EGYPT RISES

KILLINGS, DETENTIONS AND TORTURE IN THE '25 JANUARY REVOLUTION'

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

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INTERNATIONAL

First published in 2011 by
Amnesty International Ltd
Peter Benenson House
1 Easton Street
London WC1X 0DW
United Kingdom

© Amnesty International 2011

Index: MDE 12/027/2011 English
Original language: English
Printed by Amnesty International,
International Secretariat, United Kingdom

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Cover photo: A young woman in Tahrir Square, Cairo, protests after President Mubarak announced that he was not stepping down, 10 February 2011. © Ivor Prickett/Panos

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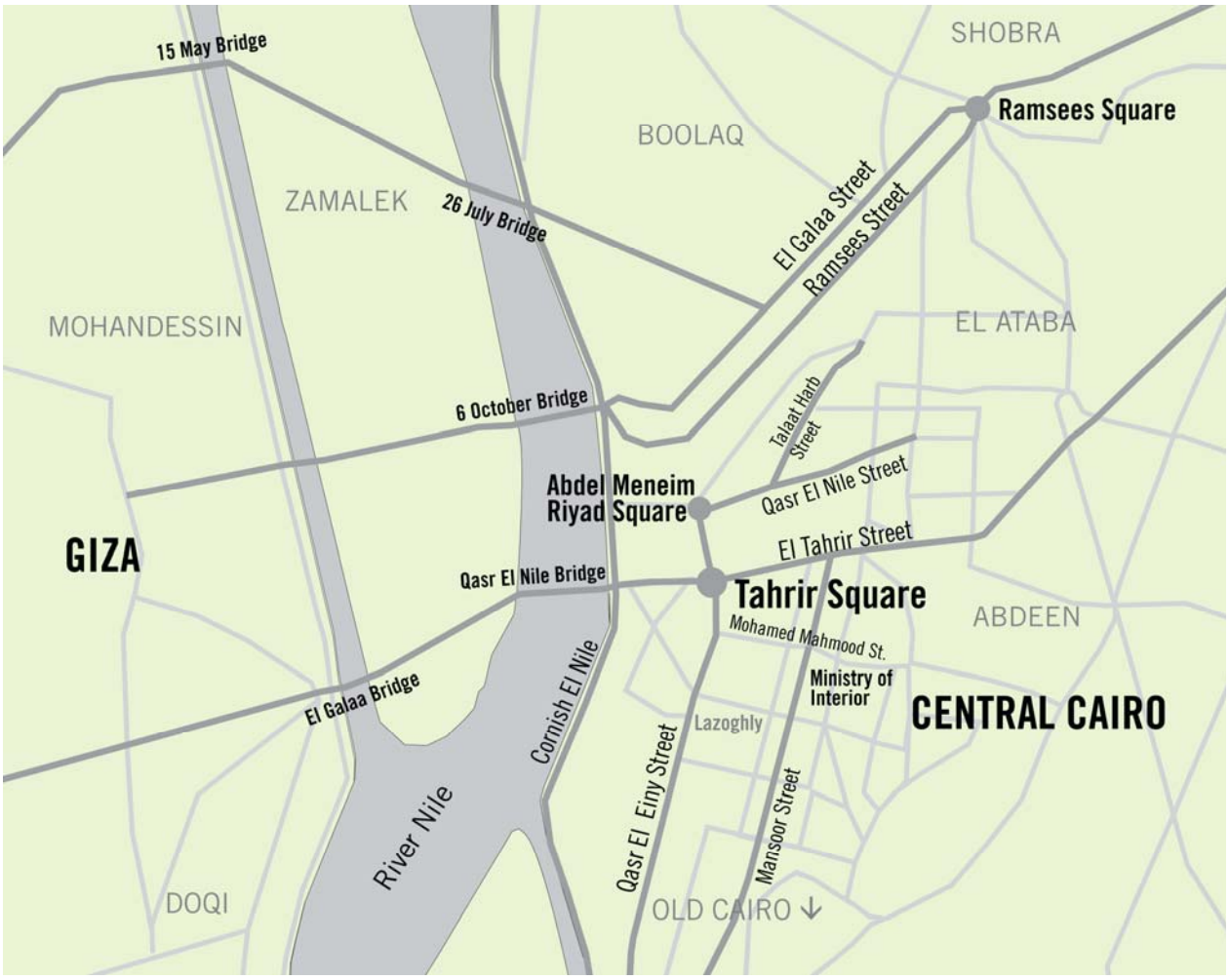

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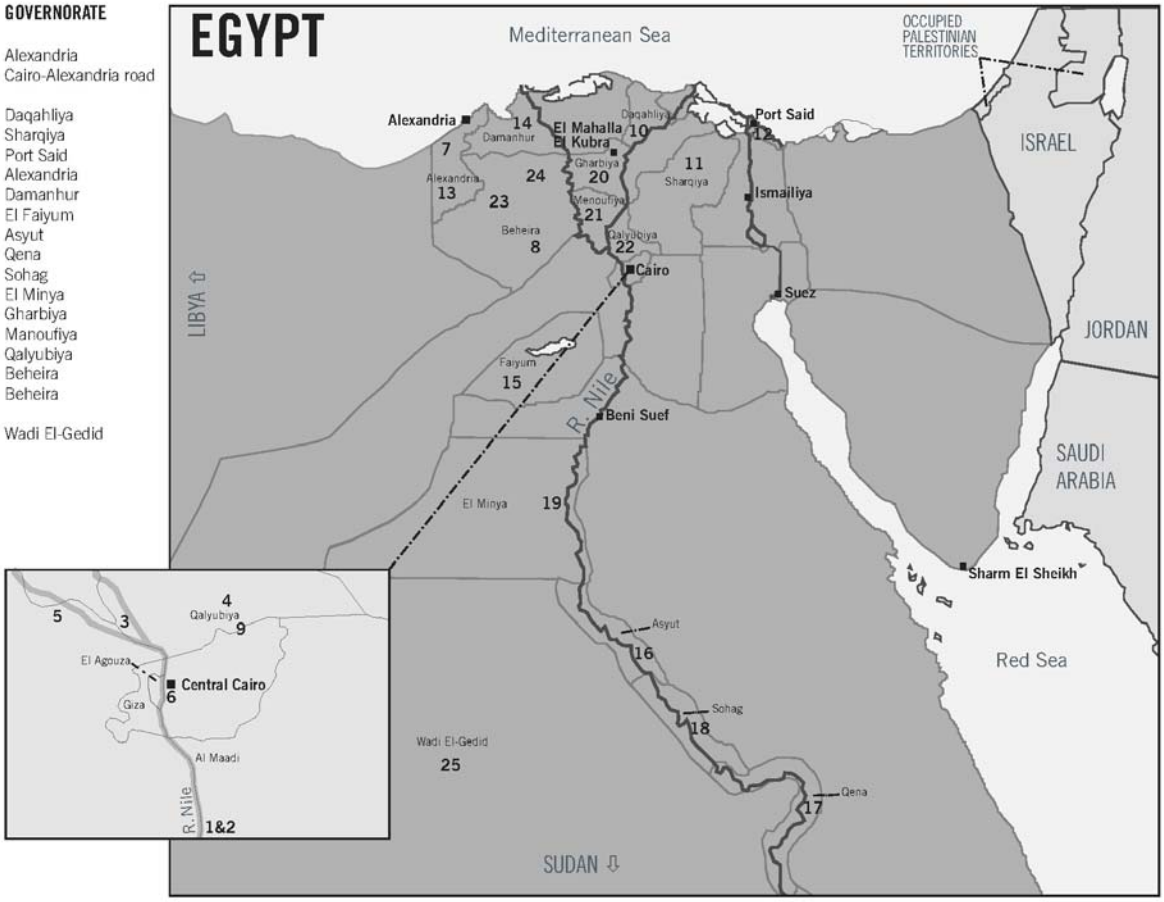
Map of Egypt showing the location of prisons in various governorates (provinces)

PRISON	GOVERNORATE
7. Borg el-Arab	Alexandria
8. Wadi El-Natroun	Cairo-Alexandria road
10. El Mansura	Daqahliya
11. Zagazig	Sharqiya
12. Port Said	Port Said
13. Alexandria	Alexandria
14. Damanhur	Damanhur
15. El Faiyum	El Faiyum
16. Asyut	Asyut
17. Qena	Qena
18. Sohag	Sohag
19. El Minya	El Minya
20. Tanta	Gharbiya
21. Shibin el Kom	Manoufiya
22. Benha	Qalyubiya
23. Janub el Tahrir	Beheira
24. Muaskar Amal al-Masjounin	Beheira
25. Wadi El-Gedid	Wadi El-Gedid

PRISONS GREATER CAIRO

1&2. Tora (A & B)
3. Qanater
4. Abu Zaabal
5. al-Qatta
6. Iste'naf
9. al-Marg



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1. INTRODUCTION

In 18 extraordinary days in early 2011, millions of Egyptians took to the streets, occupied squares, fought off attacks by security forces, formed street committees to defend their neighbourhoods, went on strike and ultimately overthrew a ruler who for decades had seemed unassailable. What became known as the "25 January Revolution" in honour of the day it all began was mostly peaceful, yet the response of the authorities was the very opposite.

The uprising was driven by anger and despair at police brutality, poverty, unemployment and the relentless repression of basic freedoms, and inspired by the success of the revolt in Tunisia in ousting a ruler who for decades had also seemed untouchable. It was given impetus largely by Egypt's youth through social media such as Facebook and Twitter, and sustained despite a media blackout and severe disruption in communications by women and men of all ages and from all communities – who managed to break the wall of fear in the face of repression and brutality. Their bravery cost them dear – at least 840 people were killed and 6,467 others were injured, according to Ministry of Health and Population sources,[1] and thousands were detained, many of them tortured.

The vast majority of victims came from underprivileged backgrounds – mostly youths who were unemployed or underemployed and struggling to live in dignity or provide for their families. Many of the victims had previously tasted endemic corruption and police brutality and suffered injustices at the hands of public officials. In addition to having to mourn the premature deaths of their loved ones, in many cases their relatives' already dire financial situation suffered the loss of the sole income earner of the household.

This report starts by looking at why and how the "25 January Revolution" unfolded. In particular, it describes the emergence of a vast security apparatus and the sweeping powers given to security forces and used by them under the state of emergency in force continuously for 30 years. This, combined with endemic corruption and the lack of civil and political rights, drove Egyptians to demand that their dignity and rights be restored. Chapter 2 also looks at the desperate attempts of the authorities to nip the protest movement in the bud and contain it through various methods: from a sustained media war to the disruption of Internet and telephone services, from hollow promises of reform to threats and intimidation, from the mobilization of pro-government supporters to violent attacks on protesters.

Chapter 3 looks at Egypt's international obligations and national legislation with respect to freedom of assembly and policing demonstrations. Evidence gathered by Amnesty International shows that the security forces failed to even comply with those more limited safeguards provided for in Egyptian legislation in relation to the use of force and firearms in dispersing public gatherings and demonstrations.

Chapter 4 documents the cases of 93 individuals killed or injured by security forces using excessive force, particularly when they were trying to prevent protesters from gathering at key locations or attempting to disperse crowds, and during clashes between protesters and security forces, often near police stations. It focuses on casualties in Greater Cairo, Alexandria, Beni Suef governorate, Suez, Port Said and the industrial heartland of El Mahalla

El Kubra[2], places where Amnesty International delegates spent many days interviewing families of victims, as well as people who had been injured and other witnesses. The security forces used tear gas, water cannon, shotguns, rubber bullets and live ammunition against protesters, usually when they were posing no threat to the security forces or others. In some instances, the security forces drove into protesters in armoured vehicles. In others, they beat protesters with batons or sticks and kicked them. They also used force disproportionately and resorted to firearms when it was not strictly necessary. In situations where a graduated use of force by police may have been necessary, such as where protesters were throwing rocks and more rarely petrol bombs, the security forces reacted disproportionately, through reckless use of firearms and other lethal force, resulting in deaths and injuries, including of onlookers and bystanders.

Chapter 5 charts the waves of arrests in Cairo, particularly from 25 January to 3 February, again documenting many individual cases. Reasons for some arrests remain unclear. Others targeted protesters and people seen as supporting, spreading or reporting on the protest movement. Among those targeted were human rights defenders, online activists, journalists, activists bringing supplies to protesters and doctors treating injured protesters. Arrests peaked on 3 February during a particularly intense counter-offensive by the authorities and their supporters. Some of those arrested were held only briefly; others were held for days and tortured or otherwise ill-treated.

The most frequently reported torture methods were beatings all over the body with sticks, whips or other objects; electric shocks, including to sensitive parts of the body; the contortion of the body in stress positions for long periods; verbal abuse; and threats of rape. In all cases known to Amnesty International, detainees were held incommunicado and their families, friends and lawyers did not know where they were or even if they were alive. The vast majority suffered such violations at the hands of the military police, heightening fears that unless all suspected perpetrators are brought to justice, torture will remain an endemic feature of Egypt's law enforcement apparatus.

Chapter 6 describes the unlawful killings of prisoners in the context of the prison unrest, which led to the deaths of 189 prisoners and injuries to a further 263 prisoners, according to sources from the Ministry of Health and Population. It urges immediate investigations into the violations. It also calls on the authorities to ensure that suspected perpetrators are brought to justice, and to guarantee that prison conditions are brought in line with international standards.

Chapter 7 highlights the urgent need for the Egyptian government to provide the victims of human rights violations during the unrest with an effective remedy, including bringing those responsible to justice and granting reparation to individuals and families for their suffering or loss. It also looks at the establishment, work and conclusions of the "Fact-Finding National Commission about 25 January Revolution" set up by the authorities to investigate the violations committed during the unrest, and urges the inclusion of further guarantees on non-repetition of such violations. The chapter also notes the efforts of the Public Prosecution in investigating violations and charging suspected perpetrators; and calls on the judicial authorities to ensure that all those suspected of bearing individual and collective responsibility in ordering the use of lethal force as well as implementing it are brought to justice, and in the meantime removed from positions where they can repeat such violations.

Amnesty International believes that victims of the human rights violations that marred the "25 January Revolution", as well as society at large, deserve to see that their sacrifices were not made in vain, that the machinery of repression is completely overhauled, and that guarantees of non-repetition are consolidated in law and practice. The fact that violations such as unjustified restrictions on freedom of assembly, torture and the military trials of civilians have been ongoing since the downfall of former President Hosni Mubarak only serve to highlight the importance and urgency of taking real steps towards sustainable change into a political system based on the respect of the rule of law and human rights. The report closes with a comprehensive set of recommendations to the current Egyptian authorities in its Human Rights Agenda for Change[3] aimed at making fundamental and long-lasting reforms in Egypt to break with the long legacy of human rights violations, as well as specific recommendations relating to the abuses during the "25 January Revolution". These include calling on the authorities to:

- Conduct full, impartial and independent investigations into all cases of human rights violations which took place during the unrest, namely the excessive use of force including lethal force; arbitrary detention and torture, including by members of the armed forces; and killings and torture of prisoners; and bring all suspected perpetrators to justice in proceedings meeting international standards for fair trial. In parallel to judicial investigations, establish a vetting system to ensure that, pending investigation, officials and others about whom there is evidence of serious human rights violations do not remain or are not placed in positions where they could repeat such violations;

- Provide all victims of human rights violations with financial compensation and other forms of reparation that are appropriate and proportional to the gravity of the violation, the harm suffered and the circumstances of their case, including the coverage of full medical costs to those injured during demonstrations as a result of excessive use of force or other abuses by members of the security forces; and

- Undertake a fundamental overhaul of all the security and law enforcement bodies, and make public a clear structure of the various security branches with a clear chain of command and full accountability under the law. In particular, ensure that security forces and other law enforcement officers act in line with the UN Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials and the UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials, by giving clear instructions that force may only be used when strictly necessary and only to the extent required for performance of their duty, and that lethal force may only be used when strictly unavoidable in order to protect their lives or the lives of others.

ABOUT THIS REPORT

Findings in this report are largely based on Amnesty International's fact-finding visit to Egypt between 30 January and 3 March 2011 to inquire into human rights violations committed in the context of the anti-government protests. Seven Amnesty International delegates visited Egypt during this period. They travelled to several areas affected by the unrest – Alexandria on 20-22 February, Beni Suef on 16-17 February, El Mahalla El Kubra on 2-3 February, Port Said on 25 February and Suez on 9-11 February. The remainder of the time was spent documenting human rights violations in Cairo and Giza.

In the course of its visit, Amnesty International interviewed relatives of individuals killed

during the protests and in the context of the prison unrest, people injured during protests, other witnesses, victims of torture, former detainees, lawyers, doctors, human rights defenders and members of political parties and groups. Delegates visited several hospitals and morgues in Alexandria, Beni Suef, Cairo, Giza and El Mahalla El Kubra, and interviewed medical professionals and patients receiving treatment for injuries sustained during the unrest. In total, the report sheds light on the circumstances of the killing of 59 individuals and injury of 34 others during the protests. It also presents the testimonies of 21 individuals who were arrested, tortured or otherwise ill-treated during this period, and information on the killing of five prisoners related to the breakout of violence in El-Qatta El-Gedid Prison as well as two El Faiyum prisoners.

Amnesty International is grateful to all those individuals who met with its delegates, in particular the families of those killed who shared their stories and grief with the organization. Amnesty International also appreciates the time and assistance provided by Egyptian human rights lawyers and civil society organizations, including the Arab Center for the Independence of the Judiciary and Legal Profession, the Arabic Network for Human Rights Information, the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights, the Hisham Mubarak Law Center, the Egyptian Center for Development and Human Rights, the Egyptian Centre for Economic and Social Rights, the Egyptian Centre for Housing Rights, the Ezzat Badawi Association, the El Nadim Center for the Management and Rehabilitation of Victims of Violence, the Popular Committee for the Defence of Imbaba Airport, the Shafafia Centre for Social Studies and Development Training, the Al-Shehab Foundation for Promotion and Comprehensive Development, based in Greater Cairo; the Mousawa Centre for Human Rights in Port Said; the Nassar Centre in Alexandria; as well as the numerous lawyers, medical doctors, journalists, activists and other concerned individuals who were instrumental in deepening the organization's understanding of the protests and guaranteeing access to victims and their families.

This report covers human rights violations that took place between 25 January, when anti-government protests began, and 7 March, when the new interim cabinet was sworn into office. It does not provide a comprehensive account of all human rights violations that took place during the period under review. Rather, it aims to highlight patterns of violations illustrated by emblematic cases, particularly relating to the use of excessive force by security forces; arbitrary arrests, detention and torture and other ill-treatment; and unlawful killings of prisoners during the unrest. The violations of economic and social rights that helped ignite and spread the protest movement are outside the scope of this report.

During the fact-finding visit, Amnesty International delegates sought meetings with various officials, including the former Minister of Health and Population and the Public Prosecutor; and requested access to Tora Prison from the Minister of Interior to investigate reports of human rights violations there. Regrettably, the organization received no response. After the visit, the organization sent letters to the Ministry of Health and Population on 18 March and to the Prime Minister, the Public Prosecutor and the Fact-Finding National Commission about 25 January Revolution on 30 March to request details of official information pertaining to those killed and injured during the unrest, including members of the security forces. At the time of writing, the organization had only received a response from the Ministry of Health and Population on 22 March stating that it was not the body responsible for providing statistics on the numbers of dead and injured during the unrest.

Delegates were, however, able to meet senior staff in major medical institutions, including the Cairo University Hospitals, the Nasser Institute Hospital and Zeinhom Morgue, in Cairo; Alexandria General Hospitals and Koum El-Dikka Morgue, in Alexandria; El Mahalla General Hospital in El Mahalla El Kubra; and Beni Suef General Hospital in Beni Suef.

Amnesty International's fact-finding visit was also marked by the arrest of two delegates for some 36 hours on 3 February, among a group of 35 human rights defenders and journalists and activists. The Egyptian authorities have yet to provide an explanation for their arbitrary arrest.

2. THE TRAJECTORY OF THE '25 JANUARY REVOLUTION'

"I was worried that there would be chaos. But a new generation in Egypt came along, wiser than us a million times over."

Mohamed Heikal, 87, Egyptian journalist and former adviser to Egyptian presidents Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat[4]

The 18-day uprising fractured for the first time the military and security apparatus that emerged after the 1952 military officers' coup led by Gamal Abdel Nasser. Following the coup, Egypt led the Arab nationalist movement and developed a largely state-run economy, but suffered a "setback" in a military defeat by Israel in the 1967 Six-Day War. His rule was however also overshadowed by the repression of political dissent. After Gamal Abdel Nasser's death in 1970 and another war with Israel in 1973, the new president, Anwar Sadat, developed closer relations with the USA, and allowed political parties to be established, although they were weak, civil society and media were muzzled and human rights violations continued to take place with impunity. Pursuing more liberal economic policies, in 1977, a reduction in government subsidies to basic food led to riots. In 1981, three years after he signed the Camp David peace accords with Israel, and one month after a wave of arrests against all dissenting political voices, Anwar Sadat was assassinated by Islamist army officers at a military parade. His successor, Hosni Mubarak, along with his ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) and security apparatus, imposed a state of emergency and established in effect a one-party state using draconian emergency powers, although independent press, civil society actors and protest movements emerged strongly in his last presidential term. The government continued to develop closer military and foreign policy ties with the USA, and accelerated Egypt's move towards a market economy.

During his presidency, Hosni Mubarak promoted his "heroic" military role in the 1973 war to gain popular legitimacy. This did not, however, resonate with the disillusioned younger generation, who were increasingly angered by the widespread violations of human rights and lack of economic opportunities for a growing sector of the Egyptian population. Over the decades, the military had spread its wings to ensure it had economic as well as military clout. It was also seen as removed from the repression of dissent, which was dealt with by the Ministry of Interior. The military intervened only as a last resort in times of crisis. For example, during bread riots in 2008, the military produced and distributed bread from its own bakeries to overcome the shortage. The same year it offered emergency support and relief after the fatal Al-Duwayqa rockslide in September in Cairo. This reputation of being an "army of the people" proved pivotal during the 2011 uprising, when protesters turned to it

for protection and asked soldiers to join their cause.

TRIGGERS FOR THE PROTESTS

Chief among the triggers for the uprising were the growing levels of poverty and inequality, unemployment, endemic corruption, police brutality and lack of civil and political rights.

Although the economy had grown steadily since the 1980s, the wealth was not evenly spread. In 2009, around 32 million of Egypt's 80 million people were living on or near the internationally accepted poverty line of US$2 a day or less, with most relying on subsidized bread and oil to survive.[5] Government privatization programmes meant that hundreds of thousands of former workers in state industries had lost their bonuses and welfare benefits, and many workers had seen their incomes plummet in real terms as inflation soared. Unemployment was relentlessly rising as the number of young people entering the labour market, including university graduates, vastly outstripped the number of jobs being created. Rapid food price inflation, especially in 2008, hit poor Egyptians particularly hard, given the high proportion of their income that goes in food. An acute shortage of affordable housing meant that people were forced to live in sprawling and sometimes hazardous informal settlements (slums). In 2008, official numbers indicated that 12.2 million people lived in informal settlements across Egypt, half of them in the Greater Cairo region.[6]

Alongside this poverty were ostentatious displays of wealth, particularly of the ruling elite, as a minority benefited from the open economy. Bribes and other forms of corruption marked transactions from the smallest to the largest, particularly when dealing with government agencies. As subsidies on essential goods were being cut to service the national debt of around $US32 billion (14.5 per cent of Egypt's Gross Domestic Product),[7] former President Mubarak's family and friends were seen as siphoning off tens of billions of dollars into private bank accounts around the world. Powerful businessmen in the ruling NDP, including many government ministers, accumulated billions of dollars in deals marred by allegations of corruption or by exercising monopolies in their sector. In 2010, Transparency International's corruption index scored Egypt at 3.1, with 10 the mark of "no corruption", ranking it 98 out of 178 countries.[8]

The initial rallying cry of the 25 January protests, coinciding with Egypt's Police Day, was condemnation of police brutality and the repressive powers given by emergency legislation to Egypt's Ministry of Interior with its ubiquitous State Security Investigations services (SSI) and the 325,000 strong riot police, the Central Security Forces (CSF).[9] The Emergency Law[10], coupled with other restrictive laws, gives the security forces sweeping powers of arrest and detention, suspend constitutional rights, allows exceptional and military courts, circumscribes oppositional political activity, and restricts demonstrations. Over the decades, these powers and other restrictive laws and measures have led to entrenched patterns of serious human rights violations by the SSI services and the police. The Emergency Law also created a shadow justice system that bypasses the normal judicial system and the limited safeguards prescribed in Egyptian law.

Under emergency powers given to the Interior Minister, tens of thousands of people were held without charge or any prospect of trial for months or years, often in defiance of repeated court orders for their release. The extensive use of administrative detention pervaded society and affected Egyptians from all walks of life. Among those targeted were political opponents

and government critics, human rights defenders, members of religious minorities, journalists and bloggers.[11] Many were prisoners of conscience detained solely for their peacefully held views. Administrative detention, or the threat of it, was also used by police against criminal suspects, or to intimidate people in working class neighbourhoods as well as slum-dwellers at risk of forced eviction.

The state of emergency has facilitated a wide range of other serious human rights violations, particularly routine torture and other ill-treatment of detainees at the hands of SSI officers as well as the police, all of which have been committed with virtual impunity.[12] Such was the confidence of police and other security forces that they could torture people without fear of punishment that in some instances they filmed videos of their crimes, which were later leaked on the Internet.

During the 2005 election campaign, Hosni Mubarak pledged to end the state of emergency. After his victory, the government made this promise conditional on the introduction of a new anti-terrorism law, and the following year renewed the state of emergency for two years. In March 2007, following a referendum whose results were a foregone conclusion, amendments to Article 179 of the Constitution – supposedly to pave the way for the new anti-terrorism law – consolidated into the Constitution draconian emergency powers.[13] Security forces taking measures to "combat terrorism" were permanently freed from constitutional constraints against arbitrary arrest and detention. Security forces were permanently given the green light to carry out searches without a warrant and to tap people's telephone calls and other private communications. The President was permanently given the power to bypass ordinary courts and refer security suspects to any judicial authority he chose, including military and emergency courts that have a long history of conducting unfair trials.[14]

A presidential decree in May 2010 renewed the state of emergency but ostensibly limited the application of the Emergency Law to terrorism and drug-trafficking and specified that only Article 3(1) and 3(5) could be applied.[15] Article 3(1), however, is the provision that had been extensively invoked over the years to keep people in administrative detention for long periods. It is particularly pernicious, giving the authorities the power to "restrict people's freedom of assembly, movement, residence, or passage in specific times and places; arrest suspects or [persons who are] dangerous to public security and order [and] detain them; allow searches of persons and places without being restricted by the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code; and assign anyone to perform any of these tasks." All this can be exercised by a simple "oral or written order".

Widespread anger at the routine police brutality and the lack of any hope of justice for such crimes found a focus following the killing of 28-year-old Khaled Mohammed Said in Alexandria on 6 June 2010. Two officers from Sidi Gaber Police Station were seen dragging him out of an Internet café and beat him to death in public.[16] Shocking pictures of his barely recognizable face taken in the morgue were widely circulated on the Internet. In fury, activists marched through Alexandria and Cairo demanding justice for "the martyr of the state of emergency" and an end to police impunity. The case became a rallying cry for opponents of the repressive state, and the campaign for justice was named "We are all Khaled Said". The "We are All Khaled Said" Facebook group had hundreds of thousands of followers and played a key role in organizing and disseminating calls for the 25 January 2011 protests.[17]

The uprising did not come out of nowhere. For years, unrest had been bubbling under the surface, occasionally flaring into open revolt. Each public display of opposition punctured the heavy lid of repression, however harsh the state's response. At the same time, old and new forms of political opposition were developing.

