

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN SYRIA

Name: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria

Year of Origin: 1945

Founder(s): Mustafa al-Sibai

Place(s) of Operation: Syria

Key Leaders:

- **Mohammad Hekmat Walid:** Comptroller general [Image: [Al Jazeera](#)]
- **Hussam Ghadban:** Deputy Comptroller general [Image not available]
- **Mohammad Hatem al-Tabshi:** Head of Shura Council [Image not available]
- **Omar Mushaweh:** Head of media and communications [[Image](#); source: Fox News via Omar Mushaweh]
- **Mulham Droubi:** Spokesman [[Image](#); source: Syria Mubasher]
- **Zuhair Salem:** Spokesman [[Image](#); source: Twitter]
- **Mohammad Riad al-Shaqfeh:** Former comptroller general [Image: [AFP/Getty Images](#)]
- **Mohammad Farouk Tayfour:** Former deputy comptroller general [Image: please take from MB entity report]
- **Ali Sadreddine al-Bayanouni:** Former comptroller general [Image: please take from MB entity report]
- **Issam al-Attar:** Former comptroller general [Image: [Bernd Arnold](#)]

Associated Organization(s):

- Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin¹
- Syrian Ikhwan²

The Syrian Muslim Brotherhood (i.e., the Syrian Brotherhood or the Brotherhood) was formed in 1945 as an affiliate of the [Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood](#).³ The Syrian Brotherhood actively participated in Syrian politics until 1963, when the incoming pan-Arab Baath party began restricting the movement before ultimately banning the party in 1964.⁴ In 1964, Brotherhood member Marwan Hadid formed a violent offshoot—known as the Fighting Vanguard—whose members waged numerous terror attacks against the regime in the 1970s and early '80s. In 1982, in order to quell a Brotherhood uprising in the city of Hama, then-Syrian President Hafez al-Assad dealt a near-fatal blow to the group, killing between 10,000 and 40,000 armed

¹ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 24.

² Dr. Liad Porat, "The Syrian Muslim Brotherhood and the Asad Regime," *Middle East Brief*, no. 47 (2010): 1, <http://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/meb/MEB47.pdf>.

³ "The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>; Hazem Kandil, *Inside the Brotherhood* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 154.

⁴ "The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>.

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Brotherhood members and civilians.⁵ The group was nearly incapacitated as surviving Brotherhood leaders fled into exile. Though the Brotherhood managed to remobilize at the start of the Syrian civil war, its relevance in the conflict has been overshadowed by violent jihadist groups on the ground.⁶

Egyptian Brotherhood founder [Hassan al-Banna](#) mentored the Syrian Brotherhood's first comptroller general, Mustafa al-Sibai, in Cairo in the 1930s. Like Banna, Sibai believed that Islam was an all-encompassing guide to political and social life. Sibai claimed that his group would "revive Islam from its current petrification" by liberating "Arab and Islamic people from foreign domination."⁷

At its founding, the Syrian Brotherhood enjoyed a wide base of support drawn from politically active Islamic clubs, *jamiat*, that had formed in the 1920s and '30s. In order to further spread its influence, the Brotherhood actively participated in Syrian politics in its first two decades of existence. The group was temporarily dissolved between 1958 and 1961, when Syria and [Egypt](#) joined to become the United Arab Republic, presided over by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser.⁸

The Syrian Baath party seized power in 1963 and immediately banned the Brotherhood, as well as any other group that challenged its secularism. The first significant Baath-Brotherhood conflict occurred in Hama, Syria, in April 1964. After stockpiling weapons and looting wine shops, Brotherhood members murdered a Baathist National Guard militiaman and mutilated his corpse. The Baathists retaliated with indiscriminate artillery fire in densely populated areas.⁹

⁵ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 45-46, 95; Raphaël Lefèvre, "The Syrian Brotherhood's Armed Struggle," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>; Mohammad Saied Rassas, "Syria's Muslim Brotherhood: Past and Present," Al-Monitor, January 5, 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2014/01/syria-muslim-brotherhood-past-present.html>; Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 93; Agence France-Presse, "Syria's Hama: An uprising crushed 30 years ago," Al Arabiya, February 3, 2012, <https://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/02/03/192297.html>; Cecily Hilleary, "Syria's Tadmor Prison Massacre: Reliving Horrors of 32 Years Past," Middle East Voices, June 27, 2012, <http://middleeastvoices.voanews.com/2012/06/syrias-tadmor-prison-massacre-reliving-horrors-of-32-years-past-81070/>.

⁶ "Syria: Old-timers and Newcomers," Wilson Center, August 27, 2015, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/syria-old-timers-and-newcomers>.

⁷ Hazem Kandil, *Inside the Brotherhood* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 154; Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 23, 25.

⁸ "THE UNION WITH EGYPT, 1958-61," Britannica, accessed May 20, 2016, <http://www.britannica.com/place/Syria/The-union-with-Egypt-1958-61>; Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 23, 35, 86.

⁹ "The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>; Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 27, 45-46; John F. Murphy, *Sword of Islam* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2002), 125; Raphaël Lefèvre, "The Syrian Brotherhood's Armed Struggle," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian->

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As the fighting escalated, Brotherhood member Marwan Hadid organized a sit-in at Hama’s al-Sultan mosque—where Brothers had stockpiled weapons—though it was soon bombed by Baathist forces. The incident, known as the Hama rebellion, resulted in the death of 70 Muslim Brothers. Soon after, Hadid formed a violent offshoot known as the Fighting Vanguard. In response, the Baathists forced then-Brotherhood leader Issam al-Attar into exile for failing to control his movement.¹⁰

Throughout the 1960s, a rift emerged between the Brotherhood’s members in Damascus and its members in the northern cities of Latakia, Aleppo, and Hama. The “Damascus wing” continued to support nonviolence and parliamentary politics, while a sizable minority of the “northern axis” adopted a radical stance toward the ruling government, according to Syrian Brotherhood analyst Raphaël Lefèvre. In the late 1960s, Fighting Vanguard founder Hadid and several Brotherhood members belonging to the “northern axis” traveled to [Jordan](#) and trained in Palestinian *fedayeen* camps.¹¹

