

9/11 in
BENGHAZI
Z u b a i d a h F a r h a n

Abstract: On September 11, 2012, the American Embassy in Benghazi, Libya was attacked leaving four Americans dead: J. Christopher Stevens, US ambassador to Libya; Information Officer Sean Smith; and two former Navy SEALs Glen Doherty and Tyrone Woods. Later, a militia group called Ansar al- Sharia claimed Responsibility of the Attack. Ironically, the attack was carried out on the anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States, which is believed to be a prime symbol staged by the attackers. This paper will reveal major and minor details expressing the facts as well as conspiracies surrounding the Benghazi attacks.

E1: Remains *in Question*

Barack Obama: Four Americans, four patriots. They loved this country. And they chose to serve it, and served it well.

They had a mission, and they believed in it. They knew the danger and they accepted it. They didn't simply embrace the American ideal, they lived it, they embodied it: the courage, the hope and, yes, the idealism. That fundamental American belief that we can leave this world a little better than before.¹

Remarked Obama as caskets were transferred in an airport hangar. The remains of United States Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens and three other Americans returned from Benghazi on the 14th of September. Benghazi, a term seldom recognized as a city in Libya anymore; rather it has been associated with the infamous Benghazi attacks. On the eleventh anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2012, the American Embassy in Benghazi was attacked killing two

Americans: US Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens and Information Officer Sean Smith. Another attack was launched the next day on the 12th on the CIA Annex killing Glen Doherty and Tyrone Woods. Libyan security forces shielded the embassy as gunmen ruptured the embassy's area. The attacks were soon claimed by a pro-al Qaeda militant group, Ansar al-Sharia. However, it doesn't end here nor will it anytime soon. Along with the attacks came the clash between Republicans and Democrats.



Figure 1: President Obama and Secretary Clinton at the Transfer of Remains Ceremony to Honor Those Lost in Attacks in Libya

Initially the U.S. intelligence officials and the Obama administration announced that the attack was due to an anti-Muslim video, The Innocence of Muslims, that the Libyan assailants perceived insulting toward the Muslim Prophet Muhammad. However, the CIA later affirmed that the “protesters” were an anti-western militant group that had intentionally carried out the attack whether provoked or not by the anti-Muslim

video. Indeed, pro-al Qaeda Ansar al-Sharia took responsibility for the attack. This, perhaps, was the starting point of republicans growing skeptical and enraged of the Obama Administration's statement.²

Congressional Republicans would lead ongoing investigations of the Democrats' statement, claiming that they mislead the public about the cause, which soon does intensify. Furthermore, republicans vehemently evidence that the administration is weak on terrorism and, therefore, unbefitting of their seats. To this day, this historic event has the two parties at each end in a tug war. This subject has recently surfaced with the 2016 presidential debate: Hillary Clinton being the Democratic nominee.

In his speech, Obama promised that he "will bring to justice those who took them from us," but it's obvious that it's easier said than done. Bringing justice was and still not as simple as identifying and punishing the "attackers" or the one responsible from the US- not that we know any of whom specifically to hold accountable. It is, indeed, vague of whether to settle the blame on the terrorist groups in

Libya or the American departments and heads who, republicans argue, could have prevented this if it wasn't for the Obama administration's insufficient actions. In the bigger picture, the opposing side still seeks answers from the Obama Administration of whether they are speaking the truth of what really went down in Benghazi.

Next on 9/11 in Benghazi:

Philip Hammond: If only it were so simple as there being two sides. There are about 120 sides.
See [4]

Magda Mughrabi: We had one enemy. Today, people don't know who their enemy is. See [5]

Karim Mezran: Libya today — in spite of the expectations we had at the time of the revolution — it's much, much worse. See [5]

Nizar Krikshi: The militias in Libya, even though they each belong to a different arm of government, only fight for their own agenda at the end of the day. See [5]

E2: Ticking-bombs in Libya

Libya at the time of the Benghazi attacks was in civil unrest, which is a prominent element of what caused and led up to the attacks. In 1969, Libya was ruled by Mu'ammr al Qadhafi after a "bloodless coup [overthrew] Libya's King Idris I."³ The overthrow of the monarch was, indeed, led by Qadhafi as he believed that "foreign oil companies were profiting from the country's resources at the expense of the Libyan people. He assured his people that the revenues will be allocated among the Libyan people³. From the 1970s to late 1990s, Qadhafi's regime proved rather troublesome not only for his people but later the West as well.