The ebb and flow of public protests since 2002 focused on many issues, ranging from solidarity with the Palestinians and Iraqis, to demands for democracy, constitutional reforms, pay rises and an end to police brutality. In 2002, mass protests were held to show support for the second Palestinian intifada. The following year, tens of thousands of demonstrators occupied Cairo's Tahrir Square to protest against the US-led war on Iraq. In 2005, large demonstrations across Egypt demanded democratic reforms after a loose alliance of government opponents, including liberals, socialists and elements of the banned Muslim Brotherhood, launched a campaign against Hosni Mubarak's bid for another term as President.[18] The chant of "Kefaya" ("Enough") unified the protesters and gave birth to a predominantly young political movement.

Significant protests in Cairo were also organized in 2006 and 2007 around proposed constitutional amendments, with people calling for more freedoms and an end to the state of emergency. Many activists involved in these protests were beaten in the street and arrested; some were tortured or otherwise ill-treated.[19] Also in 2006, judges, incensed by what they saw as rigged elections and attacks on the judiciary, took to the streets, only to face the wrath of riot police using batons.[20] The same year a successful strike by the 25,000 workers at the vast textile plant in El Mahalla El Kubra north of Cairo triggered a wave of strikes over pay, including by other textile workers; teachers; and grain-mill, postal and transport workers. In October 2007, textile workers occupied the El Mahalla Plant, demanding among other things that the government meet its promise to pay them a bonus equivalent to 150 days' pay. They won most of their demands. A strike in December that year by tax collectors led to the first independent trade union since the 1950s, representing around 50,000 workers.

A nationwide call for a strike on 6 April 2008 was answered by many people who wanted to show their solidarity with El Mahalla workers planning a walkout, and to generally express their frustration at the lack of political and economic progress in Egypt.[21] Some people remained at home, wary of the Interior Ministry's warning against protests and threat to mobilize security forces. Others were undeterred by the call and faced arrests and prosecutions. Twenty-two people were convicted by an emergency court in late 2008 for their involvement in the violent protests in El Mahalla.[22] Nonetheless, the strike was a defining moment for the protest movement, especially for the group that quickly emerged – the "6 April Youth Movement" – which demonstrated the potency of Internet activism and mobilization through Facebook in the face of repression.

Victims of state negligence, such as those affected by the September 2008 Al-Duwayqa rockslide in the informal settlement of Manshiyet Nasser in Cairo, organized protests.[23] Similarly, victims of forced evictions and slum-dwellers organized protests, as did residents of other informal settlements, including the Zerzara informal settlement in Port Said.

In April 2009, the streets were again filled with protesters, this time after a call for a nationwide strikes and demonstrations. The protests were calling for a range of political and economic reforms in the country. Many protesters were arrested; some were prosecuted on

false charges.[24]

As the public protests gradually broke the spell of fear, Egypt's political opposition grew in strength and diversity. The largest group, the Muslim Brotherhood, has an estimated half a million members. Although officially banned, it established deep roots through its control of professional associations and a network of charities. During some elections, it circumvented the ban by standing members or supporters as independents and won considerable support. Meanwhile, the secular liberal or socialist opposition was growing, mainly organized in Kefaya, 6 April Youth Movement and, later in 2010, the Egyptian National Association for Change (the latter supporting Nobel Peace laureate Mohamed ElBaradei's presidential candidacy if free elections were to be held).

Parliamentary elections in November/December 2010 were preceded by a crackdown on the opposition, including mass arrests and repression of the media.[25] The elections themselves, held amid allegations of fraud, led to an overwhelming victory for the NDP. Thousands of people were estimated to be held in administrative detention at the time of the election, many of them political prisoners. Far from giving the government legitimacy, the elections simply deepened popular resentment towards Hosni Mubarak, his son Gamal Mubarak who many expected to succeed his father in 2011, and the NDP.

In the early hours of 1 January 2011, a deadly bomb attack on a church in Alexandria caused public outrage. Protesters from the Coptic community clashed with security forces expressing dismay at discrimination and the lack of protection of their community. The subsequent wave of arrests of suspects – mainly Salafists, followers of very conservative Islamic teaching – by the SSI in Alexandria led to the death in custody of 32-year-old Sayyed Bilal, triggering outrage at the Ministry of Interior's inability to prevent bomb attacks and persistent human rights violations.[26]

The final trigger for Egypt's "25 January Revolution" was the Tunisian uprising. This gave political activists, the vast army of young unemployed and underemployed men and women, the workers, the victims of state repression and many others the confidence and courage to act. In Tunisia, after around four weeks of protests, President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali was toppled on 14 January 2011, igniting an explosion of celebration and hope across the region. For many Egyptians, the message was clear. If President Ben Ali and his regime, which only weeks earlier had seemed so unassailable, could be removed by peaceful demonstrations, so too could Hosni Mubarak, a man who had come to symbolize all the flaws in Egypt's political system.

18 DAYS THAT SHOOK EGYPT

DAY 1 – TUESDAY 25 JANUARY
"Day of Rage" organized primarily by young activists on National Police Day, a national holiday. In Cairo, thousands march to Tahrir Square. After a period of calm, CSF use tear gas, water cannons and shotguns to disperse the protesters. Protests also staged in Alexandria, Suez and several other cities. At least three people killed in Suez; and at least 500 protesters arrested across the country.

DAY 2 – WEDNESDAY 26 JANUARY
Protesters defy security forces' brutality. In Cairo, riot police use tear gas, water cannon and batons to

disperse protests; demonstrators and riot police clash. In Suez, clashes continue, leading to one more death and some 80 injuries, according to local activists.

DAY 3 – THURSDAY 27 JANUARY
Protests continue across the country, including in North Sinai and El Arish. In Cairo, riot police and protesters clash. In Suez and Ismailiya, riot police use force to try to disperse protesters. In the northern Sinai area of Sheikh Zuweid, police fire at Bedouins, who fire back. Hundreds of protesters arrested across the country.

DAY 4 – FRIDAY 28 JANUARY ('FRIDAY OF ANGER')
The "Friday of Anger" draws massive crowds across the country including in Alexandria, Asyut, Beni Suef, Cairo, Giza, Port Said, Suez and Ismailiya. Protesters who start marching after Friday prayers are met by security forces using tear gas, water cannon, rubber bullets and live ammunition. Hundreds of protesters die and thousands more are injured, and more than 1,000 arrested. The authorities cut or disrupt Internet and mobile phone networks. In Cairo, Alexandria and Suez, a curfew is announced. The police start to withdraw and police stations and other public buildings associated with repression are burned. In Cairo, the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) headquarters is set on fire by protesters. Snipers are positioned on top of buildings by the Ministry of Interior headquarters in Cairo. Troops are deployed in Cairo, Suez and Alexandria, but take no action. Residents form "popular committees" to protect property against looters. Rioting breaks out in El-Qatta El-Gedid Prison, north Cairo.

DAY 5 – SATURDAY 29 JANUARY
Past midnight, President Mubarak addresses the nation. He dismisses the government and appoints Omar Suleiman, the head of General Intelligence, as Vice-President but refuses to step down and suggests that the Muslim Brotherhood wants to exploit the situation and take over power.

His speech fails to appease protesters, and thousands of protesters remain in Tahrir Square even after troops fire in the air to disperse them. A dozen are believed to have died in demonstrations in front of the Ministry of Interior headquarters. More police stations are burned and virtually all police withdrawn from their posts. Riots break out in prisons, including in Wadi El-Natroun II, El Faiyum and El Marg. Curfew hours are extended to 4pm-8am. In the security vacuum, popular committees spring up across the country to protect neighbourhoods from looting and other criminal activity. Troops continue to be deployed across the country and on highways.

DAY 6 – SUNDAY 30 JANUARY
In Cairo, Tahrir Square remains packed with protesters and protests continue nationwide. Air force jets fly low over Tahrir Square and central Cairo at curfew time. Journalists are assaulted, arrested and their equipment confiscated by security forces.

DAY 7 – MONDAY 31 JANUARY
Around 250,000 people gather in Tahrir Square and thousands of people march through Alexandria. Vice-President Suleiman promises dialogue with the opposition. President Mubarak announces a new cabinet, headed by Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq (former head of Egypt's air force and Minister of Civil Aviation). The army announces that it recognizes the "legitimate rights of the people" and will not attack protesters. Some foreign journalists released.

DAY 8 – TUESDAY 1 FEBRUARY
Day of the "March of a Million". In Cairo, an estimated 2 million people protest in Tahrir Square. Massive protests also take place in Alexandria, Suez, El Mahalla El Kubra and El Mansura. President Mubarak announces he will not stand for re-election and promises constitutional and economic reforms.

DAY 9 – WEDNESDAY 2 FEBRUARY
In Tahrir Square, violent clashes erupt after alleged pro-Mubarak supporters and "thugs" armed with sticks

and knives, some riding camels and horses, storm the square in an attempt to break up the protest. Confrontations last late into the night, and anti-government protesters are fired at with live ammunition. Official figures place the death toll at eight, but activists believe it to exceed 20. Protesters manage to maintain control over Tahrir Square. Journalists and foreign nationals are attacked and arrested. Other cities witness pro-Mubarak demonstrations, which at times erupt into clashes with anti-government protesters.

DAY 10 – THURSDAY 3 FEBRUARY
A rise in an ultra-nationalism and xenophobia in state media accompanied by continued visibility of pro-Mubarak men in plain clothes beating people or handing them over to the army. Foreign nationals and journalists are targeted. Many are arrested, including two Amnesty International delegates. An estimated 750,000 people protest in Alexandria and 70,000 in El Mansura. In Cairo's Tahrir Square, security forces fire on protesters; snipers are seen on the Ramses Hilton hotel and other tall buildings in the square.

DAY 11 – FRIDAY 4 FEBRUARY
In Cairo, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators re-occupy Tahrir Square for what they call the "Day of Departure" (of President Mubarak) and groups of Muslims hold Friday prayer in the square. Protests continue nationwide. Egyptian journalist Ahmed Mahmoud succumbed to his injuries sustained on 29 January.

DAY 12 – SATURDAY 5 FEBRUARY
Protests continue. The NDP leadership resigns, including the President's son, Gamal Mubarak.

DAY 13 – SUNDAY 6 FEBRUARY
In Cairo, Tahrir Square remains occupied by protesters and Christians hold prayers there protected by Muslims. Prayers also held in honour of the "martyrs" of the uprising. Banks open for a few hours for the first time in days, but the stock exchange remains closed. Public Prosecution offices and courts start functioning again. Talks begin between the government and opposition groups, including the banned Muslim Brotherhood, but soon break down.

DAY 14 – MONDAY 7 FEBRUARY
Protesters remain camped out in Tahrir Square. The government announces a 15 per cent rise in salaries and pensions. Wael Ghoneim, a Google executive and one of the administrators of the Facebook page "We are all Khaled Said", is released after 12 days in secret detention; his television interview gives new impetus to the protests.

DAY 15 – TUESDAY 8 FEBRUARY
The number of protesters in Tahrir Square continues to grow as another "March of a Million" is organized and some gather outside Parliament. Workers in Suez stage a general strike. Protests erupt in Al-Wadi Al-Gedid. Vice-President Suleiman announces a wide range of constitutional and legislative reforms to be overseen by a committee, and promises to investigate the attacks by "thugs" on protesters on 2 February.

DAY 16 – WEDNESDAY 9 FEBRUARY
A general strike spreads across the country.

DAY 17 – THURSDAY 10 FEBRUARY
Amid rumours that he is standing down, President Mubarak makes a televised address to the nation, but does not resign. Protesters in Tahrir Square wave their shoes in fury and call on the army to join the protests.

DAY 18 – FRIDAY 11 FEBRUARY
Hundreds of thousands of protesters across the country stage demonstrations on what some dub the "Friday of Completion". At 6pm Vice-President Suleiman announces that Hosni Mubarak has resigned and handed power to the army, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, headed by Field Marshal Mohamed Hussein Tantawi.

THE '25 JANUARY REVOLUTION'

Following the success of the Tunisian revolt Egyptian opposition activists began organizing to turn the 25 January national holiday – National Police Day – into a day of protests across the country. Young pro-democracy activists, with or without political affiliation, including from protest movements such as "Kefaya" and 6 April Youth Movement, the Left and the National Association for Change, distributed thousands of leaflets and mobilized networks through Facebook and Twitter. The protests would be illegal under Egyptian law as permission had not been sought as it would not have been granted by the authorities.

In an attempt to prevent riot police cordoning off and containing protesters as they tried to assemble in Tahrir Square, as was the usual pattern, the protesters designated several gathering points, generally near mosques or squares in unsuspected working class neighbourhoods of Cairo and Giza, from where people would march towards Tahrir Square. At most of these points, many hundreds of men, women and children gathered, filling the damp alleyways and narrow streets, and wrong-footing the security forces. As they marched, their numbers grew. The fear of protesting in public appeared to have vanished.

The new fearlessness was apparent in many other places too; in Alexandria and Asyut, in El Mansura and Suez. The ranks of protesters continued to swell and police assaults on them were repelled by the sheer number and determination of protesters. In the face of excessive use of force, protesters carried on.

Fearing a major challenge to state power after Friday prayers on 28 January, when mass demonstrations were promised, the authorities blocked off the city centres and other strategic gathering points such as squares and bridges. They shut down the Internet and mobile phone networks. Their efforts proved futile. Hundreds of thousands of people swept aside the barriers in Cairo and successfully fought off the riot police in what became a popular tide without any identifiable leadership. A curfew was hastily imposed but widely ignored.

President Mubarak sacked his government and ordered the army onto the streets as the police withdrew. Police stations and other symbols of repression were burned across the country in some instances by protesters, in others in unclear circumstances. Lawlessness and chaos engulfed the country. As *baltaguia* ("thugs") – some of them believed to be hired by members of the ruling NDP party or to be security forces members in plain clothes or affiliated to the police – rampaged through the streets looting, people organized "popular committees" and barricades to protect their property. Nothing could hold back the protests, it seemed, and on 1 February the "March of a Million" attracted at least 2 million people in Cairo alone, according to many accounts.

The following day, the government struck back. Across Cairo and other cities, including El Mahalla El Kubra, it mobilized pro-Mubarak supporters, among them the alleged hired "thugs", to attack protesters. In Tahrir Square, they arrived armed with sticks and other weapons riding horses and camels. After long and bloody confrontations and roving street battles, the protesters eventually came out on top. However, it was a period of fear and mass arrests, during which over 20 people are believed to have been killed or injured, hundreds disappeared, and many were allegedly tortured in detention, including by the military police.

The targeting of journalists and human rights activists raised fears that the authorities were

trying to remove witnesses for whatever they were planning in the hours ahead. Two Amnesty International delegates, a Human Rights Watch delegate, human rights activist Ahmed Seif El-Islam and Mustafa al-Hassan, were among 30 people detained during a raid by security forces on the Hisham Mubarak Law Centre in Cairo on 3 February.[27] They were held incommunicado at Camp 75, a military police camp in Manshiyet El-Bakri on the outskirts of Cairo. Three staff members of the Egyptian Centre for Housing Rights were also arrested as they took blankets to protesters in Tahrir Square. Among the journalists detained was CNN-IBN's Rajesh Bhardwaj, who was held for a few hours. Seven political activists were reportedly arrested in the evening after meeting a leading member of the opposition, Mohamed ElBaradei. Activists linked to the 6 April Youth Movement, the Youth of Justice and Liberty, the National Association for Change and the Democratic Front Party were also detained. Most were released by 5 February.

These arrests came against the backdrop of the authorities and state media promoting an ultra-nationalist and xenophobic message, repeatedly claiming that the protests were the result of a foreign plot to destabilize Egypt. Anti-government protesters were made the subject of official smear campaigns in the media, including on national television, and were accused of having been infiltrated by foreign intelligence agents and of accepting foreign funding.[28] The Egyptian authorities used mobile communication networks to send pro-government messages to Egyptians. One such message reportedly called for: "honest and loyal men to confront the traitors and criminals and protect our people and honour."[29] National and international reporters were accused of being foreign spies, and, in some cases, were attacked by government supporters.[30]

Both through official news services on state television, and in statements and speeches by government officials, the Egyptian authorities roundly rejected international criticism of the crackdown, describing it as "foreign interference". On 3 February, newly-appointed Vice-President Omar Suleiman stated: "The interference in our internal affairs is a weird thing. Yes to their advice... yes to their support but to intervene in our affairs and to tell us: 'do this or do that', this is unacceptable and we will not allow it at all."[31]

The authorities' media campaign also hampered independent reporting, access to information and even communications. On the night of 27 January, the authorities ordered Internet providers to shut down international connections, effectively severing Egypt's Internet access.[32] Access was only restored on 2 February. On 28 January, mobile phones operators reported that they had been ordered to suspend services in selected areas of the country and have complied in a subservient manner.[33] Vodafone reported that it had been able to restore voice services the following day. However, operators continued to report that their networks were being used by the Egyptian authorities to send pro-government messages to Egyptians.[34] On 30 January, Al Jazeera reported that its broadcast licence had been revoked and that its Cairo office was being shut down.[35] On 4 February, the network reported that its Cairo office had been ransacked and equipment destroyed.[36] Al Jazeera was able to resume transmission on 9 February.[37]

Other independent journalists and reporters were singled out for attack. Amnesty International delegates in Cairo witnessed security forces confiscating video cameras from people.[38] On 2 February, the authorities stepped up their campaign against independent reporting. Local and international journalists and reporters, including from news networks

such as Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya, BBC and CNN, were assaulted by pro-government supporters, and were arrested and had their equipment confiscated by security forces.[39] In one incident in Cairo, Belgian journalist Maurice Sarfatti was reportedly beaten by pro-government supporters before being detained in a military barracks. He said that he had been accused of spying, and was threatened with being turned over to the SSI.[40] Faced with an unprecedented crackdown, many international journalists were effectively forced to remain in their hotel rooms, while Egyptian journalist Ahmed Mahmoud was fatally shot on 29 January, succumbing to his wounds five days after.

These efforts again proved to be futile. Central Cairo remained under the control of anti-government protesters. Tahrir Square once again became a centre of celebration and determined protest, with thousands of families camped out, chanting, singing, planning the next steps, debating the latest developments. Further impetus for the protest movement came on 7 February, when Wael Ghoneim, a Google executive who was among the administrators of the "We are all Khaled Said" Facebook account, made an emotional speech on television following his release from secret detention. The following day, a wave of strikes began to spread across the country. The Egyptian Centre for Social and Economic Rights estimated that up to 300,000 workers were on strike in nine governorates by 9 February.[41] Delegations of strikers arrived in Tahrir Square and sat outside the presidential palace and the state television centre. On 11 February, as a general insurrection looked increasingly likely, the army stepped in and President Mubarak resigned.

The victory came at a high cost, particularly for those who lost loved ones. Even though the vast majority of protesters had been peaceful, at least 840 people were reported to have been killed and more than 6,000 injured, according to a Ministry of Health and Population official.[42]

ROLE OF WOMEN

Women from all sectors of society joined the uprising, and many played a leading role in the mobilization. Young and old, veiled and unveiled, educated and illiterate, they chanted for change; they fought against the security forces; they slept, sometimes with their children in protest camps; they defended Tahrir Square; and they debated about what protesters should do next. In 18 days, many abandoned the way they had previously led their lives, and overturned deeply ingrained attitudes about their expected behaviour. Many of those who stayed at home cheered from the balconies the courageous front-line protesters facing tear gas and water cannons. They used their mobile phones to film security forces shooting at unarmed protesters, providing videotaped evidence of killings. Women doctors such as Mona Mena volunteered to treat injured protesters in a field hospital near Tahrir Square, while nurses in hospitals, most of them women, supported medical doctors.

Egypt's women have not only suffered alongside men during the decades of political repression and economic hardship, they have also had to cope with discriminatory laws and deeply entrenched gender inequality. A 2010 report by the World Economic Forum on the global gender gap ranked Egypt 125 out of 134 countries in terms of the equality between men and women – mainly because of lack of political and economic participation and opportunity.[43] Between 2005 and 2010, only eight of Egypt's 454 lower house seats were held by women. In the November/December 2010 elections, a new law attributed a quota of 64 seats for women in an expanded, but short-lived lower house of 518 seats.

At all points, women were integral to the uprising and a major reason for its success. Several women died as a result of excessive use of force by security forces including Moheer Khalil Zaki, Rahma Mohsen Ahmed, Amira Samir El-Sayed and Magda Awada Ali El-Razik, whose cases are documented in this report. Women also featured on the list of those injured by the security forces or "thugs", and of those tortured in detention. For example, Moheer Khalil Zaki, from Boolaq El Dakroor in Giza, shouted at the police after seeing them from her rooftop allegedly killing a man in the street. She was immediately shot and later died.

Women also featured heavily among the Internet activists and online organizers. Asmaa Mahfouz, a founding member of the 6 April Youth Movement , for instance, posted a video as part of a viral online initiative urging people to join the protests in the streets.

Yet at the time of writing in late March 2011, little or nothing was being done to ensure that Egyptian women were playing a role in reforming the Egyptian state. The committee formed to amend the Constitution, for example, was comprised of only men. It is crucial that the experience, needs and views of women are integral to the process of change following the uprising. Attacks on women during a peaceful protest on 8 March on the occasion of International Woman's Day also brought to light the continuing struggle women face to make their voices heard; and signalled that a long road lies ahead for building an Egypt free of gender-based discrimination.

Women have continued to suffer for raising their voices since Hosni Mubarak was ousted. At least 18 women held in military detention after army officers violently cleared Tahrir Square of protesters on 9 March said they were tortured. Women protesters told Amnesty International that they were beaten, given electric shocks, and then forced to submit to "virginity tests" and threatened with prostitution charges.[44]

AFTER THE '25 JANUARY REVOLUTION'

On 12 February, the day after Hosni Mubarak stepped down, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces promised to hand power to an elected, civilian government and to respect Egypt's obligations under international treaties. The following day, it dissolved both houses of Parliament, suspended the Constitution, declared that the military would rule Egypt for six months until elections could be held, and announced that Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq would remain head of the caretaker government until a new one was formed.

The situation remained fluid, however, with millions of people aware that the process of reform had not been completed with the departure of Hosni Mubarak, and impatient for changes that will improve their lives or bring them justice. For example, on 13 February, public sector workers staged protests over pay and working conditions in Cairo, Alexandria and other cities. One day later, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces demanded an end to strikes.[45]

On 2 March, Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq resigned a couple of days before major protests demanding his resignation were planned; he was replaced by former Transport Minister Essam Sharaf. On 5 March, protesters, including former detainees and victims of torture, stormed a major SSI building in Nasr City in Cairo and seized documents they believed would provide evidence of past human rights crimes by state agents. Ten days later, the Interior

Minister, Mansour Essawy, dissolved the SSI, saying it would be replaced by a new National Security Department.[46]

On 19 March, a referendum on proposed constitutional amendments was held. The proposed changes included the repealing of several articles that would remove emergency-style powers that had been written into the Constitution; a six-month limit on any state of emergency unless its extension was approved by referendum; reinstatement of direct judicial supervision of elections; and limiting to two the number of terms a President can hold office. The amendments eased conditions to run for presidency. It however imposed a condition not to have held a nationality other than Egyptian, which suggests figures such as Mohamed ElBaradei would not be eligible. Opponents of a "yes" vote included people who said that the amendments were devised without consulting important sectors of society, including women and youth, and people who believed that the changes did not go far enough or that an entirely new Constitution was needed. A large majority voted "yes" for the changes in a relatively high turnout. Sadly, some of those campaigning for a "no" vote were met with repression by members of the armed forces or private individuals, only too reminiscent of the tactics used during past elections and referendums.[47] On 30 March 2011, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces issued a new Constitutional Declaration providing for the election of a new Parliament within six months, according to Article 41, and containing the amendments approved by referendum. According to Article 60 of the Constitutional Declaration, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces would invite the new Parliament, within six months, to elect an assembly to draft a new Constitution, also within six months. The draft Constitution will then be submitted for vote in a referendum.

3. THE PROTESTS AND EGYPT'S OBLIGATIONS

States have a duty to uphold the right to freedom of assembly. According to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), to which Egypt is a state party, any restrictions on the right to freedom of assembly must be in accordance with the law and strictly necessary to preserve national security or public safety, public order, public health or morals, or protect the rights and freedoms of others.[48] Any such restrictions must be proportionate to a legitimate purpose and without discrimination, including on grounds of political opinion. Even when a restriction on the right to protest is justifiable under international law, the policing of demonstrations (whether or not they have been prohibited) must be carried out in accordance with international standards. These prohibit the use of force by law enforcement officials unless strictly necessary and to the extent required for the performance of their duty, and require that firearms are only used when strictly unavoidable in order to protect life.

While the Egyptian authorities, like all governments, are responsible for ensuring public safety and maintaining public order, including through the use of force when necessary and justified, it is clear that security forces went far beyond what is permissible under international law and standards; and even under Egyptian legislation. Force may only be used by security forces in very limited and particular conditions, in response to activities that genuinely threaten lives and public safety. Even then, such force must be governed by the principles of necessity and proportionality as set out in international law and standards. In policing protests and responding to the unrest that shook Egypt after 25 January, Egyptian security forces used excessive force, in contravention of international standards, most notably the Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials,[49] the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials,[50] and Egypt's own legislation, including the Minister of Interior's Decree 139 of 1955 on the devising of special procedures for public gatherings and demonstrations and Minister of Interior's Decree 156 of 1964 relating to organization of the use of live ammunition.

LEGISLATION RESTRICTING THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY

Freedom of assembly was severely restricted in Egyptian legislation at the time of the "25 January Revolution", rendering the demonstrations "illegal" and those participating in them vulnerable to criminal prosecution. It remain unclear whether the Egyptian authorities used any of these provisions to disperse demonstrations and to arrest, detain or prosecute participants – as it appears that security forces were acting completely outside any legal framework, failing to even respect those limited safeguards prescribed by national laws.

As highlighted in Chapter 2, restrictions on freedom of assembly were entrenched in Egyptian legislation and practice. The Emergency Law gave the authorities the power to "restrict people's freedom of assembly, movement, residence, or passage in specific times and places; arrest suspects or [persons who are]

dangerous to public security and order [and] detain them; allow searches of persons and places without being restricted by the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code; and assign anyone to perform any of these tasks." All this can be exercised by a simple "oral or written order" (Article 3.1).

Rights to freedom of expression, association and assembly were further restricted by the Anti-Terrorism Law (Law No. 97 of 1992)[51] as the broad definition of terrorism existing under the Egyptian law covered "any threat or intimidation" with the aim of "disturbing the peace or jeopardizing the safety and security of the society."

Other existing legislation severely constrains freedom of assembly in Egypt, including Law No. 10 of 1914 on gatherings, which prescribes imprisonment and fines for individuals refusing orders to disperse from public gatherings composed of more than five people with the purpose of endangering "public peace" (Article 1). Similarly, Law No. 14 of 1923 relating to public meetings and demonstrations gives unfettered powers to security forces to disperse any demonstration deemed to endanger " public order" (Article 10).

The cases highlighted in this report and other evidence such as video recordings seen by Amnesty International show that on many occasions the Egyptian security forces breached these laws and standards and used excessive force, in some cases leading to deaths. They also violated the right to life as enshrined in Article 6 of the ICCPR. The UN Human Rights Committee, the body which oversees the implementation of the Covenant, in its General Comment No. 6, noted that the right to life is non-derogable even in cases of "public emergencies". The Committee added: "States should take measures not only to prevent and punish deprivation of life by criminal acts, but also prevent arbitrary killings by their own security forces." The prohibition of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment is also non-derogable.

