ashour/omar%20ashour%20policy%20briefing%20english.pdf>; Cameron Glenn, "Libya's Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want," Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

<sup>16</sup> Omar Ashour, "Libyan Islamists Unpacked: Rise, Transformation, and Future," Brookings Doha Center, May 2012, <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/5/02%20libya%20ashour/omar%20ashour%20policy%20briefing%20english.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> Omar Ashour, "Libyan Islamists Unpacked: Rise, Transformation, and Future," Brookings Doha Center, May 2012, <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/5/02%20libya%20ashour/omar%20ashour%20policy%20briefing%20english.pdf>; Omar Ashour, "Libya's Muslim Brotherhood faces the future," *Foreign Policy*, March 9, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/09/libyas-muslim-brotherhood-faces-the-future/>.

<sup>18</sup> Omar Ashour, "Libya's Muslim Brotherhood faces the future," *Foreign Policy*, March 9, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/09/libyas-muslim-brotherhood-faces-the-future/>.

<sup>19</sup> Cameron Glenn, "Libya's Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want," Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

<sup>20</sup> Cameron Glenn, "Libya's Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want," Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

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parliamentary members, knowing that many of them were former Gaddafi officials.<sup>21</sup> Several NFA members were forced to resign from government as a result of the law.<sup>22</sup>

Despite their political successes within parliament, the JCP lost nine seats during the 2014 elections.<sup>23</sup> According to reports, the JCP accused the new parliament of being overrun by Gaddafi supporters,<sup>24</sup> and later split off from parliament with other Islamist groups to form the Islamist General National Congress (GNC) government in Tripoli.<sup>25</sup> After the start of the GCC-Qatar diplomatic crisis in June 2017, the Libyan House of Representatives issued a list of Qatar-linked Libyans deemed to be terrorists, including several prominent JCP members.<sup>26</sup>

The JCP was one of the leading blocs involved in the creation of the GNC in Tripoli in August 2014. The GNC declared its alliance with a coalition of Islamist Libyan militias called Libya Dawn. According to reports, the mission of Libya Dawn is to defend the presence of political groups linked to the Brotherhood such as the JCP, block the success of the nationalist Libyan government, and promote political Islam.<sup>27</sup>

In September 2014, the Libya Dawn alliance seized control of the Libyan capital of Tripoli.<sup>28</sup> The GNC established its own self-styled governmental body, the Government of National Salvation (GNS).<sup>29</sup> The former parliament in Tripoli, meanwhile, relocated to Tobruk and established the internationally recognized Libyan government. In May 2014, the Tobruk-based

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<sup>21</sup> “Libya revokes bill which banned Gaddafi-era officials from office,” BBC News, February 2, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-31104099>.

<sup>22</sup> Cameron Glenn, “Libya’s Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want,” Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

<sup>23</sup> Cameron Glenn, “Libya’s Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want,” Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

<sup>24</sup> Chris Stephen, “War in Libya – the Guardian briefing,” *Guardian* (London), August 29, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/29/-sp-briefing-war-in-libya>.

<sup>25</sup> Chris Stephen, “War in Libya – the Guardian briefing,” *Guardian* (London), August 29, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/29/-sp-briefing-war-in-libya>.

<sup>26</sup> Moutaz Ali, “Muslim Brotherhood party says HoR terror list is defamation,” *Libya Herald* (Tripoli), June 11, 2017, <https://www.libyaherald.com/2017/06/11/muslim-brotherhood-party-says-hor-terror-list-is-defamation/>.

<sup>27</sup> “Libya Dawn: Map of allies and enemies,” Al Arabiya, August 25, 2014, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2014/08/25/Libyan-Dawn-Map-of-allies-and-enemies.html>; Sasha Toperich, “Libya: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Last Stand?” Huffington Post, July 24, 2014, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sasha-toperich/libya-the-muslim-brotherhoods-last-stand\\_b\\_5618001.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sasha-toperich/libya-the-muslim-brotherhoods-last-stand_b_5618001.html).

<sup>28</sup> Ulf Laessing, “Libya’s runaway parliament seeks refuge in Tobruk bubble,” Reuters, October 2, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security-insight-idUSKCN0HR1GO20141002>.