However, in 1999, he "moved to mend his international image" which soon proved al Qadhafi's relationship with Europe and the United States.^{See[3]} The U.S. established a liaison office in Tripoli, removed Libya from its terrorist-countries list, and established an American embassy in Tripoli in 2006. Despite those positive shifts, his regime still received foreign and domestic criticism due to the lack of political rights and civil liberties for Libyan people. This attitude in Libya soon intensified after the uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia. In February 2011, Libya witnessed the beginning of major protests in numerous cities. Objectors clashed with military troops, police, militias, and Gaddafi loyalists. Rebels soon striped loyalists from their territories with some help from the West. Qadhafi could have crushed the protesters had the West cooperated with him. Instead, the very Western powers that had intervened in Libya and negotiated with Qadhafi now supported the protesters and aided the rebel groups in the uprising to protect the Libyan people.⁴

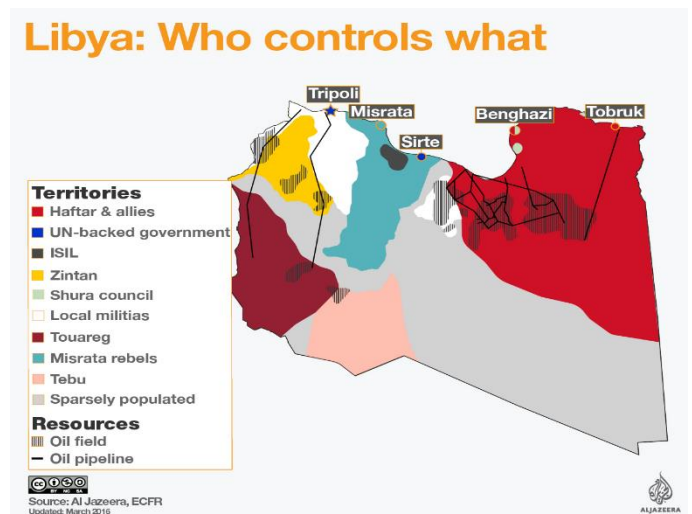


Figure 2: Libya, Who Controls What

In March, NATO launched a campaign as a result of the UN's proposal to protect civilians.⁵ This eventually turned from protecting the people to the purpose of expelling Qadhafi. And in October, al Qadhafi was captured and killed by a Libyan rebel group. What follows is a liberated Libya, yes? Happy ending, yes? No, we'll never reach it, not in this podcast.

The death of Qadhafi proved no "liberation." Magda Mughrabi, a Libyan researcher for Amnesty International, describes "Muammar Qaddafi's Libya" as "we had one enemy, today, 'people don't know who their enemy is.'" ⁵ Libya was and still is torn between two governments, various political groups and tribal forces, and arising militias (to understand who is who and where, refer to Figure 2). While the two governments were fighting over who will control Libya, hundreds of militant and terrorist groups prospered, each spreading their own ideologies.

In May, loyalist Khalifa Haftar launched Operation Dignity that attacked Islamist militias in Benghazi "in what he described an effort to 'eliminate extremist terrorist groups.'" ^{See [4]} Two militia groups, Misrata and Zintan with other groups, collectively called Libya Dawn, would soon ally against the Haftar coalition to seize Tripoli, and they did. However, Libya Dawn gradually developed as a militant group, so, the Midstrata's decided to diverge and a clash in arms erupts between them and Dawn.