In policing demonstrations, the security forces did not even respect those more limited safeguards provided for in Egyptian law under Article 2 of the Minister of Interior's Decree 139 of 1955, which sets out the conditions for the use of force and firearms to disperse protests and other public gatherings. Some of the relevant provisions flouted by the Egyptian security forces are:

- **Article 2(3):** Those gathered must be provided with a warning that force will be used. The warning must be audible, and can involve the use of a loudspeaker if necessary. The time granted for protesters or others gathered to disperse must be clearly indicated.

- **Article 2(4):** If those gathered do not respond to two clear warnings, the head of the security operation can order the use of tear gas; and the dispersal of protesters by batons.

- **Article 2(5):** The head of the security operation can order the use of live fire if those gathered did not disperse after two warnings, and after the use of weapons sanctioned under Article 2.4; if there has been an attack on members of the security forces; or if there has been an attack on lives, money or infrastructure.

- **Article 2 (6):** The order to use live fire must be audible; and live fire must only be targeted at the feet in all cases.

- **Article 2(8):** It is absolutely prohibited to shoot in the air or above the heads in order to avoid the injury of those deemed "innocent".

Similar safeguards are provided for in Article 1 of the Minister of Interior's Decree 156 of 1964,[52] which stipulated that in dispersing public gatherings or demonstrations of more than five people that endanger "public security", the head of the security operation must provide audible verbal warnings that live ammunition will be used if protesters refuse to disperse and allow sufficient time for those gathered to comply with the order. Article 2 specifies that live ammunition must only be used when strictly necessary and as a last resort.

Article 102 of Law 109 of 1971 relating to the Institution of the Police reiterates the principles set in Decree 139 of 1955 that firearms can only be used when strictly necessary to achieve a legitimate aim. The Article notes that specific procedures for using firearms as stipulated by the Minister of Interior must be followed at all times.

THE ROLE OF THE PUBLIC PROSECUTION (AL-NIYABA AL-AMMA)

"The public prosecution is a branch of the judicial authority. It represents society and holds public interests and seeks to achieve the obligations of the law." **Article 1 of the General Instruction to public prosecutions in criminal matters**

The functions of the Public Prosecution, headed by the Public Prosecutor, are specified in various legal documents including the Law on the Judiciary, the Code of Criminal Procedures (CCP) and General Instruction to public prosecutions. The Public Prosecution has judicial functions empowering it to initiate and proceed with criminal (and sometimes civil) cases by conducting investigations into offences.[53] It is entrusted with the powers to arrest, detain, investigate, release, search homes, as well as indict and pursue cases in the court system until a final judgement is rendered and enforced.[54]

Any person can report a crime directly to the Public Prosecution or the judicial police.[55] The judicial police refer immediately any information related to a crime to the Public Prosecution after collection of evidence on receipt of complaints.[56] The Public Prosecution is also entrusted with administrative functions, including the oversight of the judicial police,[57] and it can request a review of a matter concerning any officer of the judicial police, if such officer has violated his duties or was negligent in his work. Moreover, it has the right to initiate disciplinary action against him.[58]

It has the power to inspect prisons and other places where sentences are being served or where detainees are held by visiting these places, examining their registers of detainees and communicating with them as well as ensuring no one is detained illegally, including by ordering their release.[59] Members of the prosecution are instructed to investigate in person all allegations levelled at police officers, whenever such accusations concern committing a felony or a misdemeanour, whether it was during or because of the performance of their duties or unrelated to their duties and functions.[60]

In cases deemed to be security-related, the Public Prosecution often decides to conduct the investigation itself through the Supreme State Security Prosecution,[61] which specializes in such offences and is directly supervised by the Public Prosecutor himself.

Under Article 10 of the Emergency Law, the Public Prosecution has, in addition to its normal functions, the powers of an examining magistrate and those of the appeal court of misdemeanours held in camera (accusation chamber).[62] Under the added Article 206bis of the CCP, the Public Prosecution also accumulated the powers of the examining magistrates and those of the accusation chamber when dealing with terrorism offences.[63]

4. EXCESSIVE USE OF FORCE AGAINST PROTESTERS

"How come the police, instead of protecting us, are killing our children?"

Mother of 21-year-old Islam Metwali Mohamed Metwali, shot dead on 28 January in Suez by security forces

Ousting Hosni Mubarak from office came at a heavy price. Initial data from the Ministry of Health and Population indicated that 384 people died during the uprising and a further 6,467 were injured based on information from hospitals affiliated to the Ministry.[64] On 4 April, the death toll was adjusted to 846 according to a Ministry of Health and Population official whose count included private, military and police hospitals.[65] From the onset, Egyptian human rights defenders, lawyers, activists and other believed the numbers to be much higher than the official Ministry of Health and Population estimate. Several human rights organizations have issued their own lists of the people killed. For example, the Front to Defend Egypt's Protesters collected information on 685 people who had been killed.[66]

Amnesty International does not have a comprehensive list of all those killed in the unrest; as it focused mainly on documenting patterns of the use of force, including lethal force, employed by the security forces, and breaches of international law and standards. Amnesty International asked the Ministry of Health and Population for detailed information on those killed, including members of security forces, in particular their name, gender and age as well as the place, date and circumstances of their death. Such information was not made available to Amnesty International, let alone made public, in spite of the right of the victims, their families and society at large to know the full truth about abuses and seek redress.

The Amnesty International fact-finding team in Egypt found extensive evidence of excessive use of force by security forces across the country, including lethal force against protesters and others posing no threat to their or others' lives. Excessive force was used mainly to prevent protesters from congregating in strategic locations, to disperse groups of protesters, and during clashes between protesters and security forces mostly around police stations.

Egypt's security forces used tear gas, water cannon, lethal shotgun ammunition, rubber bullets and live ammunition to disperse crowds, including in circumstances suggesting that the protesters could not possibly have posed a serious threat to the security forces or others. In some instances, the security forces drove into protesters in armoured vehicles. In others, they beat protesters they apprehended with batons or sticks and kicked them. They also used force disproportionately and resorted to firearms when it was not strictly necessary. Even in situations where protesters were behaving violently, for instance throwing rocks and more

rarely petrol bombs, or damaging property, the security forces did not use firearms lawfully. They showed a flagrant disregard for human life and did not exercise restraint or seek to minimize injury, including to onlookers and bystanders. Many protesters died as a result of shots fired to the upper body, including the head or chest. In most cases documented by Amnesty International, when security forces fired live ammunition at protesters, there was no threat to the lives of the security forces or others. In some cases, bystanders and passer-bys were killed as a result of reckless shooting by security forces.

Security forces extensively used shotguns to fire shotgun pellets commonly known in Egypt as *khartoush* or *bille*. Many of the fatalities and injuries documented in this report were caused by what appears to be a lethal type of shotgun ammunition. Amnesty International identified US-made shotgun cartridges as well as some shotgun pellets of an approximate ball diameter of a range of 0.24 inch (6mm) to 0.350 inch (7.62mm), commonly referred to as buckshot. Each shot-shell or shotgun cartridge contains numerous pellets depending on the size of the projectiles. Buckshot causes major trauma and fatalities if fired at close range; when fired from longer range, the pellets spread out in flight covering a wide area so are likely to hit more than the intended target. Used in this manner, there is a likelihood that the pellets will hit particularly vulnerable parts of the body, such as the face, eyes, and throat, causing widespread, deep, penetrative wounds. In fact, according to medical professionals and corroborated by Amnesty International's own research, one of the most common injuries during protests was buckshot wounds to the eyes, often leading to permanent loss of vision.

Tear gas, which is only meant to be used as a non-lethal incapacitating weapon in legitimate circumstances, was clearly fired at peaceful protesters and at times fired at head height. Amnesty International identified some tear gas canisters as US-made 6230 Riot CS Smoke Grenade,[67] and US-made 3430 Short 37/38mm Riot CS Powder Muzzle Blast cartridge.[68] Tear gas is permissible for law enforcement purposes in riot control situations to prevent or counter collective violence, for example to disperse assemblies posing an imminent threat of serious injury. Security forces should not use tear gas arbitrarily, particularly in confined spaces [69] It is supposed to be fired in the air so that the canister loses velocity by the time it lands. On many occasions during the protests, tear gas was fired extensively in circumstances where its use was not justified and in a manner that put lives at risk. Even the makeshift field hospital set up in Tahrir Square seems to have been targeted by security forces – on 28 January, several tear gas canisters were fired into the hospital.

The first casualties were in Suez governorate, where protesters were killed on 25 January. The heaviest death toll was on 28 January, the "Friday of Anger", when casualties were recorded across the country. Many people also died at the hands of security forces and others possibly acting with their acquiescence on 29 and 30 January, including in front of the Ministry of Interior in Cairo, and near police stations in Giza, Alexandria, El Mahalla El Kubra and Beni Suef, when law and order broke down after the police were withdrawn. Further deaths were documented on 2 and 3 February in Cairo's Tahrir Square in clashes between anti-Mubarak and pro-Mubarak supporters including as a result of live ammunition being fired at anti-Mubarak protesters.

Amnesty International has not been able to independently verify the number of dead and injured among the security forces, despite officially requesting this information from the authorities. According to Ministry of Interior statements dated 14 February 2011, 32

members of the security forces were killed, including six police officers, and 1,079 were injured.[70] The six officers were allegedly killed from gunshots by "criminal elements" or other "individuals" between 28 and 31 January 2011. At the time of their fatal injuries, they were either on duty in the street or at their workplace, including Major General Mohamed El-Batran in El-Qatta El-Gedid Prison and Brigadier General Mohamed El-Khouly shot while he was securing the Alexandria Police headquarters. According to the information, none were killed in the framework of policing protests. According to the Ministry of Interior, the others killed included are 11 individual agents and 15 recruits[71] – also as a result of attacks by "criminal elements" or from of "gunshots" between 28 and 30 January 2011.[72] The information provided by the Ministry of Interior did not specify the exact circumstances of their deaths making it difficult to draw definitive conclusions as to whether their deaths resulted from violent actions by anti-government protesters.

This chapter documents the manner in which security forces used force against protesters in several governorates, namely: Greater Cairo (Cairo and Giza); Alexandria, Beni Suef, Suez, Port Said, and El Mahalla El Kubra in Al-Gharbiya governorate.

GREATER CAIRO

TAHRIR SQUARE

Cairo's Tahrir Square is justifiably perceived as the symbolic heart of the "25 January Revolution". From the start, both the anti-government protesters and the security forces understood the strategic importance of maintaining control of the square. Despite their many efforts, including unleashing the police, deploying the army, and inciting attacks on protesters by pro-NDP "thugs", the authorities failed to regain control of the square until after Hosni Mubarak resigned.

More than a hundred people died and thousands were injured during protests in Tahrir Square and in other parts of Greater Cairo. The heaviest toll was on 28-29 January and 2-3 February. Seven hospitals in or near central Cairo and the central morgue at Zeinhom recorded at least of 100 deaths and 2,553 injuries during the unrest.[73] According to medical professionals interviewed by Amnesty International, many people died as a result of a single bullet fired to the head or chest. Injuries ranged from superficial scratches to wounds caused by lethal shotgun ammunition, rubber bullets and live ammunition.

While all eyes were cast on confrontations and stand-offs between anti-government protesters and security forces in and around Tahrir Square, other battles raged across the city, particularly in working class neighbourhoods and informal settlements. A large proportion of the killings and injuries in Greater Cairo happened during clashes between security forces and protesters in underprivileged areas such as Ein Shams, El Matareya, El Zawiya El Hamra, Shobra, Shobra El Khayma, Imbaba, El-Warraq and Boolaq El Dakroor, to mention only those covered in this report.

ACCESSING TAHRIR SQUARE

Protesters sought to gain access to Tahrir Square from its six main entry points.[74] Protesters arriving from southern Cairo, including Old Cairo and Dar El Salam, made their way north on the Nile Corniche and Qasr El Einy Street, home of the People's Assembly. Protesters arriving from northern Cairo, including from Shobra and Boolaq, sought entry to the square via Ramses Street or Galaa Street onto Abdel Mineim Riyad Square or

through Talaat Harb Street. Those coming from the El Ataba, Abdeen and eastern Cairo arrived on Qasr El Nil Street or El Tahrir Street. Protesters coming from Giza generally tried to cross the Nile onto the island of Zamalek, between Giza and Cairo, over the Galaa Bridge, and then from there to Tahrir Square via Qasr El Nil Bridge, 6 October Bridge or 15 May Bridge. Many confrontations between protesters and security forces took place around the entry points to the square. Another main road used was Mohamed Mahmood Street off Tahrir Square, leading to the Ministry of Interior headquarters along with the now dismantled SSI in Lazoghly. This road and the area up to the American University of Cairo were at times considered "a death zone" as protesters approaching the area were frequently shot at with live ammunition.

25 January – 'Day of Rage'

Thousands of people responded to calls to take to the streets in defiance of security forces on 25 January. From early afternoon, they congregated in different places in Cairo and Giza before marching towards Tahrir Square and other strategic places in downtown Cairo, such as the headquarters of the ruling NDP, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the state television, all on the Nile Corniche. Smaller protests took place around the city. The day was characterized by the omnipresence of security forces, including members of the CSF, regular police and security officials in civilian clothes, among them SSI officers.

Protesters shouted slogans expressing their frustration at the political system, and calling for greater freedom and social justice. Some in Tahrir Square also chanted calls directed at low-ranking members of the security forces, suggesting that they too were suffering from economic hardship and repression.

The first few hours were relatively calm. The police and demonstrators clashed after a large group of protesters from northern Cairo arrived in downtown Cairo at almost the same time as a march arrived from Giza and broke through the security cordon leading to Tahrir Square. According to protesters and other witnesses interviewed by Amnesty International, security forces started using force at about 3:30pm to 4pm, including tear gas and water cannon, against protesters who were chanting "peaceful, peaceful".

As the evening approached, mobile phone networks in the area were severed and security forces sought to prevent more protesters from reaching the square by sealing off approach roads. Confrontations broke out, particularly around Qasr El Einy Street, with protesters in Tahrir Square seeking to break the cordon. Security forces responded by beating protesters with batons, firing tear gas, and using shotguns without warning. The use of force only made protesters more defiant. Some threw rocks and tear gas canisters found on the ground towards security forces.

The crackdown intensified at around 9pm in an effort to clear the square of protesters. Riot police pushed protesters with their shields and arrested some of those leading the chants. By midnight, they had increased their use of tear gas and cordoned off all entrances to the square with the exception of Abdel Mineim Riyad for those wishing to leave the square. Indeed, some protesters did leave, and then marched northwards, chanting "peaceful, peaceful", towards Ramses Square and Shobra Tunnel, near Cairo's train station. Security forces positioned around the Shobra Tunnel met the march with violence, including beating protesters with sticks and throwing stones at them. Other groups of protesters headed towards the NDP headquarters on the Nile Corniche, but were greeted with live ammunition when they tried to storm the building. Such confrontations continued into the night. Those

who refused to leave the square suffered further violence, including intense use of tear gas and shotguns.

Thirty-year-old **Mahmoud Mohamed Amin** told Amnesty International that he met up with other protesters at Talaat Harb Street before marching towards Tahrir Square. He remained in the square despite the use of force and arrests by riot police. He said that at about midnight the electricity was switched off, plunging the square into darkness. Shortly after, water cannon were fired from Qasr El Einy Street and shots were fired in the air. Armoured vehicles manned by riot police drove into the square to instil fear. Riot police also fired lethal shotgun ammunition at protesters. Mahmoud Mohamed Amin was hit by about 15 pellets from a shotgun in his upper body, three in his right eye. He was helped to the Red Crescent Hospital but was deterred from entering by the sight of security officers outside the hospital and after hearing that a dozen other injured protesters had been arrested there, an allegation that the hospital administration denied. Mahmoud Mohamed Amin was later transferred to the Nasser Institute Hospital. When Amnesty International visited him there, he said he had been told he would probably not regain the sight in his right eye. He said the then Minister of Health and Population, Sameh Farid, had visited him in the ward on 2 February and promised to send a panel of experts to examine him and to pay for treatment abroad if necessary. Mahmoud expressed his sadness at not being able to continue taking part in protests because of his injury.

Another protester, 34-year-old **Wael Mohamed Mahmoud**, who is unemployed and previously working as a translator in Saudi Arabia, received a similar injury at around the same time. He told Amnesty International that at about midnight, when security forces were intensifying the use of tear gas, he felt something hit his face and chest. It turned out to be shotgun pellets and he appears to have lost the sight in his left eye. Journalists managed to interview him at the Nasser Institute Hospital and publicized his case. When the Health Minister visited him on 2 February, Wael Mohamed Mahmoud told him that he wanted those responsible to be held to account. When Amnesty International interviewed Wael Mohamed Mahmoud on 8 February, he signalled his intent to lodge a complaint with the Public Prosecutor. Later in February he said he might be treated in one of the Armed Forces hospitals.

Amnesty International visited all the major hospitals close to Tahrir Square – Kasr Alainy Hospital, Nasser Institute Hospital, Mounira Hospital, Ain Shams University Hospitals (including Demerdesh Hospital), El Sahel Teaching Hospital, Ahmed Maher Hospital and the Red Crescent Hospital – to obtain information about people who had been killed or wounded during the protests. In all hospitals, staff confirmed that there were no deaths on 25 January, but that several injured protesters were admitted, including 42 in Mounira Hospital alone.

All medical professionals interviewed by Amnesty International, including those in government and private hospitals, as well as volunteers at the makeshift field hospital near Tahrir Square, said that damaged eyes were among the most common injuries seen during the protests, particularly on the "Friday of Anger". Medical sources confirmed 98 cases of vision loss as a result of shotgun wounds in Ain Shams University Hospitals and Kasr Alainy alone, and the co-ordinator of the field hospital told Amnesty International delegates that he believes they saw around 300 such cases in Tahrir Square.

'Friday of Anger'

On 26 and 27 January Cairo did not witness mass protests but rather "street fighting", as one anti-government activist put it. Unlike on 25 January, riot police often seemed to outnumber protesters and employed even more violent methods, arresting and beating protesters as well as firing tear gas and lethal shotgun ammunition at them. Eyewitnesses told Amnesty International that the riot police spread across downtown Cairo and other strategic areas, making it more difficult for protesters to congregate and march towards Tahrir Square. However, instead of being dissuaded from joining the protests, Egyptians took to the streets en masse on Friday 28 January to demand change.

As in previous days, security forces attempted to hinder access to Tahrir Square. Protesters were met with force, including tear gas, water cannon and shotguns, at strategic access points to Tahrir Square. For instance, people coming from Giza were confronted by a large contingent of security forces at Galaa Bridge, who fired tear gas at them. Similar scenes were witnessed at Qasr El Nil Bridge where security forces fired tear gas, used rubber bullets and drove into peaceful protesters in armoured vehicles. According to an eyewitness, a boy and his mother, who found themselves in the midst of this chaos, lifted their arms in the air to demonstrate their peaceful intention. Nonetheless, the boy was shot in the neck and fell back on his mother. Anyone approaching the security cordon leading to Tahrir Square was beaten by riot police with batons.

A major clash happened around Qasr El Einy Street, where marches coming from various parts of southern Cairo came together and attempted to enter Tahrir Square. By 3pm to 4pm, the security forces were reinforced and starting to use tear gas against protesters before quickly moving on to firing rubber bullets, lethal shotgun ammunition (buckshot) and live ammunition. According to protesters, by 7pm snipers dressed in black or grey standing on top of buildings, including the Prime Minister's Cabinet office, were among those firing at peaceful demonstrators. According to eyewitnesses, five or six people were shot on Qasr El Einy Street and many more were injured. Armoured vehicles also drove into the crowd. A large white microbus, coming from the direction of Garden City into Qasr El Einy Street, raised suspicion among protesters, who thought it was transporting ammunition to the security forces. They tried to stop it, but it drove into them, allegedly injuring four of them seriously. Despite this show of force, protesters managed to push back the security forces and some later set fire to the local NDP building.

That day, security forces clearly used excessive force, including live ammunition, against protesters who could not possibly have endangered their lives or the lives of others. **Kamel Anwar**, a 56-year-old doctor with two children, was shot from behind on Qasr El Einy Street. After the Friday prayer, he and his son had joined protesters heading north towards Tahrir Square. When they reached Qasr El Einy Street, there was a heavy security presence, including regular police and riot police. Even though protesters were peaceful, riot police fired tear gas into the crowd without warning. Protesters did not retreat, instead moving forward until they approached the People's Assembly, some 300 metres from Tahrir Square. According to Kamel Anwar, violence escalated and by around 3:30pm he saw eight wounded people lying on the ground. At that point security forces were firing shotguns and snipers were on top of buildings, including Taawun Petrol Station. Around sunset, security forces started using live ammunition without warning. Kamel Anwar said he saw a young teenage boy falling to the ground and remaining motionless, probably dead. He then realized that he

himself had been shot. When Amnesty International interviewed him in Nasser Institute Hospital on 8 February he had undergone two operations. A medical professional told Amnesty International that a live bullet had hit him near the back, seriously injuring internal organs.

Other protesters were trying to congregate around Talaat Harb Street, but were also met with violence by security forces, dispersing them and chasing some of them down side streets. Nonetheless, protesters kept trying to regroup around Bab El-Louk area, in El Falaky and Mohamed Farid Streets, in downtown Cairo, amid confrontations. **Islam Said Sayed** came across the mayhem inadvertently. The 23-year-old was heading home in El Matareya after visiting his aunt in Giza. As he was looking around, he told Amnesty International he was apprehended by members of the security forces, beaten and then forced inside a large blue police vehicle. Inside, there were about 60 other detainees, some in quite poor shape as a result of beatings. Around four hours later, when the vehicle car started to move, it came under attack by protesters throwing stones. The security forces then opened the back of the truck and told everyone to get out. Islam Said Sayed found himself near the Omar Makram Mosque near Tahrir Square, covered in a thick cloud of tear gas. He was running when another youth detained with him was shot in the leg. When Islam Said Sayed stopped to help him, he was hit in the face and back by shotgun ammunition. He was denied treatment at four different hospital or clinics, but was eventually admitted to Cleopatra Hospital in Heliopolis, across the city. He feared he had lost vision in one eye.

Security forces also tried to prevent protesters coming from northern Cairo from reaching the square. Peaceful protesters marching on Galaa Street under 6 October Bridge from Ramses Square were met with tear gas. One peaceful protester paid with her life – **Rahma Mohsen Ahmed**, a 22-year-old university student in social services. She had joined her younger brother and others on a march from Shobra to Tahrir Square. A video recorded on her mobile phone seen by Amnesty International shows people marching under 6 October Bridge towards Abdel Meneim Riyad, north of Tahrir Square. Tear gas smoke can be seen in the horizon. Undeterred, Rahma Mohsen Ahmed continued and her passionate voice can be heard chanting: "The people want to bring down the regime" and "Depart!" Between 2:30pm and 3pm, a tear gas canister was shot at her head, splitting it open. She died a few hours later in hospital. Her grieving mother told Amnesty International that her daughter joined the protests to call for an end to social inequality, corruption, repression and what she considered to be the unjust pre-trial detention of her father in Tora Prison. A medical report indicates that Rahma Mohsen Ahmed died as a result of a "fracture in the brain"; a death certificate states that she died as a result of a "gunshot to the head".

Tear gas was fired repeatedly at protesters coming from Giza as they attempted to cross Qasr El Nil Bridge from Opera Square in Zamalek. Just after the protesters took part in the afternoon prayer collectively at about 3:30pm, riot police fired tear gas and rubber bullets at them, forcing their retreat. According to **Ahmed Ali Amin**, a young activist, only five metres separated the frontline protesters from the security forces and many protesters were injured. Another wave of protesters from Al-Moneeb and Al-Omrania came from Giza Square and joined them at the bridge. Overpowered by their numbers, riot police shot tear gas and rubber bullets as they retreated.

By about 3:30pm to 4pm, other groups of protesters had reached El Ataba from the Corniche without encountering resistance from the security forces. By sunset, vast numbers of protesters had breached all the cordons and reached Tahrir Square. Some protesters returned to the north of the square and cordoned off the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities to protect it from the flames of the nearby NDP and possible looting, which had been set ablaze. Other protesters burned cars and directed a water cannon towards the security forces to ensure that they did not return to the square. The security forces were eventually confined to the area around the American University of Cairo on El Tahrir Street, Mohamed Mahood Street and the Ministry of Interior, a few blocks away. Protesters tried to advance towards them, but snipers on the Ministry of Interior and nearby buildings fired at them. The army was deployed in the evening to protect strategic buildings, including the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, and had taken over all positions held by the riot police by 2am.

29 January – clashes near Ministry of Interior

A particularly deadly incident took place on 29 January by the Ministry of Interior, which was heavily protected by security forces. Local residents and protesters told Amnesty International that firing could be heard from the evening of 28 January until about 3am to 4am the following morning, around the American University in Cairo and the narrow streets adjacent to the Ministry of Interior, such as Al Falaky Street and El Tahrir Street.

At around noon on 29 January, security forces reportedly shot at a funeral march on Qasr El Einy Street, which infuriated protesters. Some decided to challenge the last stronghold of the security forces by the Ministry of Interior, even though it was known as a "death zone". Between 100 and 200 youths, including children, headed towards Mohamed Mahood Street. Immediately, the security forces, including a small number of riot police and low-ranking security officials, used live ammunition against them. Snipers in the residential buildings on the street also fired at them, shooting a journalist with a camera in the chest, according to an eyewitness. It appears that almost all of the youths were injured; 12 are believed to have been killed. Witnesses said that army tanks and armoured vehicles were then deployed. Protesters threw stones at the riot police and shielded themselves with barriers until they forced the security forces down a narrower street leading to the Ministry of Interior. Some protesters set fire to cars belonging to the Ministry of Interior or police.

After a period of calm between 3pm and 4pm and discussions between protesters and security forces, shooting resumed. **Mena Daniel**, a 22-year-old university student and member of the Youth of Justice and Liberty, told Amnesty International that only minutes after speaking to protesters, the security forces opened fire without warning. As he was fleeing, he was hit in the shoulder and knee with live bullets. Although some protesters were using violence, it is clear that security forces shot at people who did not present a risk to their lives or the lives of others, as exemplified by the case of Mena Daniel who was shot while fleeing.

Khaled El-Said Ahmed Hassan El-Imbaby, aged 35 from Boolaq El Dakroor, was injured during the evening of 29 January in front of the Ministry of Interior. He told Amnesty International that as shooting intensified he hid behind a car. The moment he tried to escape, a live bullet hit his side, puncturing his lung and damaging nerves. He had been one of the protesters who protected the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities.

Motaz El-Sayed Ahmed, speaking to Amnesty International with great difficulty from his bed in the intensive care unit of the Mounira Hospital, said he was shot outside the Ministry of Interior without warning by snipers inside the building on 29 January. One bullet hit his stomach, damaging his kidney; another hit his leg.

Mona Mena, a volunteer doctor at the field hospital in Tahrir Square, told Amnesty International that between 2pm on 29 January and the dawn of the following day, the hospital continuously received dead and injured protesters, mostly young men who appeared to be of modest economic means. She told Amnesty International that she had concluded this on the basis of their modest attire.

2-3 February – inciting attacks against protesters

On 2-3 February, Mubarak supporters, including police in plain clothes, members of the NDP and "thugs" – some of them charging into Tahrir Square on horses and camels – launched attacks on anti-government protesters.[75] Residents of Al-Haram in Giza witnessed "thugs," some riding horses and camels, making their way from Nazlet El Seman informal settlement and down Al-Haram Street from the early morning of 2 February. The "thugs" passed all military checkpoints until reaching Abdel Meneim Riyad Square, north of Tahrir Square. The army not only failed to protect protesters from violence, but literally cleared the way for the "thugs" to enter Tahrir Square, including by moving tanks. Shocking images of the attacks were widely disseminated across the world, embarrassing the authorities into promising investigations, including into the role played by the NDP in inciting the violence. This investigation fell under the mandate of the Fact-Finding National Commission about 25 January Revolution (see Chapter 7).

