

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN TUNISIA

Name: Muslim Brotherhood in Tunisia

Year of Origin: 1981 (Ennahda)

Founder(s): Rached Ghannouchi

Place(s) of Operation: Tunisia

Key Leaders:

- [Rached Ghannouchi](#): Founder, leader, president of Ennahda ([Source](#); Credit: Zoubeir Souissi/Reuters)¹
- [Abdelfattah Mourou](#) (credit: Kapitalis): Vice President and Deputy Head of Ennahda²
- [Abdelkarim Harouni](#) (credit: Asharq al-Awsat): Head of Ennahda’s Shura Council³

Associated Organization(s):

- Al-Nahda⁴
- Ennahda⁵
- Islamic Tendency Movement⁶
- Mouvement de la Tendance Islamique (MTI)⁷

The Muslim Brotherhood’s activity in [Tunisia](#) is tied to that of the political party Ennahda. Founded by Islamist cleric [Rached Ghannouchi](#) in 1981 as the Islamic Tendency Movement (ITM),⁸ the party drew inspiration from Muslim Brotherhood and its ideology.⁹ ITM rebranded as Ennahda (meaning, “Awakening” or “Renaissance”) in 1989. The Tunisian government

¹ Tarek Amara and Erika Solomon, “Analysis: Tunisia eyes ‘Egypt scenario’ after assembly freeze,” Reuters, August 7, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-tunisia-crisis-government-analysis-idUSBRE9760XK20130807>.

² Carlotta Gall, “Tunisian Islamic Party Re-elects Moderate Leader,” *New York Times*, May 23, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/24/world/africa/tunisia-rachid-ghannouchi-ennahda.html>; Amel al-Hilali, “Tunisia’s Ennahda struggles to shake political Islam identity,” *Al Monitor*, December 13, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/tunisia-ennahda-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-political-islam.html>.

³ “Tunisia’s Ennahda party has ‘reservations’ about new cabinet line-up,” *Middle East Eye*, August 21, 2016, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/tunisia-s-ennahda-party-has-reservations-about-new-cabinet-line-148185501>.

⁴ Marc Lynch, “Tunisia’s New al-Nahda,” *Foreign Policy*, June 29, 2011, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/06/29/tunisias-new-al-nahda/>.

⁵ Tarek Amara and Erika Solomon, “Analysis: Tunisia eyes ‘Egypt scenario’ after assembly freeze,” Reuters, August 7, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-tunisia-crisis-government-analysis-idUSBRE9760XK20130807>.

⁶ Carlotta Gall, “Tunisian Islamic Party Re-elects Moderate Leader,” *New York Times*, May 23, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/24/world/africa/tunisia-rachid-ghannouchi-ennahda.html>.

⁷ Dominique Lagarde, “Tunisie: d’où vient le mouvement Ennahda?” *L’Express*, October 24, 2011, http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/monde/afrique/tunisie-d-ou-vient-le-mouvement-ennahda_956647.html.

⁸ Carlotta Gall, “Tunisian Islamic Party Re-elects Moderate Leader,” *New York Times*, May 23, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/24/world/africa/tunisia-rachid-ghannouchi-ennahda.html>.

⁹ Carlotta Gall, “Tunisian Islamic Party Re-elects Moderate Leader,” *New York Times*, May 23, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/24/world/africa/tunisia-rachid-ghannouchi-ennahda.html>; Aidan Lewis, “Profile: Tunisia’s Ennahda Party,” *BBC News*, October 25, 2011, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-15442859>.

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banned the party that year after it won second place in parliamentary election.¹⁰ Ennahda formally relaunched during the Tunisian revolution in 2011.¹¹

Ennahda reached the height of its political power in the immediate aftermath of the Tunisian revolution, when the party won a plurality of votes in the October 2011 elections.¹² From December 2011 to 2014, Ennahda members Hamadi Jebali and Ali Laarayedh served as successive interim prime ministers of Tunisia,¹³ during which time the party steadily lost support among the Tunisian public.¹⁴ The party's decline in popularity continued into mid-2016 when, in an apparent effort to revitalize the party, leader Rached Ghannouchi publicly sought to rebrand Ennahda's platform. In May 2016, Ennahda divorced itself from its previously Islamist agenda, pledging to pursue a "Muslim democracy" in place of an Islamic state.¹⁵

Despite this formal platform change, Ghannouchi has also refused to renounce ties with the global Brotherhood movement, casting further skepticism on the sincerity of his new platform.¹⁶ In April 2016, a month before Ghannouchi's announcement, Ghannouchi attended a global Muslim Brotherhood conference in Istanbul.¹⁷ Ghannouchi has also continued to serve as a high-ranking member of several Islamist and Brotherhood-affiliated organizations in Europe, including the Dublin-based European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR)¹⁸ and according

¹⁰ "Tunisia's Ennahda distances itself from political Islam," Al Jazeera, May 27, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/left-tunisia-ennahda-party-160526101937131.html>; Aidan Lewis, "Profile: Tunisia's Ennahda Party," BBC News, October 25, 2011, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-15442859>; "Factbox: Who is Tunisia's Islamist leader Rachid Ghannouchi?" Reuters, January 30, 2011, <http://blogs.reuters.com/faithworld/2011/01/30/factbox-who-is-tunisias-islamist-leader-rachid-ghannouchi/>.

¹¹ "Profile: Tunisia's Ennahda Party," BBC News, October 25, 2011, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-15442859>.

¹² Ellen McLarney, "Why Arab Spring made life better in Tunisia, failed everywhere else," Reuters, February 18, 2015, <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2015/02/18/why-arab-spring-made-life-better-in-tunisia-failed-everywhere-else/>; Zvi Bar'el, "Tunisia Could Be on Verge of New Revolution: Separating Religion and Politics," *Ha'aretz* (Tel Aviv), May 28, 2016, <http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-1.721863>; "Final Tunisian Election results announced," Al Jazeera, November 14, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/11/20111114171420907168.html>.