Figure 3: Members of the forces loyal to Khalifa Haftar take cover behind an armored vehicle during clashes in the destroyed city of Benghazi. ^{See [6]}

Benghazi housed many militia group pro- and anti-Qadhafi including Ansar Al-Sharia who would take claim of the Benghazi attack in 2012. Libya hosted groups who had political, economic, religious, and criminal motives; all in a state that couldn't be "so simple as there being two

sides, Philip Hammond remarks, "there are about 120 sides." ^{See [4]} Nizar Krikshi, a Libyan political analyst, said it best: "The militias in Libya, even though they each belong to a different arm of government, only fight for their own agenda at the end of the day." ^{See [5]}

Next on 9/11 in Benghazi:

Lindsey Graham: You cannot protect our vital national security if Qadhafi stays, the focus should now be to cut the head of the snake off.

Republican Senator McCain: Had president Obama and our allies not acted, history would have remembered Benghazi on the same breath as former Yugoslavia, a scene of mass atrocities and a source of international shame.

Barack Obama: The United States of America will never retreat from the world.

E3: US Presence & Intervention

The opposition to Qadhafi began in the east of the country, where Islamists had long been relatively strong. Benghazi served a major role in the uprisings; it is the capital of eastern Libya (Libya has two capitals: Benghazi and Tripoli) and once Qaddafi tried to seize it, the west intervened.⁶ Benghazi housed the internationally recognized government, National Transitional Council (NTC) that was formed as the "de-facto" government of Libya during the uprising.⁷

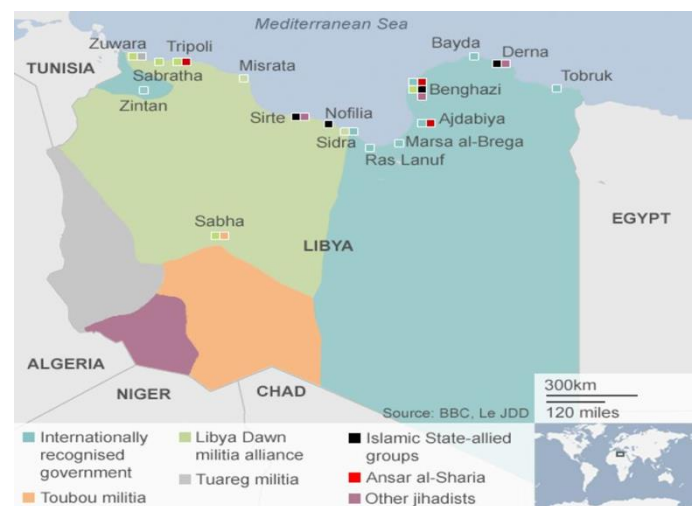


Figure 4: Libya's Rival Power Bases

The second government, which was Qadhafi's government, was in Tripoli, Western Libya (Note that Ansar al-Sharia also came from Tripoli; refer to [Figure 4](#) to clear any confusion). Western-supported rebel groups seized the capital Tripoli and Qaddafi's regime fell thereafter. However, western intervention did not retreat. The United States wanted to be, in Obama's words, a "friend," where "we care not just about our own country, not just about our own interests, but about theirs; the United States of America will never retreat from the world." ^{See [1]}

In the initial days of the uprising on March 17, 2011, Qaddafi threatened his people that he would "show them 'no mercy.'" ^{See [8]} Immediately after that, President Obama announced that the United States will join the fight against Qaddafi to liberate Libyan citizens as he saw it obligatory in the US's ideology. In a 2014 congress hearing, the Oversight Committee reviewed the before, during, and after the Benghazi attacks.⁸ In the before, Elijah Cummings quoted Senator Lindsey Graham in which he previously declared, "you cannot protect our vital national security if Qadhafi stays, the focus should now be to cut the head of the snake off." ^{See [8]} Republican Senator McCain seconded Obama's decision with the statement "had president Obama and our allies not acted, history would have remembered Benghazi on the same breath as former Yugoslavia, a scene of mass atrocities and a source of international shame." ^{See [8]} The UN approved U.S. intervention to "protect civilians under threat of attack" in Libya.⁹ After the approval NATO carried out airstrikes against Qadhafi and his loyalists.