Less filmed were the attacks by "thugs" positioned on top of 6 October Bridge, who threw petrol bombs and shot at protesters throughout that night until early dawn. Snipers positioned on tall buildings in and around Tahrir Square, such as the Ramses Hilton hotel, also shot at protesters, leading to deaths and injuries.

The protesters somehow repelled the attacks, but at a heavy cost. Official figures place the death toll at eight, but AlKarama for Human Rights, a human rights NGO based in Geneva with a presence in Cairo, lists 27 people who died in Tahrir Square on 3 February.[76] Administrators at Kasr Alainy Hospital told Amnesty International that they had received seven bodies and 165 wounded people in the course of that night and early morning.[77]

EL MATAREYA

While all eyes were focused on Tahrir Square, on 28 January the working class neighbourhood of El Matareya in north-west Cairo, home to around 600,000 people,[78] witnessed large anti-government demonstrations and confrontations with the security forces. According to a local NGO, the Shafafia Centre for Social Studies and Development Training, 16 bodies were taken to El Matareya Teaching Hospital alone on 28 January.[79] Local residents believe that around 30 people died in the area.[80]

Anti-government protests began in El Matareya on 25 January. Although the number of people who congregated around El Matareya Square was not particularly high, they were still met with violence by security forces, who used water cannon, tear gas and batons to disperse the gathering.

On the "Friday of Anger", protests swelled, especially after the noon prayer ended at El-Anouar El-Mouhamadiya Centre, commonly referred to as the Grand Mosque, on El Matareya Square. Protesters tried to congregate in El Matareya Square, coming en masse from streets leading to the square, particularly El Horeya Street, home of a popular Thursday market. However, they were met by massed ranks of riot police and around 17 armoured vehicles blocking access to the square, as well as local police and SSI officers. According to testimonies gathered by Amnesty International, the protests started off peacefully with protesters chanting "We want freedom and social justice" and calling for the departure of President Mubarak. The riot police tried to disperse protesters from the onset and the situation degenerated after the afternoon prayer at about 3:30pm. According to residents, riot police fired tear gas into the crowd praying in the street. Local activists and NGOs told Amnesty International that "thugs" believed to have links with the NDP and who had previously been used to intimidate voters in elections, mixed with the protesters to create disorder and provoke a reaction from the security forces. Indeed, the security forces responded to rock-throwing by some protesters by intensifying the use of tear gas, and then started firing shotguns and rubber bullets. According to eyewitnesses, individuals believed to be members of the security forces were positioned on top of buildings, including the Aqad School on El Horeya Street some 700 metres from the square, and shot randomly at protesters using live ammunition. Violent confrontations continued between 3pm and 5pm.

According to participants, by the time of the sunset prayer at about 5:30pm, 10 people had been killed. By then, protesters had overpowered the security forces and taken control of El Matareya Square. Some protesters burned about 20 cars belonging to the riot police. Members of the security forces themselves retreated, some escaping, some hiding in nearby residential buildings and some seeking refuge in El-Anouar El-Mouhamadiya Centre. According to local sources, angry protesters wanted to enter the mosque and residential buildings to attack security forces. They were stopped by other protesters, who managed to keep the 750 riot police and 12 police officers safe until the army arrived. After the security forces withdrew from the area, several police stations in north-west Cairo, including El Matareya, El Amiriya and Ein Shams, were looted and burned.

Emad Mohamed Mohamed El-Sayed, aged 24, was shot in the chest on 28 January soon after he left his house at about 3:30pm to join the protests around El Matareya Square. Eyewitnesses told his family that he was helping an injured protester when he was shot by a member of the security forces standing on the roof of a building. The death certificate stated that he died as a result of a "gunshot to the heart from the left side". About a year earlier, Emad Mohamed Mohamed El-Sayed had been arrested by local police officers who, according to his family, falsely accused him of carrying weapons. He was cleared after spending two months in El Matareya Police Station and two months in Tora Prison, during which he said he was tortured and otherwise ill-treated. On 31 January 2011, his mother lodged a complaint about her son's killing with the Public Prosecutor.

Khaled Mohamed El-Wakil, an 18-year-old high school student, was also shot in the chest in the afternoon of 28 January around El Matareya Square. According to his father, his son was on his way to fetch study papers when he came across the demonstrations. Khaled saw his friend, Islam Husni, being shot and wounded in the leg, so started trying to help his friend and filming the scenes around El Matareya Square. According to witnesses, he was hit at about 3:30pm by a live bullet fired by plain-clothed security forces on the roof of a tall

building in El Matareya Square, some 350 metres away. Khaled died in hospital a few hours later as a result of a "gunshot", according to an official "declaration of death".

Another 18-year-old died during the same demonstration – **Ahmed Abdel Rahim El-Sayed**, a student at a technical college. According to eyewitnesses, he was on El Horeya Street when he was shot as he was trying to get vinegar and water for protesters to help them overcome the effects of tear gas. His friend who was there told Amnesty International that he saw a police officer in uniform shoot him at around 3:30pm. Ahmed Abdel Rahim El-Sayed had a chest wound caused by live ammunition and many shotgun wounds on his upper body. According to a medical report, he died as a result of a "round wound to the right side of the upper chest measuring about a centimetre".

Mohamed Abdel Razek was shot in the head in front of Aqad School on El Horeya Street by security forces. The 35-year-old father of three had initially walked towards the square out of curiosity but then, according to his brothers, felt compelled to join in to protest against unemployment. He died the next day; doctors told his relatives that the cause of death was a brain haemorrhage and a fractured skull. A report from El Matareya Teaching Hospital confirmed this without indicating the cause of the injury.

Gharib Abdel Aal El-Sayed, a 42-year-old father of two, was also killed around El Matareya Square on 28 January. A friend who was with him told his family that both were shot at the same time while watching the demonstrations. At the time, other protesters were throwing rocks at security forces, who were responding with firearms. According to the friend, members of the security forces were firing live ammunition from the roof of Aqad School, some 700 metres away from the protesters, and from the roof of the nearby El Matareya Hospital. The family of Gharib Abdel Aal El-Sayed received a "declaration of death" indicating that he died because of an acute drop in blood pressure caused by a gunshot wound.

Amnesty International met the grieving father of **Hussein Gouma Hussein**, a 30-year-old Arabic teacher, who was shot around El Matareya Square at about 3:30pm. He said that his son went to the square when he heard that his friend had been shot. Hussein Gouma Hussein was hit in the chest by a bullet and died immediately. He was allegedly shot by someone standing on top of the mosque at El Matareya Square. According to a report from the Health Bureau, he died as a result of gunshot wounds to the chest and upper arm.

Mohamed Saber Khamis, known as Mohamed Yassine, an agricultural worker married with one child, was also shot around El Matareya Square on 28 January. According to his relatives, he left home at around 1:30pm to protest against his struggle to survive as a daily wage worker, never to return. He sustained five wounds – two to his liver, two to his chest and one to his knee – and died 11 days later. His relatives told Amnesty International that he had been hit by live ammunition and that the bullets were extracted by the hospital and kept, with the view to forwarding them to the Public Prosecution. His family asked for a forensic examination; when Amnesty International met the family on 19 February, they were still waiting for the results.

Families of those killed in El Matareya have supported each other, co-ordinating events to commemorate the dead, collecting information to share with media and human rights groups,

and lodging complaints with the Public Prosecution. They have collected information about 18 individuals who were killed in El Matareya, but believe the total death toll was higher. They said that many families did not obtain medical reports, authorization to bury their relative or death certificates for various reasons, including due to their desire to bury their dead immediately or for fear of going to state hospitals, and that some deaths were not recorded as victims died in private clinics or at home.

Many other residents of El Matareya were injured during protests around El Matareya Square that Friday. **Mohamed Youssef Sayed**, a 32-year-old father of two, told Amnesty International that he had been hit by a shotgun pellet in the head around the "Thursday Market" area. He eventually had an operation in Ein Shams Hospital to remove the pellet, which he showed to Amnesty International delegates. **Mohamed Farag Shaarawi**, a schoolboy about 11 years old in sixth grade, was hit in the leg by shotgun pellets on 28 January. He told Amnesty International that he went to the protests in El Matareya Square and after the afternoon prayer security forces started firing tear gas and then shotguns without warning.[81] He confirmed what has been documented in several videos recorded by protesters around El Matareya Square on 28 January, that many young children participated in the protests. He said that, despite his injury, "I am happy I went to protests, so I can live and others like me can live too."

SHOBRA, SHOBRA EL KHAYMA AND EIN SHAMS

Fuelled by poverty and feelings of injustice and marginalization, residents of working class neighbourhoods in Cairo spontaneously joined the anti-government protests, including in front of police stations perceived as symbols of repression and corruption, particularly on the local level. A high death toll marked such protests.

Amnesty International met the grieving family of 19-year-old **Mohab Ali Hassan**, a student at a technical college, who died as a result of a gunshot wound to the chest at about 7:30pm on 28 January. At about 6pm, he had headed out of curiosity towards the police station in Shobra, a working class neighbourhood in northern Cairo with a population of about 100,000. According to eyewitnesses, to disperse protesters, some of whom were engaged in violent acts such as burning police vehicles, police officers shot randomly at protesters from the roof of the police station, killing three and injuring others. Mohab's father who lodged a complaint with the Public Prosecutor said to Amnesty International: "A life has been ruined; there can be no reconciliation (with the authorities) without justice." Amnesty International also met **Omar Mohamed Sayed**, who had been shot in the stomach on 28 January in front of Shobra Police Station but survived.

El-Dabaa Ahmed Mohamed Sayed, a 45-year-old father of three and a seasonal daily wage labourer in Construction, died as a result of a gunshot wound sustained in front of Shobra El-Khayma 2 Police Station on 29 January. Amnesty International met him on 9 February at El-Sahel Teaching Hospital. He said he had been shot in the stomach with a live bullet and in the arm with gunshot pellets while on his way home from work in the Shobra El-Khayma informal settlement. He was paralysed. Doctors believed they could not repair the damage and he was discharged on 9 February. Two days later he returned to the hospital with complications and died on 14 February. A medical report from the hospital merely states that El-Dabaa Ahmed Mohamed Sayed died of a heart attack, failing to mention the gunshot wound. The family asked for a forensic examination, but the report was sent directly to the

Public Prosecutor and the family has not seen it. The family later obtained a death certificate stating that El-Dabaa Ahmed Mohamed Sayed died in "protests" from "bullets wounds and injury in the chest".

In the northern Cairo neighbourhood of Ein Shams, home to more than half a million residents, several people were killed in front of Ein Shams Police Station. One of them, 20-year-old **Islam Essam Mohamed**, a second-year university student, was shot in the head on his way to his part-time job in a café. He died at about 9:30pm on 28 January, according to a medical report from Heliopolis Hospital. That night, the hospital received six other bodies of people killed in front of Ein Shams Police Station.

GIZA GOVERNORATE

"All we want is that these people are tried so that they regret having held a weapon and shot at decent men!"

Sayed Ibrahim Abdel Latif, father of Mohamed who was allegedly killed by Imbaba police

Giza governorate, on the west bank of the Nile, adjoins Cairo governorate on the east bank. A number of major bridges, especially 15 May Bridge, 6 October Bridge and Qasr El Nil Bridge, became zones of friction between security forces and demonstrators from Giza. Security forces also tightly controlled the main squares near these bridges, such as Kit Kat Square in North Giza and Opera Square in Zamalek, Cairo. As in most cities, clashes in Giza also broke out near police stations, including at Imbaba Police Station, El-Warraq Police Station and Boolaq El Dakroor Police Station.

More than 2 million people – 60 per cent of Giza governorate's population – live in 23 informal settlements.[82] These densely populated and under-serviced areas form an arc around the formal areas of Agooza, Mohandessin and Doqi. Many of the poor and lower middle class residents of these slums poured into Tahrir Square during the uprising.

The Imbaba and El-Warraq areas in North Giza neighbourhood host around 1.1 million people, and Boolaq El Dakroor, to the west of Giza, hosts around 560,000.[83] These areas were controlled by strategically located police stations widely seen by residents as symbols of state repression. Ordinary police, riot police and state agents in plain clothes, identified by residents as "informers" and "thugs", killed and injured many protesters, marchers or bystanders near these police stations on 28 and 29 January. Boolaq El Dakroor and El-Warraq police stations were burned after security forces withdrew from them on 29 January.

Amnesty International interviewed the families of five people killed allegedly by security forces in Imbaba, and three killed and one injured allegedly by security forces in Boolaq El Dakroor, as security forces tried to disperse demonstrators away from police stations. Live ammunition appears to have been used in both areas when there was no imminent threat to life, and tear gas, lethal shotgun ammunition and rubber bullets were used disproportionately. Protesters were for the most part peaceful, but sometimes a few protesters threw stones as they approached police stations, and in a few instances petrol bombs were thrown. In Boolaq El Dakroor, both sides appear to have thrown petrol bombs.

In both Imababa and Boolaq El Dakroor, residents spoke of past arbitrary arrests, torture and humiliation at the hands of local police. They also spoke of their poverty. Amnesty

International was unable to obtain official data as to the number of deaths and injuries in Imbaba General Hospital and El-Tahrir General Hospital, both in Imbaba. All the families interviewed were obliged to accept a summary medical report to obtain authorization to bury their loved one. On 20 February, the General Attorney for North Giza ordered the exhumation of the bodies of six men from Imbaba for forensic examination, and of other bodies in Boolaq El Dakroor in early March 2011.

North Giza – Imbaba

"The Health Inspector said there is no police at all to refer you to forensic doctors and if you want to bury the body then you have to sign a statement that you don't want an autopsy."

Mohamed Ahmed Nassar, father of Ihab (known as Karim) who was allegedly killed by Imbaba police

The Popular Committee for the Defence of Imbaba Airport – a community-based organization in Imbaba opposing forced evictions in a government-backed plan to develop North Giza – organized a protest in Al-Wehda Street in Imbaba during the afternoon of 25 January. Riot police cordoned off their group, preventing more protesters from joining them. Additional protesters, from Imbaba and Ausim, broke up the security cordon. From 2:30pm to 6pm, the protesters marched through Imbaba rallying thousands of others. The aim was to reach Tahrir Square but all the major roads leading out of Imbaba were sealed by security forces. Using narrow streets, they finally reached Kit Kat Square where there was a heavy presence of riot police.

At this stage most protesters decided to return to Imbaba, but one group tried to reach 15 May Bridge, 500 metres further south. Among them was **Abdelmawla Ismail Mohamed**, a member of the Popular Committee for the Defence of Imbaba Airport. He said that as he reached the bridge, he noticed security forces beating a man in a side street and decided to intervene. As he did, riot police and men in plain clothes he said were "thugs" or "informers" encircled him and beat him with sticks and electric batons, and punched and kicked him to the ground. He said that the Head of Imbaba Police Station also assaulted him, verbally abused him and told him to "go home". He left as he feared he would be arrested.

On 28 January, following the Friday prayer, protesters gathered outside mosques in different locations in Imbaba, including at Al-Imam Al-Ghazaly Street and Talat Harb Street. Some groups of protesters marched only in Imbaba; others tried to reach Tahrir Square. Thousands of protesters then marched east out of Imbaba towards the Nile. They chanted anti-Mubarak slogans and for the fall of the regime. They then marched south to Imbaba Police Station on the Nile Corniche. As they reached Kit Kat Square, security forces barred their way and then fired tear gas and chased protesters down side streets, flooding residential areas with tear gas. By late afternoon, other protesters from south Giza reached Zamalek and crossed Qasr El Nil Bridge into Tahrir. Riot police then withdrew from Imbaba and a climate of fear settled in North Giza as armed youths strutted on the streets and gunshots could be heard. Local residents set up popular committees to protect their neighbourhoods as the army had not been deployed there.

From 2am to 8am on 29 January, El-Tahrir General Hospital in Imbaba received about 50 casualties, according to a medical source at the hospital. Most of the casualties were from El-Warraq, north of Imbaba, following a protest in front of El-Warraq Police Station. Two people died after being shot in the chest; three others were dead on arrival. Most of the injured had

wounds caused by pellets or rubber bullets. Some had wounds caused by live ammunition. No medical reports were completed at the hospital. A few riot police arrived with minor injuries, although one apparently had a rubber bullet wound on his arm caused by friendly fire and was transferred to the police hospital.

At 3pm on 29 January, riot police stationed by El-Warraq Police Station used tear gas to disperse protesters, who threw stones at them. By 4:30pm, riot and other police suddenly abandoned the station, removing their uniform and leaving weapons behind. Protesters reportedly looted the weapons, office equipment and furniture, after which they burned police cars and the police station.

The same afternoon, youth from Imbaba tried to go to Tahrir Square but were dispersed by police supported by men in plain clothes, armed with shotguns, as well as other guns and automatic weapons. They chased the youths and apparently occupied the top of some buildings near Imbaba Police Station from which they shot at protesters. Then protesters angrily headed towards the police station, but retreated when police opened fire. A number of youths are believed to have been killed.

Five families who met with Amnesty International told the organization that their sons were shot and killed by police. Nasser Faycal Ali Al-Sayed and Ihab Mohamed Ahmed Nasser were killed in streets off the Corniche, south of the police station; Mohamed Nasr Abdel Azim Mohamed and Mohamed Sayed Ibrahim Abdel Latif were killed to the west on Al-Mahata Street; and Mohamed Shabaan Mohamed Abdel Meguid was killed on Al-Nasr Road, to the north of the police station. Some families were visited by the police or NDP members offering to mediate a settlement, but they refused to settle. The families of the five young men – aged between 17 and 31 – submitted complaints to the Public Prosecution and staged protests outside the North Giza General Attorney's office demanding investigations. On 20 February, the General Attorney ordered the exhumation and forensic examination of the five bodies and another body from Imbaba.[84] By the end of March, forensic reports reached the Public Prosecution with regard to Imbaba and Kerdasa, west of Giza, which reportedly concluded that live ammunition had caused the deaths.[85]

Nasser Faycal Ali Al-Sayed, an 18-year-old high school student, went shopping on 29 January at around 2pm, before curfew. According to his family, he was killed on his way back on Ishaq Street, off the Corniche, when he was shot and wounded in his eye, head and chest. His brother Galal and others carried him, unconscious, to the main road, where there was an ambulance, but it refused to take him and a police officer shot tear gas at them. They took him to Imbaba Central Hospital, which would not admit him, then to Agooza Hospital, which referred him to Kasr Alainy Hospital. There, service was disrupted as apparently "thugs" attacked the hospital. According to his family, Nasser Faycal Ali Al-Sayed died at Kasr Alainy Hospital on 2 February. The only document they obtained was an authorization to bury, dated 2 February, which gives the date of death as 1 February and does not give the cause of death. His father presented a complaint to the President, Minister of Interior and Public Prosecutor, accusing the former Minister of Interior and a police aide from Imbaba Police Station of killing his son.

Ihab Mohamed Ahmed Nassar (known as Karim), aged 25, died after he was shot with live ammunition in the back of his head, allegedly on Yassin Street off the Corniche. A mobile

phone video shows him lying on the ground with an open head wound while young people near him scream in distress. Earlier that afternoon he had reached Tahrir Square with a group of protesters; the group then returned to Imbaba when they heard rumours that Imbaba Police Station had been burned. At around 3:30pm, he and a couple of friends were near the police station when police in uniform and plain clothes came in their direction, so they ran away. Ihab Mohamed Ahmed Nassar was shot and fell on the ground. As people tried to carry him away, police fired tear gas at them, and then moved the body closer to the main road and left it there. A man later took the body to El-Tahrir General Hospital. The Health Inspector there told Ihab Mohamed Ahmed Nassar's father that he could only take the body if he signed a paper saying that he did not want a forensic examination, which he did as he did not want to leave the body in a morgue that he said was dysfunctional and full of bodies. On 30 January, he obtained authorization to bury his son and received a death certificate, which does not give the cause of death. The Health Inspector of Madinet Al-Omal in Imbaba issued a medical report stating that the family did not require a forensic examination and that Ihab Mohamed Ahmed Nassar arrived dead at hospital as a result of a gunshot wound to the head.

Mohamed Nasr Abdel Azim Mohamed, aged 31, who had a business diploma and was the sole breadwinner for his mother and three sisters, was unemployed when the protests began. At around 4:30pm on 29 January, he left home and went towards Imbaba Police Station. He called his sister before 5pm to tell her that young people were dying there and he would help carry them to safety. Soon after, he was shot on Al-Mahata Street. Eyewitnesses told his family that police officers in plain clothes standing on the roof of a building near the police station, and others on the streets, were shooting at people at random. Mohamed Nasr Abdel Azim Mohamed was eventually taken to Nasser Institute Hospital and the bullet was apparently removed. However, a Nasser Institute Hospital medical report to the police dated 29 January states that he arrived dead at 6:30pm with "trace of gunshot up the right side of his chest". On 30 January, the hospital reported the death to El-Sahel Police Station.

Mohamed Sayed Ibrahim Abdel Latif (known as Hamoksha) was allegedly shot by the police in similar circumstances and at roughly the same time. Aged 23, he held a diploma in technology and information, and worked in a bakery and as a wedding decorator. At 5pm, he left home saying he was going to pick up some equipment. He met friends and then apparently came across an injured man near Imbaba Police Station. According to his father, as Mohamed tried to carry him he was shot in the neck and arm. He was taken to Imbaba General Hospital and then transferred to Agooza Hospital, but died soon after. On 30 January, his brother Ashraf was required to sign a statement acknowledging that he did not want the body of Mohamed Sayed Ibrahim Abdel Latif to be forensically examined or the Public Prosecution to be notified. Ashraf submitted a complaint to the Public Prosecution accusing a police officer from Imbaba Police Station of his brother's killing.

Mohamed Shaaban Mohamed Abdel Meguid, a 17-year-old high school student who lived with his family in Ard Al Gameya in Imbaba, left home at 10:30pm on 29 January and shortly after was shot in the neck while walking on Al-Nasr Road, off the street where he lived, near a popular committee. A witness said a car, whose number plate he noted, knocked over Mohamed Shabaan Mohamed Abdel Meguid and then a passenger in the car shot him dead. The car then sped off, injuring another young man, Mahmoud Mohamed Abdelaziz. A medical report dated 30 January by the Health Inspector at the Health Bureau of Madinet Al-

Omal in Imbaba states that Mohamed Shabaan Mohamed Abdel Meguid died of internal bleeding due to a gunshot wound to the neck.

Boolaq El Dakroor

On the "Friday of Anger" at around 6pm, residents from Abu Qatata and Ben El Sarayat areas gathered by Boolaq El Dakroor Police Station at Teraat Al Zomor Street in defiance of the police and repeating slogans echoing around Egypt. The police station is at the intersection of two main roads, Teraat Al Zomor Street and El Tahrir Street. To the south, Teraat Al Zomor Street leads to the Abu Qatata area, which is hidden behind the walls of Cairo University and its metro station. To the east is the Ben El Sarayat area, hidden behind the walls of student housing. Tharwat Bridge passes at the level of this intersection. Riot police stood in front of the police station equipped with tear gas and shotguns, and armed police officers were on the roof. According to residents, at about 6:30pm, security forces shot tear gas at the protesters and then live ammunition, first in the air and then directly at them. Protesters threw stones, rocks and a few petrol bombs. Shooting continued late into the night and the police station was burned the next day after the police abandoned it.

At least five people died as a result of the shooting, including four from Abu Qatata and a man said to be from Beni Suef. Many injuries from gunshots were reported. All the families of the people killed told Amnesty International that the Head of Investigations of Boolaq El Dakroor Police Station attempted mediation using local personalities or offered money, but the families refused to engage.

Moheer Khalil Zaki, a 40-year-old mother of four, died as a result of a gunshot that was allegedly fired at her from Boolaq El Dakroor Police Station while she was standing on the roof of her house with her husband and children. Their building faces the police station across the road, with the Tharwat Bridge connecting the two sides. When the family saw that a young man had been shot by the police on the bridge, Moheer Khalil Zaki shouted. The Head of Investigations at the police station allegedly shouted back at her and then shot her, hitting her chest and arm. She was operated on at Boolaq El Dakroor Hospital but on 31 January she had a heart attack and died. Her death certificate, dated 31 January, gives no cause of death. A card recording the final medical examination, dated 3 February, states that a bullet remained inside her. Her husband, Ashraf Abdel Aziz Mohamed, made a complaint to the Public Prosecutor, who referred the case to Giza Prosecution and ordered the exhumation of the body for an autopsy. The Public Prosecution received the bullet and the medical report. The Prosecutor also conducted a field investigation of the crime scene.

Sherif Yehya Atrees Sulayman, a 21-year-old graduate in computer science, died as a result of a gunshot wound to the eye on 28 January, apparently sustained while he was protesting near the Cairo University metro station, opposite Boolaq El Dakroor Police Station. His father filed a police report on 30 January. A Health Inspector prepared a medical report and obtained authorization to bury the body. The first death certificate gave no cause of death, but the father obtained a second one that stated that Sherif Yehya Atrees Sulayman died of a "gunshot as a result of disorderly events on 28 January 2011", dated 16 February. He obtained a medical report from Bolak El-Dakroor Hospital, dated 9 February, that states that his son arrived at hospital on 28 January and died immediately in the reception area as a result of a gunshot wound. Subsequently, the father made a complaint to the Public Prosecution and expected his son to be exhumed for an autopsy.

Magdy Mohamed Hassan Ahmed, aged 29, a *tok-tok* (three-wheel taxi) driver and the family's breadwinner, left his home at 9pm on 28 January to buy dinner. He was shot, allegedly by Boolaq El Dakroor police using an automatic weapon and a shotgun, in the left thigh. To reach a hospital that would admit him, the family had to take a detour through Giza and he died as they arrived at Cairo University Hospitals. A post mortem ticket states that he died at 2:40am on 29 January from a "gunshot in his right thigh" (sic). According to the family, the hospital initially refused to provide them with a medical report but they insisted and eventually obtained one. The family made a complaint to the Public Prosecution but do not want an exhumation.

Khaled Ibrahim Al-Sayed, a 31-year-old taxi driver, said he was shot and injured at around 7:30pm on 28 January. He had heard that the police station was going to be attacked and went there out of curiosity and said he would have protected it if need be. He told Amnesty International that at 6:45pm, riot police started shooting tear gas and a police officer shot live ammunition in the air. A man near Cairo University metro station was hit in the face and Khaled Ibrahim Al-Sayed ran to help him. Security forces shot tear gas at them and he threw the canister back. They shot a second canister at him, after which he fled to avoid suffocation. When he returned, men in plain clothes were throwing petrol bombs at protesters and he was shot from the top of the police station. The medical report from El Manial University Hospital, dated 20 February, stated that "he was exposed to a gunshot in his chest and stomach" and was operated on to repair damage to his diaphragm, liver and pancreas.

The residents interviewed referred to many past injustices by police linked to Boolaq El Dakroor Police Station, particularly fabricated charges, arbitrary arrests, torture and other ill-treatment, harassment and humiliation. In 2006, a driver from Boolaq El Dakroor, known as Emad Al Kabir, was raped by two police officers there. They filmed the torture on a mobile phone and spread the video to further humiliate him. They received three year-prison sentences after the video was posted on the Internet and outraged Egyptians.[86]

ALEXANDRIA

At least 54 people died after being shot by security forces and over 1,100 were injured during the uprising in Alexandria, Egypt's second largest city, according to official medical sources at the Alexandria General Hospitals and the main morgue in Koum El-Dikka. Injuries ranged from superficial wounds and broken bones to bullet wounds. Local activists, lawyers and human rights defenders believe the death toll to be as high as 80, as several families did not officially register the death of their loved one.