¹³ Eileen Byrne, "Tunisia's Ruling Islamist Party Ennahda Names New Prime Minister," *Guardian* (London), February 22, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/feb/22/tunisia-ennahda-prime-minister>; "Tunisia PM Resigns as Part of Transition Plan," Al Jazeera, January 9, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/01/tunisia-pm-resigns-as-part-transition-plan-201419145034687910.html>.

¹⁴ "Tunisian Confidence in Democracy Wanes," Pew Research Center, October 15, 2014, <http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/10/15/tunisian-confidence-in-democracy-wanes/>; Michael Robbins, "Five years after the revolution, more and more Tunisians support democracy," *Washington Post*, May 20, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/05/20/are-tunisians-more-optimistic-about-democracy-after-5-years-living-under-it/>.

¹⁵ Zvi Bar'el, "Tunisia Could Be on Verge of New Revolution: Separating Religion and Politics," *Ha'aretz* (Tel Aviv), May 28, 2016, <http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-1.721863>.

¹⁶ Zvi Bar'el, "Tunisia Could Be on Verge of New Revolution: Separating Religion and Politics," *Ha'aretz* (Tel Aviv), May 28, 2016, <http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-1.721863>.

¹⁷ Zvi Bar'el, "Tunisia Could Be on Verge of New Revolution: Separating Religion and Politics," *Ha'aretz* (Tel Aviv), May 28, 2016, <http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-1.721863>.

¹⁸ Jorgen Nielsen, *Muslim Political Participation in Europe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 221.

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to Reuters, the International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS) as recently as 2017.¹⁹ In November 2017, multiple Gulf countries designated the IUMS as a terrorist organization.²⁰ Ennahda expressed surprise at the designation, asserting that the group is known for its honesty and tolerance.²¹

Although Ghannouchi claims to have pivoted away from Islamism toward a more pluralistic vision for his party, Ghannouchi has previously had ties to Islamist and violent extremist groups, both in Tunisia and around the world. For example, according to the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, leaders of the [al-Qaeda](#)-affiliated [Ansar al-Sharia](#) group in Tunisia (AST) attended meetings at Ghannouchi's home in 2011 at which he allegedly advised them to encourage AST youth to infiltrate Tunisia's national army and National Guard.²²

In 2012, Ghannouchi was caught on tape strategizing with AST leaders and advocating for control over the media.²³ In the leaked video, Ghannouchi could be seen advising AST leaders on how to gain influence in Tunisia by "establish[ing] Qur'anic schools everywhere, and invit[ing] religious preachers" into the country as well as "creat[ing] television channels, radio stations, schools and universities."²⁴ Ghannouchi was also caught on camera bemoaning the fact that "the secularists are still controlling the media, economy and administration" and that "controlling them [will] require more time."²⁵ In the video, Ghannouchi also claimed that his Ennahda party had previously met with AST leader Seifallah Ben Hassine.²⁶ In 2014, Ben Hassine was sanction-designated by the United States and United Nations for his links to [al-](#)

¹⁹ "The Start of the General Assembly of the IUMS... and the Palestine and Gaza Cause Being Is Most Prominent in the Speeches Launched," International Union of Muslim Scholars, August 21, 2014, <http://iumsonline.org/en/iums123/news/h1240/>; "Ghannouchi: Fundamentalists are a Danger for Tunisia," International Union of Muslim Scholars, October 3, 2012, <http://iumsonline.org/en/iums123/news/d2133/>; "Seminar Discusses Women, Family in Tunisia," International Union of Muslim Scholars, November 12, 2012, <http://iumsonline.org/en/iums123/news/seminar-discusses-women-family-tunisia/>; "Arab states blacklist Islamist groups, individuals in Qatar boycott," Reuters, November 22, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-gulf-qatar-security/arab-states-blacklist-islamist-groups-individuals-in-qatar-boycott-idUSKBN1DM2WQ>.

²⁰ "Arab states blacklist Islamist groups, individuals in Qatar boycott," Reuters, November 22, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-gulf-qatar-security/arab-states-blacklist-islamist-groups-individuals-in-qatar-boycott-idUSKBN1DM2WQ>.

²¹ "Saudi Arabia denies including Tunisia's Ghannouchi on 'terrorist list,'" Middle East Monitor, November 25, 2017, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20171125-saudi-arabia-denies-including-tunisia-ghannouchi-on-terrorist-list/>.

²² Aaron Y. Zelin, "Tunisia: Uncovering Ansar al-Sharia," Washington Institute for Near East Policy, October 25, 2013, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/tunisia-uncovering-ansar-al-sharia>.

²³ Bill Roggio, "'Moderate' Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists," Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php; Aaron Y. Zelin, "Tunisia: Uncovering Ansar al-Sharia," Washington Institute for Near East Policy, October 25, 2013, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/tunisia-uncovering-ansar-al-sharia>.

²⁴ Bill Roggio, "'Moderate' Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists," Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

²⁵ Bill Roggio, "'Moderate' Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists," Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

²⁶ Bill Roggio, "'Moderate' Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists," Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

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[Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb \(AQIM\)](#) and his implication in various terror attacks, including the assassination of Tunisian security forces and political figures, as well as the September 2012 AST attack on the U.S. Embassy in Tunis.²⁷ Ben Hassine died in a U.S. airstrike in Libya in mid-June 2015.²⁸

Also in the leaked video, Ghannouchi claims to have met with representatives of global Islamist movement [Hizb ut-Tahrir](#).²⁹ Hizb ut-Tahrir is banned from operating in at least 13 countries worldwide.³⁰

Although Ennahda ultimately conceded to the Tunisian government's decision to designate AST as a terrorist organization in August 2013, Ennahda reportedly continued to excuse AST's violent activities for months beforehand until popular discontent and the growing threat of a political crisis motivated the party to change its stance.³¹ In a January 2019 Al-Monitor interview, Ghannouchi pointed to Ennahda's role in legally banning AST in August 2013 under the Ennahda-led government. He declared: "There is only one Islam, but we believe it is a flexible religion that interacts with each environment with each age."³²

Despite pledging to pivot away from Islamism, Ennahda has struggled to rid itself of its Islamist agenda and has received criticism for not complying with its promise.³³ For example, in September 2017, both Tunisia's secretary-general, Mohsen Marzouk, and Tunisian president Beji Caid Essebsi criticized Ennahda for failing to reject its traditional Islamist vision and become more of a civic party.³⁴ Although Essebsi's Nidaa Tunis party had been allied with

²⁷ "Narrative Summaries of Reasons for Listing: QDi.333: Seifallah ben Hassine," U.N. Security Council, September 23, 2014, https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1267/qa_sanctions_list/summaries/individual/seifallah-ben-hassine; "Terrorist Designations of Three Ansar al-Shari'a Organizations and Leaders," U.S. Department of State, January 10, 2014, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2014/01/219519.htm>.