<sup>29</sup> Mattia Toaldo, “A Quick Guide to Libya’s Main Players,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict); Ahmed Elumami, “Libya’s self-declared National Salvation government stepping down,” Reuters, April 5, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security-politics-idUSKCN0X22KG>.

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government's House of Representatives (HoR) tasked General Khalifa Haftar, commander of the Tobruk government-aligned Libyan National Army (LNA), with countering the Libya Dawn in Tripoli. Haftar launched Operation Dignity in an effort to quash the Libya Dawn coalition and other armed Islamist groups.<sup>30</sup>

In December 2015, the United Nations brokered the Libyan Political Agreement (LPA), a power-sharing agreement between the internationally recognized government in Tobruk and the GNS government in Tripoli. The LPA dissolved the now-defunct Libya Dawn and authorized the creation of the Government of National Accord (GNA), which took formal control of the Libyan government in Tripoli on March 30, 2016.<sup>31</sup> Under the LPA, the GNS formerly resigned and a large number of GNS members were transitioned into the GNA's State Council, which serves as the consultative body of the GNA.<sup>32</sup> Despite the LPA, other former GNS members and the HoR, backed by Haftar, have refused to recognize the GNA as Libya's governing authority.<sup>33</sup>

In October 2016, former GNS Prime Minister Khalifa Ghwell attempted to reestablish the GNS by attempting a coup against the GNA. Former GNS members, backed by the Presidential Guard and several Islamist militias, seized control of several government buildings, including the parliament.<sup>34</sup> The renewed GNS, which reasserted itself as an independent body, vowed to reclaim the government infrastructure in Tripoli.<sup>35</sup> On January 12, 2017, the GNS seized

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<sup>30</sup> "Libya Dawn: Map of allies and enemies," Al Arabiya, August 25, 2014, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2014/08/25/Libya-Dawn-Map-of-allies-and-enemies.html>.

<sup>31</sup> Mattia Toaldo, "A Quick Guide to Libya's Main Players," European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict).

<sup>32</sup> Mattia Toaldo, "A Quick Guide to Libya's Main Players," European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict); Ahmed Elumami, "Libya's self-declared National Salvation government stepping down," Reuters, April 5, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security-politics-idUSKCN0X22KG>; "Tripoli Salvation Government resigns, hands power back to GNC," Libyan Express, April 1, 2016, <http://www.libyanexpress.com/tripoli-salvation-government-resigns-hands-power-back-to-gnc-2/>.

<sup>33</sup> Mattia Toaldo, "A Quick Guide to Libya's Main Players," European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict).

<sup>34</sup> Mattia Toaldo, "A Quick Guide to Libya's Main Players," European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict); Associated Press, "Clashes erupt in Libyan capital Tripoli," Ahram Online, October 16, 2016, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/2/8/245898/World/Region/Clashes-erupt-in-Libyan-capital-Tripoli.aspx>.

<sup>35</sup> Associated Press, "Clashes erupt in Libyan capital Tripoli," Ahram Online, October 16, 2016, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/2/8/245898/World/Region/Clashes-erupt-in-Libyan-capital-Tripoli.aspx>.

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additional GNA buildings, including the ministries of defense, martyrs' affairs, and labor.<sup>36</sup> Although the GNS and GNA continue to compete for control in Tripoli, GNS support for Ghwell has gradually diminished due to its members' inclusion in the GNA State Council, according to the European Council on Foreign Relations.<sup>37</sup>

In May 2017, General Haftar, representing the Tobruk government, engaged in peace talks with GNA Prime Minister Fayeze al Sarraj in Abu Dhabi in the first face-to-face meeting between the two governments in 18 months. They agreed to potential 2018 elections and a power-sharing deal.<sup>38</sup> Nonetheless, in December 2017, Haftar claimed that the GNA was obsolete, given that the timeline originally given for the GNA in the 2015 U.N. agreement had been only two years. However, the United Nations rejected Haftar's claim, stating that the GNA could continue its operations until a permanent solution is reached.<sup>39</sup>

Several Islamist militias from the now-defunct Libya Dawn, meanwhile, continue to back former GNC members, in either the GNA or the GNS. Three of these militias are allied with the Brotherhood: the 17 February Martyrs Brigade (17 Feb), the Misrata militias, and the Libyan Revolutionaries Operations Room (LROR).<sup>40</sup>