In 1970, Baathist Defense Minister Hafez al-Assad consolidated power among his sectarian minority—the Alawites—and assumed the Syrian presidency in 1971. In response, the Brotherhood sought to brand itself as the leader of Syria’s Sunni majority against what it perceived as the commandeering Shiite minority. Pervasive corruption in Assad’s regime led to popular resentment and unrest across Syria. In 1975, Syrian authorities arrested Hadid, who died from a hunger strike in Syrian prison in 1976. In revenge for his death, the Fighting Vanguard launched an assassination campaign against top Syrian officials. Meanwhile, in the late 1970s, the Brotherhood’s radical “northern axis” organized massive anti-regime demonstrations in the Syrian cities of Aleppo and Hama, whose residents reportedly felt disenfranchised. Throughout this time, the Brotherhood maintained ideological and organizational distinction from its violent offshoot.¹²

[brotherhood-s-armed-struggle](#); Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 93.

¹⁰ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2013), 45-46, 93, 101; Raphaël Lefèvre, “The Syrian Brotherhood’s Armed Struggle,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>; Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 93.

¹¹ Frederick Deknatel, “The Syrian and Egyptian Brotherhoods – different histories, different outlooks,” *National* (Abu Dhabi), July 20, 2013, <https://www.thenational.ae/uae/the-syrian-and-egyptian-brotherhoods-different-histories-different-outlooks-1.651581>; Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 88-89, 101, 109.

¹² Devin Trivedi, “Primer on the Alawites in Syria,” Foreign Policy Research Institute, December 1, 2016, <https://www.fpri.org/article/2016/12/primer-alawites-syria/>; Raphaël Lefèvre, “The Syrian Brotherhood’s Armed Struggle,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>; Mohammad Saied Rassas, “Syria’s Muslim Brotherhood: Past and Present,” *Al-Monitor*, January 5, 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2014/01/syria-muslim-brotherhood-past-present.html>; Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama:*

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In 1979, Fighting Vanguard members killed 83 Alawite cadets at the Aleppo Artillery School, prompting further crackdown by the Baathist regime.¹³ The Syrian Brotherhood was on the precipice of the most overtly radical period in its existence.

In June 1980, Brotherhood members attempted to assassinate Assad using grenades and machine guns. Assad's government launched a crackdown on the group and gunned down hundreds of Brotherhood members in their prison cells. The following month, the Syrian government introduced Law 49, outlawing the Brotherhood and making membership a capital offense. In late 1980, the Brotherhood officially partnered with the Fighting Vanguard, prompting Assad to label the entire Brotherhood movement a terrorist organization and continue his attempt to eradicate the group. In November 1981, the Brotherhood carried out three car-bomb attacks against military and government forces and infrastructure in Damascus, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of people.¹⁴

In February 1982, Assad launched a brutal crackdown on the Brotherhood, killing an estimated 10,000 to 40,000 armed Brotherhood members and civilians. Known as the Hama massacre, the siege effectively decimated the Brotherhood branch in Syria. Its surviving leaders regrouped in exile in Europe and [Turkey](#), and the group had little influence in the following three decades.¹⁵

During the 1990s and 2000s, however, the Brotherhood—still in exile—sought to rebrand itself as a peaceful, politically minded group. In 1996, the Brotherhood entered into secret negotiations

The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 55-57; Hazem Kandil, *Inside the Brotherhood* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 156.

¹³ Yvette Talhamy, "The Syrian Muslim Brothers and the Syrian-Iranian Relationship," *Middle East Journal* 63, no. 4 (2009): 561-580, http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/the_middle_east_journal/summary/v063/63.4.talhamy.html; Raphaël Lefèvre, "The Syrian Brotherhood's Armed Struggle," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>.

¹⁴ Cecily Hilleary, "Syria's Tadmor Prison Massacre: Reliving Horrors of 32 Years Past," *Middle East Voices*, June 27, 2012, <http://middleeastvoices.voanews.com/2012/06/syrias-tadmor-prison-massacre-reliving-horrors-of-32-years-past-81070/>; Raphaël Lefèvre, "The Syrian Brotherhood's Armed Struggle," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>; "The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 26, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>; Sally-Ann Totman, *How Hollywood Protects Foreign Policy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 150, <https://books.google.com/books?id=3d7BAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>; Jeffrey Dixon and Meredith Reid Sarkees, *Guide to Intra-state Wars: An Examination of Civil Wars, 1816-2014* (Thousand Oaks: CQ Press, 2016), 387.

¹⁵ Azmat Khan, "On 30th Anniversary of Hama Massacre, Syrian Troops Lock Down City," *Frontline*, February 2, 2012, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/foreign-affairs-defense/syria-undercover/on-30th-anniversary-of-hama-massacre-syrian-troops-lock-down-city>; Agence France-Presse, "Syria's Hama: An uprising crushed 30 years ago," *Al Arabiya*, February 3, 2012, <https://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/02/03/192297.html>; Michael Jacobson, "What Role for the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria's Future?," Washington Institute for Near East Policy, March 11, 2005, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/what-role-for-the-muslim-brotherhood-in-syrias-future>; Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 128; "Syria," *The American Foreign Policy Council's World Almanac of Islamism*, last modified August 22, 2014, <http://almanac.afpc.org/Syria>.