²⁸ Carlotta Gall and Eric Schmitt, "Jihadist From Tunisia Died in Strike in Libya, U.S. Official Says," *New York Times*, July 2, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/03/world/africa/jihadist-from-tunisia-died-in-strike-in-libya-us-official-says.html>.

²⁹ Bill Roggio, "'Moderate' Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists," *Long War Journal*, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

³⁰ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," Counter Extremism Project, accessed May 31, 2016, <https://www.counterextremism.com/threat/hizb-ut-tahrir>.

³¹ Aaron Y. Zelin and Vish Sakthivel, "Tunisia Designates Ansar al-Sharia," Washington Institute for Near East Policy, August 28, 2013, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/tunisia-designates-ansar-al-sharia>.

³² Amberin Zaman, "Democrat or Islamist firebrand — who is Tunisia's Rachid Ghannouchi?" Al-Monitor, January 28, 2019, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/01/tunisia-ennahda-rached-ghannouchi-islamists-arab-spring.html#ixzz5glwJpydy>; "Tunisia declares Ansar al-Sharia a terrorist group," BBC News, August 27, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-23853241>.

³³ Amel al-Hilali, "Tunisia's Ennahda struggles to shake political Islam identity," Al Monitor, December 13, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/tunisia-ennahda-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-political-islam.html>.

³⁴ Amel al-Hilali, "Tunisia's Ennahda struggles to shake political Islam identity," Al Monitor, December 13, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/tunisia-ennahda-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-political-islam.html>; "Mohsen Marzouq: Ennahda has not been able to turn into a civil movement," Kapitalis, September 23,

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Ennahda for over three years, in January 2018, the two parties announced their split and intention to compete against one another in municipal elections later that year.³⁵ That May, Ennahda received 28.6 percent of the vote in Tunisian municipal elections. Independent candidates received 32.2 percent while the Nidaa Tounes party received 20.8 percent. Ennahda called the result “a reward for the new tolerant and democratic Ennahda.”³⁶

Ennahda still supports what could be considered traditional Islamist values. For example, Ennahda agreed to guarantee gender equality while helping draft Tunisia’s constitution in 2014. But in August 2018, Ennahda rejected a presidential initiative to grant gender equality in Tunisia’s inheritance law, which allows for a man to receive twice as much of an inheritance as a woman in accordance with sharia.³⁷ Ennahda’s Shura Council—the party’s main governing body—declared that it supports efforts to guarantee women’s rights “in a way that does not contradict the peremptory texts of religion and the provisions of the Constitution.”³⁸ Ennahda has also faced allegations that it has maintained a secret security service, which is accused of orchestrating political assassinations. In October 2018, the Committee for the Defense of Martyrs Chokri Belaid and Mohamed Brahmi accused Ennahda of orchestrating the 2013 murder of Tunisian politicians Belaid and Brahmi. The committee, comprised of a group of lawyers, claims to have documents linking Ennahda to a secret security group within the government and the assassinations.³⁹ In November 2018, Essebsi accused Ennahda of issuing personal threats against him. Ennahda has denied any involvement in violence.⁴⁰

2017, <http://www.kapitalis.com/anbaa-tounes/2017/09/23/%D9%85%D8%AD%D8%B3%D9%86-%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%B2%D9%88%D9%82-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D9%87%D8%B6%D8%A9-%D9%84%D9%85-%D8%AA%D8%AA%D9%85%D9%83%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%AD%D9%88%D9%84-%D8%A5%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%AD/>; Ahmed Nahdif, “Tunisia’s next elections will put governing alliance to test,” Al Monitor, September 19, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/09/tunisia-alliance-nidaa-tunis-islamist-ennahda.html>.

³⁵ Ahmed Nahdif, “Tunisia’s next elections will put governing alliance to test,” Al Monitor, September 19, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/09/tunisia-alliance-nidaa-tunis-islamist-ennahda.html>; “Ghannouchi: Ennahda is not at war with Nidaa Tounes,” Middle East Monitor, January 9, 2018, Ahmed Nahdif, “Tunisia’s next elections will put governing alliance to test,” Al Monitor, September 19, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/09/tunisia-alliance-nidaa-tunis-islamist-ennahda.html>.

³⁶ Tarek Amara, “Independent candidates get most votes in Tunisia’s municipal election,” Reuters, May 8, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-tunisia-election/independent-candidates-get-most-votes-in-tunisi-as-municipal-election-idUSKBN1I92DW>.

³⁷ “Tunisia: Ennahda Rejects Inheritance Equality,” Human Rights Watch, September 6, 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/09/06/tunisia-ennahda-rejects-inheritance-equality>.

³⁸ “Final statement of the 21st session of the Shura Council of the Renaissance Movement,” Ennahda, August 26, 2018, <http://www.ennahdha.tn/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AE%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A-%D9%84%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%A9-21-%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AC%D9%84%D8%B3-%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%89-%D8%AD%D8%B1%D9%83%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D9%87%D8%B6%D8%A9>.