U.S. intervention for humanitarian causes in Benghazi proved yet another unsurprising aftermath. The situation is much similar to George W. Bush's invasion of Iraq for Weapons of Mass Destruction and to later liberate the Iraqi people from dictator Saddam Hussein, and don't forget Afghanistan. The west also intervened in Libya of their fear to their national security. ^{See [4]} This threat of weapons was a prominent reason to why Ambassador Christopher Stevens visited Libya and why the CIA was present there. Establishing peace was another factor as to why the US remained in Libya after Qadhafi's death. However, at the very time of havoc and civil disobedience, militia groups flourished. Some of the rebel groups that rose up during this fight were participants in the protest, and others were just long time *anti-west ticking-bombs*.

Additionally, Libya was an ultimate haven for Islamic State emissaries of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Their growth

alarmed the western countries, hence, they gave Libya military support to fight opponents off. The U.S. and the United Kingdom nevertheless continued to send soldiers and arms to fight off ISIS. The U.S. Special Operations Forces rotated between northeastern and western Libya, in Misrata and Benghazi, while Italy was supported by the US and NATO to target ISIS in Libya and in northern Africa by 2013. Western states weren't the only one who intervened, but in fact, many Arab countries did like the United Arab Emirates, Turkey, and Egypt supported

local militias; Berbers were looking for autonomy; exiles were returning to take up politics; notable families were maneuvering to survive and prosper; the United Nations was providing technical support; and Americans, British, French, Russians and Italians continued to think they would shape the region, secure its resources, and guide its politics. Indeed, perhaps what had changed the most was the international system itself: from the era of empire to the primacy of the nation-state and then the emergence of non-state actors, international norms and expectations had changed dramatically and Libya remained a challenge to all. ^{See [4]}

Next on 9/11 in Benghazi:

We will analyze the Benghazi attacks in detail: when, why, and how did the attacks unfold?

E4: Nine-Forty

The first time since 1979, a US ambassador was killed in the line of duty and all agree that the nearest incident to the attack was on the night of September 11, 2012 at 9:40pm local time.

The progression of the Benghazi attacks is of major importance to understanding how Americans in the U.S., Benghazi and Tripoli, and U.S. officials are critiquing and assessing the sequential events as they evolved, which could possibly trace the "wrongdoers." A tumult first breaks out near the gate at 9:40pm. Attackers enter through the gate to the U.S. diplomatic compound. In the compound, there was a total of 8 armed guards: five Americans and three Libyans with the Libyan 17th February Brigade militia, "an Islamist militia group that took up arms to participate in the Libyan Revolution."¹⁰

Ambassador Christopher Stevens and Sean Smith “sought shelter in [their] building’s safe haven” while attackers set the place on fire. Other agents left to the security quarters building to grab weapons. ¹¹ When trying to return to the Villa, they find the ally between the buildings crowded with attackers, so they stay in the security quarters. As flames intensify in the villa, a security guard guides Ambassador Stevens and Smith to a window but both are soon separated from the guard. The guard reenters many times, but cannot locate the men.

A diplomatic security agent activated the Imminent Danger notification system that alerted the DSCC in Washington and the “the Annex to request assistance from security personnel there.” ^{See [11]} The CIA Annex team arrives at 10:05 p.m. and found Smith’s body, dead. Unable to find Ambassador Stevens, 5 security agents at the villa and are followed by the Annex team to the Annex personnel to receive medical attention due to their search under heavy fire. The main villa is attacked a second time, and the ones returning to the Annex are also met with an attack, takes about an hour and stops at 1:01am (refer to Figure 5 for a visual representation). A video of Ambassador Stevens surfaces where he’s being pulled rushed to the hospital by Libyans.