**17 February Martyrs Brigade (17 Feb):** Brotherhood members formed the 17 February Martyrs Brigade (17 Feb) during the 2011 uprising against the Gaddafi regime. Headquartered in Benghazi, 17 Feb is one of the largest and best-armed militias in eastern Libya. The group primarily conducts law enforcement responsibilities in the

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<sup>36</sup> "Salvation government retakes government buildings," Libya Observer, January 12, 2017,

<https://www.libyaobserver.ly/news/salvation-government-retakes-government-buildings>.

<sup>37</sup> Mattia Toaldo, "A Quick Guide to Libya's Main Players," European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict).

<sup>38</sup> "Libya's rival leaders in 'breakthrough' agreement that could see end to civil war," *Telegraph* (London), May 3, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/05/03/libyas-rival-leaders-breakthrough-agreement-could-see-end-civil/>; Patrick Wintour, "Breakthrough Libya talks appear to yield deal between rival factions," *Guardian* (London), May 3, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/03/libya-rival-factions-appear-to-reach-outline-agreement>.

<sup>39</sup> Ayman al-Warfalli, "East Libyan commander Haftar says U.N-backed government obsolete, hints may run in elections," Reuters, December 17, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security/east-libyan-commander-haftar-says-u-n-backed-government-obsolete-hints-may-run-in-elections-idUSKBN1EB0FB>.

<sup>40</sup> Cameron Glenn, "Libya's Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want," Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>; "Libya Dawn: Map of allies and enemies," Al Arabiya, August 25, 2014, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2014/08/25/Libyan-Dawn-Map-of-allies-and-enemies.html>; "Mapping Libya's armed groups," Al Jazeera, June 2, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/05/libya-armed-groups-explained-201452293619773132.html>.



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southern and eastern regions of the country. Since 2014, 17 Feb has taken up arms against Haftar’s Tobruk-based nationalist forces.<sup>41</sup> 17 Feb is one of several Islamist groups in the Benghazi Revolutionary Shura Council, a coalition fighting against Haftar’s forces in Benghazi.<sup>42</sup> The brigade had previously been contracted by the U.S. State Department and the CIA to defend the U.S. mission in Benghazi.<sup>43</sup> Despite the contract, the brigade failed to arrive on time to defend the U.S. embassy during the September 11, 2012, attack. Led by [Ansar al-Sharia](#) in Benghazi and Derna, the attack resulted in the death of U.S. Ambassador Chris Stevens and three other Americans.<sup>44</sup>

**LROR:** The Libyan Revolutionaries Operations Room (LROR), which operates throughout northern Libya, was created by the GNC in 2013 and charged with providing security to their headquarters in Tripoli and Benghazi.<sup>45</sup> Previously known as the Revolutionary Brigades Coalition (RBC), the LROR is responsible for launching violent attacks—including rocket attacks, gun attacks, and kidnappings—targeting General Haftar’s forces. Though charged with providing security to the GNC, the LROR reportedly has strong affiliations to its Brotherhood members in particular.<sup>46</sup> When the GNA took office in Tripoli in March 2016, the LROR voiced its full support for the GNS

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<sup>41</sup> Cameron Glenn, “Libya’s Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want,” Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

<sup>42</sup> Mattia Toaldo, “A Quick Guide to Libya’s Main Players,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict); “Developments of the Libyan Scene between the Internal Crisis and the External Intervention,” Middle East Observer, November 2, 2016, <https://www.middleeastobserver.org/2016/11/02/developments-of-the-libyan-scene-between-the-internal-crisis-and-the-external-intervention/>.

<sup>43</sup> Eli Lake, “In Benghazi, CIA Trusted Local Militia That Melted Away,” Daily Beast, May 10, 2013, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/05/10/in-benghazi-cia-trusted-local-militia-that-melted-away.html>.