Residents from across the city took to the streets on the first day of the nationwide protests, 25 January. They responded to a call to gather in strategic areas, including at Caid Ibrahim Mosque in central Alexandria adjacent to the Raml (tram) station. Participants told Amnesty International that security forces, including large numbers of riot police, sought to prevent protesters from congregating in large public spaces such as squares by cordoning off their entry points. However, protesters could bypass the cordons. Security forces then used tear gas and water cannon in an attempt to disperse the peaceful demonstrations. Some protesters suffered from suffocation as a result of the extensive use of tear gas or sustained minor injuries. In an apparent attempt to nip the protest movement in the bud, security forces also arrested about 60 protesters, including well-known lawyers and activists, and held them for questioning until their release without charge on 29 January.

Despite the arrests, government warnings not to demonstrate and the disruption of telephone and online communications in Alexandria, the "Friday of Anger" on 28 January witnessed massive protests across the city. Immediately after the Friday prayer, protesters congregated in various parts of the city, including by Caid Ibrahim Mosque, Al-Manshiya Square, Ibrahimiya Square and Moharam Bey, and several marches then took place simultaneously.

By Caid Ibrahim Mosque, security forces attempted to disperse the protesters from the onset by using tear gas and water cannon just as the Friday prayer was about to end, and by beating some peaceful protesters with batons. Elsewhere, and for the rest of the day, security forces used excessive force to prevent protesters from congregating, in some instances using tear gas, shotguns, rubber bullets and live ammunition. Local activists told Amnesty International that in some instances, security forces fired tear gas and shotguns indiscriminately from armoured vehicles towards peaceful demonstrators in various parts of the city. Several protests that started out peacefully became violent when some protesters responded to such attacks by throwing rocks or very occasionally petrol bombs at security forces or government buildings associated with repression, particularly police stations. Confrontations near police stations, including El Gomruk, Raml 2, Moharem Bey, Karmuz and Mina El-Basal, led to many casualties among protesters.

The majority of police stations were burned after the police withdrew from most of Alexandria late on 28 January. The army was then deployed to secure strategic public buildings. Unrest continued over the following two days mainly as a result of the absence of the police. Several people were killed on 29 and 30 January in circumstances that were unclear but in some instances suggesting the involvement of police officers or "informants" (individuals believed to pass information to the authorities about residents of an area), according to local sources. Mass protests continued in Alexandria until 11 February without major violence, although there were some confrontations between protesters and pro-NDP individuals, commonly referred to by protesters as "thugs."

As elsewhere, in Alexandria the security forces used unnecessary and excessive force, including against peaceful protesters. Even when some protesters were behaving violently, security forces used force disproportionately. They used incapacitating weapons when it was not strictly necessary to do so, and did not take necessary precautions to ensure that bystanders were not harmed. They also used lethal force when it was not unavoidable and not strictly necessary to protect lives. Many people were killed by bullets to the head, chest or neck, suggesting that little or no attempt was made to preserve life. Weapons that may be less lethal that live ammunition, such as rubber bullets and shotguns, were used in ways that maximized injury and led to deaths. For instance, security forces fired shotguns at long range, so that pellets scattered indiscriminately into crowds and hit sensitive parts of the body, including the eyes. Medical sources at Alexandria University Hospitals told Amnesty International that the hospital admitted 150 people with "ruptured globes" as a result of buckshot wounds, leading to loss of vision in the affected eye.[87]

'FRIDAY OF ANGER'

Several people were killed and wounded around the heart of the protest movement in Caid Ibrahim. **Hussein Taha Hussein**, for example, a law student at University of Alexandria, joined the anti-government protests from the beginning. On 28 January, he went with friends to meet other protesters in front of the Library of Alexandria, and then went to pray in Caid

Ibrahim Mosque before rejoining the protests. His friends told his father that security forces started using tear gas and water cannon against protesters moments before the Friday prayer finished, and that Hussein insisted on going to the front ranks of the protests. He was shot with a single bullet to the chest at about 3pm, and was rushed to Salama Hospital. His father was only able to track him down three days later in the main morgue in Koum El-Dikka because of the disruption in the telephone networks. According to the death certificate, Hussein died as a result of a gunshot wound. His father filed a police report and submitted a complaint to the Public Prosecution.

Abdallah Ali El-Sayed was injured in his left eye during protests around Caid Ibrahim Mosque in the afternoon of 28 January. He told Amnesty International that when he arrived there, protesters were met with a heavy security presence, but no violence. He said that after protesters had been chanting anti-government slogans for some time, riot police fired tear gas and shotguns at them without warning. He was hit in the face by a shotgun and only regained consciousness at Alexandria University Hospitals. His father, visibly distressed by his son's injury, told Amnesty International that the operation on Abdallah's eye needed to be done at a private hospital and this and subsequent treatment and medicine were putting a severe strain on the family's already limited means.

In the working class neighbourhood of Al-Manshiya in the north-west of Alexandria, security forces again used excessive force against protesters. Following the Friday prayer, security forces cordoned off streets leading to Al-Manshiya Square, an iconic gathering point. The heavy security presence included riot and other police, and security officers in civilian dress. From the outset, security forces fired tear gas and targeted those trying to congregate. When some protesters responded by throwing rocks, security forces fired gunshot, rubber bullets and eventually live ammunition at the protesters, including those not using violence, and bystanders or passers-by. Eventually, the sheer number of the protesters and their determination overwhelmed the security forces and they withdrew. Al-Manshiya Police Station was burned later that evening.

According to an employee of the Kamal Mohamed Saad Company, a paper company based in Al-Manshiya near the square, five people died around Al-Manshiya Square, including his uncle, Khaled Mohamed Abdel Kader, also an employee of the same company. He had left the office heading towards the square when he was shot.

Ahmed Mustafa Thabet, aged 18 and from Karmuz, went to pray that day before joining the protests in Al-Manshiya on 28 January. He was fatally shot in the neck at about 2pm by security forces when he was near the Ikhwan Youssef sweet store. A mobile phone video shows protesters carrying him from the square, bleeding from the mouth. His grieving relatives told Amnesty International that they collected his body from the morgue in Koum El-Dikka. The death certificate indicated that he died as a result of a gunshot wound. They lodged a complaint with the Public Prosecution in Alexandria. Despite his young age, Ahmed Mustafa Thabet supported his mother financially. His family had had to move out from their affordable but unsafe flat in Karmuz after his mother received a one year prison sentence, for illegal building, but was released on bail.

Elsewhere, **Abdou Said Mohamed**, aged 38, was apparently killed as he was trying to make his way from Al-Hakania Court to Caid Ibrahim with other protesters. His wife and mother of their three children met Amnesty International and said that she had last spoken to him at

about 1:30pm as he was walking towards Caid Ibrahim. The next time she saw him, he was unconscious in the intensive care unit of the Alexandria University Hospitals. He died a week later, on 4 February, without regaining consciousness. According to the medical report obtained by the family from El-Atarin Heath Bureau, Abdou Said Mohamed died as a result of a "gunshot to the head". His relatives submitted a complaint to the Military Prosecution, which transferred the case to the Public Prosecutor.

Many protesters were injured, some permanently. For instance, **Ibrahim Mohamed Abdel Wahab**, a 33-year-old tailor and father of one, lost the sight in his left eye, an injury that threatens his livelihood, according to a doctor present during Amnesty International's meeting with Ibrahim, as vision in his second eye might also be affected by the injury. Ibrahim said that he joined the protests on 28 January in Al-Manshiya because of his difficult living conditions and the widespread corruption and nepotism. He was hit by shotgun pellets fired by the security forces without warning and through a cloud of smoke and tear gas.

Among several children who suffered similar injuries was 16-year-old **Mohamed Shaaban Ibrahim**, who lost the sight in his right eye. A discharge sheet from the General Body of Health Insurance indicated that he suffered a "ruptured globe". He was participating in protests near the Goumhouriya Restaurant in Al-Manshiya, when two pellets hit his eye. He said that at the time, security forces, including riot police, were using tear gas, shotguns and rubber bullets against protesters, some of whom were retaliating by throwing rocks. He told Amnesty International that he was protesting because he had seen a lot of injustice, particularly the way in which police officers treated ordinary people without respect for their rights and dignity.

Mosaad El-Sayed Ibrahim told Amnesty International that he was hit twice in the right eye and once on the head with buckshot pellets at the intersection of Tahrir Square Street and Ali Pasha Street in Al-Manshiya at about 1:30pm as he was walking to his workshop. He said the scene was chaotic, with large numbers of protesters chanting "peaceful, peaceful" while security forces fired at them using tear gas, water cannon and shotgun. He said that he saw the uniformed police officer who shot at him from a distance of 40-50 metres without warning. The medical report indicated the presence of three "foreign bodies", one in the scalp and two in the eye orbit. He was told his sight should return once the wounds heal.

Many protesters were injured in front of Al-Hakania Court in Al-Manshiya. According to eyewitnesses, the protesters were peacefully chanting anti-government slogans when security forces fired tear gas into the crowd. Some protesters reacted by attempting to throw the tear gas canisters back at the security forces and by throwing rocks. Security forces, including riot police, responded by indiscriminately firing shotguns. **Hassan Mohamed Ibrahim** and **Mohamed Ali Hanafi** were both hit with buckshot pellets in front of Al-Hakania Court. Hassan Mohamed Ibrahim, a 31-year-old shoemaker, sustained multiple pellet wounds to his upper body, including his face, right arm and stomach, as confirmed in the official report by the Alexandria University Hospitals. He had joined the protests, he said, because of the economic disparity between the rich and the poorest, and "the rampant and entrenched corruption of the political system". He submitted a complaint to the Public Prosecution. **Mohamed Mustafa Hamed**, a 29-year-old employee of a foodstuff company, was also injured that afternoon by live ammunition: a bullet went through his hand. He showed Amnesty International a video of his arrival at the hospital with his bandaged hand. He said he was

protesting because the living situation for many Egyptians had become "untenable".

In different parts of Alexandria, security forces prevented protesters from congregating at strategic locations and used force to disperse them. For instance, they tried to stop protesters accessing Al-Sa'a Square – a meeting point for protesters coming from several parts of the east of Alexandria, including the El-Siuf and El-Awaid neighbourhoods. **Hossam Fathi Mohamed**, a teenager from El-Awaid, was killed. According to his family, he was very politically aware despite his young age of 17, and was dismayed by the absence of political freedoms and human rights. In the early afternoon of 28 January, he headed toward Al-Sa'a Square. Witnesses said there was a heavy security presence around the cordoned-off square. Security forces used tear gas and shotgun against protesters who tried to approach. Hossam Fathi Mohamed was shot in the stomach while standing on Mustafa Kamel Street, which leads into the square. Protesters took him to Victoria Hospital, but he was not admitted. He was transferred to East City Hospital at about 3pm, and died some two hours later. His family found him in Koum El-Dikka morgue. According to a medical report from El-Aarin Health Bureau, he died as a result of a "gunshot to the stomach". His family filed a police report with the Montaza 1 Police Station, and submitted a complaint to the Public Prosecution in Alexandria.

In some instances, it appears that security forces deliberately used lethal force against protesters. For example, witnesses told relatives of 51-year-old father of three, **Ali Nour El Din**, an imam at Monib Mosque, that he was shot at close range by a police officer after he had tried to stop security officials from beating a protester. His children, who identified his body, said there were wounds in the back of the head and on the face, including the eyes and nose. According to the death certificate, Ali Nour El Din died as a result of a "gunshot" wound inflicted during demonstrations on 28 January. His children lodged a complaint with the Public Prosecution in Alexandria.

CLASHES OUTSIDE POLICE STATIONS

After sunset on 28 January, confrontations broke out between anti-government protesters and security officers in front of the police station in El Gomruk, a working class area just north of Al-Manshiya Police Station. Witnesses said that the protests started peacefully, with protesters chanting "peaceful, peaceful", but the situation deteriorated when security forces used tear gas and protesters retaliated by throwing rocks. According to El Gomruk residents, riot police retreated at about 6pm, leaving only police officers inside the police station. Police officers in uniform and men in plain clothes, believed to be "informants", climbed onto the roof of the police station and threw rocks and a gas tank at protesters in the street below. They then fired buckshot and live ammunition at the protesters. According to residents, several people were killed and about 30 were injured. The police withdrew from the station in the early hours of 29 January.

Amnesty International met the family of 19-year-old **Mohamed Mustafa Abdou**, a business student at university. They said he had heard about the protests and clashes near El Gomruk Police Station near his house and decided to go there. By the time he arrived, several people had already been injured. According to witnesses, at about 10pm, Mohamed Mustafa Abdou was leaning down to help carry an injured person when he was shot in the lower back from behind and collapsed. His distraught friends rushed him to Alexandria University Hospitals, but it was too late. The death certificate confirmed that Mohamed Mustafa Abdou died as a

result of a "gunshot" wound. The family submitted a complaint to Anfoushi Police Station on 19 February. Only after the family insisted did the police register their complaint against the head of El Gomruk Police Station, the former Minister of Interior and the former Prime Minister. On 20 February, a few days after they had submitted the complaint and met an Amnesty International delegate, Mohamed Mustafa Abdou's relatives were accosted outside their home by a police officer accompanied by "thugs". The police officer pressed the family to abandon their efforts to seek justice and to instead accept financial compensation. The officer warned them that he would return for further "negotiations". Undeterred, the family went to Cairo on 23 February to present a complaint to the Public Prosecutor there, as they had already done with the Public Prosecutor in Alexandria.

Amnesty International also spoke to the family of 15-year-old **Karim Mohamed Mahmoud**, who was killed by a single bullet to the chest in front of El Gomruk Police Station late on 28 January. Earlier that day, Karim and his mother went as usual to Marsa Abou El-Abbas to sell corn and other snacks. They returned early as there was no business. Karim then joined the protests in Al-Manshiya, briefly returning home at about 8pm before heading out again. Half an hour later, his family heard that he had been shot. Witnesses said the bullet that killed him came from the direction of El Gomruk Police Station, some 10-15 metres from where he was standing. The grieving family cannot understand how the security forces could have shot dead a child and are demanding justice.

Mohamed Rami Khamis was also killed in front of El Gomruk Police Station on 28 January. A 25-year-old unemployed university graduate, he left his home in El Gomruk at about 5pm. About 40 minutes later, people brought him home with serious injuries to his head, shoulder and foot. His father had a stroke after seeing his son so badly wounded, and was paralysed down his left side when Amnesty International interviewed the family on 20 February. Mohamed Rami Khamis was taken to Awqaf Hospital and then to the Alexandria University Hospitals, but died of his wounds.

Among the many people injured outside El Gomruk Police Station was 34-year-old **Ahmed Hassan Mohamed**. He remained in critical condition at the Alexandria General Hospitals at the time of writing. His brother told Amnesty International that witnesses assured him that Ahmed was not participating in any violent conduct when he was shot, but was standing by the tram station some 30 metres away. A medical certificate shown to Amnesty International confirms that he has a gunshot wound to the head and that the bullet remains lodged in his skull.

One of the heaviest death tolls in a single incident in Alexandria took place in front of and near Raml 2 Police Station on 28 January, located in the middle of a residential area in El Siuf neighbourhood in the east of the city. Among the victims was **Amira Samir El-Sayed**, a 16-year-old high school student. As usual on a Friday she was studying at a friend's house on I'tisam El-Islami Street. At the time, there were clashes in the street between protesters and officers inside the police station. Residents told Amnesty International that gunshots could be heard from 3pm until 12am.[88] In addition to using live ammunition, security forces also used tear gas and rubber bullets against protesters. Attracted by the noise, Amira went to the window and recorded a short video on her mobile phone of the scene in the street, which her family showed to Amnesty International. Moments later, as she stood in the middle of the living room, a bullet hit her chest, killing her instantly. Her family obtained a death

certificate at Koum El-Dikka morgue from the Directorate of Heath Affairs of Alexandria indicating that she died as a result of a "gunshot" wound on 28 January. Residents of I'tisam El-Islami Street who witnessed the event said police officers were on the roof of the police station shooting at protesters and that several bullets entered people's homes, including the one that killed Amira. Residents told Amnesty International that about 20 people were killed and a further 20 were injured that day. Amira's family submitted a complaint to the armed forces. It was forwarded to the Public Prosecutor, who summoned the family to testify along with four witnesses identified by the family.

Mustafa Amr Mohamed Ahmed, aged 27, also died in front of Raml 2 Police Station on 28 January. He worked near the police station in a workshop. His family only found him three days later in the morgue of Alexandria University Hospitals; they said that medical staff told them he had arrived on the afternoon of 28 January from Raml 2 Police Station. His relatives told Amnesty International that he was shot in the head; a medical report seen by the organization confirms that he died as a result of "gun shot – demonstrations 28 January 2011". Eyewitnesses told the family that Mustafa Amr Mohamed Ahmed was shot from a distance of around 50 metres by security forces on the roof of the police station. His relatives filed a police report with the military police and lodged a complaint with the Public Prosecution.

Ahmed Amer Mahmoud Mustafa, a law student, was shot from behind near Raml 2 Police Station on 28 January. He had not participated in the protests in the morning, but after discovering that the shop in which he worked was closed, he decided to go with friends to the protests out of curiosity. According to his friends, when they arrived at the police station they saw many wounded people lying on the pavement, so they stayed there between 6:30pm and 8pm helping the injured. They said that Ahmed Amer Mahmoud Mustafa briefly left the scene to wash blood off his hands and clothes, and after he returned he was shot. He was taken to Alexandria University Hospitals. His family found him in the morgue there the next morning; his body had a wound in the neck, and shotgun wounds to his chest and face. According to the medical report obtained by the family from El-Atarin Health Bureau, he died as a result of a "gunshot to the neck". The family lodged a complaint with the Military Prosecution, which transferred the case to the Public Prosecution. A prosecutor told the family that they had received 16 complaints against Raml 2 Police Station, all submitted by families of people killed in front of the station. The family told Amnesty International that investigations were ongoing and that the prosecution was calling in witnesses.

Several other people were killed in front of or near police stations in Alexandria. For instance, **Hassan Mahmoud Ahmed**, a bag-maker, was shot in the stomach near Mina El-Basal Police Station on Mahmoudiya Street. He had left home around 3pm on 28 January to join demonstrators heading towards Al-Manshiya. On the way he passed Mina El-Basal Police Station, where around 100 youths were protesting. Eyewitnesses told Hassan's family that he was just standing on Ibn Touloun Street, a side street off Mahmoudiya Street, watching the protest when a bullet hit him. There were no riot police, only police officers in civilian dress reportedly firing shotguns and live ammunition. According to residents, protesters grew angry and started throwing rocks at the police station only after security forces used firearms and after Hassan had been shot. A relative of his told Amnesty International: "We want police who implement the law, not carry out injustices against the people". The family lodged a complaint with the Public Prosecution on 9 February and were called in to testify. A banner

with a picture of Hassan Mahmoud Ahmed now hangs at the entrance of his neighbourhood.

Other protesters were killed or injured in the vicinity of Moharam Bey Police Station in south-west Alexandria. Residents told Amnesty International that the police station was perceived as a symbol of repression and injustice, prompting protesters to gather in front of it. They also said that protesters only used violence such as throwing rocks in response to the actions of the police officers who used force, including lethal force, against them without warning.

Said Abdel Mineim Mohamed lost his sight in one eye after a shotgun pellet hit him during anti-government protests on 28 January near the police station. The injury also deprived him of his livelihood as a driver. He was injured when he and some 200 other protesters were heading towards Al-Rasafa Square to demand change, social justice and freedom. As they approached the square, they came across a heavy presence of security forces, including riot police, police officers and security officials in plain clothes, who had cordoned off the square. Said Abdel Mineim Mohamed told Amnesty International that as they continued to walk towards the square, security forces opened fire; he was in the front ranks of the march and was shot from some 10 metres away at about 7:30pm. When security officials used tear gas, protesters retaliated by throwing the canisters back at the police. Clashes led to three deaths, according to eyewitnesses, and continued until the military arrived later in the evening.

Recently-graduated law student **Mohamed Magdi Hussein** was shot from behind, some 200-250 metres from Moharam Bey Police Station. The 20-year-old, along with his brother, went to the police station at about 11:30pm on 28 January out of curiosity. When they arrived, there were confrontations between police officers and protesters. Protesters were throwing rocks and empty bottles at the security forces, who were responding with tear gas, shotgun fire and live ammunition. According to his relatives, Mohamed was trying to encourage people to disperse when he was shot. He was taken to a local hospital, from where he was transferred to Alexandria University Hospitals, where he died. A medical report from El-Atarin Health Bureau certified that he died as a result of a "gunshot" wound. His father said to Amnesty International: "What do they teach them in the police academy? Who is going to be held accountable now? These are the children of Egypt… These are people with hope… They ruined that."

Bystanders and people in the vicinity of police stations were also killed or injured as a result of the failure of the security forces to show restraint or try to minimize injury, particularly against those not engaged in violence. Father of three, 40-year-old steel artisan **Mohamed Abdel Fatah Mohamed Amer** from Karmuz, was riding his motorbike when he was hit in his stomach by gunshot. According to his wife, he was on his way to a bakery near Karmuz Police Station. When the family found him the next morning at the Alexandria University Hospitals, he was still conscious and described how he was injured. Unfortunately, his condition deteriorated and following an operation, he died on 31 January. A medical certificate from El-Atarin Health Bureau, dated 17 February, states that he died from "gunshot in the chest and stomach". His family submitted a complaint to the Public Prosecution.

OTHER PROTESTS

While 28 January was the bloodiest day in Alexandria, there were subsequent casualties in Alexandria as well as deaths and killings on the city's outskirts.

Mustafa Ibrahim Mustafa died in front of Sidi Gaber Police Station in the evening of 29 January. The 31-year-old father of two worked at his father's store, and was the sole breadwinner of the family. His wife last spoke to him at about 9:30pm, when he said he was on his way home. Soon after, she received a call from a friend saying that he had been shot and taken to Alexandria University Hospitals. Amnesty International spoke to the friend, who was with him when he died. He said they had joined a march from Al-Manshiya to Sidi Gaber, and when they reached Sidi Gaber Police Station, they heard gunshots. He said that some people were trying to break into the police station, which was at the time secured by the military. He said that he was not sure where the shots were coming from, but that soldiers were using firearms to disperse the crowds. A bullet hit Mustafa Ibrahim Mustafa in the neck while he was standing 15-20 metres from the station observing the scene, according to his friend. He was pronounced dead at the hospital at 11:51pm. According to a medical report, he died from "gunshot" injuries to the face, neck and tongue. On 16 February, his wife Safia testified before the General Prosecution in Al-Manshiya about the circumstances of her husband's death.

Several people were killed and injured away from the city centre during the protests. For example, in Abou Youssef, some 30km west of Alexandria, security forces used excessive force to disperse protesters on 28 January. That morning 22-year-old **Islam Rashad Ahmed** left his house in Masakin Al Hadid We Al Sulb Street, carrying an Egyptian flag, planning to take part in protests. People headed off towards the main Alexandria-Matruh highway. Witnesses said there was a heavy security presence, including riot police in plain clothes, some reportedly standing on roofs firing at protesters. Security forces also used tear gas, gunshot and live ammunition against protesters, who were chanting "peaceful, peaceful". Islam Rashad Ahmed was shot in the head at about 4pm and rushed to Alexandria University Hospitals. A mobile phone video shows protesters carrying him, bleeding from the head. He was operated on, but never regained consciousness and died on 3 February. The death certificate states that he died as a result of "gunshot to the head". The family submitted a complaint to the Public Prosecutor in Cairo. The also put a sign on the entrance of the street where he lived, naming it after him.

BENI SUEF GOVERNORATE

"I went to the protest because we are youth calling for change… People like us needed to be shot at and die and sacrifice for all this acknowledgement [of corruption] to be made… Some live in palaces and others can't afford food, marriage, finding housing or even to live."

Essam Mohamed Gaber Ibrahim, injured protester from Al Wasta region in Beni Suef governorate

Beni Suef governorate, some 130km south of Cairo, witnessed large protests, although these attracted little media coverage.[89] The main spurs for protest there appeared to be the relative lack of economic development in the region and anger at the police. All residents interviewed by Amnesty International complained about abuses by the police, including arbitrary arrests, torture and other ill-treatment and fabricated accusations of drug-trafficking or illegal possession of weapons to extort money or to force them to act as informers.

Nineteen people died in the protests, according to an official source at the Ministry of Health and Population, although local civil society activists believed the total may have been a few more. The protests took place on 28 and 29 January, with all the killings happening on the second day. Amnesty International obtained testimonies on deaths and injuries in Beni Suef

city, Markaz ("region") Biba and Markaz Naser. Protests also took place in other regions, including Al Fashn and Al Wasta.[90] The Director of the Beni Suef General Hospital said that some members of the security forces were treated in the hospital.

In Beni Suef city, Amnesty International gathered information about three people who died and four who were injured. In Markaz Biba, local civil society activists compiled a list of 10 people who had been killed and 19 injured. Of these, Amnesty International met the families of seven of those killed and five of those injured. In Markaz Naser, Amnesty International met the families of two men who died there and of another man who died in the neighbouring Shahaweya area.

Amnesty International visited two main hospitals, Beni Suef General Hospital and Burg Al-Zahraa Hospital. Injuries treated there included buckshot and rubber bullet wounds. A Burg Al-Zahraa Hospital source said the hospital had treated people with buckshot wounds to the eye and all over their bodies, and one woman with a bullet wound in her shoulder. Some patients had to be referred to other hospitals such as Al-Ramad Hospital, a specialist eye hospital. The Public Prosecution, the only body that can order forensic examinations, was closed on 29 January.

BENI SUEF CITY

On 28 January, the "Friday of Anger", 20,000 protesters were reported to have marched down Beni Suef's main avenues, including Abdel Salam Aref Street, and Salah Salem Street. Protesters came en masse from working class neighbourhoods to reach the central Al-Zira'yin Square and Ahmed Orabi Street. These strategic points give access to main government buildings. As peaceful protesters gathered there after the Friday prayer at around 2-2:30pm, security forces sought to disperse them using tear gas. Later, they fired buckshot and rubber bullets at protesters. At around sunset they reportedly fired live ammunition; fortunately, it appears that no one was killed. Security forces chased protesters into side streets and reportedly fired tear gas and buckshot in residential areas.

Asmaa Mahmoud Mohamed, a 12-year-old school girl, was wounded in her right eye as she stood on her balcony at around midnight in her house on Mundi Street, off the main Abdel Salam Aref Street. Members of security forces had chased protesters down Mundi Street and other adjacent streets. One agent, described as wearing cumin-coloured uniform, walked back through Mundi Street and then fired his shotgun, hitting the balcony where Asmaa Mahmoud Mohamed was standing. Her family took her to Ramad Hospital in Beni Suef and from there she was transferred to Kasr Alainy Hospital in Cairo. The medical report, dated 16 February 2011, confirmed that part of her eye had been ruptured but does not refer to the cause. Her mother finally managed to obtain a copy of the scan, which she said show the pellets that caused the injury.

The protests on 29 January led to even more violence. In the afternoon, about 40,000 protesters went to the city's main gathering points, which the security forces (mainly riot police) tried to maintain control of by using firearms to disperse protesters. Some protesters said they threw stones at security forces after tear gas was fired at them. Around sunset, violence intensified and security forces used buckshot, rubber bullets and then live ammunition without warning. Between 7:30pm and 8pm, the situation degenerated after people, described by witnesses as "thugs," threw rocks and petrol bombs at security forces.