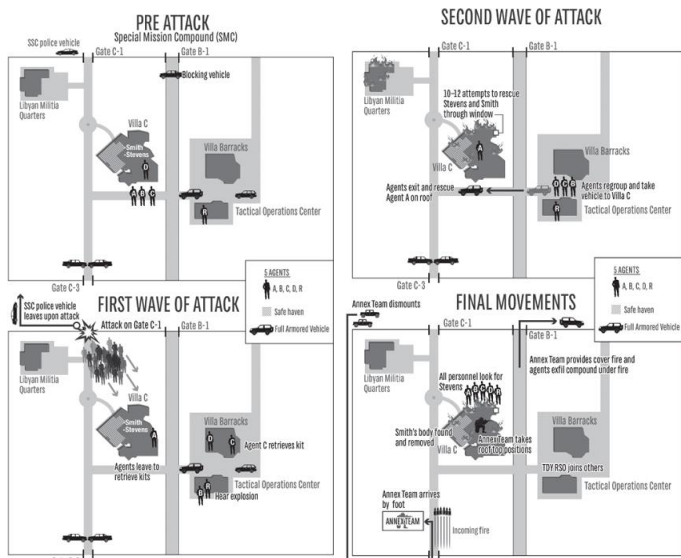


Figure 5: 9/11 attacks in Benghazi (Under Fire: The Untold Story of the Attack on Benghazi) ¹²

Security agents from Tripoli arrive at 1:00am in Benghazi but are detained for some hours “negotiating with Libyans for transportation and a security escort to get to the

Annex.”¹³ By 5:05 a.m., the team finally arrived at the Annex and they, too, were met with an assault killing security agents Tyrone Woods and Glen Doherty, this ended at 5:26 a.m. (refer to Figure 6 for a visual representation). The team comes with 11-12 vehicles provided by Libyan militias and leave for the airport. At 8:25, Ambassador Steven comes in an ambulance to the airport, and pronounced dead from smoke inhalation. Everyone arrives in Tripoli at 11:30am and the political uproar begins.

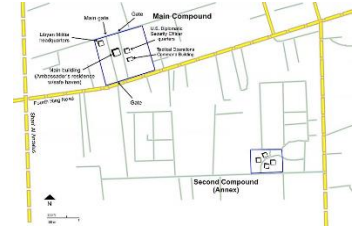


Figure 6: Locations of US mission (main compound) and Annex at the time of the 2012 Benghazi attacks.

Next on 9/11 in Benghazi:

Ron Johnson: We were misled that there was supposedly a protest and the assault sprang out and that was not the fact, Americans could’ve not known that in days. ¹⁴

Hillary Clinton: The fact is we had four dead Americans, was it because of a protest or was it because of guys out for a walk one night and decided they’d go kill some Americans. What difference, at this point, does it make? ^{See [14]}

E5: Investigating

The Obama administration claimed the Benghazi attack to be a response from protesters to an anti-Muslim video, Innocence of Muslims, that had sparked outrage among many Muslim countries. However, we soon learn this to be invalid, according to CIA intelligence where they affirmed that the attack was executed by anti-American Jihadist groups. Again, Ansar al-Sharia did publicize their responsibility for the attack on their social media platforms, Twitter and Facebook. So, nevertheless, a question remains: did the Obama administration mislead the public that the attack was an unpremeditated response to the anti-Muslim video?

At her time of Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton was largely condemned for the attack.

At her time of Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton was largely condemned for the attack. In October, Clinton convened an Accountability Review Board (ARB) to inspect and report on the Benghazi attacks.¹⁵ Meanwhile, the Senate's Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee (HSGAC) also conducted an investigation to examine the events surrounding the attacks.^{See [11]} In December, both published their reports with little to no difference. The report includes several points

- i. **Security issues abroad:** the host country is, indeed, responsible for the safety and security of the other nation's diplomatic facility within its borders. However, with the rising of civil unrest, Libya is left with no protection or authority. After Qadhafi's death, Libya's government, the National Transitional Council (TNC), struggled to restore order. The HSGAC announced the failure of the State Department to increase security, even though they knew that Libya was short on providing additional security agents, were aware of the developing unsteady climate in Libya, but nevertheless, heavily relied on local militia like 17 February and Blue Mountain Libya who were "poorly skilled" anyway.^{See [11]}
- ii. **Poor leadership:** the ARB asserted that lack of security in Benghazi was partly because of ill leadership, "systemic failures and leadership and management deficiencies at senior levels" that "there appeared to be very real confusion over who, ultimately, was responsible and empowered to make decisions based on both policy and security considerations" between officials in Washington, Tripoli, and Benghazi.^{See [15]} This resulted in the further miscommunication between Security Department, notably the Defense Department's Africa Demand (AFRICOM), which was depended upon for a quick response in time for emergency crises.^{See [15]}
- iii. **Ineffective intelligence:** Similar to the Arb report, the HSGAC report stated the lack of