<sup>44</sup> Eli Lake, “In Benghazi, CIA Trusted Local Militia That Melted Away,” Daily Beast, May 10, 2013, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/05/10/in-benghazi-cia-trusted-local-militia-that-melted-away.html>; “Ansar Al-Sharia,” National Counter Terrorism Center, accessed May 12, 2016, [https://www.nctc.gov/site/groups/ansar\\_al\\_sharia.html](https://www.nctc.gov/site/groups/ansar_al_sharia.html).

<sup>45</sup> “Guide to key Libyan militias,” BBC News, January 11, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-19744533>; “Libya Revolutionaries Joint Operations Room (LROR),” Terrorism Research and Analysis Consortium, accessed January 26, 2017, <https://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/libya-revolutionaries-joint-operations-room-lror>.

<sup>46</sup> Omar Ashour, “Libyan Islamists Unpacked: Rise, Transformation, and Future,” Brookings Doha Center, May 2012, <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/5/02%20libya%20ashour/omar%20ashour%20policy%20briefing%20english.pdf>; Cameron Glenn, “Libya’s Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want,” Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>; “Mapping Libya’s armed groups,” Al Jazeera, June 2, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/05/libya-armed-groups-explained-201452293619773132.html>.

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and threatened the GNA with war.<sup>47</sup> Following the GNS attempted coup against the GNA in October 2016, the LROR called on all armed groups previously aligned with the former GNC to support the GNS rebellion.<sup>48</sup>

**Misrata militias:** The GNC was also protected by a collection of anti-nationalist militias known as the Misrata militias. Together, these militias are reported to comprise what Al Jazeera has called “the most powerful single force in Libya.”<sup>49</sup> Equipped with heavy weaponry including tanks and rockets, the militias defend the Brotherhood members of the GNC and have fought alongside the LROR in order to protect Tripoli from opposing nationalist forces. Following the LPA, the Misrata militias reorganized. The militias split their support between GNS and the GNA. The pro-GNA Misrata militias, known as the al-Bonyan al-Marsous Operation Forces (BAM), are its leading fighting force against ISIS in Sirte. The BAM liberated Sirte from ISIS in December 2016.<sup>50</sup> The remaining Misrata militias support the remnants of the GNC and backed the GNS coup attempt in October 2016.<sup>51</sup>

Since August 2014, the power struggle between the GNA, GNS, and Haftar’s forces has left thousands dead. Anti-Islamist Haftar, backed by the HoR, has refused to work with the GNA, accusing it of aligning with Islamist militias in the fight against ISIS. Haftar’s Libyan National Army has since taken control of much of eastern Libya and continues to fight against Islamist militias in Benghazi.<sup>52</sup> The GNS, constructed from the remnants of the Brotherhood-backed GNC, aims to overthrow the internationally recognized government in Tripoli and establish a

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<sup>47</sup> “Libya Revolutionaries Operations Room confirms it’s ready to fight UN-imposed government,” Libya Observer, March 18, 2016, <https://www.libyaobserver.ly/news/libya-revolutionaries-operations-room-confirms-its-fully-ready-fight-un-imposed-government>.

<sup>48</sup> Moutaz Ali, “Bunyan Marsous derides Ghwell coup as LROR declares support,” *Libya Herald* (Tripoli), October 18, 2016, <https://www.libyaherald.com/2016/10/17/bunyan-marsous-derides-ghwell-coup-as-lror-declares-support/>.

<sup>49</sup> “Mapping Libya’s armed groups,” Al Jazeera, June 2, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/05/libya-armed-groups-explained-201452293619773132.html>.

<sup>50</sup> Mattia Toaldo, “A Quick Guide to Libya’s Main Players,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict).

<sup>51</sup> Mattia Toaldo, “A Quick Guide to Libya’s Main Players,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict); Ken Hanly, “Militias clashing in the Libyan capital of Tripoli,” *Digital Journal*, December 1, 2016, <http://www.digitaljournal.com/news/world/militias-clashing-in-the-libyan-capital-of-tripoli/article/480871>.

<sup>52</sup> Conor Gaffey, “Who Is Khalifa Haftar, Libya’s Divisive General?” *Newsweek*, July 22, 2016, <http://www.newsweek.com/khalifa-haftar-isis-libya-muammar-el-qaddafi-483246>; Mattia Toaldo, “A Quick Guide to Libya’s Main Players,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict).