Protesters attacked some buildings that were symbols of repression and hardship. The local NDP building and the subsidized food distribution premises were looted and destroyed. Kiosks near Al-Zera'yin Square were burned. Some banks were stormed.

At least three people were killed that day and others were injured. **Gaber Ahmed Abdel Baqy**, a 25-year-old daily labourer from Ezbet Al-Tahrir informal settlement, died of multiple buckshot wounds inflicted between 5:30pm and 7pm. Witnesses said that he was shot from a range of six metres when he was 300 metres from Al-Zera'yin Square. A medical report dated 30 January describes the multiple wounds to his body, including to his face and arm. The Public Prosecution opened an investigation into his killing and called witnesses. On about 11 March, the Public Prosecutor in Beni Suef ordered a forensic autopsy of the body of Gaber Ahmed Abdel Baqy in the presence of the family, after which the body was exhumed. The forensic doctor only measured the size of the wounds, but did not carry out a full autopsy.

Ahmed Anwar Salem, a 22-year-old electrician who lived in Ezbet Al-Tahrir informal settlement, joined the demonstrations to protest against corruption and police repression. His modest earnings were the only income of the household. He was shot, apparently at close range, between 6pm and 7pm by security forces in uniform near Al-Zera'yin Square. He died two days later in Al-Maadi Hospital near Cairo, apparently because one of the pellets entered his brain. Following his burial, the Public Prosecutor ordered a forensic autopsy and Ahmed Anwar Salem's body was exhumed. The family had not received the autopsy report at the time of writing.

Walid Hamdi Ali Abou Taleb, aged 19 with five siblings, left school to work in a café and became the breadwinner for the family. To vent his anger against poverty and corruption, he joined the protests in Zara'yin Square on 25, 28 and 29 January. On 29 January, while "thugs" were burning kiosks in Al-Zera'yin Square, he was shot in the face, apparently by security forces, and died immediately. A medical report from Beni Suef General Hospital stated that his case should be referred to the Public Prosecution. The family buried him the next day. The death certificate, dated 30 January, states that he died as a result of "an acute drop in blood and heart pressure due to a serious wound to the head". In early March, the Public Prosecutor in Beni Suef ordered the exhumation of his body for an autopsy. In the presence of his family, the forensic doctor only measured the size of the head wounds, to the family's relief as they did not want a full autopsy. The family was not given a copy of the forensic report, but believe it refers to fractures to the nose and skull, and bleeding in the brain. The father of Walid Hamdi Ali Abou Taleb sought to obtain the financial compensation announced by the government at the Ministry of Social Solidarity, but was told that he needed to file a police report first and present the death certificate, the permit to bury his son and the medical report.

Among the many people injured during the protests was **Essam Mohamed Gaber Ibrahim**, a 32-year-old university graduate who works in a library. On 29 January, he joined the peaceful march, which he said numbered 40,000 to 50,000 participants. At around 5pm in Ahmed Orabi Street protesters were chanting "peaceful, peaceful" when confronted by riot police around 500 metres away. He said the riot police first fired tear gas at them, then threw stones, then fired rubber bullets. About half an hour later, he said, he was hit in the face and his legs by a shotgun. At Burg Al-Zahraa Hospital medics stopped the bleeding. Like many

victims, Essam Mohamed Gaber Ibrahim believes that his body holds the evidence of security force violence. A medical report by Burg Al-Zahraa Hospital, dated 29 January, states that "foreign bodies" were found in wounds to his nose and other parts of his body.

By the evening of 30 January, police had largely withdrawn from Beni Suef and the army was deployed. Popular committees were formed by local residents to protect their neighbourhoods from looting. From then until 11 February, when Hosni Mubarak resigned, peaceful demonstrations continued in Beni Suef without serious incident.

MARKAZ NASER

On 29 January at around 4:30pm, youths and other residents marched up and down the main Gamal Abdel Nasser Street of Markaz Naser (also known as Bush) chanting "one, two, where are Bush's men?" to mobilize people to defy a police announcement that protesters would be shot. A witness said that initially there were about 50 peaceful protesters and that they did not go near the police station, but apparently there was some looting. Police reacted by dispersing the protesters using firearms, allegedly killing two men. Their families say neither had been involved in the protests. Four other people were reportedly injured.

Hamada Mohamed Ahmed Mohamed El-Sabbagh, aged 51 and a father of four, was Director of Sidnawi Mall in Markaz Nasser. On the evening of 29 January, he went to the mall to join guards protecting the premises from looters, and appears to have been killed by police. The death certificate, dated 30 January, confirms that he died in front of Sidnawi Mall after being shot in the head. An initial medical report from Beni Suef General Hospital, dated 29 January, states that he died from a gunshot wound in the skull after an attack by the police. Witnesses told his family that the plain-clothed police had shot him with an automatic weapon. The hospital required the family to obtain a police report before taking the body. As the police had withdrawn from the area, the family obtained a death certificate and authorization to bury him from a representative of the Public Prosecutor in Beni Suef. After the family submitted a complaint, the Public Prosecution in Markaz Naser requested a detailed medical report from the Health Department, but the family does not have one.

Emad Abdel Khaleq Bakry Sayed, a 31-year-old father of two and orange vendor, was also shot dead. On 29 January, as usual, he was selling oranges from his cart on Gamal Abdel Nasser Street, near the police station. According to his father, as violence erupted in the street, the police thought he was involved and shot him at close range. He died in Naser Central Hospital. His death certificate, dated that day, states that he died of a "heart and chest bleeding – buckshot fire round – accident." A representative of the Public Prosecutor in Beni Suef authorized the burial. The medical report, also dated 29 January, states that the body had traces of shotgun pellets in his chest. The father of Emad Abdel Khaleq Bakry Sayed submitted a case to the Public Prosecution in Markaz Nasser, and is seeking compensation from the Ministry of Social Solidarity.

MARKAZ BIBA

"We ask the government to give us our right, our right won't be wasted, because this is haram *[forbidden], they deprived me of my dearest in the world…"*

Stenfanos Nasr Allah Francis, a carpenter in Markaz Biba, whose son Mena was killed in Markaz Biba

Protests in Markaz Biba were virtually unknown, but on the afternoon of 29 January young

people gathered in front of the main mosque and chanted anti-government slogans. The gathering attracted passers-by, including children and teenagers. A video shows the joy of the protesters, sensing the power of their voices, one day after the "Friday of Anger". About 200 of them marched through Markaz Biba and at around sunset, approached the security headquarters from the south. At around the same time, a group of people marched from the north towards the headquarters either to protest or – as some residents said – to recover motorcycles previously confiscated by the police. The police responded by firing live ammunition directly at both groups without warning, allegedly killing 10 people and injuring 19.

West of the main Port Said Road, also known as Al-Mahkama Road, which passes through Markaz Biba and connects it to Beni Suef city to the north, is a building complex containing the security headquarters of Markaz Biba, the police station and the SSI premises. Nearby is a canal, whose banks are connected by Biba Bridge to the south and Al-Fabrika Bridge to the north, and a pedestrian bridge in between. Most protesters appear to have crossed Biba Bridge, although some crossed Al-Fabrika Bridge, on their way to the security headquarters. According to residents, police officers and informers started shooting from the gate and the roof of the headquarters, and later from above the pedestrian bridge. The protests were generally peaceful, although videos suggest that some youths threw stones towards the police station but from quite a distance. Police reportedly chased them to Biba Bridge, shooting live ammunition. A video seen by Amnesty International shows that shooting continued into the night, with youths standing defiant near the pedestrian bridge, and carrying away those who had been shot. It appears that the protesters never reached the headquarters nor posed any threat to the lives of security forces. Testimonies suggest that those killed and injured were protesting, or trying to carry injured people away to safety, or were simply bystanders.

Residents said that the police, having dispersed protesters and taken control of the road before dawn on 30 January, left the building complex with weapons. Some residents said they heard gunshots from the direction of the building until about 3am. Flames were then seen coming from the building as the police left, suggesting that the police set fire to the building – a view shared by residents who believe the police wanted to portray the killings as self-defence in the face of violent protests. Allegedly, prisoners in Markaz Biba's prison in the same building complex escaped. The next morning, residents found the body of a man behind the headquarters, apparently shot dead.

Families of victims of shootings filed complaints with the Public Prosecution in Markaz Biba and gave their testimonies. The prosecution ordered the exhumation of 10 bodies to conduct autopsies, which took place on 17 February. In fact, most families buried their dead relatives without a permit and did not obtain a death certificate, at least initially. The small, ill-equipped local hospital did not have the capacity to deal with the high casualty toll and in many cases people transported dead and wounded people on motorcycles. In some cases, ambulances transferred the injured to Beni Suef General Hospital, which occasionally provided primary medical reports. The families of the dead reluctantly agreed to the exhumations and autopsies so that justice could be served.

Most families of those killed and the injured accuse the Head of Investigations in Markaz Biba Police Station of the shootings and ordering the shootings, including by allegedly shooting one of his subordinates in the leg after he disobeyed orders. After 29 January, the

Head of Investigations was apparently reassigned to lead the drug-trafficking department in Beni Suef governorate. In early March, the Public Prosecutor reportedly ordered the arrest of three policemen in connection with the killings.

Mena Stenfanos Nasr Allah Francis, a 24-year-old carpenter, is believed by residents to have been the first to be killed in Markaz Biba during the protests. Testimonies suggest that he was shot after he crossed Biba Bridge with a group of protesters. His family believes he was going to meet a business contact. According to reports, he died as a result of a bullet wound to the chest. Protesters carried him to the local hospital, which issued a document saying that he had been dead on arrival "as a result of a gunshot" on 29 January. His grief-stricken family said he had no problem with the police.

A witness to his killing, Hussein Abbas Hassan, said the protesters were chanting anti-government slogans as they approached the SSI building. Some children threw stones at the windows but were stopped by the older men. He said an "informer" rushed out of the SSI gate and shot at protesters with an automatic weapon without warning. He was followed by the Head of Investigations, who first fired his police gun and then an automatic weapon at protesters, aiming at chest level. Hussein Abbas Hassan said he fled the scene with **Emad Ali Mohamed Ali** and **Ashraf Salem Ali Mansur**. Later, Emad Ali Mohamed Ali was shot dead, reportedly as he was carrying his wounded cousin **Mustafa Sayed Mohamed Ali** to safety. Subsequently, Ashraf Salem Ali Mansur was reported to have been shot dead while trying to carry the body of Emad Ali Mohamed Ali. The men appear to have been killed between 6pm and 7pm. At that stage, a policeman and an "informer" were reportedly chasing people near Biba Bridge and fired across the bridge. Emad Ali Mohamed Ali, aged 30, was working as a driver in a car that he was paying for in instalments; he was the sole breadwinner for his family. Mustafa Sayed Mohamed Ali, aged 23, worked in a marble factory. Both appear to have been killed near Biba Bridge. Ashraf Salem Ali Mansur, a 43-year-old father of five, was headmaster of a local school. According to their families, Mustafa Sayed Mohamed Ali died as a result of a gunshot wound just below his waist, while Emad Ali Mohamed Ali was shot in the neck and shoulder. Primary medical reports for both issued by Beni Suef General Hospital, dated 29 January, state that they were dead on arrival "due to gunshot as a result of attack by the police". The injured Ashraf Salem Ali Mansur was taken to the local hospital and then to Beni Suef General Hospital, but it was too late to save his life. His family buried him the next day without a death certificate or authorization to bury him. His family filed a complaint with the Public Prosecution.

Many people were injured by live ammunition fired by security forces. **Tamer Mohamed Naguib Abbas**, a 25-year-old baker and father of one, told Amnesty International that he was taking part in a peaceful protest on 29 January when he was shot. His medical certificate from Biba Central Hospital, dated 12 February, confirms gunshot entry and exit points in his right buttock.

Mohamed Ramadan Abdel Hameed, aged 37 and a father of three, feared his brother might have joined the protesters and went to collect him. He said that when he saw the body of Mena Stenfanos Nasr Allah Francis, he lent his motorcycle to people to take him to hospital. As he stood there, condemning the police action, a policeman in plain clothes shot him in the shoulder. He fell and then hid behind a car until somebody took him from the scene by motorcycle. A private doctor stitched the wound, fearing that removing the bullet would be

dangerous. Mohamed Ramadan Abdel Hameed said a scan showed a bullet lodged behind his lung and that surgeons told him that an operation might be life-threatening. He now cannot work. He presented a complaint to the Public Prosecution and was then forensically examined on 14 February. He testified before the Public Prosecutor.

Many other people appear to have been killed or injured in the north of Markaz Biba. **Hussein Ali Farrag Ahmed**, an 18-year-old carpenter, said he was injured just below his left kidney by a bullet fired from behind him. He was shot just after 5:30pm on 29 January near the pedestrian bridge. Returning from work, he decided to join the protest after coming across friends there and seeing the police shooting. He said he saw Ahmed Hassan Ahmed Mohamed Haridy (see below) falling after being shot. When he went to help him, he too was shot. On 17 February, doctors at Beni Suef General Hospital attempted to remove the bullet but without success.

Ahmed Hassan Ahmed Mohamed Haridy, a 24-year-old army recruit, was returning home on leave on 29 January just before the shooting started. He arrived by car near Al-Fabrika Bridge. His cousin said he was injured in his chest by a live bullet fired by an automatic weapon and in his back by two shotgun pellets. Biba Central Hospital would not admit him, so he was taken to Beni Suef General Hospital, but he died. The death certificate states that he died in the emergency reception at the hospital as a result of "gunshot in different places of the body causing bleeding and acute drop of blood pressure". His name however appears in the Ministry of Interior's statement on the recruits killed, stating a similar cause of death but saying that Ahmed Hassan Ahmed Mohamed Haridy died while on service in Al-Marg Police Station in Cairo.[91] His brother submitted a complaint to the Public Prosecution. His family reluctantly agreed to the exhumation of the body and forensic examination. Some residents believe he was shot during an incident they witnessed near Al-Fabrika Bridge. A policeman had a loud argument with people whose motorcycles had been confiscated. As the people went towards the traffic bureau at Markaz Biba headquarters to collect their motorcycles, the police shot at them.

The family of **Rami Sayed Hamza Mansur** believe he too was shot in this incident. A 31-year-old wall painter, he was shot while carrying an injured man to safety; the bullet went straight through his body. As he fell, a man who tried to carry him to safety was shot in the neck. Other people took them to the local hospital, but it would not admit them, so an ambulance took them to Beni Suef General Hospital. Rami Sayed Hamza Mansur was dead on arrival. The death certificate issued by Beni Suef General Hospital on 29 January puts the cause of death as "acute heart and blood pressure drop because of gunshot".

The circumstances of the death of **Ahmed Saad Mustafa Ali** are also unclear. He died on 29 January as a result of a bullet wound. His father last saw him transporting an injured man near his home at around 5:45pm, and last heard from him in a telephone call at around 8:40pm. About half an hour later, a neighbour told him that his son had been injured. Ahmed Saad Mustafa Ali died in an ambulance taking him to Beni Suef General Hospital. His father, fearing that he had no proof of what happened, went with the body of his son to Biba Central Hospital and left the body in the morgue, hoping it would be examined. As nothing happened, he decided to bury his son. He then could not obtain a death certificate without the authorization of the Public Prosecution. He presented a complaint to the Public Prosecutor but still did not have a death certificate when interviewed by Amnesty

International on 16 February. He testified before the Public Prosecution on 7 February. All he has managed to obtain is a paper from the registry of the ambulance, dated 5 February, stating that Ahmed Saad Mustafa Ali died in the ambulance on his way to Beni Suef Hospital and that he was returned to the morgue of Biba Central Hospital because of a gunshot wound.

People who have been injured by the security forces have also been seeking justice as in many cases their injuries have deeply affected their lives. **Atef Gallawy Fath Elbab Ahmed**, a 21-year-old artisan, joined the protest in Markaz Biba on 29 January at around 5:30pm. He said that the march was far from the headquarters of the security forces when police and "informers" opened fire on them with live ammunition. His medical reports show that he suffered a fractured skull, leaving him paralysed down his left side. He was also injured in his upper left arm. He has had to pay for much of his medical costs. When he spoke to Amnesty International delegates on 16 February, he was awaiting medical records and so had not yet submitted a complaint to the Public Prosecution.

Fifteen-year-old **Ahmed Gouma Fathi Fouly**, a mechanic, was wounded in his ankle on 29 January in unclear circumstances. The 8mm live bullet was said to have been removed at Beni Suef General Hospital on 17 February. The doctor told the family that he would give it to the Public Prosecution.

During the shooting on 29 January, prisoners in a grossly overcrowded cell in Markaz Biba prison feared they would be killed so broke down the cell door and tried to get out. A policeman and an SSI officer shot at them and one prisoner was wounded in the leg. Prisoners with mobile phones learned that other prisoners in Egypt had been released, but the police in Markaz Biba would not let them go. The shooting outside continued until about 2:30am, when police suddenly withdrew. As prisoners began to leave their cells, they saw smoke. The male prisoners then opened the door for female prisoners and they escaped. Local activists showed Amnesty International delegates the building from inside, including where the SSI used to detain people, as well as the prison and police station of Biba.

SUEZ

The city of Suez witnessed some of the country's heaviest violence during the anti-government protests. Medical records from the Health Directorate in Suez state that 21 men aged between 19 and 54 died as a result of gunfire during the unrest. Amnesty International confirmed that another youth succumbed to his wounds on 12 February. Local doctors, lawyers and activists believe the true death toll was higher as some families did not take the bodies of their relatives to the morgue.

The security forces handed over the bodies to the families of the first three casualties shot on 25 January, allegedly on condition that they immediately bury them without having an autopsy or a public funeral. This was, they allegedly said, to avoid fuelling protests. For those who died on 28 January, it appears that autopsies were carried out by a doctor brought in from the nearby city of Ismailiya. Some families showed Amnesty International medical reports, indicating the cause of death as "gunshots" but providing few other details. Other families said they were waiting for full autopsy reports from Ismailiya.

The Amnesty International delegation, which visited Suez between 9-11 February, found that

security forces used excessive and even lethal force against protesters and others, including in circumstances when there was no imminent threat to life. Some protesters behaved violently, damaging property which they associated with repression and corruption, and attacking members of the security forces with rocks, petrol bombs and in rarer instances flare guns[92] and other weapons. However, even in these circumstances, it appears that security forces used force disproportionately and resorted to firearms when it was not strictly necessary to protect life, and did so without providing prior warning. Bystanders were among those killed and injured.

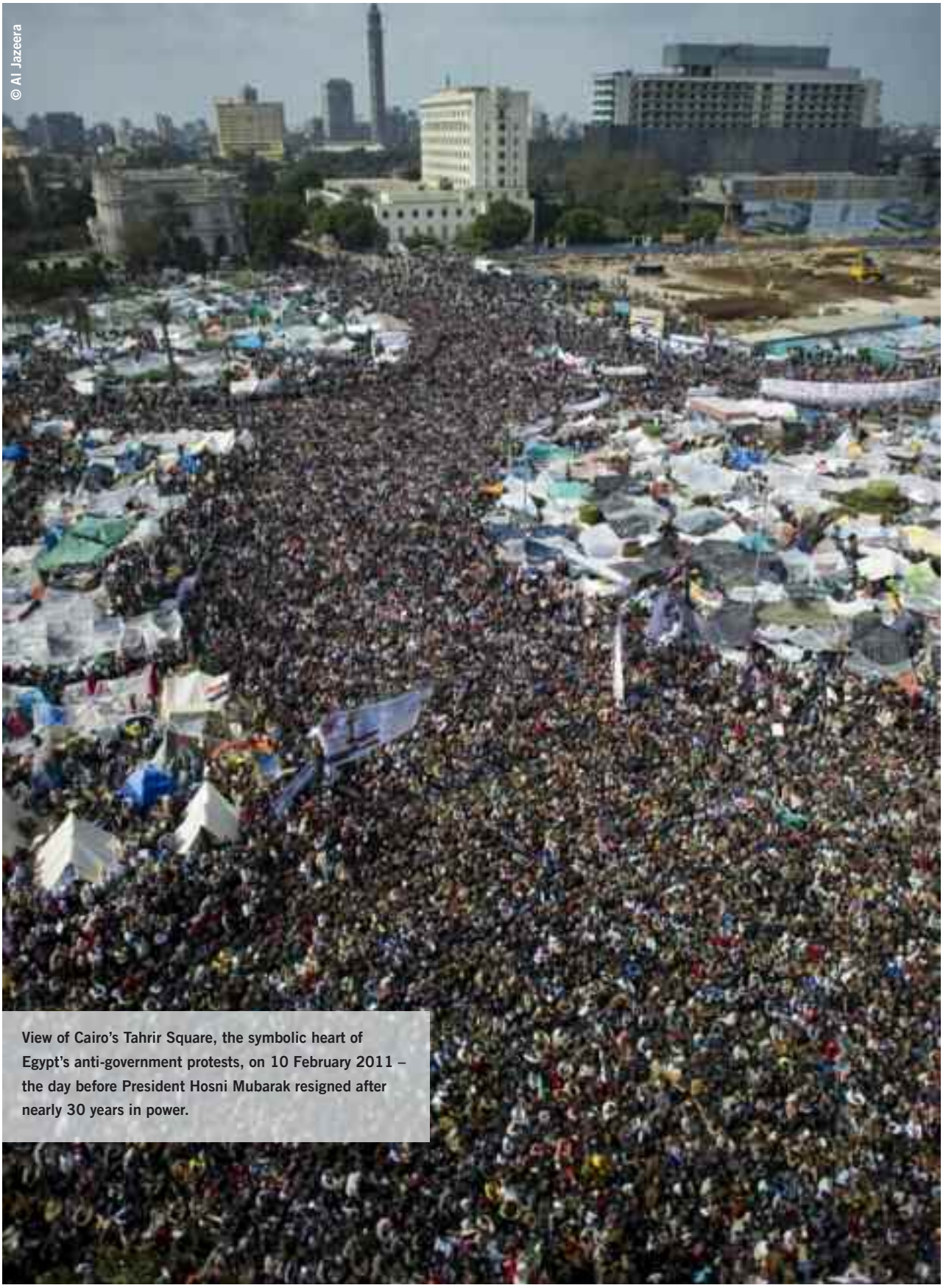
Security forces used tear gas, water cannon, rubber bullets, shotguns and live ammunition to disperse crowds during demonstrations and in their vicinity, without issuing warnings. In some incidents, protesters apprehended by security forces were beaten with batons and kicked. Dozens were arrested and charged with violent conduct; some of them said they were beaten or otherwise ill-treated in detention.

On 25 January, thousands of people marched through Suez's main boulevards, Al-Geish Street and 23 July Street, stretching from the densely-populated Al-Arba'in neighbourhood to the Suez neighbourhood, where the Suez governorate building and Suez Police Station are located. According to eyewitnesses, protests in front of Al-Arba'in Police Station and the Suez governorate started peacefully, with protesters chanting anti-government slogans and demanding better living conditions. The atmosphere changed at around 2pm, when riot police and other security forces used tear gas to disperse the protesters. When some of the protesters responded by throwing rocks, reportedly injuring a commander near Al-Arba'in Police Station, violence escalated and security forces began using batons, shotguns, rubber bullets and live ammunition, in addition to driving official vehicles into crowds of protesters. Protesters responded by throwing stones and in some instances firing flare guns. According to medical sources, three protesters were shot dead with live ammunition – the first fatalities of the unrest in the country – and 138 people were injured, including 18 riot police. Some protesters including peaceful protesters leading chants were arrested.

Confrontations between protesters and security forces continued on 26 and 27 January, leading to the death of one protester and injuries to around 80 others, according to local medical sources. On 26 January, angry crowds looted and burned a number of public buildings, including the Al-Arba'in Neighbourhood Authority building, Al-Muthalath Police Station and a co-operative for subsidized items, and set fire to police and private cars.

More than 500 protesters were injured in Suez between 25 and 28 January, according to medical sources to whom Amnesty International spoke. Injuries ranged from superficial wounds to broken bones and bullet wounds. Medical sources told Amnesty International that several people lost the sight in one eye as a result of shotgun wounds.

Forty-eight-year-old *tok-tok* driver **Ashraf Hassan** told Amnesty International that on 27 January, shortly after he left his home near Gaish Street to go to work, he was wounded with a shotgun. Pellets were removed from his body: one from his eye, four from his stomach, and four from his arms and legs. He lamented: "My eye is gone just like that. How am I going to survive? How can I drive my *tok-tok* with one eye? How am I going to feed my family?" He had borrowed money to buy his *tok-tok* on loan and must pay back 280 Egyptian pounds (US$47) a month, regardless of his income.



View of Cairo's Tahrir Square, the symbolic heart of Egypt's anti-government protests, on 10 February 2011 – the day before President Hosni Mubarak resigned after nearly 30 years in power.

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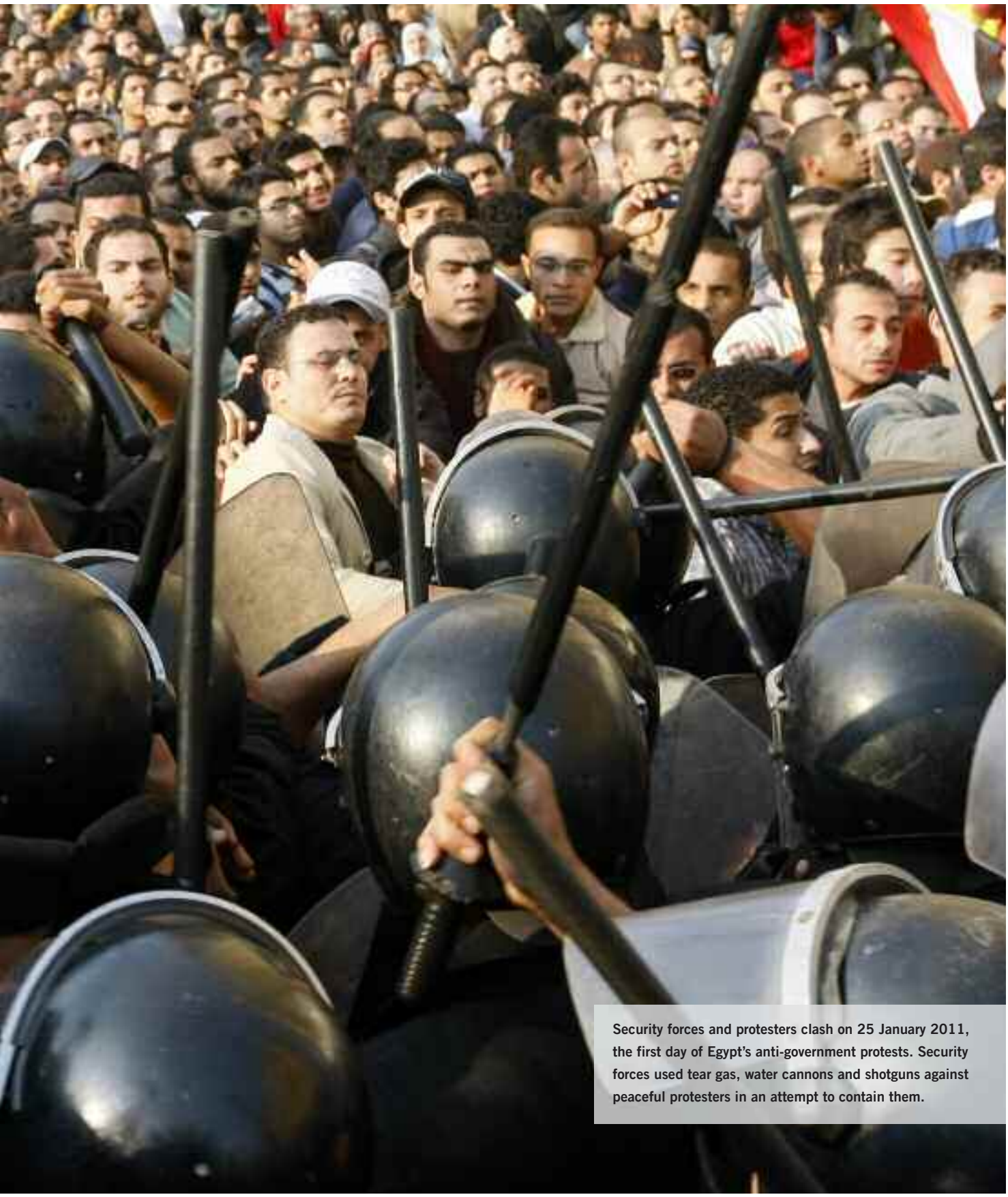

Security forces and protesters clash on 25 January 2011, the first day of Egypt's anti-government protests. Security forces used tear gas, water cannons and shotguns against peaceful protesters in an attempt to contain them.