³⁹ Mohamed Ali Ltifi, “Ennahda faces new allegations in Tunisian political murders,” Al-Monitor, October 12, 2018, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/10/ennahda-faces-serious-accusations-political-assassinations.html#ixzz5mgjdNxfC>.

⁴⁰ Mohamed Ali Ltifi, “Tunisia’s Ennahda party faces more assassination allegations,” Al-Monitor, December 12, 2018, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/12/tunisia-ennahda-political-assassinations-french->

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Tunisia is scheduled to hold presidential and parliamentary elections before the end of 2019. In January 2019, Ghannouchi announced that Ennahda would participate in the presidential elections, but he did not declare his own candidacy for the position.⁴¹ That April, divisions arose in the governing Nidaa Tounes party. Former Jordanian information minister Saleh Al-Qallab has suggested that these divisions may give Ghannouchi a clearer path to Tunisia's presidency in the country's upcoming elections if he is nominated.⁴²

Ghannouchi has publicly defended Ennahda's commitment to religious freedoms and blamed criticism on a "media war" trying to influence public opinion ahead of Tunisian elections.⁴³ Several Tunisia analysts have questioned whether Ghannouchi and Ennahda are sincere in their praise of political and religious freedom or if they are paying lip service to these values in order to avoid a second revolution that would remove them from power.⁴⁴

History:

- **Late 1960s:** Islamic Action—a precursor to Ennahda—emerges in Tunisia. Islamic Action is a religious organization focused primarily on *dawa* (proselytizing) and Quranic study.⁴⁵
- **1981:** Islamist preacher Rached Ghannouchi transforms Islamic Action into a political party, the Islamic Tendency Movement (ITM).⁴⁶

[president.html](#); "Tunisia: Ennahda Rejects Accusations on Planning to Assassinate Essebsi," *Asharq al-Awsat* (London), December 3, 2018, <https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1489256/tunisia-ennahda-rejects-accusations-planning-assassinate-essebsi>.

⁴¹ "Ennahda will contest this year's presidential elections," says Ghannouchi," Middle East Monitor, January 14, 2019, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20190114-ennahda-will-contest-this-years-presidential-elections-says-ghannouchi/>.

⁴² Amel al-Hilali, "New cracks threaten future of Nidaa Tounes," Al-Monitor, April 26, 2019, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/04/tunisia-nidaa-tunis-parallel-elections-divisions.html>; "Ex-Jordan minister: Tunisia Ghannouchi's road to power 'open but not safe,'" *Jordan Times* (Amman), May 1, 2019, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20190501-ex-jordan-minister-tunisia-ghannouchis-road-to-power-open-but-not-safe/>.

⁴³ Amberin Zaman, "Democrat or Islamist firebrand — who is Tunisia's Rachid Ghannouchi?" Al-Monitor, January 28, 2019, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/01/tunisia-ennahda-rached-ghannouchi-islamists-arab-spring.html#ixzz5glwJpydy>; "Tunisia declares Ansar al-Sharia a terrorist group," BBC News, August 27, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-23853241>.

⁴⁴ Amberin Zaman, "Democrat or Islamist firebrand — who is Tunisia's Rachid Ghannouchi?" Al-Monitor, January 28, 2019, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/01/tunisia-ennahda-rached-ghannouchi-islamists-arab-spring.html#ixzz5glwJpydy>.

⁴⁵ Sarah Souli, "What is left of Tunisia's Ennahda Party?" Al Jazeera, May 27, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/left-tunisia-ennahda-party-160526101937131.html>.

⁴⁶ Carlotta Gall, "Tunisian Islamic Party Re-elects Moderate Leader," *New York Times*, May 23, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/24/world/africa/tunisia-rachid-ghannouchi-ennahda.html>; Sarah Souli, "What is left of Tunisia's Ennahda Party?" Al Jazeera, May 27, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/left-tunisia-ennahda-party-160526101937131.html>; Sarah Souli, "Why Tunisia's top Islamist party rebranded itself," Al-Monitor, May 23, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/05/tunisia-ennahda-islamist-party-rebranding-congress.html>.

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- **1989:** ITM officially rebrands as Ennahda ahead of parliamentary elections. President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali allows Ennahda to participate in national elections. Ennahda comes in second, winning 17 percent of the vote. Ben Ali bans Ennahda in response to its electoral success. Ghannouchi goes into exile in London. Other Ennahda leaders are jailed on suspicions of a plot to overthrow the government.⁴⁷
- **1990s—2011:** Ghannouchi is in exile in the United Kingdom. Ennahda continues to operate clandestinely within Tunisia, with members conducting grassroots organizing, creating social and humanitarian organizations, and spreading Islamist literature throughout the country, both digitally and in print.⁴⁸
- **December 2010—January 2011:** The revolution in Tunisia marks the launch of the Arab Spring and results in the January 14, 2011, ousting of Tunisian President Ben Ali.⁴⁹
- **March 2011:** Following a general amnesty on banned political parties in Tunisia, Ghannouchi returns from exile in the United Kingdom and formally relaunches the Ennahda political party.⁵⁰
- **October 23, 2011:** Ennahda wins a plurality of seats—37 percent of the vote—in Tunisia’s National Constituent Assembly. As a result of the landmark elections, Ennahda is charged with drafting the country’s constitution and erecting an interim government. Ennahda subsequently opts into a power-sharing agreement with secular political parties Congress for the Republic Party (CPR) and Ettakatol. Two months into the process of drafting Tunisia’s constitution, Ennahda releases a draft that introduces sharia (Islamic law) as the primary source of law for the country. Following public disapproval, Ennahda later refrains from using sharia as the source of legislation in Tunisia’s constitution.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Sarah Souli, “What is left of Tunisia’s Ennahda Party?” Al Jazeera, May 27, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/left-tunisia-ennahda-party-160526101937131.html>; “Tunisia’s Ennahda distances itself from political Islam,” Al Jazeera, May 27, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/left-tunisia-ennahda-party-160526101937131.html>; Aidan Lewis, “Profile: Tunisia’s Ennahda Party,” BBC News, October 25, 2011, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-15442859>; “Factbox: Who is Tunisia’s Islamist leader Rachid Ghannouchi?” Reuters, January 30, 2011, <http://blogs.reuters.com/faithworld/2011/01/30/factbox-who-is-tunisias-islamist-leader-rachid-ghannouchi/>.