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unified Islamist government throughout Libya.<sup>53</sup> Haftar has named the Muslim Brotherhood as the greatest threat to Libya.<sup>54</sup> The Tobruk government has also labeled Libyan Brotherhood members, including JCP leader Mohamed Souwan, as terrorists.<sup>55</sup> In January 2019, 20 members of Libya's parliament called for the criminalization of the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>56</sup>

**History:**

- **1949:** Egyptian Brotherhood members flee Cairo and establish a branch in Libya.<sup>57</sup>
- **1968:** A coup led by Colonel Muammar Gaddafi forces the Libyan Brotherhood to move underground.<sup>58</sup>
- **1974 – 2010:** Gaddafi makes participation in the Brotherhood a crime punishable by death. Facing execution, many Brotherhood members flee the country.<sup>59</sup>
- **2011:** Following the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime, Islamist movements resurface in Libya. The Brotherhood reemerges in Libya and forms the 17 Feb militia.<sup>60</sup>
- **September 11, 2012:** Ansar al-Sharia attacks the U.S. mission in Benghazi. The Brotherhood-affiliated 17 Feb militia, which was contracted by the U.S. government to protect the U.S. mission in Benghazi, fails to arrive in time to defend the consulate.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> "Libya 2015/2016," Amnesty International, accessed March 16, 2017,

<https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/middle-east-and-north-africa/libya/report-libya/>.

<sup>54</sup> "Libya's Muslim Brotherhood break their silence, respond to Haftar's accusations," Middle East Monitor, February 22, 2017, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20170222-libyas-muslim-brotherhood-break-their-silence-respond-to-haftars-accusations/>.

<sup>55</sup> Mohamed Ibrahim, "Branded "a terrorist," leader of J&C party of Muslim Brotherhood calls slain Operation Dignity fighters "martyrs,"" Libya Observer, April 7, 2018, <https://www.libyaobserver.ly/news/branded-%E2%80%9Cterrorist%E2%80%9D-leader-jc-party-muslim-brotherhood-calls-slain-operation-dignity-fighters>.

<sup>56</sup> "Libya parliament members demand criminalizing Muslim Brotherhood," Xinhua, January 28, 2019, [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-01/28/c\\_137779764.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-01/28/c_137779764.htm).

<sup>57</sup> Omar Ashour, "Libyan Islamists Unpacked: Rise, Transformation, and Future," Brookings Doha Center, May 2012, <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/5/02%20libya%20ashour/omar%20ashour%20policy%20briefing%20english.pdf>.

<sup>58</sup> Omar Ashour, "Libya's Muslim Brotherhood faces the future," *Foreign Policy*, March 9, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/09/libyas-muslim-brotherhood-faces-the-future/>.

<sup>59</sup> Cameron Glenn, "Libya's Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want," Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

<sup>60</sup> "Islamist Movements in Libya: Chances and Challenges of Political Power," Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2015, pg. 1, <http://www.fes.org.ma/common/pdf/FES%20Libya%20English%20DEF.pdf>; Cameron Glenn, "Libya's Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want," Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

<sup>61</sup> Eli Lake, "In Benghazi, CIA Trusted Local Militia That Melted Away," Daily Beast, May 10, 2013, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/05/10/in-benghazi-cia-trusted-local-militia-that-melted-away.html>.

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- **March 2012:** The Brotherhood, led by Mohamed Sowan, forms the Justice and Construction Party (JCP).<sup>62</sup>
- **July 17, 2012:** The JCP wins 35 parliamentary seats in Libya’s first post-Gaddafi election.<sup>63</sup>
- **May 2013:** The JCP pushes the Political Isolation Law (PIL) through parliament in Tripoli. The law prevents Gaddafi-era officials—including some seated legislators—from participating in Libya’s political system for 10 years.<sup>64</sup>
- **August 2014:** JCP members create the General National Congress (GNC). The Libyan Revolutionaries Operations Room (LROR) militia is created and charged by the GNC to defend Tripoli and the Misrata.<sup>65</sup>
- **2014:** After losing 10 parliamentary seats, the Brotherhood and other Islamist groups leave parliament and form a competitive Islamist government in Tripoli, Libya. The Tripoli-based GNC government allies with the militant Libya Dawn coalition.<sup>66</sup>
- **September 2014:** The Libya Dawn alliance seizes Tripoli and the GNC establishes its so-called Libyan Government of National Salvation (GNS).<sup>67</sup>
- **December 2015:** The United Nations brokers Libyan Political Agreement (LPA), a power-sharing agreement between the internationally recognized government in Tobruk and the GNS in Tripoli to form the General National Accord (GNA).<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Cameron Glenn, “Libya’s Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want,” Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