KILLED DURING PROTESTS IN EGYPT, 2011

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Left page, from top left to right: Gharib Abdel Aal El-Sayed, Hussein Gouma Hussein, Emad Ali Mohamed Ali, Mohamed Magdi Hussein, Ahmed Saad Mustafa Ali, Rami Sayed Hamza Mansur, Abdou Said Mohamed, Zakaria Ahmed Tawfik, Ihab Mohamed Ahmed Nasser, Nasser Faycal Ali El-Sayed, Mohamed Sayed Ibrahim Abdel Latif, Mustafa Gamal Wardani, Rahma Mohsen Ahmed, Mustafa Amr Mohamed Ahmed, Mohamed Abdel Razek, Mustafa Ibrahim Mustafa, Mohab Ali Hassan, Amira Samir El-Sayed, Islam Metwali Mohamed Metwali, Mustafa Sayed Mohamed Ali, Hussein Taha Hussein, El-Dabaa Ahmed Mohamed Sayed, Ahmed Mustafa Thabet, Moheer Khalil Zaki, Emad Mohamed Mohamed El-Sayed, Mohamed Rashed Darwish, Ahmed Abdel Rahim El-Sayed, Khaled Mohamed El-Wakil, Ashraf Salem Ali Mansur, Khaled Mohamed Abdel Kader. *This page, from top left to right*: Ali Nour El Din, Islam Rashad Ahmed, Ahmed Amer Mahmoud Mustafa, Mohamed Abdel Fatah Mohamed Amer, Mohamed Mustafa Abdou, Hassan Mahmoud Ahmed, Mohamed Rami Khamis, Ahmed Anwar Salem, Ahmed Hassan Ahmed Haridy, Emad Abdel Khaleq Bakry Sayed, Gaber Ahmed Abdel Baqy, Hamada Mohamed Ahmed Mohamed El-Sabbagh, Mena Stenfanos Nasr Allah Francis, Magdy Mohamed Hassan Ahmed. Mohamed Nasr Abdel Azim Mohamed, Sherif Yehya Atrees Sulayman, Nagi Amin Ali El-Wakil, Abdel Nasser El-Said Abdel Nabi, Magda Awad Ali El-Razek, Mohamed Ali Shata, Alaa Abdel Mohsen Saad Abdou, Mustafa Abdallah Abdel Wahab, Sherif El-Sayed Radwan, Islam Essam Mohamed.

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Mass protest in Alexandria, 10 February 2011.

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***Above left*: The family of Mohamed Mustafa Abdou hold pictures of the 19-year-old, who was shot dead on 28 January 2011 in Alexandria during anti-government protests.**
***Above*: The family of Islam Essam Mohamed hold his picture and the scarf he was wearing on the night of 28 January 2011, when he was shot in the head and killed in front of Ein Shams Police Station.**
***Far left*: Twelve-year-old schoolgirl Asmaa Mahmoud Mohamed stands on the balcony of her home in Beni Suef, where she was shot in the eye on 28 January 2011.**
***Left*: A man who was tortured by Egypt's armed forces shows Amnesty International his scars.**

During the "25 January Revolution", security forces fired tear gas at peaceful protesters, sometimes at head height, Cairo, January 2011.

Anti-government protesters and pro-Mubarak "thugs" – some of whom were believed to be police in civilian clothes – clashed in Tahrir Square on 2 February 2011.

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On 11 February 2011, protesters in Suez carry a banner of people killed in anti-government demonstrations in the city.

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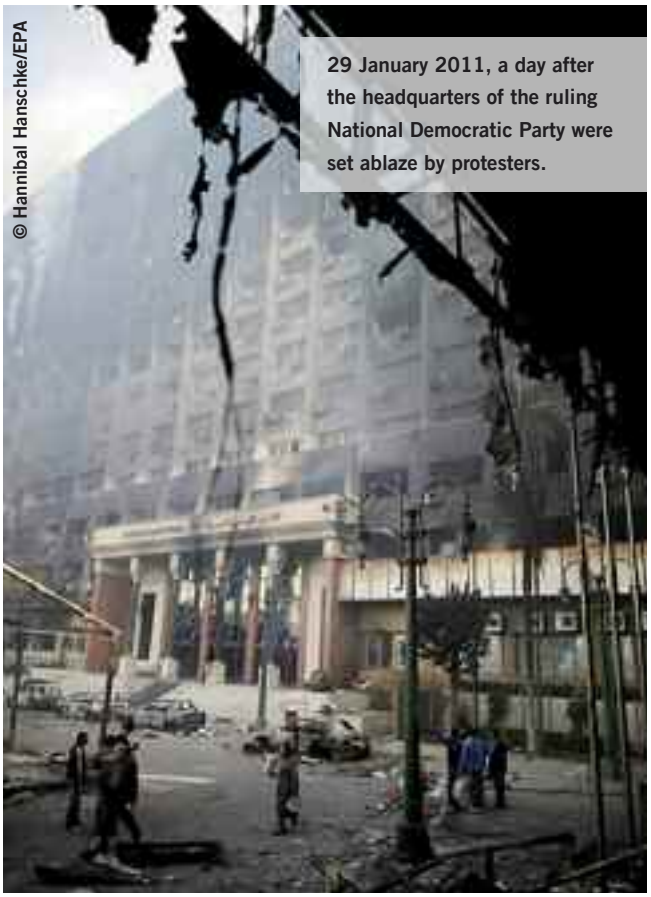
Several police stations were burned on 28 January after the police withdrew, including the El-Amiriya Police Station, pictured.



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29 January 2011, a day after the headquarters of the ruling National Democratic Party were set ablaze by protesters.

'FRIDAY OF ANGER'

The "Friday of Anger" on 28 January was the bloodiest day in Suez, during which at least 19 people were killed or fatally wounded and 310 were injured, according to medical sources. Eyewitnesses told Amnesty International that tens of thousands of men, women and children joined demonstrations after Friday prayer. Violent confrontations broke out in front of Al-Arba'in Police Station. Protesters used violent means, including throwing petrol bombs, and eventually overpowered the security forces who fled the scene. Some were believed to have fled to Suez Police Station and others hid in a private apartment building belonging to a wealthy businessman and reportedly well connected to the local police. Protesters then broke into the police station, freeing detainees, before looting and burning it. That day, angry crowds also broke into, or burned, government and private buildings associated with repression and corruption, including the Traffic Authority and an NDP office.

At about 5pm, protesters headed from Al-Arba'in neighbourhood towards the governorate building, the Suez Police Station and the SSI premises, all around 600 metres away. On their way, they passed through Al-Nimsa area towards the apartment building of the wealthy businessman. Eyewitnesses told Amnesty International that snipers in or on top of the building, as well as in or on the roofs of buildings near Suez Police Station, shot at random at protesters, including peaceful demonstrators and bystanders. Heavy gunfire was heard for hours, particularly between 8pm and 11pm, during which the army was deployed. The army tried to contain the angry protesters in front of Suez Police Station. Some protesters would not leave until the military officials handed over an individual believed to be an "informant"; when their demand was met, the man's throat was slit by protesters with a knife. He survived and was taken to hospital, from where he was said to have escaped.

By the next morning, police had withdrawn completely from Suez. Although anti-government protests continued nearly daily until the resignation of Hosni Mubarak, no more violence took place. Among those killed on 28 January was 21-year-old **Islam Metwali Mohamed Metwali**, an unemployed graduate who was shot dead at about 9:30am on Talat Harb Street near the Exxon Mobil Petrol Station, across the street from the businessman's apartment building. Islam Metwali Mohamed Metwali was shot from behind, suggesting that he was fleeing at the time. Witnesses told his family that he was shot by snipers positioned on top of nearby buildings. His brother showed Amnesty International the jacket that Islam Metwali Mohamed Metwali was wearing the night of his death; it had a hole in the back. His mother, visibly shaken by her son's premature death, nonetheless told Amnesty International: "I am proud of the youth. If they didn't protest, nothing would have changed. We lived 30 years of corruption."

Alaa Abdel Mohsen Saad Abdou, aged 45 and father of two teenage girls, was shot near Suez Police Station at about 5pm. A relative who was with him told his family that Alaa Abdel Mohsen Saad Abdou was not doing anything violent when a bullet hit his stomach. His family told Amnesty International that a doctor extracted the bullet from his body at Al-Arba'in morgue. His nephew said it was a 39 x 7.62mm bullet from an automatic weapon. A death certificate obtained by Amnesty International dated 30 January stated that Alaa Abdel Mohsen Saad Abdou died on 29 January as a result of "a gunfire wound". The family were waiting to obtain a copy of the medical report before lodging a complaint with the Public Prosecutor.

Mustafa Gamal Wardani, aged 24 and employed in a ceramics company, was shot right outside his house. His father and siblings told Amnesty International that at around 4pm, about five minutes after he left the family home, they heard shots and saw that Mustafa had been injured. He was rushed to hospital, but it was too late. As indicated in the medical report the family obtained from the Suez General Hospital, he died as a result of a bullet wound to his stomach. Eyewitnesses told his family that he was shot by snipers in nearby buildings. His father said to Amnesty International: "Why was he shot? He was so far from the Suez Police Station (several blocks away). He could not possibly have had time to engage in any violent activity, he just left the house five minutes earlier." He added that he had lodged a formal complaint with the Public Prosecution on 9 February and filed a police report at the Suez Police Station a day earlier.

Fifty-year-old school principal **Mustafa Abdallah Abdel Wahab** prayed at Sheikh Farag Mosque at sunset on 28 January. The mosque is a three-minute walk from his house, which is near Suez Police Station. As he was returning home, he was shot. The death certificate states that the cause of death was a "cartridge" injury in the chest area. His wife and children showed Amnesty International where the snipers were standing that morning, some on a building across the road from their apartment. They said that some were in plain clothes and others in police uniform, which they later abandoned in favour of plain clothes with the help of local residents. The family said that throughout the evening they heard gunfire and that a bullet entered a neighbour's fifth floor flat in their apartment, fortunately injuring no one. Earlier in the day, their home had been filled with tear gas. The family could only collect Mustafa's body the following day because of the curfew and the persistent shooting. They said that the morgue was overflowing with bodies, including of children, some of them on the ground.

Sherif Said Radwan was also shot dead on 28 January. His brother Tamer told Amnesty International that the two of them, along with their brother Hani, joined the protest after finishing the Friday prayer in Al-Arba'in Mosque. He said that the protest started peacefully, but security forces then provoked protesters by firing tear gas and using water cannon without warning. Protesters retaliated by throwing rocks and petrol bombs, and confrontations ensued, eventually causing the fall of Al-Arba'in Police Station to the protesters. On the way to Suez Police Station, the brothers joined other protesters heading towards the businessman's apartment building intending to attack it. Snipers in the building fired at them and the protesters suffered causalities. Tamer said that a tank arrived and stopped in front of the building to protect it, but that snipers nonetheless shot at protesters in the street. Tamer said that protesters started fleeing and at around 9pm he lost sight of Sherif in the general confusion. By the time his brothers reached the hospital, Sherif was dead. He had a bullet wound in his chest, and his back was covered in shrapnel wounds. They took the body home at about 2am. The following morning, they realized that they needed a medical report and returned to the morgue. A few days later, Tamer submitted a police report with Suez Police Station.

Several of the injured were transferred to hospitals outside Suez for treatment. Amnesty International spoke to two young men, **Ahmed Hussein Mohamed** and **Ahmed Mohamed Farghali**, both from Suez, who had been taken to Mounira Hospital in Cairo for operations. Both were shot in the stomach on 28 January. Ahmed Hussein Mohamed said that he was shot at about 6pm in front of Suez Police Station, when security forces fired tear gas and

then live ammunition without warning. People took him to the hospital in a private car as ambulances were not getting through. He said that when he got to the Suez General Hospital, it was overflowing with the dead and wounded. Ahmed Mohamed Farghali, a taxi driver still seriously ill when he spoke to Amnesty International, said that he was shot on 28 January on his way to work. The next thing he remembers is being in Suez General Hospital.

PORT SAID

The coastal city of Port Said saw its share of violence during anti-government protests. According to medical sources, at least 17 people were killed in the unrest and a further 110 were injured, including some 30 members of the security forces.

About 2,000 men and women responded to the nationwide call for protests on 25 January by gathering peacefully around Sabah Street in the centre of Port Said. Some shop owners reportedly attacked the protesters as they marched in the free trade area where a few, generally well-connected businesspeople hold licences to operate. The security forces made no attempt to forcibly disperse the demonstrators. Instead, they arrested 15 protesters in what appeared to be an attempt to deter further anti-government action. Nine were arrested from the front ranks of the march; the others were arrested later that day, including from near the offices of the opposition Democratic Front Party. All 15 were released on 29 January without charge after being questioned about their reasons for joining the anti-government movement.

'FRIDAY OF ANGER'

Tens of thousands of people took to the streets of Port Said on 28 January to demand change. After the Friday prayer, protesters marched down the city's main avenues, including 23 July Street, Thalathini Street and Al-Shohada Street (Mohamed Ali Street), gathering in places such as Al-Masala Square and Al-Manshiya Square. Protesters chanted slogans condemning rampant unemployment and the rising prices of basic commodities, criticizing corruption and government nepotism, and calling for the overthrow of the political system. Some protesters tore down posters of Hosni Mubarak and ripped them up.

The vast majority of the protests unravelled peacefully under the watchful eyes of the security forces. Nonetheless, confrontations ensued in front of Al-Arab Police Station and security forces used excessive force in its vicinity. According to residents, riot police used tear gas and lethal shotgun ammunition, without warning, against protesters coming towards the main road of Safeya Zaghloul Street (Eugena Street), where the police station is located. According to eyewitnesses, police and individuals in plain clothes acting with their acquiescence, positioned on the roof of Al-Arab Police Station, fired at protesters, including with live ammunition. While some of the protesters might have engaged in violent conduct, including throwing rocks and, more rarely, petrol bombs, security forces responded with excessive force. Security forces also resorted to lethal force when it was not strictly necessary to protect lives, and used disproportionate force without making any effort to minimize injury or prevent deaths.

According to medical reports, four people died near Al-Arab Police Station during the evening of 28 January. Hanem El-Baz, a human rights lawyer and head of the Mousawa Centre for Human Rights, told Amnesty International that at least three of the four victims were killed several blocks away from Al-Arab Police Station by members of the security forces chasing

protesters, suggesting that the victims were not presenting a genuine threat to the lives or safety of members of security forces at the time of their death.

Amnesty International met the grieving family of one of the victims, **Mohamed Rashed Darwish**, a 24-year-old university student. His mother, a widow, lamented: "He is my son, my eldest, the man of the house, and they took him away from me." In addition to his university studies, he worked in a clothing store. The family said that he supported the anti-government protests and joined the demonstrations on 28 January to demand an end to corruption and better opportunities for youth like him. According to eyewitnesses, he was in the vicinity of Al-Arab Police Station when confrontations broke out, and was shot at about 11pm on Ibrahim Tawfik Street, a couple of blocks away from the police station. According to a medical report obtained by the family on 29 January by the First Heath Inspector of Port Said, Mohamed Rashed died as a result of several shotgun rounds fired into his face and chest. His family said that his whole upper body was covered with around 100 circular wounds, from pellets scattered when the gunshot was fired, most likely at close range.

Two other people died during the same incident, including a 12-year-old boy who local activists and lawyers believe was a street child with no family.

Over 60 protesters were injured that day in the vicinity of Al-Arab Police Station, according to medical data collected by the Mousawa Centre for Human Rights. Injuries ranged from minor bruising to gunshot wounds. At least four people lost sight in one eye as a result of shotgun pellet wounds. According to the same sources, some 30 members of the security forces also suffered minor injuries. Several protesters and members of the security forces received hospital treatment for the effects of tear gas.

The conduct of security forces enraged some protesters, who then burned Al-Arab Police Station after the police withdrew later that night. Protesters and others also burned other public building associated with repression, including Manakh Police Station and the Directorate of Traffic Control. According to the information available to Amnesty International, no members of the security forces died as a result.

SUBSEQUENT PROTESTS AND REPRESSION

According to medical data collected from several hospitals around Port Said by the Mousawa Centre for Human Rights, 13 other people died during the unrest, the vast majority in front or near Port Said Prison on Al-Sabah Street late on 29 January and in the early hours of the following day.

On 29 January, a group of individuals carrying firearms and other weapons tried to break into Port Said Prison, apparently to free their detained relatives and to steal weapons. According to local residents, security forces fired machine guns and other firearms from within the prison and its gardens to thwart the attack. While security forces can in such circumstances legitimately use firearms to prevent a serious crime or to preserve life, Amnesty International is concerned that they did not try to minimize unnecessary harm, including of people not involved in the attack. For instance, security forces fired recklessly, hitting not just legitimate targets but also passer-bys and bystanders. Twelve people were killed and several were injured, including at least three minors.

Amnesty International met the family of one of the victims, **Zakaria Ahmed Tawfik**, a driver who died on Al-Sabah Street. They said he had gone to the area to return a vehicle to its owner near the prison. At about 7pm, he was shot in his stomach, apparently by a bullet fired recklessly from the prison grounds. His friend took him to the hospital by motorcycle. According to the patient admission sheet obtained by the family from Port Said General Hospital, Zakaria had two wounds to his stomach: one 4cm, the other 18cm in diameter. A video recording shown to Amnesty International documented scenes of chaos at Port Said General Hospital. His family was distraught not just at the shooting, but also at the insufficient number of medical personnel to tend to the wounded. The medical staff present attempted to save Zakaria's life, but he died the following morning.

Magda Awada Ali El-Razik, a 51-year-old mother of four, was another victim of random shooting around the prison. She was killed when a bullet entered her home on the second floor of an apartment building on Al-Sabah Street near Port Said Prison. According to her son, gunfire could be heard from 4pm, coming from inside the prison and from its roof. His mother was worried so went to close the window by the balcony. Moments later she was hit. According to a medical report obtained by the family from Al-Soliman Hospital, Magda was admitted with "gunshot wound to the chest area" and had "severe bleeding in the lung". Her son told Amnesty International that there was an open wound on her chest, and three more bullet wounds on her left side and one on her shoulder. He said that two weeks after her burial, the family ran into two police officers outside Port Said Prison, who denied responsibility for her death and claimed that criminal elements were responsible. The family filed a police report at Al-Arab Police Station. The Public Prosecutor in Port Said opened an investigation, and called in the family and other witnesses to give evidence.

Mohamed Ali Shata also died on Al-Sabah Street near the prison. When Amnesty International met his grieving mother on 25 February, she said that Mohamed, her only son, had left home at 10:30pm to get some food. She was called about an hour and a half later and told that her son had been taken to Port Said General Hospital with a gunshot injury. He did not survive. Mohamed, who sold vegetables in the market, was the family's sole breadwinner as his mother is a widow and does not work. She was called to give evidence by the Public Prosecutor.

While the majority of deaths on 29 January took place in the vicinity of Port Said Prison, Amnesty International is aware of at least one killing elsewhere in Port Said. **Abdel Nasser El-Said Abdel Nabi**, a 31-year-old taxi driver, was shot at around 3am on 30 January near the Security Units Camp between Fatma El-Zahra and Zirzara informal settlement. According to his sister, Intisar, he left the family home in Fatma El-Zahara to return to his home in Zirzara. Shortly after, the family heard gunfire and an explosion. They later learned from eyewitnesses that Abdel Nasser El-Said Abdel Nabi was shot from the direction of the Security Units Camp. He was allegedly first shot at while still in his car. He is then reported to have stopped, got out of the car and, while asking for the shooting to stop, was shot in the head. His brother Said rushed him to Port Said General Hospital, but he did not survive.

A medical certificate obtained by the family on 30 January signed by the First Heath Inspector of Port Said indicated that Abdel Nasser suffered from a gunshot wound to the left side of his head. Intisar said: "Why do security forces not maintain security instead of firing at people? Let them say what they want. Words don't kill, guns kill people." Abdel Nasser's

family submitted a complaint to the Public Prosecutor in Port Said and his wife and siblings were called to give testimony on 19 February.

In the days following the withdrawal of the police on 28 January, there was looting and several public institutions and private businesses were burned. In several neighbourhoods, popular committees were established to protect property. Seventeen-year-old high school student **Mohamed Ashraf Fathi Abdel Gawad** joined a popular committee in Al-Labana area of Al-Dawahi neighbourhood where he lived. He was killed in a knife attack at about 10pm on 30 January when he was trying to protect a woman from attack. His father told Amnesty International that the attackers were caught by residents and handed to the army, but he wants the authorities held to account for the lawlessness caused by the withdrawal of the police, which ultimately caused his son's death.

All the families interviewed by Amnesty International in Port Said want independent investigations into the killings of their relatives and for those responsible, whether private individuals or members of the security forces, brought to account.

EL MAHALLA EL KUBRA

About 120km north of Cairo, in the middle of the Nile Delta's vast agricultural lands, the industrial city of El Mahalla El Kubra (El Mahalla), home to a million people, together with Tanta, the capital of Al-Gharbiya governorate witnessed vast mobilizations of protesters. El Mahalla had been the scene of mass strikes and protests in 2008,[93] and on 25 January 2011 was no longer the only city to challenge the President's rule.

Several people were killed or injured in El Mahalla during the 2011 protests. On 28 and 29 January respectively, according to El Mahalla General Hospital, **Nagi Amin Ali El-Wakil** and **El-Said Mohamed Atwa** were killed. People who entered the morgue on those days said they saw several bodies with gunshot wounds. They also saw many people in the hospital who were severely injured with gunshot wounds, some of whom were transferred to hospitals in Tanta. A medical source from El Mahalla General Hospital said none of the injured patients died. Al-Zahraa Hospital in El Mahalla treated at least five protesters for wounds caused by rubber bullets.[94]

In Tanta, a medical source told Amnesty International that 14 people had died in Al-Menshawy and Tanta University Hospitals on 28 and 29 January 2011.[95] Among them were **Ihab Mohamed Abdallah**, **Mohamed Abdel Moneim** and **Ahmed Adel Ahmed**, who died as a result of gunshot wounds. Images and scans showed that some were injured by buckshot pellets in the chest, and at least one in the back, suggesting that excessive force was used in Tanta. Amnesty International did not visit Tanta to investigate this. It did, however, carry out research in El Mahalla on 2 February.

On 25 January, protest organizers reported in El Mahalla that they gathered en masse from around 2pm in Al-Shon Square, chanting "Down, down with Hosni Mubarak". They marched from there to Abdel Hay Khalil Square along the main Al-Bahr Road, swelling in numbers as they went and filling the wide road. Riot police supported by armoured vehicles lined up but did not intervene. However, orders appear to have changed at around 5pm. Security forces along with police in plain clothes told protesters to leave, but did not use firearms. At that point, the Head of Investigations at El Mahalla Police Station 1 was reported to have had an

altercation with a protester, after which protesters assaulted him and he hid in a residential building. Security forces attempted to clear an exit path for him, but clashed with protesters. Some 24 people were arrested; all were released shortly after without charge. In the evening, a few hundred protesters gathered in Al-Shon Square determined to stay overnight. Police tried to persuade them to leave but they refused. Some of the protesters, including a woman member of the Democratic Front Party, were beaten by members of the security forces. At midnight, security forces fired live rounds in the air, used water cannon and apparently fired some tear gas and shotguns, injuring dozens of people, mainly with bruising. According to El Mahalla General Hospital, 32 riot police were treated for bruises; all were discharged on the same day. There were no reports of deaths.

On 26 and 27 January, young political activists from different affiliations, including the Democratic Front Party, the National Association for Change, 6 April Youth Movement, the Nasserite Party and the Muslim Brotherhood, prepared for the "Friday of Anger". A political activist from the Democratic Front Party told Amnesty International that protesters managed to circumvent Internet censorship and made a call through Facebook for protests after the Friday prayer, starting from Abdel Hay Khalil Mosque at the end of Al-Bahr Street, near El Mahalla Police Station 1. On 28 January, people joined around 200 protesters after Friday prayer to march to Al-Bahr Street to join other political activists. The crowd swelled to an estimated 80,000 people, overflowing from Al-Shon to Abdel Hay Khalil Mosque. Riot and other police reportedly did not intervene. One man, **Nagi Amin Ali El-Wakil,** was nevertheless killed by lethal shotgun ammunition fired at close range; the circumstances of his death remain unclear.

At 3:10pm protesters prayed in the Abdel Hay Khalil Mosque, near El Mahalla Police Station 1. Afterwards, clashes erupted. A political activist was reportedly snatched and beaten by the security forces. Children threw petrol bombs at the police station and riot police started to use tear gas and gunshots to disperse the protesters and chased them down streets. That evening, the police abandoned the police station and it was burned. It remains unclear if it was set alight by protesters, prisoners inside the police station who had been released, or a mob. Cars belonging to the riot police were set on fire, as were government buildings, including the SSI premises, which was reportedly looted and burned by people who had been detained there and who sought to find papers relating to their detention. By the afternoon of 29 January, the army had deployed its armoured vehicles and tanks in front of El Mahalla's police stations and main squares, and were welcomed by residents. Further clashes erupted between the security forces and protesters near El Mahalla Police Station 2 after the police released people held there. Some of those released reportedly threw stones at the police station and the police responded using tear gas and live ammunition. Around the same time, **El-Said Mohamed Atwa**, a driver, died from a head injury, sustained in unclear circumstances. Some reports suggest that a police car crushed him; others suggest that he died as a result of a gunshot wound to the head.

Nagi Amin Ali El-Wakil, a 50-year-old father of three from Manshiyet Abu Shahin informal settlement, worked as a truck driver and was the family's breadwinner. He was killed after the Friday prayer on 28 January by lethal shotgun ammunition, seemingly fired at close range. Some protesters said they witnessed someone being shot by the Head of Investigations of El Mahalla Police Station 1, but it is unclear when and where exactly this happened. To initiate legal procedures and obtain a burial permit, Nagi Amin Ali El-Wakil's uncle went to El

Mahalla Police Station 1 to file a police report, but the police asked him to withdraw the complaint. Determined to pursue legal procedures, the family could not bury the body of Nagi Amin Ali El-Wakil. Eventually, they obtained a burial authorization from El Mahalla Health Bureau by order of the military, which apparently assumes this power in such circumstances. The death certificate states that Nagi Amin Ali El-Wakil died as a result of "nervous shock and internal bleeding – gunshot in the chest and stomach and arms". The shot pattern suggests he was shot more than once from different directions and at different ranges.[96]

Further anti-Mubarak protests took place in El Mahalla in the next days, including on 1 and 2 February, and threats against activists continued even after the withdrawal of the police. On 2 February, **Hamdy Hussein**, a political activist in El Mahalla, said he received telephone threats from an NDP "thug" saying that if he joined protests, men supported by the police would attack him with knives. A few minutes later, at noon, about 200 pro-Mubarak protesters gathered near Abdel Hay Khalil Mosque holding images of Hosni Mubarak. They marched to Al-Shon Square chanting slogans for President Mubarak. Anti-Mubarak protesters organized a protest later in the afternoon, but there were no clashes.