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with the Syrian government, though Law 49 remained in place and the group's legal status was unaffected. In July 2000, when Bashar al-Assad succeeded his father as president of Syria, then-Syrian Brotherhood Comptroller General Ali Sadreddine al-Bayanouni urged Assad to release all Brotherhood prisoners, approve the return of exiled members, and reverse the ban against the Brotherhood. Assad rejected Bayanouni's demands but released hundreds of Brotherhood prisoners.¹⁶

In the early 2000s, the Brotherhood issued several documents including the National Honor Pact in 2001 and the 2002 National Call for Salvation, which renounced violence and called for minority rights and free elections, respectively. In 2005, the Brotherhood endorsed the Damascus Declaration, a statement demanding a multiparty democracy in Syria. Starting in 2006, the Brotherhood allied with former Syrian Vice President Abdul Halim Khaddam, hoping to renew relations with Syria's government. The Turkish government offered to broker negotiations between the Syrian government and the Brotherhood, but the Syrian government refused.¹⁷

As popular protests erupted in Syria in March 2011, the Brotherhood remobilized and moved to consolidate political and military power among the opposition. Amid the ensuing tumult of the civil war, the Brotherhood established recruitment offices and urged its members in large Syrian cities to return to smaller communities and reconnect with the citizens there. The Brotherhood found success in recruiting members from rebel-held areas of Syria, especially in and near Aleppo. According to UAE-based Middle East analyst Hassan Hassan, the Syrian Brotherhood was careful to avoid a discourse centered on "jihad" in order to distance itself from its violent past in the 1970s and '80s.¹⁸

By the winter of 2011, the Brotherhood had assumed a leading role in the Syrian National Council, an umbrella group comprised of anti-Assad factions. With the founding of the Syrian National Coalition in November 2012, however, the Brotherhood took a back seat to rival Islamist groups. Meanwhile, the United States, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and the United Arab Emirates worked to undermine the Brotherhood's involvement in the oppositions' coalition by instead promoting secular Syrian rebels.¹⁹

¹⁶ "The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>.

¹⁷ Radwan Ziadeh, *Power and Policy in Syria* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2013), 69; "Muslim Brotherhood (Syria)," Berkley Center at Georgetown University, accessed May 25, 2016, <https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/organizations/muslim-brotherhood-syria>; "The Damascus Declaration," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, March 1, 2012, <http://carnegie-mec.org/publications/?fa=48514>; "The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>.

¹⁸ Raphaël Lefèvre, "The Muslim Brotherhood Prepares for a Comeback in Syria," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 2013, 6, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/muslim_bro_comeback.pdf; Hassan Hassan, "In Syria, the Brotherhood's influence is on the decline," *National* (Abu Dhabi), April 1, 2014, <http://www.thenational.ae/thenationalconversation/comment/in-syria-the-brotherhoods-influence-is-on-the-decline#full>.

¹⁹ Hassan Hassan, "How the Muslim Brotherhood Hijacked Syria's Revolution," *Foreign Policy*, March 13, 2013, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/03/13/how-the-muslim-brotherhood-hijacked-syrias-revolution/>; "Syria: Old-timers

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In 2013, the Brotherhood introduced what it called “reformist” polices, officially rejecting “all forms of violence and extremism.”²⁰ That June, the Brotherhood founded a political party, Waad, which formally launched in March 2014. By party statute, the Brotherhood constituted one-third of Waad’s membership, though the party claimed it was entirely unaffiliated with the Brotherhood. Its leader, Mohammad Hekmat Walid, resigned in November 2014 and was elected as the Brotherhood’s comptroller general. The Waad party has since had little to no influence amid the chaos of the civil war.²¹

In spring 2015, Reuters reported that hundreds of Syrian Brotherhood members had returned to Syria from exile. Membership in the organization remains punishable by death, though the Brotherhood largely operates in opposition-held areas including in Aleppo, Idlib, and Hama. Walid continues to operate from Turkey.²² Indeed, the Brotherhood remains sidelined and ineffective as jihadist organizations increasingly dominate the Syrian opposition.

The Brotherhood has sought rebrand itself as a moderate organization. Turkey-based Omar Mushaweh, the head of media and communications for the Syrian Brotherhood, described the group to Fox News in 2018 as “a moderate Islamist movement that accepts political pluralism and receives great harm from terrorist movements.”²³ Membership in the Brotherhood in Syria remains illegal. Mushaweh would not comment to Fox how many members the Brotherhood has in the country, but he claimed the organization is reestablishing itself in Syria.²⁴

and Newcomers,” Wilson Center, August 27, 2015, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/syria-old-timers-and-newcomers>.

²⁰ Hollie McKay, “Syrian Muslim Brotherhood revives amid ongoing civil war, lashes out at the U.S. and Israel,” Fox News, July 9, 2018, <https://www.foxnews.com/world/syrian-muslim-brotherhood-revives-amid-ongoing-civil-war-lashes-out-at-the-u-s-and-israel>.

²¹ Raphaël Lefèvre, “The Belated Birth of the Waad Party,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 16, 2013, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=53926>; Zaidan Zenklo, “Syrian Waad Party denies being Muslim Brotherhood arm,” Al-Monitor, November 25, 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2013/11/new-syria-party-denies-brotherhood-affiliation.html##ixzz33B1eZNXn>; Agence France-Presse, “Syria Muslim Brotherhood appoints new leader,” Al Arabiya, November 7, 2014, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2014/11/07/Syria-Muslim-Brotherhood-appoints-new-leader-.html>; “Q&A: 'We want to build a new Syria',” Al Jazeera, May 26, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2015/01/qa-want-build-new-syria-20151146413892728.html>; “Syria: Old-timers and Newcomers,” Wilson Center, August 27, 2015, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/syria-old-timers-and-newcomers>.

²² Dasha Afanasieva, “Banned in Syria, Muslim Brotherhood members trickle home,” Reuters, May 7, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/05/07/us-syria-crisis-brotherhood-idUSKBNONR20Y20150507>.

²³ Hollie McKay, “Syrian Muslim Brotherhood revives amid ongoing civil war, lashes out at the U.S. and Israel,” Fox News, July 9, 2018, <https://www.foxnews.com/world/syrian-muslim-brotherhood-revives-amid-ongoing-civil-war-lashes-out-at-the-u-s-and-israel>.

²⁴ Hollie McKay, “Syrian Muslim Brotherhood revives amid ongoing civil war, lashes out at the U.S. and Israel,” Fox News, July 9, 2018, <https://www.foxnews.com/world/syrian-muslim-brotherhood-revives-amid-ongoing-civil-war-lashes-out-at-the-u-s-and-israel>.