<sup>63</sup> Cameron Glenn, “Libya’s Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want,” Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

<sup>64</sup> Cameron Glenn, “Libya’s Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want,” Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

<sup>65</sup> “Libya 2015/2016,” Amnesty International, accessed March 16, 2017, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/middle-east-and-north-africa/libya/report-libya/>; “Mapping Libya’s armed groups,” Al Jazeera, June 2, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/05/libya-armed-groups-explained-201452293619773132.html>.

<sup>66</sup> Cameron Glenn, “Libya’s Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want,” Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>; Chris Stephen, “War in Libya – the Guardian briefing,” *Guardian* (London), August 29, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/29/-sp-briefing-war-in-libya>.

<sup>67</sup> Ulf Laessing, “Libya’s runaway parliament seeks refuge in Tobruk bubble,” Reuters, October 2, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security-insight-idUSKCN0HR1GO20141002>; Mattia Toaldo, “A Quick Guide to Libya’s Main Players,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict); Ahmed Elumami, “Libya’s self-declared National Salvation government stepping down,” Reuters, April 5, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security-politics-idUSKCN0X22KG>.

<sup>68</sup> Mattia Toaldo, “A Quick Guide to Libya’s Main Players,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict).

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- **March 30, 2016:** The GNA assumes power in Tripoli.<sup>69</sup>
- **October 16, 2016:** Former GNS Prime Minister Khalifa Ghwell stages a coup against the GNA, backed by the Presidential Guard and several Islamist militias.<sup>70</sup>
- **February 2017:** In an interview, General Khalifa Haftar states that the Muslim Brotherhood is a terrorist group and the greatest threat to Libya. Days later, JCP leader Bashir al-Kubty denounces Haftar's statements, claiming that the Brotherhood has "no military or political activity."<sup>71</sup>
- **May 2, 2017:** General Haftar, representing the Tobruk government, engages in peace talks with GNA Prime Minister Fayeze Al Sarraj in Abu Dhabi in the first face-to-face meeting between the two governments in 18 months. They agree to potential 2018 elections and a power-sharing deal.<sup>72</sup>
- **June 2017:** The Libyan House of Representatives issues a list of Qatar-linked Libyans deemed to be terrorists, including several prominent JCP members and Muslim Brotherhood leaders. JCP chair Mohamed Sawan is among those designated as terrorists. The JCP condemns the listing.<sup>73</sup>
- **December 17, 2017:** Haftar claims that the GNA is now obsolete, given that the timeline originally given for the GNA in the 2015 U.N. agreement was only two years. The United Nations rejects Haftar's claim, stating the GNA can continue its operations until a permanent solution is reached.<sup>74</sup>
- **January 2019:** President of the High Council of State Khaled Al-Mishri resigns from the Muslim Brotherhood and calls on the group to implement its past agreements. Mishri

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<sup>69</sup> Mattia Toaldo, "A Quick Guide to Libya's Main Players," European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict).

<sup>70</sup> Mattia Toaldo, "A Quick Guide to Libya's Main Players," European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict); Associated Press, "Clashes erupt in Libyan capital Tripoli," *Ahram Online*, October 16, 2016,

<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/2/8/245898/World/Region/Clashes-erupt-in-Libyan-capital-Tripoli.aspx>.

<sup>71</sup> "Libya's Muslim Brotherhood break their silence, respond to Haftar's accusations," *Middle East Monitor*, February 22, 2017, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20170222-libyas-muslim-brotherhood-break-their-silence-respond-to-haftars-accusations/>.

<sup>72</sup> "Libya's rival leaders in 'breakthrough' agreement that could see end to civil war," *Telegraph* (London), May 3, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/05/03/libyas-rival-leaders-breakthrough-agreement-could-see-end-civil/>; Patrick Wintour, "Breakthrough Libya talks appear to yield deal between rival factions," *Guardian* (London), May 3, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/03/libya-rival-factions-appear-to-reach-outline-agreement>.