cautiousness that took place when multiple warnings were present before the attacks. Warning included a person who captured a phone-photo from a window across the facility as well as a police car that parked in front and "abruptly left."¹⁶ The report concludes, "the activities of local terrorist and Islamist extremist groups in Libya may have received insufficient attention from the IC [intelligence community] prior to the attack, partially because some of the groups possessed ambiguous operational ties to core al-Qaeda and its primary affiliates."^{See [11]}

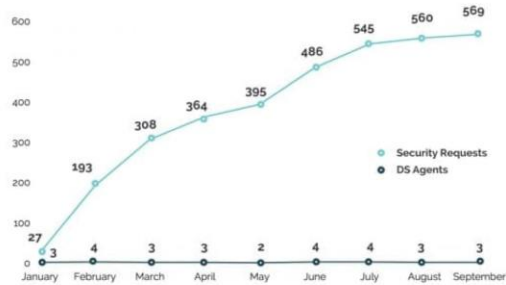
These points were also shared among most reports on Benghazi, including the Select Committee on Benghazi, which was the 8th proposed investigation report, making the Benghazi attack the most expensive case yet at a cost of 7 million dollars.¹⁷

In another report, entitled "Interim Progress Report on the Events Surrounding the September 11, 2013 Attacks in Benghazi, Libya," Ambassador Stevens told a "State Department official that with national elections occurring in Libya in July and August, the U.S. Mission in Libya 'would feel much safer if we could keep two MSD teams with us through this period [to support] our staff and [personal detail] for me and the [Deputy Chief of Mission] and any VIP visitors,'" via email 5 months before the attack.¹⁸ The official responded with, "'unfortunately, MSD cannot support the request' due to lack of resources."^{See [18]}

US senator Ron Johnson concluded that the State Department "not only failed to honor repeated requests for additional security, but instead actually reduced security in Libya."¹⁹ Multiple sources like the Washington Post conclude that a number of security requests from Benghazi were denied by Clinton's department (refer to Figure # for the cumulative number of security requests from Benghazi). Nevertheless, no investigation found Secretary Hillary Clinton guilty. Many rather affirmed that most criticism against her were

conspiracy theories to date. But then again, this does not solve the problem.

Cumulative Number of Security Requests/Concerns from Benghazi - 2012



As the number of security requests/concerns from Benghazi rose into the hundreds, the State Department failed to provide the resources their people in Benghazi needed to be safe.

Figure 5: Cumulative number of Security Requests/Concerns from Benghazi- 2012

Next on 9/11 in Benghazi:

We will discuss the politics after the attack and how both political parties come head to head with this ongoing issue.

E6: Politics (Part 1)

Ever since the night of the attack in September 11, 2012, republicans and the conservative public were and are still relentless. Indeed, to this day, they are inspecting the causes of the attacks. This scrutiny has reached its highest political peak when it eventually became apparent that it is not about who was behind the attack and who must be punished anymore, more than so it was about poisoning the Obama Administration's political pursuit (Amy Sorkin).²⁰ The television program 60 Minutes aired multiple allegations when reporting on Benghazi to which republicans upheld. However, it was discredited upon finding their source to be someone who invented the story.²¹ Furthermore, republicans like Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy publicly referenced to the

Benghazi investigation being a drive to disturb her political campaign:

Everybody thought Hillary Clinton was unbeatable, right? But we put together a Benghazi special committee, a select committee. What are her numbers today? Her numbers are dropping. Why? Because she's untrustable. But no one would have known any of that had happened, had we not fought.

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Anyhow, republicans' "logical" proposition is that the Obama Administration, specifically then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, is hiding something. This coverage they are examining is whether the administration did anything at all to avoid the attacks prior to their occurrence, and whether the administration mislead everyone to defend their weakness on terror. This has especially affected the 2016 presidential election when Hillary Clinton was the Democrat nominee.