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History:

- **1920s – 1930s:** Politically active Islamic clubs, called *jamiat*, are formed around Syria.²⁵
- **1936:** Many of these *jamiat* unofficially merge to form the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood. Founder Mustafa al-Sibai waits to give the group the official Muslim Brotherhood title until the French begin their withdrawal from Syria in 1945.²⁶
- **February 1945:** The Syrian Muslim Brotherhood is officially founded by Mustafa al-Sibai as an affiliate of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood.²⁷
- **1946 – 1963:** The Brotherhood actively participates in Syrian politics.²⁸
- **1958 – 1961:** Syria and Egypt join to become the United Arab Republic, presided over by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser.²⁹ The Muslim Brotherhood is temporarily dissolved.³⁰
- **1960s:** A rift grows between the Brotherhood’s Damascus members and its members in the northern cities of Latakia, Aleppo, and Hama. The extremist strain is largely influenced by Brotherhood member Marwan Hadid.³¹
- **March 1963:** The pan-Arab, secular Baath party comes to power in a coup.³² It immediately bans the Brotherhood, as well as any other group that challenges its secularism.³³
- **April 1964:** Baathist forces violently crush a Brotherhood uprising in the city of Hama, killing 70 Muslim Brothers. The event, known as the Hama rebellion, leads Marwan

²⁵ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 23.

²⁶ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 23.

²⁷ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 23; Yacoub Oweis, “Syria’s Muslim Brotherhood rise from the ashes,” Reuters, May 6, 2012, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-brotherhood-idUSBRE84504R20120506>.

²⁸ “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>; Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 27.

²⁹ “THE UNION WITH EGYPT, 1958–61,” Britannica, accessed May 20, 2016, <http://www.britannica.com/place/Syria/The-union-with-Egypt-1958-61>.

³⁰ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 86.

³¹ “The Syrian and Egyptian Brotherhoods – different histories, different outlooks,” *National* (Abu Dhabi), July 20, 2013, <https://www.thenational.ae/uae/the-syrian-and-egyptian-brotherhoods-different-histories-different-outlooks-1.651581>; Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 88-89.

³² Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 40.

³³ “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>; Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 27; John F. Murphy, *Sword of Islam* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2002), 125.

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Hadid to form a violent offshoot known as the Fighting Vanguard.³⁴ The Baathists force Brotherhood leader Issam al-Attar into exile for failing to control his movement.³⁵

- **1969:** Hadid and Syrian Brotherhood members belonging to the “northern axis” travel to Jordan to train in Palestinian *fedayeen* camps.³⁶
- **June 1976:** Syrian authorities arrest Hadid, who dies in prison, allegedly from a hunger strike. The Fighting Vanguard launches a campaign to assassinate top Syrian officials in revenge for his death.³⁷
- **June 1979:** Members of the Fighting Vanguard kill 83 Alawite cadets at the Aleppo Artillery School.³⁸
- **June 1980:** On June 26, Brotherhood members attempt to assassinate Syrian President Hafez al-Assad using grenades and machine guns. The following day, Assad’s troops gun down hundreds of Brotherhood members in their prison cells at Tadmor prison outside of Homs.³⁹
- **May 1980:** The Syrian government institutes Law 49, outlawing the Brotherhood and making membership in the group punishable by death.⁴⁰
- **December 1980:** The Brotherhood officially partners with its violent offshoot, the Fighting Vanguard. Hafez al-Assad labels the entire Brotherhood movement a terrorist organization and further suppresses the group.⁴¹

³⁴ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 45-46; Raphaël Lefèvre, “The Syrian Brotherhood’s Armed Struggle,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>; Radwan Ziadeh, *Power and Policy in Syria: Intelligence Services, Foreign Relations, and Democracy in the Modern Middle East* (New York: I.B. Taurus & Co Ltd, 2011), 138; Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 93.

³⁵ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 101.

³⁶ Mohammad Saied Rassas, “Syria’s Muslim Brotherhood: Past and Present,” Al-Monitor, January 5, 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2014/01/syria-muslim-brotherhood-past-present.html>; Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2013), 101.

³⁷ Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 324; Raphaël Lefèvre, “The Syrian Brotherhood’s Armed Struggle,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>.

³⁸ Yvette Talhamy, “The Syrian Muslim Brothers and the Syrian-Iranian Relationship,” *Middle East Journal* 63, no. 4 (2009): 561-580, http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/the_middle_east_journal/summary/v063/63.4.talhamy.html; Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 316.

³⁹ “Inside Tadmur: The worst prison in the world?” BBC News, June 20, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33197612>; Cecily Hilleary, “Syria’s Tadmor Prison Massacre: Reliving Horrors of 32 Years Past,” *Middle East Voices*, June 27, 2012, <http://middleeastvoices.voanews.com/2012/06/syrias-tadmor-prison-massacre-reliving-horrors-of-32-years-past-81070/>.

⁴⁰ “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 26, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>.

⁴¹ Raphaël Lefèvre, “The Syrian Brotherhood’s Armed Struggle,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>.

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- **November 29, 1981:** A car bomb explodes in the Azbakiya neighborhood of Damascus, killing approximately 200 people. The Lebanese group Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners claims responsibility, but the Syrian government blames the Brotherhood, accusing it of acting on behalf of the “imperialist-Zionist conspiracy”—the United States and Israel.⁴²
- **February 1982:** In response to a violent Brotherhood uprising, Assad launches a brutal crackdown on the group in Hama, which becomes known as the Hama massacre because of its indiscriminate execution. Tens of thousands of armed Brotherhood members and civilians are killed. Many Brotherhood members relocate to Europe.⁴³ The group has little influence in the following three decades.⁴⁴
- **1996:** Ali Sadreddine al-Bayanouni is elected comptroller general of the Brotherhood. The group enters into secret negotiations with the Syrian government.⁴⁵
- **July 2000:** Bashar al-Assad becomes president of Syria following his father’s death.⁴⁶ Syrian Brotherhood leader Bayanouni urges Assad to release all Brotherhood prisoners, approve the return of exiled members, and reverse the ban against the Brotherhood. Assad rejects Bayanouni’s demands but releases hundreds of Brotherhood prisoners.⁴⁷
- **May 2001:** The Brotherhood introduces the National Honor Pact, in which it renounces violence and states its commitment to democracy.⁴⁸
- **2002:** Bayanouni issues the “National Call for Salvation,” calling for minority rights and free elections.⁴⁹

⁴² Robert Dreyfuss, “The Nation: Syria Descends into Civil War,” NPR, July 20, 2012, <https://www.npr.org/2012/07/20/157099569/the-nation-syria-descends-into-civil-war>; Associated Press, “Bomb Explosion in Syria Kills 64 and Hurts 135 in Crowded Area,” *New York Times*, November 30, 1981, <http://www.nytimes.com/1981/11/30/world/bomb-explosion-in-syria-kills-64-and-hurts-135-in-crowded-area.html>.