<sup>73</sup> Moutaz Ali, "Muslim Brotherhood party says HoR terror list is defamation," *Libya Herald* (Tripoli), June 11, 2017, <https://www.libyaherald.com/2017/06/11/muslim-brotherhood-party-says-hor-terror-list-is-defamation/>.

<sup>74</sup> Ayman al-Warfalli, "East Libyan commander Haftar says U.N-backed government obsolete, hints may run in elections," *Reuters*, December 17, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security/east-libyan-commander-haftar-says-u-n-backed-government-obsolete-hints-may-run-in-elections-idUSKBN1EB0FB>.

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says he maintains respect for the Brotherhood despite his resignation. Following Mishri's resignation, 20 members of Libya's parliament call for the criminalization of the Muslim Brotherhood, citing its support of terrorism.<sup>75</sup>

- **April 2019:** Haftar's forces launch an offensive on Tripoli on April 4 to capture the city from the GNA, resulting in weeks of fighting with GNA-allied forces and dozens of civilian casualties.<sup>76</sup>

**Violent Activities:**

The Brotherhood and its affiliates have engaged in violence against the internationally recognized government of Libya and their nationalist militias.

- **November 16, 2013:** The Brotherhood-backed Misrata militia opens fire on a group of protesters in Tripoli, killing 37 people and wounding over 400.<sup>77</sup>
- **2014:** The Brotherhood's 17 Feb militia battles against General Haftar's forces in Benghazi.<sup>78</sup>
- **May 2014 - May 2015:** Around 20,000 civilians are injured in the ongoing battle between the GNC-backed Libya Dawn and the Tobruk-based government.<sup>79</sup>
- **June 2014:** A Libya Dawn suicide bomber explodes a Jeep outside General Khalifa Haftar's house in an assassination attempt against the general. Haftar survives, but the attack leaves four of his guards dead.<sup>80</sup>
- **July 2014:** The Brotherhood-backed LROR reportedly vows to take up arms against Haftar's forces in Benghazi.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> "HCS head renounces Muslim Brotherhood group," Libya Observer, January 27, 2019, <https://www.libyaobserver.ly/news/hcs-head-renounces-muslim-brotherhood-group>; "Libya parliament members demand criminalizing Muslim Brotherhood," Xinhua, January 28, 2019, [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-01/28/c\\_137779764.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-01/28/c_137779764.htm).

<sup>76</sup> "House-to-house battles as Libyan forces push back against Haftar," Al Jazeera, April 28, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/04/house-house-battles-libyan-forces-push-haftar-190428162658370.html>; "Air raids trap civilians in Libyan capital Tripoli," Al Jazeera, April 29, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/04/air-raids-trap-civilians-libyan-capital-tripoli-190429113649292.html>.

<sup>77</sup> Chris Stephen, "Militia attack on Tripoli protesters raises fear of fresh conflict in Libya," *Guardian* (London), November 16, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/16/libya-militia-attack-tripoli-fears-conflict>.

<sup>78</sup> Cameron Glenn, "Libya's Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want," Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

<sup>79</sup> "Libya 2015/2016," Amnesty International, accessed March 16, 2017, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/middle-east-and-north-africa/libya/report-libya/>.

<sup>80</sup> Jon Lee Anderson, "The Unravelling," *New Yorker*, February 23, 2015, <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/02/23/unravelling>.

<sup>81</sup> Cameron Glenn, "Libya's Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want," Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