⁴⁸ Ellen McLarney, “Why Arab Spring made life better in Tunisia, failed everywhere else,” Reuters, February 18, 2015, <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2015/02/18/why-arab-spring-made-life-better-in-tunisia-failed-everywhere-else/>.

⁴⁹ “Tunisia profile – Timeline,” BBC News, October 13, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14107720>.

⁵⁰ “Tunisian leader returns from exile,” Al Jazeera, March 1, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/01/2011130111220856971.html>.

⁵¹ Ellen McLarney, “Why Arab Spring made life better in Tunisia, failed everywhere else,” Reuters, February 18, 2015, <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2015/02/18/why-arab-spring-made-life-better-in-tunisia-failed-everywhere-else/>; Zvi Bar’el, “Tunisia Could Be on Verge of New Revolution: Separating Religion and Politics,” *Ha’aretz* (Tel Aviv), May 28, 2016, <http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-1.721863>; “Final Tunisian election results announced,” Al Jazeera, November 14, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/11/20111114171420907168.html>; “Tunisian Parties Formalize Power-Sharing Deal, Defense and Finance Ministers to Keep their Jobs,” Al Arabiya News, November 21, 2011, <https://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/11/21/178459.html>; Tarek Amara and Erika Solomon, “Analysis: Tunisia eyes ‘Egypt scenario’ after assembly freeze,” Reuters, August 7, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-tunisia-crisis-government-analysis-idUSBRE9760XK20130807>; Karina Piser, “How Tunisia’s Islamists Embraced Democracy,” *Foreign Policy*, March 13, 2016, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/31/how-tunisias-islamists-embraced-democracy-ennahda/>.

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- **December 2011—February 2013:** Hamadi Jebali—a member of Ennahda—serves as the prime minister of Tunisia.⁵²
- **January 2012:** Following Ennahda’s landmark victory in December 2011, Ennahda party leader Rached Ghannouchi meets with leaders of the al-Qaeda-affiliated Ansar al-Sharia group in Tunisia (AST) to strategize the spread of Islamism within the country. Footage of the meeting is leaked in October 2012, eight months after the video is reportedly filmed.⁵³
- **November 2012:** Ghannouchi attends an Islamist conference in Khartoum, Sudan, alongside Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal and Muslim Brotherhood leader Mohamed Badie.⁵⁴
- **February 2013:** Tunisian opposition leader Chokri Belaid is assassinated, prompting mass public protests against Ennahda, whom the left blames of carrying out the assassination. Ennahda denies responsibility for the assassination. Later that month, Prime Minister Jebali resigns from office after failing to form a new coalition in the wake of the political crisis. Ennahda’s popularity continues to decline throughout 2013.⁵⁵
- **February 2013—January 2014:** Ali Laarayedh—a member of Ennahda—succeeds Jebali as the interim prime minister of Tunisia.⁵⁶
- **August 2013:** The Tunisian government—under the leadership of the Ennahda party—designates AST a terrorist organization, 10 months after a video is leaked showing Ennahda party leader Rached Ghannouchi’s meeting with AST leaders, and 11 months after AST leads an attack on the U.S. Embassy in Tunis. Ennahda’s Prime Minister Laarayedh says that he has “proof” that AST was behind the February 2013 assassination of opposition leader Chokri Belaid and the July 2013 assassination of Tunisian politician Mohamed Brahmi. Although Ennahda ultimately concedes to the Tunisian government’s decision to designate AST as a terrorist organization, Ennahda reportedly continued to excuse AST’s violent activities for months beforehand until popular discontent and the growing threat of a political crisis motivated the party to change its stance.⁵⁷

⁵² “Tunisia Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali resigns,” BBC News, February 19, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-21508498>.

⁵³ Bill Roggio, “‘Moderate’ Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists,” Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

⁵⁴ Alexander Dziadosz, “Islamist leaders vow unity against Israel,” Reuters, November 15, 2012, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-israel-islamists/islamist-leaders-vow-unity-against-israel-idUSBRE8AE1HC20121115>.

⁵⁵ “Tunisia Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali resigns,” BBC News, February 19, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-21508498>; “Tunisian Confidence in Democracy Wanes,” Pew Research Center, October 15, 2014, <http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/10/15/tunisian-confidence-in-democracy-wanes/>.

⁵⁶ “Tunisia PM Resigns as Part of Transition Plan,” Al Jazeera, January 9, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/01/tunisia-pm-resigns-as-part-transition-plan-201419145034687910.html>.

⁵⁷ “Tunisia declares Ansar al-Sharia a terrorist group,” BBC News, August 27, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-23853241>; Bill Roggio, “‘Moderate’ Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists,” Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php; Aaron Y. Zelin and Vish Sakthivel, “Tunisia Designates Ansar al-Sharia,” Washington Institute for Near East Policy, August 28, 2013, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/tunisia-designates-ansar-al-sharia>.

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- **May 2016:** Ghannouchi is re-elected as leader of the Ennahda party and announces his intention to split Ennahda's religious agenda off from its role as a political party. Accordingly, members of Ennahda's political party will not be allowed to hold positions in the party while also serving in a leadership position in mosques and Islamic organizations.⁵⁸
- **May 31, 2016:** Days after Ghannouchi announces his intention to split Ennahda's religious and political agendas, Ennahda's deputy head, Abdelfattah Morou, announces in a television interview that "Ennahda has not and will not change its identity, and it will stick to its Islamic reference and strategy." He also denies any links that the group has to the Muslim Brotherhood.⁵⁹
- **September 2017:** Both Tunisian President Beji Caid Essebsi and Tunisian politician Mohsen Marzouk criticize Ennahda for failing to rid itself of its traditional Islamist vision and become more of a civic party.⁶⁰
- **November 22, 2017:** Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, and Bahrain designate the Brotherhood-linked International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS) as a terrorist organization. Ennahda expresses surprise at the designation, asserting in a statement that the group is known for its honesty and tolerance.⁶¹
- **January 2018:** Ennahda and its political ally, President Essebsi's Nidaa Tunis party, announce their split and intention to compete against one another in municipal elections. The two parties were allied with each other for over three years.⁶²

⁵⁸ Zvi Bar'el, "Tunisia Could Be on Verge of New Revolution: Separating Religion and Politics," *Ha'aretz* (Tel Aviv), May 28, 2016, <http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-1.721863>; Sarah Souli, "What is left of Tunisia's Ennahda Party?" Al Jazeera, May 27, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/left-tunisia-ennahda-party-160526101937131.html>.