⁴³ Azmat Khan, “On 30th Anniversary of Hama Massacre, Syrian Troops Lock Down City,” *Frontline*, February 2, 2012, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/foreign-affairs-defense/syria-undercover/on-30th-anniversary-of-hama-massacre-syrian-troops-lock-down-city>; Jason Rodrigues, “1982: Syria’s President Hafez al-Assad crushes rebellion in Hama,” *Guardian* (London), August 1, 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/the-guardian/from-the-archive-blog/2011/aug/01/hama-syria-massacre-1982-archive>; Michael Jacobson, “What Role for the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria’s Future?,” Washington Institute for Near East Policy, March 11, 2005, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/what-role-for-the-muslim-brotherhood-in-syrias-future>.

⁴⁴ “Syria,” *The American Foreign Policy Council’s World Almanac of Islamism*, last modified August 22, 2014, <http://almanac.afpc.org/Syria>.

⁴⁵ “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>.

⁴⁶ “PRESIDENT ASSAD 2000 INAUGURATION SPEECH (July 17, 2000),” President Bashar al-Assad, accessed May 16, 2016, http://www.presidentassad.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=438:president-assad-2000-inauguration-speech-july-17-2000-3&catid=106&Itemid=496.

⁴⁷ “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>.

⁴⁸ Radwan Ziadeh, *Power and Policy in Syria* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2013), 69.

⁴⁹ “Muslim Brotherhood (Syria),” Berkley Center at Georgetown University, accessed May 25, 2016, <https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/organizations/muslim-brotherhood-syria>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN SYRIA

- **2005:** The Brotherhood endorses the Damascus Declaration, a statement demanding a multiparty democracy in Syria.⁵⁰
- **2006 – April 2009:** The Syrian Brotherhood allies with Abdul Halim Khaddam, the former vice president of Syria. The Turkish government offers to broker negotiations between the Syrian government and the Brotherhood. The Syrian government refuses.⁵¹
- **July 2010:** Mohammad Riad al-Shaqfeh replaces Bayanouni as comptroller general.⁵²
- **March 2011:** The Syrian civil war begins.⁵³ The Brotherhood is careful to avoid a jihadist discourse in order to distance itself from its violent past.⁵⁴ The group finds success in recruiting members from rebel-held areas of Syria, especially in and near Aleppo.⁵⁵
- **April 2011:** The Syrian Brotherhood officially calls for Assad’s regime to be toppled.⁵⁶
- **October 2011:** Brotherhood leaders in Istanbul help establish the Syrian National Council, an umbrella organization of Syrian opposition groups.⁵⁷ The Brotherhood provides funds and arms to Syrian rebels.⁵⁸
- **2012:** Former members of the Fighting Vanguard Luay al-Zubi and Abu Basir al-Tartusi return to their hometowns in Syria, allegedly in order to revive the Vanguard’s old militant networks.⁵⁹
- **March 25, 2012:** The Syrian Brotherhood issues the “Covenant and Pact,” calling for a democratic, pluralistic state.⁶⁰
- **August 2012:** Brotherhood spokesman Mulham Droubi announces the formation of “armed battalions within Syria whose mission is self-defense and security protection of

⁵⁰ “The Damascus Declaration,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, March 1, 2012, <http://carnegie-mec.org/publications/?fa=48514>.

⁵¹ “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>.

⁵² “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>.

⁵³ “Syria: The story of the conflict,” BBC News, March 11, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26116868>.

⁵⁴ Hassan Hassan, “In Syria, the Brotherhood’s influence is on the decline,” *National* (Abu Dhabi), April 1, 2014, <http://www.thenational.ae/thenationalconversation/comment/in-syria-the-brotherhoods-influence-is-on-the-decline#full>.

⁵⁵ Raphaël Lefèvre, “The Muslim Brotherhood Prepares for a Comeback in Syria,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 2013, 6, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/muslim_bro_comeback.pdf.

⁵⁶ “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>.

⁵⁷ “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>.

⁵⁸ Liz Sly, “Syria’s Muslim Brotherhood is gaining influence over anti-Assad revolt,” *Washington Post*, May 12, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/syrias-muslim-brotherhood-is-gaining-influence-over-anti-assad-revolt/2012/05/12/gIQAtloJLU_story.html; Hazem Kandil, *Inside the Brotherhood* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 157.

⁵⁹ Raphaël Lefèvre, “The Syrian Brotherhood’s Armed Struggle,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>.

⁶⁰ “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 16, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>.

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the wronged.” Brotherhood Comptroller General Riad al-Shaqfeh later denies this claim.⁶¹

- **September 2012:** The Brotherhood merges a number of rebel groups under an umbrella called the “Shields of the Revolution,” though it denies formal ties to the Shields.⁶²
- **November 2012:** The Syrian National Coalition—successor to the Syrian National Council—is formed. The Brotherhood takes a back seat to rival Islamist groups.⁶³
- **February 2013:** Seeking to spread its influence, the Brotherhood launches a newspaper, *al-Ahed*, in opposition-controlled territory in Syria.⁶⁴
- **May 2013:** The Brotherhood begins to lose influence among the rebel groups.⁶⁵
- **Summer 2013:** Istanbul-based Comptroller General Mohammad Riad al-Shaqfeh announces the formation of a Syrian political party called Waad, an Arabic acronym for “the National Party for Justice and the Constitution.”⁶⁶
- **March 2014:** The Waad party publically launches. As protests against Bashar al-Assad erupt, Syrian Brotherhood members use Istanbul as a hub to consolidate political power amongst the opposition.⁶⁷
- **November 2014:** The Brotherhood elects Mohammad Hekmat Walid—a British-educated ophthalmologist and former leader of the Waad party—as its new comptroller general.⁶⁸

⁶¹ Raphaël Lefèvre, “The Syrian Brotherhood’s Armed Struggle,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>.