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- **August 2014:** The Brotherhood-affiliated Misrata militias and the LROR fight alongside the rest of the Libya Dawn to take control of Tripoli.<sup>82</sup>
- **August 23, 2014:** Misrata militias forcefully seize control of the Tripoli International Airport from the Haftar-backed Zintan militia, leaving 12 fighters dead.<sup>83</sup>
- **December 13, 2014:** The Libya Dawn coalition attacks the Ras Lanuf and Sidra oil terminals held by the Libyan National Army.<sup>84</sup>
- **2015:** At least 600 civilians are killed in 2015 as a result of civil war between the Brotherhood-allied Libya Dawn and the internationally recognized government in Tobruk.<sup>85</sup>
- **October 16, 2016:** Former GNS Prime Minister Khalifa Ghwell stages a coup against the GNA, backed by the Presidential Guard and several Islamist militias, seizing several government buildings.<sup>86</sup>
- **December 2016:** The GNS seizes the ministry of higher education in Tripoli from the GNA.<sup>87</sup>
- **January 12, 2017:** The GNS seizes additional GNA buildings, including the ministries of defense, martyrs' affairs, and labor.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>Cameron Glenn, "Libya's Islamists: Who They Are – And What They Want," Wilson Center, accessed May 5, 2016, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>; World Report 2015: Libya Events of 2014," Human Rights Watch, accessed March 16, 2017, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/libya>.

<sup>83</sup> Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Nathaniel Barr, "Dignity and Dawn: Libya's Escalating Civil War," International Centre for Counter Terrorism – The Hague, February 2015, <http://www.icct.nl/download/file/ICCT-Gartenstein-Ross-Barr-Dignity-and-Dawn-Libyas-Escalating-Civil-War-February2015.pdf>; Jomana Karadsheh, "Tripoli airport seized in fight between Libyan militias," CNN, August 23, 2014, <http://www.cnn.com/2014/08/23/world/africa/libya-violence/>.

<sup>84</sup> Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Nathaniel Barr, "Dignity and Dawn: Libya's Escalating Civil War," International Centre for Counter Terrorism – The Hague, February 2015, <http://www.icct.nl/download/file/ICCT-Gartenstein-Ross-Barr-Dignity-and-Dawn-Libyas-Escalating-Civil-War-February2015.pdf>.

<sup>85</sup> "Libya 2015/2016," Amnesty International, accessed March 16, 2017, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/middle-east-and-north-africa/libya/report-libya/>.

<sup>86</sup> Mattia Toaldo, "A Quick Guide to Libya's Main Players," European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed January 24, 2017, [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping\\_libya\\_conflict](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/mapping_libya_conflict); Associated Press, "Clashes erupt in Libyan capital Tripoli," Ahram Online, October 16, 2016, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/2/8/245898/World/Region/Clashes-erupt-in-Libyan-capital-Tripoli.aspx>.

<sup>87</sup> "Salvation government retakes government buildings," Libya Observer, January 12, 2017, <https://www.libyaobserver.ly/news/salvation-government-retakes-government-buildings>.

<sup>88</sup> "Salvation government retakes government buildings," Libya Observer, January 12, 2017, <https://www.libyaobserver.ly/news/salvation-government-retakes-government-buildings>.



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- **May 26, 2017:** The GNS and GNA engage in violent clashes in Tripoli. At least 28 people are killed and over 120 are injured.<sup>89</sup>

**Ties to Extremist Groups:** Not determined.

**Designations by Governments and Organizations:** Not determined

**In Their Own Words:**

Al-Amin Belhaj, Head of the JCP Founding Committee, March 2012

*Announcing the creation of the Libya Muslim Brotherhood's JCP:*

“The Muslim Brothers established this party. We are a national civil party with an Islamic reference...”<sup>90</sup>

Fawzi Bukatief, Head of the RBC, April 2, 2012

*Announcing the union between several Islamist militias backed by the MB:*

“We will stop [the Tobruk-based National Army] or imprison them... We know the fighters. We will decide who is a revolutionary and who is not... The militias are the problem, but also the solution.”<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Ahmed Elumami, “Fierce clashes as rival factions battle in Libyan capital,” Reuters, May 26, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security/fierce-clashes-as-rival-factions-battle-in-libyan-capital-idUSKBN18M1WU>.

<sup>90</sup> Omar Ashour, “Libya’s Muslim Brotherhood faces the future,” *Foreign Policy*, March 9, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/09/libyas-muslim-brotherhood-faces-the-future/>.

<sup>91</sup> Omar Ashour, “Libyan Islamists Unpacked: Rise, Transformation, and Future,” Brookings Doha Center, May 2012, <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/5/02%20libya%20ashour/omar%20ashour%20policy%20briefing%20english.pdf>.