⁵⁹ Amel al-Hilali, "Tunisia's Ennahda struggles to shake political Islam identity," Al Monitor, December 13, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/tunisia-ennahda-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-political-islam.html>.

⁶⁰ Amel al-Hilali, "Tunisia's Ennahda struggles to shake political Islam identity," Al Monitor, December 13, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/tunisia-ennahda-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-political-islam.html>; "Mohsen Marzouq: Ennahda has not been able to turn into a civil movement," Kapitalis, September 23, 2017, <http://www.kapitalis.com/anbaa-tounes/2017/09/23/%D9%85%D8%AD%D8%B3%D9%86-%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%B2%D9%88%D9%82-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D9%87%D8%B6%D8%A9-%D9%84%D9%85-%D8%AA%D8%AA%D9%85%D9%83%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%AD%D9%88%D9%84-%D8%A5%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%AD/>; Ahmed Nahdif, "Tunisia's next elections will put governing alliance to test," Al Monitor, September 19, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/09/tunisia-alliance-nidaa-tunis-islamist-ennahda.html>.

⁶¹ "Arab states blacklist Islamist groups, individuals in Qatar boycott," Reuters, November 22, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-gulf-qatar-security/arab-states-blacklist-islamist-groups-individuals-in-qatar-boycott-idUSKBN1DM2WQ>; "Saudi Arabia denies including Tunisia's Ghannouchi on 'terrorist list,'" Middle East Monitor, November 25, 2017, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20171125-saudi-arabia-denies-including-tunisias-ghannouchi-on-terrorist-list/>; Amel al-Hilali, "Tunisia's Ennahda struggles to shake political Islam identity," Al Monitor, December 13, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/tunisia-ennahda-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-political-islam.html>.

⁶² Ahmed Nahdif, "Tunisia's next elections will put governing alliance to test," Al Monitor, September 19, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/09/tunisia-alliance-nidaa-tunis-islamist-ennahda.html>; "Ghannouchi: Ennahda is not at war with Nidaa Tounes," Middle East Monitor, January 9, 2018, Ahmed Nahdif,

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- **May 6, 2018:** Ennahda receives 28.6 percent of the vote in Tunisian municipal elections. Independent candidates receive 32.2 percent while the Nidaa Tounes party receives 20.8 percent. Ennahda says the result is “a reward for the new tolerant and democratic Ennahda.”⁶³
- **August 2018:** Ennahda rejects a presidential initiative to grant gender equality in Tunisia’s inheritance law, which allows for a man to receive twice as much of an inheritance as a woman in accordance with sharia. Ennahda’s Shura Council—the party’s main governing body—declares that it supports efforts to guarantee women’s rights “in a way that does not contradict the preeminent texts of religion and the provisions of the Constitution.”⁶⁴
- **October 2018:** The Committee for the Defense of Martyrs Chokri Belaid and Mohamed Brahmi accuses Ennahda of orchestrating the 2013 murder of Tunisian politicians Belaid and Brahmi. The committee, comprised of a group of lawyers, claims to have documents linking Ennahda to a secret security group within the government and the assassinations. In November 2018, President Beji Caid Essebsi accuses Ennahda of issuing personal threats against him. Ennahda has denied any involvement in violence.⁶⁵
- **January 2019:** Ghannouchi announces that Ennahda will field a candidate in Tunisian presidential elections later in the year.⁶⁶

Violent Activities:

Ennahda denounces the use of violence in pursuit of the party’s political aims. Nonetheless, Ennahda has been accused of complicity with violent jihadist groups like [Ansar al-Sharia in](#)

“Tunisia’s next elections will put governing alliance to test,” Al Monitor, September 19, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/09/tunisia-alliance-nidaa-tunis-islamist-ennahda.html>.

⁶³ Tarek Amara, “Independent candidates get most votes in Tunisia’s municipal election,” Reuters, May 8, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-tunisia-election/independent-candidates-get-most-votes-in-tunisia-municipal-election-idUSKBN1I92DW>.

⁶⁴ “Tunisia: Ennahda Rejects Inheritance Equality,” Human Rights Watch, September 6, 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/09/06/tunisia-ennahda-rejects-inheritance-equality>; “Final statement of the 21st session of the Shura Council of the Renaissance Movement,” Ennahda, August 26, 2018, <http://www.ennahda.tn/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AE%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A-%D9%84%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%A9-21-%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AC%D9%84%D8%B3-%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%89-%D8%AD%D8%B1%D9%83%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D9%87%D8%B6%D8%A9>.

⁶⁵ Mohamed Ali Ltifi, “Ennahda faces new allegations in Tunisian political murders,” Al-Monitor, October 12, 2018, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/10/ennahda-faces-serious-accusations-political-assassinations.html#ixzz5mgjdNxfC>; Mohamed Ali Ltifi, “Tunisia’s Ennahda party faces more assassination allegations,” Al-Monitor, December 12, 2018, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/12/tunisia-ennahda-political-assassinations-french-president.html>; “Tunisia: Ennahda Rejects Accusations on Planning to Assassinate Essebsi,” *Asharq al-Awsat* (London), December 3, 2018, <https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1489256/tunisia-ennahda-rejects-accusations-planning-assassinate-essebsi>.