⁶² Raphaël Lefèvre and Ali el Yassir, “Militias for the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood?,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 29, 2013, <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/?fa=53452>.

⁶³ “Syria: Old-timers and Newcomers,” Wilson Center, August 27, 2015, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/syria-old-timers-and-newcomers>.

⁶⁴ Associated Press, “Syria’s Muslim Brotherhood faces uphill battle,” *USA Today*, August 10, 2013, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2013/08/10/syrias-muslim-brotherhood-faces-uphill-battle/2638787/>.

⁶⁵ Hassan Hassan, “In Syria, the Brotherhood’s influence is on the decline,” *National* (Abu Dhabi), April 1, 2014, <http://www.thenational.ae/thenationalconversation/comment/in-syria-the-brotherhoods-influence-is-on-the-decline#full>.

⁶⁶ Hazem Kandil, *Inside the Brotherhood* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 157.

⁶⁷ Liz Sly, “Syria’s Muslim Brotherhood is gaining influence over anti-Assad revolt,” *Washington Post*, May 12, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/syrias-muslim-brotherhood-is-gaining-influence-over-anti-assad-revolt/2012/05/12/gIQAtIoJLU_story.html; Hazem Kandil, *Inside the Brotherhood* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 157; Associated Press, “Syria’s Muslim Brotherhood faces uphill battle,” *USA Today*, August 10, 2013, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2013/08/10/syrias-muslim-brotherhood-faces-uphill-battle/2638787/>; Raphael Lefevre, “The Belated Birth of the Waad Party,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 16, 2013, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=53926>; Zaidan Zenklo, “Syrian Waad Party denies being Muslim Brotherhood arm,” *Al-Monitor*, November 25, 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2013/11/new-syria-party-denies-brotherhood-affiliation.html#ixzz33B1eZNXn>; Hassan Hassan, “How the Muslim Brotherhood Hijacked Syria’s Revolution,” *Foreign Policy*, March 13, 2013, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/03/13/how-the-muslim-brotherhood-hijacked-syrias-revolution/>.

⁶⁸ Agence France-Presse, “Syria Muslim Brotherhood appoints new leader,” *Al Arabiya*, November 7, 2014, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2014/11/07/Syria-Muslim-Brotherhood-appoints-new-leader-.html>; “Q&A: ‘We want to build a new Syria’,” *Al Jazeera*, May 26, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2015/01/qa-want-build-new-syria-20151146413892728.html>; “Syria:

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN SYRIA

- **Spring 2015:** Hundreds of Brotherhood members return to Syria from exile. They find success in recruiting in the northern cities of Aleppo, Idlib, and Hama.⁶⁹
- **2015 – 2016:** Both the Syrian Brotherhood and the Waad party lose influence amid jihadist fighting and continued military operations.⁷⁰
- **July 2018:** Turkey-based Syrian Brotherhood spokesman Omar Mushaweh claims in a Fox News interview that the Brotherhood has reasserted itself in Syria, though membership in the group remains illegal there. Mushaweh describes the Brotherhood as “a moderate Islamist movement that accepts political pluralism and receives great harm from terrorist movements.”⁷¹

Violent Activities:

The Syrian Brotherhood turned to violence following two decades of peaceful political participation. In 1964, Brotherhood member Marwan Hadid formed a violent offshoot, the Fighting Vanguard, which carried out numerous terror attacks including an attempted assassination of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad in June 1980.⁷² The Brotherhood officially partnered with the Fighting Vanguard for one year starting in December 1980. In February 1982, in order to crush a violent Brotherhood uprising, Assad launched a brutal crackdown on the group known as the Hama massacre, effectively decimating its operations and forcing any surviving members into exile.⁷³ The Brotherhood remobilized at the start of the Syrian civil war

Old-timers and Newcomers,” Wilson Center, August 27, 2015, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/syria-old-timers-and-newcomers>.

⁶⁹ Dasha Afanasieva, “Banned in Syria, Muslim Brotherhood members trickle home,” Reuters, May 7, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/05/07/us-syria-crisis-brotherhood-idUSKBN0NR20Y20150507>.

⁷⁰ “Syria: Old-timers and Newcomers,” Wilson Center, August 27, 2015, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/syria-old-timers-and-newcomers>.

⁷¹ Hollie McKay, “Syrian Muslim Brotherhood revives amid ongoing civil war, lashes out at the U.S. and Israel,” Fox News, July 9, 2018, <https://www.foxnews.com/world/syrian-muslim-brotherhood-revives-amid-ongoing-civil-war-lashes-out-at-the-u-s-and-israel>.

⁷² Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 45-46; Raphaël Lefèvre, “The Syrian Brotherhood’s Armed Struggle,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>; Cecily Hilleary, “Syria’s Tadmor Prison Massacre: Reliving Horrors of 32 Years Past,” Middle East Voices, June 27, 2012, <http://middleeastvoices.voanews.com/2012/06/syrias-tadmor-prison-massacre-reliving-horrors-of-32-years-past-81070/>; “Inside Tadmur: The worst prison in the world?” BBC News, June 20, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33197612>.

⁷³ Raphaël Lefèvre, “The Syrian Brotherhood’s Armed Struggle,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>; Azmat Khan, “On 30th Anniversary of Hama Massacre, Syrian Troops Lock Down City,” Frontline, February 2, 2012, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/foreign-affairs-defense/syria-undercover/on-30th-anniversary-of-hama-massacre-syrian-troops-lock-down-city>; Jason Rodrigues, “1982: Syria’s President Hafez al-Assad crushes rebellion in Hama,” *Guardian* (London), August 1, 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/the-guardian/from-the-archive-blog/2011/aug/01/hama-syria-massacre-1982-archive>; Michael Jacobson, “What Role for the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria’s Future?,” Washington Institute for Near East Policy, March 11, 2005, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/what-role-for-the-muslim-brotherhood-in-syrias-future>.