Six weeks after the incident, government officials revealed a set of three unclassified emails, which revealed that the white house and the State Department were informed about the attack "even as it was still under way."²³ Six weeks after the incident, government officials revealed a set of three unclassified emails, which revealed that the White House and the State Department were informed about the attack "even as it was still under way." There were three unclassified emails which described the initial attack 20 minutes after, "U.S. Diplomatic Mission in Benghazi Under Attack;" the second at 11:07pm stated "the firing at the U.S. Diplomatic Mission in Benghazi had stopped and the compound had been cleared; and the third at 6:07pm the next day, "Update 2: Ansar al-Sharia Claims Responsibility for Benghazi Attack." See [23]

This evidences that the White House was told of the attack 20 minutes after, and knew that Ansar al-Sharia took claim of the attack the next day. Both of such components are highly controversial for two reasons:

1. The white house knew, and therefore, could have done something to assist the 4 American during the attack. Note that the first dead body of Smith's was found 25 minutes after the attack, could Ambassador Steven have been saved, or even the other two Americans killed at 5:05 am?

- Why claim the attack spontaneous in response to an anti-Muslim video (*Innocence of Muslims*) when information about Ansar al-Sharia taking responsibility already reached the White House?

The Obama Administration was, then, highly criticized after their announcements and, indeed, it worsens.

Next on 9/11 in Benghazi:

John Teigen: He told me to stand down.

CIA Base Chief: There never was a stand-down order, at no time did I ever second-guess that the team to depart.



Figure 6: 'We Were Told to Stand Down'

Many argue that this would have been prevented through countless ways including providing the security Ambassador Stevens asked for, relying on American trained military rather than unpredictable militias, and maintaining effective management and leadership among American officials in the US and Libya. But who do we blame? This is not so simple. If we were able to trace a person or one particular event, we would have reached a conclusion in the five years from the attack today. Republicans have been preserving constant investigations on the Benghazi attack and the clash of both political parties surface from time to time.

Republican refuse to rest their investigations aiming for any evidence to reveal the unseen wrongdoings of the Obama Administration and their ineffective strategies in the face of terror. In contrast, Democrats see it absurd and biased that republicans are continually suspicious, claiming that they are spending unnecessary time and money in the name of their political aspirations. Finally, you have the public, confused and divided as ever. Meanwhile in Libya, it has never been worse after the western states left it, in havoc. This is Benghazi, and what comes to the mind of many Americans when that name is mentioned: a combination of convoluted and tangled events, incidents, conspiracies, unrest, ill-leadership, trust issues, and much more.

E7: Politics (Part 2)

We learned how these attacks became highly politicized by various means, some turned out facts and some conspiracies. Along with the three unclassified emails were turned in by government officials, another set of emails between State Department officials were published on [Wikileaks](#). They demonstrate how “diplomats still in Benghazi say they had long questioned U.S. reliance on local militia.”²⁴ This has proven even more troubling when a movie was released a movie called “13 Hours” subtitled “The Secret Soldiers of Benghazi” where director Michael Bay states “[this is \[the\] true story](#)” of what really happened down in Benghazi.

The movie sparked controversy about a possible “stand down” given to CIA security operatives after the attack. In an interview, members of the security team at the CIA Annex publicly affirmed that were tasked to stand down, ceasing assistance to those under fire. John Teigen, namely (shown in [Figure 8](#), left), says that had they provided aid when the initial distress call called, they could have had an opportunity to save the four Americans. He states that instead, the base chief relied on Libyan militias who were “not even military trained.”²⁵ In another interview with the CIA Base Agent, he claims he did not give an order that was even “equivalent” to a stand down order, “‘There never was a stand-down order,’ the base chief was quoted by the [Washington] Post as saying. ‘At no time did I ever second-guess that the team would depart.’”²⁶

¹ whitehouse.gov. (2012). Remarks by the President at Transfer of Remains Ceremony for Benghazi Victims. [online] Available at: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/09/14/remarks-president-transfer-remains-ceremony-benghazi-victims> [Accessed 3 Dec. 2017].