⁶⁶ “Ennahda will contest this year’s presidential elections,” says Ghannouchi,” Middle East Monitor, January 14, 2019, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20190114-ennahda-will-contest-this-years-presidential-elections-says-ghannouchi/>.

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[Tunisia \(AST\)](#), which has carried out a series of violent terror attacks and political assassinations in the country.⁶⁷ Following the February 2013 murder of popular opposition leader and Ennahda critic Chokri Belaid, the left accused Ennahda of complicity in the assassination.⁶⁸ Ennahda denied responsibility for the assassination, and later blamed the attack exclusively on AST.⁶⁹

Ennahda has nonetheless been tied to the AST through the actions of its party leader, Rached Ghannouchi. In January 2012, Ghannouchi met privately with AST leader Seifallah Ben Hassine to discuss strategies for establishing Islamist governance in Tunisia. A video of the meeting surfaced online in October 2012, a month after AST's September 2012 attack on the U.S. Embassy in Tunis.⁷⁰

Ties to Extremist Groups:

[Al-Qaeda](#): Ennahda is linked to the global al-Qaeda movement through party leader Rached Ghannouchi's ties to former leader of Ansar al-Sharia in Tunisia (AST), Seifallah Ben Hassine. In 2012, Ennahda leader Rached Ghannouchi was caught on tape strategizing with leaders of AST and claiming that his party met with Ben Hassine.⁷¹ In 2014, Ben Hassine was sanctioned by the United States and United Nations for his links to [al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb \(AQIM\)](#) and his connection to a series of violent terrorist attacks in the country.⁷²

[Ansar al-Sharia in Tunisia \(AST\)](#): In 2012, Ennahda leader Rached Ghannouchi was caught on tape strategizing with leaders of the al-Qaeda-affiliated Ansar al-Sharia group in Tunisia (AST).⁷³ On tape, Ghannouchi is seen telling AST leaders that "the secularists are still controlling the media, economy and administration... Therefore, controlling them [will] require

⁶⁷ "Violence in Tunisia Increases as Ennahda Stands By," Kaci Racelma, January 31, 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/ar/originals/2013/01/tunisia-islamist-extremists-violence.html#>.

⁶⁸ "Tunisia Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali resigns," BBC News, February 19, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-21508498>.

⁶⁹ "Tunisia Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali resigns," BBC News, February 19, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-21508498>.

⁷⁰ "Narrative Summaries of Reasons for Listing: QDi.333: Seifallah ben Hassine," U.N. Security Council, September 23, 2014, https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list/summaries/individual/seifallah-ben-hassine; "Terrorist Designations of Three Ansar al-Shari'a Organizations and Leaders," U.S. Department of State, January 10, 2014, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2014/01/219519.htm>.

⁷¹ Bill Roggio, "'Moderate' Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists," Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

⁷² "Narrative Summaries of Reasons for Listing: QDi.333: Seifallah ben Hassine," U.N. Security Council, September 23, 2014, https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list/summaries/individual/seifallah-ben-hassine; "Terrorist Designations of Three Ansar al-Shari'a Organizations and Leaders," U.S. Department of State, January 10, 2014, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2014/01/219519.htm>.

⁷³ Bill Roggio, "'Moderate' Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists," Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

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more time.”⁷⁴ Ghannouch is also heard advising AST leaders to “create television channels, radio stations, schools and universities” as well as “establish Qur’anic schools everywhere and invite religious preachers” to Tunisia.⁷⁵ During the video, Ghannouchi claims that his party met with AST leader Seifallah Ben Hassine.⁷⁶ The video—reportedly filmed in January 2012—came to the surface in October 2012, a month after AST’s September 2012 attack on the U.S. Embassy in Tunis.⁷⁷

Hamas: In February 2009, Ennahda leader Rached Ghannouchi signed the so-called Istanbul declaration by 90 Muslim scholars from around the world calling for “jihad and resistance against the occupier until the liberation of all Palestine.” The document supported Hamas and its right to violently attack foreign navies attempting to stop the smuggling of arms into the Gaza Strip.⁷⁸ In November 2012, Ghannouchi attended an Islamist conference in Khartoum, Sudan, alongside Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal and Muslim Brotherhood leader Mohamed Badie. Ghannouchi declared “the mother of the revolutions was the blessed Palestinian revolution.”⁷⁹

Hizb ut-Tahrir: In 2012, Ennahda leader Rached Ghannouchi was caught on tape strategizing with leaders of the al-Qaeda-affiliated Ansar al-Sharia group in Tunisia (AST).⁸⁰ During the video, Ghannouchi claims that his party met with representatives of global Islamist movement Hizb ut-Tahrir.⁸¹

Ties to Other Groups:

European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR): Rached Ghannouchi has served as a member of the Dublin-based ECFR.⁸²

⁷⁴ Bill Roggio, “‘Moderate’ Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists,” Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

⁷⁵ Bill Roggio, “‘Moderate’ Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists,” Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

⁷⁶ Bill Roggio, “‘Moderate’ Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists,” Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

⁷⁷ “Narrative Summaries of Reasons for Listing: QDi.333: Seifallah ben Hassine,” U.N. Security Council, September 23, 2014,

https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list/summaries/individual/seifallah-ben-hassine; “Terrorist Designations of Three Ansar al-Shari’a Organizations and Leaders,” U.S. Department of State, January 10, 2014, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2014/01/219519.htm>.

⁷⁸ Jamie Doward, “British Muslim leader urged to quit over Gaza,” *Guardian* (London), March 7, 2009, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/mar/08/daud-abdullah-gaza-middle-east>.

⁷⁹ Alexander Dziadosz, “Islamist leaders vow unity against Israel,” Reuters, November 15, 2012, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-israel-islamists/islamist-leaders-vow-unity-against-israel-idUSBRE8AE1HC20121115>.

⁸⁰ Bill Roggio, “‘Moderate’ Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists,” Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

⁸¹ Bill Roggio, “‘Moderate’ Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists,” Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

⁸² Jorgen Nielsen, *Muslim Political Participation in Europe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 221.