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and began funding militant opposition groups, though those alliances have been met with limited success.⁷⁴

- **1976:** The Fighting Vanguard launches a campaign to assassinate top Syrian officials in revenge for Hadid's death.⁷⁵
- **June 1979:** Members of the Fighting Vanguard kill 83 Alawite cadets at the Aleppo Artillery School.⁷⁶
- **June 26, 1980:** Brotherhood members attempt to assassinate Syrian President Hafez al-Assad using grenades and machine guns.⁷⁷
- **December 1980:** The Brotherhood officially partners with its violent offshoot, the Fighting Vanguard.⁷⁸
- **November 29, 1981:** A car bomb explodes in the Azbakiya neighborhood of Damascus, killing approximately 200 people. The Lebanese group Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners claims responsibility, but the Syrian government blames the Brotherhood, accusing it of acting on behalf of the "imperialist-Zionist conspiracy"—the United States and Israel.⁷⁹
- **February 1982:** In response to a violent Brotherhood uprising, Assad launches a brutal crackdown on the group in Hama, which becomes known as the Hama massacre because of its indiscriminate execution.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Raphaël Lefèvre and Ali el Yassir, "Militias for the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood?," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 29, 2013, <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/?fa=53452>; Hassan Hassan, "How the Muslim Brotherhood Hijacked Syria's Revolution," *Foreign Policy*, March 13, 2013, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/03/13/how-the-muslim-brotherhood-hijacked-syrias-revolution/>; "Syria: Old-timers and Newcomers," Wilson Center, August 27, 2015, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/syria-old-timers-and-newcomers>.

⁷⁵ Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 324; Raphaël Lefèvre, "The Syrian Brotherhood's Armed Struggle," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>.

⁷⁶ Yvette Talhamy, "The Syrian Muslim Brothers and the Syrian-Iranian Relationship," *Middle East Journal* 63, no. 4 (2009): 561-580, http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/the_middle_east_journal/summary/v063/63.4.talhamy.html; Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1989), 316.

⁷⁷ "Inside Tadmur: The worst prison in the world?" BBC News, June 20, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33197612>; Cecily Hilleary, "Syria's Tadmor Prison Massacre: Reliving Horrors of 32 Years Past," *Middle East Voices*, June 27, 2012, <http://middleeastvoices.voanews.com/2012/06/syrias-tadmor-prison-massacre-reliving-horrors-of-32-years-past-81070/>.

⁷⁹ Robert Dreyfuss, "The Nation: Syria Descends into Civil War," NPR, July 20, 2012, <https://www.npr.org/2012/07/20/157099569/the-nation-syria-descends-into-civil-war>; Associated Press, "Bomb Explosion in Syria Kills 64 and Hurts 135 in Crowded Area," *New York Times*, November 30, 1981, <http://www.nytimes.com/1981/11/30/world/bomb-explosion-in-syria-kills-64-and-hurts-135-in-crowded-area.html>.

⁸⁰ Azmat Khan, "On 30th Anniversary of Hama Massacre, Syrian Troops Lock Down City," *Frontline*, February 2, 2012, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/foreign-affairs-defense/syria-undercover/on-30th-anniversary-of->

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- **October 2011:** The Brotherhood provides funds and arms to Syrian rebels.⁸¹
- **2012:** Former members of the Fighting Vanguard Luay al-Zubi and Abu Basir al-Tartusi return to their hometowns in Syria, allegedly in order to revive the Vanguard's old militant networks.⁸²
- **August 2012:** Brotherhood spokesman Mulham Droubi announces the formation of "armed battalions within Syria whose mission is self-defense and security protection of the wronged." Brotherhood Comptroller General Riad al-Shaqfeh later denies this claim.⁸³
- **September 2012:** Merges a number of rebel groups under an umbrella called the "Shields of the Revolution," though it denies formal ties to the Shields.⁸⁴

Ties to Extremist Groups:

The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt

The Syrian Brotherhood's founder and first comptroller general, Mustafa al-Sibai, was mentored by Hassan al-Banna in Cairo in the 1930s. Banna oversaw the official formation of the Syrian Brotherhood in 1945.⁸⁵ However, the Syrian Brotherhood operates with autonomy and is

[hama-massacre-syrian-troops-lock-down-city](#); Jason Rodrigues, "1982: Syria's President Hafez al-Assad crushes rebellion in Hama," *Guardian* (London), August 1, 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/from-the-archive-blog/2011/aug/01/hama-syria-massacre-1982-archive>.

Michael Jacobson, "What Role for the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria's Future?," Washington Institute for Near East Policy, March 11, 2005, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/what-role-for-the-muslim-brotherhood-in-syrias-future>.

⁸¹ Liz Sly, "Syria's Muslim Brotherhood is gaining influence over anti-Assad revolt," *Washington Post*, May 12, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/syrias-muslim-brotherhood-is-gaining-influence-over-anti-assad-revolt/2012/05/12/gIQAfIoJLU_story.html; Hazem Kandil, *Inside the Brotherhood* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 157.

Associated Press, "Syria's Muslim Brotherhood faces uphill battle," *USA Today*, August 10, 2013, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2013/08/10/syrias-muslim-brotherhood-faces-uphill-battle/2638787>; Raphael Lefevre, "The Belated Birth of the Waad Party," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 16, 2013, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=53926>;

Zaidan Zenklo, "Syrian Waad Party denies being Muslim Brotherhood arm," *Al-Monitor*, November 25, 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2013/11/new-syria-party-denies-brotherhood-affiliation.html###ixzz33B1eZNXn>; Hassan Hassan, "How the Muslim Brotherhood Hijacked Syria's Revolution," *Foreign Policy*, March 13, 2013, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/03/13/how-the-muslim-brotherhood-hijacked-syrias-revolution/>.