² Castaneda, Kay. "2012 Benghazi Attack." Salem Press Encyclopedia, 2014. EBSCOhost, 0-search.ebscohost.com.sophia.agnesscott.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ers&AN=94895751&site=eds-live.

³ "Libya." Country report | Freedom in the World | 2012, 3 Aug. 2015, freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2012/libya.

⁴ Anderson, Lisa. "'They Defeated Us All': International Interests, Local Politics, and Contested Sovereignty in Libya." Middle East Journal, vol. 71, no. 2, Spring 2017, pp. 229-247. EBSCOhost, doi:10.3751/71.2.13.

⁵ Boghani, P. (2015). Regrets of a Revolution? Libya After Qaddafi. [online] FRONTLINE. Available at: <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/regrets-of-a-revolution-libya-after-qaddafi/> [Accessed 3 Dec. 2017].

⁶ KEKILLİ, EMRAH. "Anatomy of the Libyan Crisis." Insight Turkey, vol. 19, no. 3, Summer 2017, pp. 161 & 167. EBSCOhost, doi:10.25253/99.2017193.10.

⁷ whitehouse.gov. (2012). Remarks by the President at Transfer of Remains Ceremony for Benghazi Victims. [online] Available at: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/09/14/remarks-president-transfer-remains-ceremony-benghazi-victims> [Accessed 3 Dec. 2017].

⁸ Document Production Status Update : Hearing Before the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, House of Representatives, One Hundred Fourteenth Congress, Second Session. 2017. EBSCOhost, 0-search.ebscohost.com.sophia.agnesscott.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsgpr&AN=gpr001027008&site=eds-live.

⁹ Un.org. (2011). Security Council Approves 'No-Fly Zone' over Libya, Authorizing 'All Necessary Measures' to Protect Civilians, by Vote of 10 in Favour with 5 Abstentions | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases. [online] Available at: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2011/sc10200.doc.htm> [Accessed 3 Dec. 2017].

¹⁰ Trackingterrorism.org. Martyrs of 17 February Brigade | Terrorist Groups | TRAC. [online] Available at: <https://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/martyrs-17-february-brigade> [Accessed 4 Dec. 2017].

¹¹ Lieberman, Joseph I. and Susan M. Collins. Flashing Red [Electronic Resource] : A Special Report on the Terrorist Attack at Benghazi / by Joseph I. Lieberman, Susan M. Collins. [Washington, DC : U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, 2012., 2012. EBSCOhost, 0-search.ebscohost.com.sophia.agnesscott.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsgpr&AN=gprocn825050071&site=eds-live.

¹² BABBIN, JED and R. EMMETT TYRRELL JR. "Whitewashing Benghazi." American Spectator, vol. 47, no. 2, Mar. 2014, pp. 24-27. EBSCOhost, 0-search.ebscohost.com.sophia.agnesscott.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=fth&AN=94567928&site=eds-live.

¹³ Burton, Fred and Samuel M. Katz. Under Fire : The Untold Story of the Attack in Benghazi. Icon Books Ltd, 2014. EBSCOhost, 0-search.ebscohost.com.sophia.agnesscott.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1039343&site=eds-live.

¹⁴ Senate Hearing on Benghazi Consulate Attack. (2013). 1:24 [video] <https://www.c-span.org/video/?310496-1/senate-hearing-benghazi-consulate-attack>: C-SPAN.

¹⁵ Hsdl.org. (2012). Accountability Review Board (ARB) Report [Benghazi Report of December 19, 2012]. [online] Available at: <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=727502> [Accessed 4 Dec. 2017].

¹⁶ New York Times (2012). A Deadly Mix in Benghazi. [online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/projects/2013/benghazi/#/?chapter=4> [Accessed 4 Dec. 2017].

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¹⁸ House Committee on the Judiciary. "Interim Progress Report on Benghazi Investigation" 23 Apr 2013. Accessed 30 Nov 2016.

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