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International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS): Rached Ghannouchi is a member of the U.K.-based IUMS.⁸³ Within the IUMS, Ghannouchi has served as a member of the Trustees Board,⁸⁴ Deputy Secretary General for Minorities,⁸⁵ and Assistant Secretary.⁸⁶ When the IUMS was designated as a terrorist organization by multiple Gulf states in November 2017, Ennahda reportedly expressed surprise and asserted that the group was neutral and known for its honesty and tolerance.⁸⁷ In reference to the designation, Ghannouchi also stated that “politically classifying organizations as terrorist and adding moderate figures and unions of scholars to terrorists list is a strategy to weaken the war on terrorism.”⁸⁸

Designations by Governments and Organizations:

Tunisia has not designated the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization. For a full list of countries that have designated the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization, please see the [Designations](#) section of CEP’s [Muslim Brotherhood](#) report.

In Their Own Words:

Rached Ghannouchi, 2017

Responding to criticism of the ruling coalition shared by Ennahda and the political party Nidaa Tunis:

“These parties calling for the removal of Ennahda from power have no chances of success.”⁸⁹

Rached Ghannouchi, November 2017

After multiple Gulf countries designate the IUMS as a terrorist organization in November 2017:

⁸³ “Members,” International Union of Muslim Scholars, accessed May 30, 2016,

<http://iumsonline.org/en/iums123/members/>.

⁸⁴ “The Start of the General Assembly of the IUMS... and the Palestine and Gaza Cause Being Is Most Prominent in the Speeches Launched,” International Union of Muslim Scholars, August 21, 2014,

<http://iumsonline.org/en/iums123/news/h1240/>.

⁸⁵ “Ghannouchi: Fundamentalists are a Danger for Tunisia,” International Union of Muslim Scholars, October 3, 2012, <http://iumsonline.org/en/iums123/news/d2133/>.

⁸⁶ “Seminar Discusses Women, Family in Tunisia,” International Union of Muslim Scholars, November 12, 2012, <http://iumsonline.org/en/iums123/news/seminar-discusses-women-family-tunisia/>.

⁸⁷ “Saudi Arabia denies including Tunisia’s Ghannouchi on ‘terrorist list,’” Middle East Monitor, November 25, 2017, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20171125-saudi-arabia-denies-including-tunisia-ghannouchi-on-terrorist-list/>.

⁸⁸ Amel al-Hilali, “Tunisia’s Ennahda struggles to shake political Islam identity,” Al Monitor, December 13, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/tunisia-ennahda-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-political-islam.html>.

⁸⁹ Amel al-Hilali, “Tunisia’s Ennahda struggles to shake political Islam identity,” Al Monitor, December 13, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/tunisia-ennahda-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-political-islam.html>.

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“We consider that politically classifying organizations as terrorist and adding moderate figures and unions of scholars to terrorists list is a strategy to weaken the war on terrorism.”⁹⁰

Abdelfattah Mourou, May 2016

In an interview with Tunisian Echourouk TV:

“Ennahda has not and will not change its identity, and it will stick to its Islamic reference and strategy.”⁹¹

Rached Ghannouchi, May 2016

Refusing to formally distance himself from the Muslim Brotherhood:

“[W]e are astounded by those who want to distance religion from national life.”⁹²

Rached Ghannouchi, January 2012

Caught on video strategizing with leaders of the al-Qaeda-affiliated Ansar al-Sharia (AST):

“I tell our young Salafists to be patient... Why hurry? Take your time to consolidate what you have gained.”⁹³

Rached Ghannouchi, January 2012

Caught on video strategizing with leaders of the al-Qaeda-affiliated Ansar al-Sharia (AST):

“The secularists are still controlling the media, economy and administration... Therefore, controlling them [will] require more time.”⁹⁴

Rached Ghannouchi, January 2012

“[T]he police and army’s support for Islamists is not guaranteed, and controlling them [will] also require more time.”⁹⁵

Rached Ghannouchi, January 2012

Advising leaders of the al-Qaeda-affiliated Ansar al-Sharia (AST):

⁹⁰ Amel al-Hilali, “Tunisia’s Ennahda struggles to shake political Islam identity,” Al Monitor, December 13, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/tunisia-ennahda-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-political-islam.html>.

⁹¹ Amel al-Hilali, “Tunisia’s Ennahda struggles to shake political Islam identity,” Al Monitor, December 13, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/tunisia-ennahda-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-political-islam.html>.

⁹² Zvi Bar’el, “Tunisia Could Be on Verge of New Revolution: Separating Religion and Politics,” *Ha’aretz* (Tel Aviv), May 28, 2016, <http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-1.721863>.

⁹³ Bill Roggio, “‘Moderate’ Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists,” Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

⁹⁴ Bill Roggio, “‘Moderate’ Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists,” Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

⁹⁵ Bill Roggio, “‘Moderate’ Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists,” Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

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“The Islamists must fill the country with associations, establish Qur’anic schools everywhere, and invite religious preachers because people are still ignorant of Islam.”⁹⁶

Rached Ghannouchi, January 2012

Advising leaders of the al-Qaeda-affiliated Ansar al-Sharia (AST):

“To [gain influence], create television channels, radio stations, schools and universities.”⁹⁷

Rached Ghannouchi, January 2012

Caught on video strategizing with leaders of the al-Qaeda-affiliated Ansar al-Sharia (AST):

“We’ve [Ennahda] met with Hizb ut-Tahrir, and the Salafists, including Sheikh Abu Iyad [al Tunisi] and Sheikh al-Idrissi.”⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Bill Roggio, “‘Moderate’ Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists,” Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

⁹⁷ Bill Roggio, “‘Moderate’ Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists,” Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.

⁹⁸ Bill Roggio, “‘Moderate’ Islamist Leader in Tunisia Strategizes with Al Qaeda-linked Salafists,” Long War Journal, October 16, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/moderate_islamist_le.php.