⁸² Raphaël Lefèvre, "The Syrian Brotherhood's Armed Struggle," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>.

⁸³ Raphaël Lefèvre, "The Syrian Brotherhood's Armed Struggle," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 14, 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/12/14/syrian-brotherhood-s-armed-struggle>.

⁸⁴ Raphaël Lefèvre and Ali el Yassir, "Militias for the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood?," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 29, 2013, <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/?fa=53452>.

⁸⁵ Mohammad Saied Rassas, "Syria's Muslim Brotherhood: Past and present," *Al-Monitor*, January 5, 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2014/01/syria-muslim-brotherhood-past-present.html#>; Hazem Kandil,

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reportedly only “loosely affiliated” with its Egyptian counterpart, according to journalist Liz Sly.⁸⁶

Ahrar al-Sham

The Syrian Brotherhood has reportedly “networked” with Syrian Salafist militia Ahrar al-Sham, according to independent think tank Arab Reform Initiative.⁸⁷ In September 2014, then-Syrian Brotherhood Comptroller General Mohammad Riad al-Shaqfeh released a statement mourning the killing of Ahrar al-Sham’s leaders by the Syrian regime. On the Egyptian Brotherhood’s English-language website, Ikhwanweb.com, al-Shaqfeh wrote: “We console ourselves, Ahrar Movement, the martyrs’ families and the Syrian people for the loss of this fine group of faithful men. We assure them that we are marching on the same path of the truth, until God grants us the victory promised to His faithful servants.”⁸⁸ In August 2015, however, the Brotherhood denied reports that it sought to form an alliance with Ahrar al-Sham.⁸⁹

Designations by Governments and Organizations:

The Syrian government banned the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood in 1963⁹⁰ and made membership in the group a capital offense under Law 49 in 1980.⁹¹

For a complete list of countries and organizations that have designated the Muslim Brotherhood, please see the Muslim Brotherhood’s full [report](#).

In Their Own Words:

April 30, 2016

Inside the Brotherhood (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 154; Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 23.

⁸⁶ Liz Sly, “Syria’s Muslim Brotherhood is gaining influence over anti-Assad revolt,” *Washington Post*, May 12, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/syrias-muslim-brotherhood-is-gaining-influence-over-anti-assad-revolt/2012/05/12/gIQAtIoJLU_story.html.

⁸⁷ Waseem Hafez, “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria: Illusion and Reality,” Arab Reform Initiative, November 2015, 11, <http://www.arab-reform.net/sites/default/files/The%20Muslim%20Brotherhood%20in%20Syria%20Illusion%20and%20Reality.pdf>.

⁸⁸ “Syria Muslim Brotherhood Mourns Ahrar al Sham Movement Leaders,” Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Official English web site, September 10, 2014, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=31797>.

⁸⁹ “Syrian Brotherhood not seeking to form alliance with Ahrar Al-Sham,” Middle East Monitor, August 26, 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20150826-syrian-brotherhood-not-seeking-to-form-alliance-with-ahrar-al-sham/>.

⁹⁰ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 23.

⁹¹ “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 26, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370>.

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“God bless our martyrs in Aleppo and throughout the country. May He help us unite and close ranks in the face of the oppressors and occupiers.”⁹²

September 21, 2015

“We solemnly salute all free men and women of Palestine and Syria, who stand steadfast in the face of the aggressors’ crimes, and take the criminals’ bullets in their bare chests. Only thus Syria and Palestine shall be liberated.”⁹³

September 10, 2014

In reference to the fallen leaders of Ahrar al-Sham:

“Dying for the sake of God is every true Muslim fighter’s wish. For this wish to be honored by God is evidence of sincerity and truthful determination. When I first met with those heroes, I saw honesty and determination to achieve the good goals and confidence in Allah’s victory shine in their words.”⁹⁴

September 10, 2014

In reference to the fallen leaders of Ahrar al-Sham:

“We console ourselves, Ahrar Movement, the martyrs' families and the Syrian people for the loss of this fine group of faithful men. We assure them that we are marching on the same path of the truth, until God grants us the victory promised to His faithful servants.”⁹⁵

Unnamed prominent Brotherhood member, July 2012

“We are ready for the post-Assad area... we have plans for the economy, the courts, politics...”⁹⁶

Zuhair Salem, spokesman, December 2011

In calling for a greater Islamic caliphate:

“...to hell with Syria, we do not recognize Syria.”⁹⁷

⁹² “Syria Muslim Brotherhood: Aleppo Massacres Expose World Complicity in Ongoing Genocide,” Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Official English web site, May 2, 2016, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=32526>.

⁹³ “Syria Muslim Brotherhood Vows Victory Despite Long Suffering,” Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Official English web site, September 21, 2015, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=32281>.

⁹⁴ “Syria Muslim Brotherhood Mourns Ahrar al Sham Movement Leaders,” Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Official English web site, September 10, 2014, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=31797>.

⁹⁵ “Syria Muslim Brotherhood Mourns Ahrar al Sham Movement Leaders,” Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Official English web site, September 10, 2014, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=31797>.

⁹⁶ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2013), 194.

⁹⁷ “Key Figures in the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 26, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=51470>.

2004

“[We have not given up on our goal of established an] Islamic state [based on the] gradual Islamization of laws.”⁹⁸

Mohammad Riad al-Shaqfeh, former comptroller general, date unknown

In reference to Marwan Hadid, founder of the violent Fighting Vanguard:

“[He was a] brave Islamic militant; he had the temper of a true leader and had much influence on Hama’s youth.”⁹⁹

Mustafa al-Sibai, founder, date unknown

“[The Syrian Brotherhood will] revive Islam from its current petrification [through] social reform [and the] liberation of Arab and Islamic people from foreign domination.”¹⁰⁰

Date unknown

“[We vow to fight] bloodily and cruelly until our country [Palestine] is restored to us.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ “Syria: Old-timers and Newcomers,” Wilson Center, August 27, 2015, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/syria-old-timers-and-newcomers>.

⁹⁹ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2013), 102.

¹⁰⁰ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2013), 25.

¹⁰¹ Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2013), 32.