Workers in El Mahalla then staged a series of strikes in the days leading up to the resignation of Hosni Mubarak on 11 February.

5. ARBITRARY DETENTIONS AND TORTURE

"I did not believe the army would treat people like that."

Victim of torture by the armed forces, recounting his experience at the Military Prison in Heikstep

During the protests there were waves of arrests in Cairo, particularly from 25 January to 3 February. While some appeared random, others targeted protesters and people seen as supporting, spreading or reporting on the protest movement. Among those targeted were human rights defenders, online activists, journalists, activists bringing supplies to protesters and doctors treating injured protesters. People were also arrested on suspicion of participating in looting or damaging public or private property or other criminal activities. Some of those arrested were briefly detained before being released without charge, but some were held for days, sometimes in conditions amounting to enforced disappearance, and tortured or otherwise ill-treated.

Amnesty International documented several arrests of activists, protesters and others between 25 and 30 January, but arrests peaked in Cairo on 3 February. The previous day anti-Mubarak and Mubarak supporters, including "thugs", clashed in Tahrir Square, and the arrests took place against a backdrop of ultra-nationalist and xenophobic statements by state-owned media accusing those behind the protests of being agents of foreign powers seeking to undermine Egypt's national interests. These accusations were frequently repeated by arresting and detaining authorities, as well as pro-Mubarak protesters and other Egyptians, who at times participated in the arrests or alerted the authorities to "suspicious" people.

In all cases documented by Amnesty International, such detainees were held incommunicado. It is unclear under what legal framework, if any, the arrests and detentions of these individuals took place. It is worth noting however that even basic safeguards provided for in Egyptian legislation, including emergency provisions, such as informing detainees of the reasons for their arrest, giving them access to a lawyer, and allowing them to contact someone of their choice, were not respected.

Of particular concern were the widespread and consistent reports that many of those arrested and detained told Amnesty International that they were tortured and ill-treated. The most frequently reported methods were beatings all over the body with sticks, whips or other objects; electric shocks, including to sensitive parts of the body; the contortion of the body in stress positions for long periods; verbal abuse; and threats of rape.

While in some cases the arresting and detaining authorities comprised members of the now-dismantled SSI, of particular concern was the clear involvement of the armed forces in the arrest, detention and torture of protesters and others. In fact, from 30 January Amnesty International delegates in central Cairo observed military police escorting arrested individuals into the area behind the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities and the NDP headquarters. This became a place of detention where detainees said they were subjected to torture and other ill-treatment.

Egyptian law contains some safeguards against arbitrary arrest and detention and torture and other ill-treatment.[97] For instance, Article 42 of the Constitution, then in force,[98] and Article 40 of the CCP prohibit the "physical and moral harm" of detainees. However, the definition of torture does not conform to that in the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment and Punishment, to which Egypt is a state party. Egyptian law defines torture narrowly in the context of forcing a suspect to confess. Death threats and physical torture are criminalized only when they happen following an unlawful arrest by someone purporting to be a government officer.[99] The law therefore does not address a situation where a person may be tortured for other reasons, such as to extract information, intimidate, punish or degrade, or when the victim is not accused of an offence, as in the cases documented by Amnesty International during the unrest.

The Egyptian authorities must take immediate and concrete measure to end torture or other ill-treatment, a hallmark of Hosni Mubarak's rule, and provide a strong signal to Egyptian society that such practices will no longer be tolerated. The fact that torture and other ill-treatment were carried out with impunity by members of the armed forces, now ruling the country, casts a shadow over prospects of eradicating systematic torture in Egypt. Amnesty International is particularly concerned by reports that the military has sought to silence those exposing torture by the military, including by threatening victims who reported their ordeals to human rights organizations.

The authorities must investigate all allegations of torture and other ill-treatment, even when no official complaints have been made. They must then prosecute all those responsible, including members of the armed forces, regardless of their rank, and provide adequate reparation to victims.

BEFORE 3 FEBRUARY

In addition to using excessive force against anti-government protesters, the Egyptian authorities tried other tactics to undermine and weaken the protest movement, particularly arresting and detaining individuals seen as movement leaders.

Wael Ghoneim, a Google employee, was arrested by members of the SSI on the evening of 28 January in downtown Cairo. He was one of the activists spreading the protest calls on social networking sites and participated in the protests in Tahrir Square from 25 January. He became involved in online activism after the 2010 police killing of Khaled Said and used the Facebook group "We are all Khaled Said" to disseminate the calls for protests.[100] After his arrest on 28 January, he was detained for 12 days incommunicado. His family frantically searched for him in vain until his release without charge. He said that throughout his detention, he was kept blindfolded and handcuffed. He was interrogated about his motives for calling for and participating in protests, and questioned about who was providing financial

and logistical support to the protesters. He was released following a widespread media outcry and pressure from various human rights organizations and others.[101]

Two young men – **Walid Hassani** and **Arabi Abdel Baset Ali** – who were arrested by security officials in Suez on 25 January along with about 20 others, told Amnesty International that all those arrested were beaten with batons all over their bodies by riot police and, at times, by regular police when being apprehended. While detained for three nights, they were not allowed to call their families or lawyers, nor were they given access to doctors for treatment or medical examinations, even though they had requested it. Walid Hassani, who runs an Internet café, told Amnesty International that he was apprehended by about five riot police, who hit him all over his body with batons and dragged him to Al-Arba'in Police Station. There, his arms were put behind his back and he was handcuffed. Several hours later, he was attached to a window cell with metal handcuffs, and kept like this until the next morning. No food or water was provided. Police officers kept coming into the cell to insult him and threatening to "take care of him tonight." Arabi Abdel Baset Ali, a youth member of the Nasserite Party, said that during his arrest he was punched in the face, kicked and hit all over his body with batons. After being dragged to Al-Arba'in Police Station and handcuffed, policemen continued to beat him. He too was given no water or food and was kept handcuffed overnight. Both men along with about 20 others were transferred to the State Security Prosecution in Suez the following morning. They were later transferred to Itaqa Police Station, where they were kept incommunicado until their release on 28 January.

Other anti-government activists were arrested in late January. Two brothers, both in their twenties, were stopped by a popular committee at about 5:30pm on 30 January when they were heading towards Tahrir Square from Agooza. They told Amnesty International that members of the popular committee read leaflets the brothers were carrying, which called on the army to protect demonstrators and on protesters to step up their efforts. An officer in plain clothes carrying a revolver and a walkie-talkie noticed the scene, and apprehended the brothers, who had about 1,500 leaflets with them. The security official took them to the Police Hospital in Agooza and then three plain-clothes security officers took them and the taxi driver in whose car they were apprehended to Nasser Military Academy. When the officer who apprehended them explained to the soldiers at the Nasser Military Academy that the brothers were "not thieves but activists", the soldiers read the leaflets and then started beating the men. One of the brothers spoke of his ordeal to Amnesty International:

"We had to undress except for our underwear and were forced to lie down on the floor. Our hands were handcuffed to the back, but we were not blindfolded. We were beaten by cane, whip and cable… The taxi driver was with us although we explained that he was not involved. We were shocked that the army treated us that way, because we had seen the army protecting demonstrators in the Tahrir Square."

He told Amnesty International that when he explained to the soldiers that they were connected to the Hisham Mubarak Law Centre, an officer was called and ordered that the brothers and the taxi driver should not be put in a cell, so they spent the night on a corridor floor with their hands and feet tied. For the next three days, the brothers and the taxi driver stayed in a cell in the Nasser Military Academy together with 24 other detainees, including a minor. The cell was dark with only a small window. Some of the detainees fainted due to the lack of fresh air. Most of the detainees had been picked up for allegedly breaching the

curfew. None were allowed to contact their relatives or lawyers. During their incarceration, the brothers and other detainees were photographed next to stolen goods, although in the end they were not charged. Despite promises that they were to be released, the brothers were handcuffed and transferred in a group of 34 people to Tora Prison. One recalled:

"When we arrived at Tora Prison we were beaten by prison guards. They beat us with cable, whip and cane while walking to our cells. The beating continued for the first two days. Sometimes a detainee was called and was beaten."

From Tora Prison, they managed to establish contact their families. On 19 February, they were released with 66 other detainees. They had spent 21 days in detention.

Mohamed Abdi, a 26-year-old doctor, was arrested seemingly for his support of the protest movement and his efforts to help injured protesters in the makeshift field hospital near Tahrir Square. He told Amnesty International he was abducted from the street at about 3am on 30 January after he followed a man in plain clothes who approached him at the field hospital and asked him to go with him to help his diabetic mother. As they approached the American University of Cairo, two men in civilian dress got out of a black car, forced him into it and hit him with an electric prod. Before they blindfolded him, he saw about six other people in the car and later heard the voice of a doctor who had been volunteering at the field hospital. About an hour later they were taken out, still blindfolded, and put in single cells. Mohamed Abdi spent three nights in detention, during which he was questioned four times while blindfolded about his political affiliations and the sources of funding for the field hospital. During the interrogations, he was insulted, kicked and beaten with plastic batons for 30 minutes at a time. At 5:30am on 2 February he was dumped in Ein Shams neighbourhood. He lodged a complaint with the Public Prosecution stating that he believes that he was detained by the SSI. Undeterred, he rejoined the protests on 3 February.

Other arrests on 28 January seem to have been random. "**Ahmed**",[102] for instance, was randomly apprehended at a checkpoint on Corniche El Nil Street near the Nasser Institute. He told Amnesty International he was driving with a friend some two hours before curfew at about 4pm when he was stopped, first by a popular committee and then at a military checkpoint. The two men were handcuffed by three soldiers and taken to a vehicle with covered windows. While being transferred to different locations, Ahmed asked for the reason for his arrest. A security official hit him on the head with the butt of a pistol, causing bleeding. He said that he was taken to another location, treated for his wound, and then tortured, including with electric shocks and kicks for some 30 minutes while blindfolded. After yet another transfer to a location near Qubba Bridge, he was transferred with 84 other people to the Military Prison in the Heikstep compound. On arrival, the group was reportedly beaten with cables, sticks and belts, given electric shocks and kicked. After being held there for about 15 days in overcrowded conditions, Ahmed was taken to a military prosecutor who charged him and his fellow detainees with theft or breaking curfew. He was then transferred along with about 380 others to Wadi El-Gedid Prison, some 640km from Cairo, on 12 February. For the first time since his detention, Ahmed could let his family know where he was by using the mobile phone of another prisoner. Ahmed suffered further beatings in Wadi El-Gedid Prison by prison guards and other members of the security forces. After four days in the prison, Ahmed was released without explanation and had to make his own way back to Cairo.

"**Fouad**",[103] a 36-year-old man, told Amnesty International that he was returning to his home in El Gamaleya district of Cairo on 29 January after attending the memorial service of a man killed in protests the day before. He was stopped by a popular committee in the area of Ahmed Said and explained his reason for being out past curfew. Members of the popular committee beat him and then handed him over to the military, who continued to beat him, including after he was handcuffed and blindfolded. He was then transferred to an unknown location for questioning by the security forces. During interrogation he said he was beaten with belts and a cable, including by soldiers. He was put in a room with 120 other detainees. He then witnessed security officials forcing detainees to pose next to weapons. The following morning, he was blindfolded and handcuffed before being transferred to the Military Prison in Heikstep, with a group of some 30 people. Again, soldiers tortured the new arrivals. Fouad told Amnesty International:

"As we entered our block we had to lie face down in the court yard and were beaten again by soldiers. They beat us again with cables and canes and used electric prods. The most severe beating in Sign al-Harbi (Military Prison) was on the day of arrival."

Fouad needed stitches from the doctor at the Military Prison for his wounds. Together with Ahmed, Fouad was transferred to Wadi El-Gedid Prison and released on 16 February. Neither Ahmed nor Fouad filed official complaints fearing reprisals, given that the perpetrators were members of the armed forces.

Mohamed Hassan Abdel Samiee also ended up at Wadi El-Gedid Prison. He was arrested on 29 January at 2pm in front of his shop in downtown Cairo by a military investigation unit in plain clothes, who handed him over to the military police. The 36-year-old was transferred to numerous locations throughout his 19-day detention, including the premises of the military police in Abdeen; the "Magmua 28" for the Military Prosecution in the 10 Zone of Nasr City; and the Military Prison in Heikstep. He said he was tortured at every facility. For instance, in Abdeen, he said he was given electric shocks and beaten with sticks. At the Military Prison in Heikstep, where he arrived on 1 February, he was again given electric shocks and beaten with plastic cables. On arrival at Wadi El-Gedid Prison on 13 February, he was beaten by soldiers. He said he was released with a group of about 300 detainees on 16 February.

Mohamed Essam Ibrahim Khatib, a 52-year-old engineer from Suez, was detained on 2 February at about 1pm on El Nozha Street in the Nasr City neighbourhood of Cairo. The married father of three told Amnesty International:

"I had participated for several days in the demonstrations at the Tahrir Square and wanted to travel back to Suez. I took a cab in Nasr City. The cab driver asked me where I come from and when I told him that I am from Suez, he became angry. He accused the people from Suez of destroying Egypt because of the widespread protests there."

The taxi driver then approached security officials dressed in black uniform, whom Mohamed said were from the Special Forces, and told them that his passenger was from Suez. The security officials ordered Mohamed out of the taxi at gunpoint, telling him: "You are from Suez. So you are responsible that our country is burning." Mohamed was forced to lie face-down in a vehicle, stepped on, beaten with a rifle butt and then blindfolded and handcuffed. He told Amnesty International he was transferred to another vehicle where he was given

electric shocks, including to his face and neck. He lost consciousness as a result of the pain. He was eventually taken to Military Camp 75, near the Ministry of Defence, and held there for four days. There, he was questioned while blindfolded about his political affiliations. At the end of the interrogation, he was forced to sign a statement without reading it. On the evening of 5 February, he was transferred in a group of about 50 detainees to the Military Prison in Heikstep in the windowless back of a vehicle normally used for transporting food. He received the same treatment as most of those interviewed by Amnesty International who were taken to the prison. Mohamed recounted:

"When we got off the vehicle we were ordered to take off our clothes, except the underpants, and we had to lie face down in the sand. There were three soldiers in camouflage uniforms belonging to the Saraya al-Sa'iqa (The Lightening Brigade),,each of them with a different instrument to beat us: one had a whip, another had a wooden stick and another had an electric prod. The commander would blow into his whistle and the soldiers would start beating us for a few minutes until he blew the whistle again... They beat all of us from the vehicle – without exception."

The beatings continued periodically throughout their detention. On 9 February, Mohamed, along with other detainees, was brought before a military prosecutor without being given the opportunity to contact their families or lawyers. He was told that he was held because he broke the curfew – even though he was detained at about 1pm. The following morning, he was sentenced to a suspended three-month prison term for breaking the curfew by a military tribunal. He was released that same day with what he estimates to have been 3,000 other detainees.

CRACKDOWN ON 3 FEBRUARY

A major wave of arrests took place on 3 February against the backdrop of xenophobic attacks on foreigners and an aggressive media campaign blaming protesters, manipulated by foreign "enemies", for all Egypt's problems. Journalists, political activists and human rights defenders were targeted in an attempt to prevent anyone from joining, supporting or independently reporting on the anti-government protests. Among those arrested were activists who had met the opposition politician Mohamed ElBaradei; members of the 6 April Youth Movement, Youth of Justice and Liberty, National Association for Change and Democratic Front Party; Egyptian human rights defenders; members of the Front to Defend Egypt's Protesters; foreign and Egyptian journalists; and two Amnesty International staff members, as well as one Human Rights Watch staff member. After an outcry and intervention by the national and international human rights community, all were released within days without charge. No explanations were provided for the arbitrary attests, and no investigations took place into these arrests and the ill-treatment of some of those detained. Others arrested on 3 February, particularly those without organizational affiliations, were detained for longer and at times charged and summarily tried in military courts.

In the early afternoon of 3 February, a group comprising of plain-clothed security officials, military police officers and civilians armed with sticks and iron bars entered the premises of the Hisham Mubarak Law Centre in Cairo, which was acting as the headquarters of the Front to Defend Egypt's Protesters. The security officials were carrying firearms; one of them pointed a machine gun in the air shouting: "I have orders from the military ruler, and anybody who moves will be shot". The 35 or so people inside the office included the centre's

staff, including Mohsen Beshir, Mustafa al-Hassan, El-Sayed Feky and former Director Ahmed Seif El-Islam; volunteers with the Front to Defend Egypt's Protesters including Mona El-Masri, Fatima Abed and Shahinda Abu Shadi; foreign journalists Sofia Amara and Pedro da Fonseka; Amnesty International delegate Said Haddadi and another delegate[104] on a fact-finding visit to Egypt; and Daniel Williams, a Human Rights Watch staff member. All were ordered to sit on the floor. Their bags were taken by the people in civilian dress, who also searched the office and took some files.

Members of the group were each handcuffed, and taken to the first floor of the building, and kept there until about 10pm. Throughout this time, several of those apprehended were slapped or hit by soldiers or by individuals in plain clothes. One soldier reprimanded the Egyptian nationals for harming their country by playing into foreign hands. The entire group was then taken in two vans stationed on Souk El-Tawfikia Street in front of a large mob of people yelling, insulting the detainees, shaking the vans, and spitting on their windows. The mob shook the vans and attempted to open the windows to hit the detainees. To appease the crowd, one of the soldiers hit a detainee. The detainees were then taken to the headquarters of the General Intelligence, where their names, nationalities and pictures were taken. They were then transferred to Military Camp 75. The vans stopped on the way, and two men in plain clothes got in and beat the male detainees and blindfolded all those present. The blindfolds were not taken off for the duration of the detention, which lasted for between 24 and 36 hours.

Interrogations of the detainees started shortly after their arrival at Military Camp 75. The questioning revolved around biographical data and their relationship with the Hisham Mubarak Law Centre. Detainees were made to stay and sleep outside throughout the period of detention, with the exception of interrogations sessions. No medical treatment was provided, even though one of the detainees had been badly beaten by civilians and police officers. Five of the detainees, all foreign nationals, including the two Amnesty International staff members, were released at about 10pm on 4 February; the others were all freed by the afternoon of 5 February. Throughout their incarceration, the detainees were not allowed to contact families, lawyers or consular representatives. Throughout their detention at Military Camp 75, the group arrested at the premises of the Hisham Mubarak Law Centre could hear screams of detainees being beaten and threats by security forces. As documented by Amnesty International, several people arrested on 3 February were tortured or otherwise ill-treated.

Several protesters were arrested on 3 February in the vicinity of Tahrir Square. For instance, an 18-year-old who prefers to remain anonymous was arrested at about 3pm when he was walking with a friend towards Tahrir Square to join the protests. The soldiers at the checkpoint looking at their IDs became suspicious as his friend is a UK resident. They were taken to an area controlled by the armed forces near the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, and held outdoors while handcuffed and blindfolded. He was slapped on the face, and could hear his friend screaming while being beaten. He was then transferred to another location some 30 minutes away along with other detainees. He was made to lie on the ground face-down and then beaten. He told Amnesty International that during interrogation, he was made to undress while still blindfolded, had his feet tied, was handcuffed and was then suspended by a rope upside-down. His head was submerged in a barrel of water and he was given electric shocks. He was ordered to confess that he had been trained by Israel or Iran. He said

that this treatment lasted for several hours until he lost consciousness. The following morning, he was transferred with another group of detainees to the Military Prison in Heikstep, and hit with whips and other objects upon arrival. He told Amnesty International that beatings continued regularly even when he went to the bathroom. He was released on 10 February together with thousands of other detainees without charge. When Amnesty International saw him five days after his release, he still had scars on his back, corroborating his testimony.

Another protester, **Hani Sayed Ahmed**, aged 29 from the village of Sinbo El Kubra in Al-Gharbiya governorate, was arrested on 3 February when heading towards Tahrir Square. He lived through a similar nightmare until his release, also on 10 February. He was attacked by men in plain clothes after being asked to show his ID. He told Amnesty International he was accused of training in Afghanistan and working for Al Jazeera, apparently because he had a cancelled Qatari visa in his passport. He was then assaulted by several men in plain clothes. He managed to escape and sought refuge with soldiers at a checkpoint near the square. However, he said soldiers took him to a nearby flat, where he and other detainees were beaten. He was held with other nationals, including a Lebanese man, a Greek man and an English journalist. Hani Sayed Ahmed was then taken with some of the other detainees to the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, where he was also tortured and ill-treated by soldiers. He told Amnesty International:

"They called me a traitor and foreign agent and they forced me to take off my clothes, except my underwear, and to lie face down on the floor. Then they beat me with a whip and stepped with their boots on my back and on my hands. They kicked me. Many other detainees there were also beaten with a whip."

He was subsequently interrogated by a man in plain clothes who asked him about preparations for the demonstrations scheduled for the following Friday – the "Friday of Departure". When he said that he did not know, the interrogator called a soldier who beat him with a chair on his forehead. He lost consciousness and later required stitches. The following morning, he was transferred to what he believes were the premises of the General Intelligence in the Nasr City neighbourhood. There, he was repeatedly beaten with sticks on his sexual organ; given electric shocks, including to his sexual organ and inside his mouth; and threatened with rape. He told Amnesty International:

"The interrogator warned me that if I didn't talk, I would face the same situation as another detainee whom I had earlier heard being raped and pleading with his rapist to stop. So I told the interrogator: 'I prefer that you shoot me'."

Later that day Hani Sayid Ahmed was transferred to the Military Prison in Heikstep, where soldiers greeted the new arrivals with beatings. He stated that regular beatings continued until he was released on 10 February without charge or an explanation for his arrest.

Hani Sayid Ahmed also told Amnesty International that one of his fellow detainees, 43-year-old lawyer **Osama Abdel Mineim**, had died as a result of torture at the Military Prison. He said that he recognized the lawyer because he had given several media interviews on Tahrir Square and had noticed him during his detention at the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities. He said that the lawyer, with whom he shared a cell at the Military Prison, was frequently singled

out for beatings. He stated that one night on around 6 February, soldiers took Osama Abdel Mineim out of the cell after hearing him shout. When he was returned, he had obviously been severely beaten and he allegedly died that night. Another man, "**Mahmoud**", interviewed separately by Amnesty International, corroborated the allegation about the torture of Osama Abdel Mineim. He said:

"There was a lawyer detained with me who was called Osama... I could see from my cell in the Military Prison how Osama was tortured in the square of our block. He was lying on the ground and was shocked with an electric prod and beaten."

Mahmoud himself was arrested on 3 February at about 9am when he was heading to Tahrir Square with food. He was stopped by military police. When asked where he was going, he lied and said that he was heading to work. A military police officer told him that he would only be questioned for an hour, and took him to a workshop, where other detainees with visible marks of beatings were held. After about two hours, he was taken the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, where he says he was blindfolded, handcuffed and beaten. The following morning, he was transferred to Military Camp 75, where he was beaten again and insulted during interrogation. He eventually ended up in the Military Prison in Heikstep. Upon arrival, he told Amnesty International he was made to undress to his underwear, forced to lie face-down on the ground, beaten with canes and whips, and given electric shocks. Beatings took place regularly throughout his detention, but without the same brutality of the arrival ritual, he said. On 10 February, he was sentenced by a military court to a three-month suspended prison term, seemingly for breaking curfew. He was released with hundreds of others, and dumped at 11pm, some four hours after the beginning of curfew, on the Cairo-Suez desert road without his money or ID that had been confiscated at the Military Prison.

Among the thousands of people released from the Military Prison in Heikstep on 10 February were **Issa Gabr Ismail**, **Mohamed Mohamed El-Tantawi El-Sayed**, **Omer Abou El-Mawahib Ashinhabi** and **Hassan Abdel Razak**. The four were part of a group of 17 men from the same village in Al-Daqhaliya governorate, who joined the protests in Cairo's Tahrir Square on 3 February. Upon arrival, they were confronted by more than 100 armed pro-Mubarak supporters in the area of Saptiya near Maspiro in downtown Cairo. The men said that they were handed over at a nearby army checkpoint to the Special Forces in plain clothes, with the exception of two who managed to escape. They were all blindfolded and handcuffed, and transferred to the Military Intelligence in the Nasr City area, where they remained for two more days. Issa Gabr Ismail, a 47-year-old accountant and father of four, told Amnesty International:

"Interrogators asked about our political affiliations and links with the protests. I denied that I was taking part in the protests. I was threatened to be raped or killed."

Another man in the group from Al-Daqhaliya was also asked about his reasons for coming to Cairo. When he admitted that he had intended to join the demonstrations, he was slapped and asked whether he belonged to the Muslim Brotherhood and who was paying him to join the protests. He eventually signed a statement that he was not allowed to read.

On 5 February, six from the group from Al-Daqhaliya were released. The others were transported to the Military Prison in Heikstep in the back of a vehicle used to transport

goods. Like all other detainees transferred to the Military Prison, they were reportedly beaten. They were made to lie on the ground face-down and undressed to their underwear, then beaten with whips, belts and plastic cables, and given electric shocks. The beatings by soldiers stopped when their commander blew a whistle. They continued to be beaten and given electric shocks when they went back to the prison block and in the courtyard. After about an hour, the beatings stopped, and those with injuries were allowed to see a doctor for treatment.

On 7 February they said they were taken to a military prosecutor for interrogation. Two days later they were brought before a military court judge, who told them that they would be sentenced for breaking the curfew and that the verdict would be pronounced on 12 February. However, they were released on 10 February at about 3:30pm and dumped on the Cairo-Suez road. Issam Gabr Ismail, Mohamed Mohamed El-Tantawi El-Sayed, Omer Abou El-Mawahib Ashinhabi and Hassan Abdel Razak lodged a complaint about their treatment with the Military Prosecution Office in Nasr City. Issam Gabr Ismail told Amnesty International that the Head of the Military Court in Nasr City confirmed that some 3,000 detainees were held at the Military Prison in Heikstep in connection with the unrest.

Arrests continued after 3 February, albeit seemingly on a smaller scale. A protester, "**Said**",[105] told Amnesty International that he was apprehended along with a friend by a popular committee when they were on their way to Faisal in Giza on 6 February at about 11pm, some four hours after curfew. When members of the popular committee found cameras and tapes with recordings of protests in Tahrir Square, they called the military police. The two friends were first taken to the Complex of Services in Giza, where they were searched. When a substantial sum of money was found, they were accused of working with foreign powers and told that they would be prosecuted for breaking curfew. They were then transferred to the Department of the Military Police in Heliopolis where they spent the night, along with a large number of other detainees, many of them allegedly there for breaking curfew or participating in protests. After another transfer the following morning to the Military Prosecution, they too ended up at the Military Prison in Heikstep. Said told Amnesty international that he was not beaten but that he witnessed other detainees being undressed, beaten, and shocked with electric prods, particularly just after they arrived.

During line-up the following morning, the detainees overheard the crimes of which others were being accused as people "admitted" to charges of murdering police officers or stealing weapons. During his detention, Said appeared in front of the Military Prosecution and was told that he would be sentenced for breaking curfew. However, he was released along with some 3,000 detainees on 10 February, and dumped on the Cairo-Suez road. The following day, Mohamed returned to the Military Prison to claim his confiscated belongings. His request was not granted, but he did find out that a further 200 detainees were to be released that day, including those allegedly accused of murdering police officers.

Amnesty International is deeply concerned that several of those detained in connection with the unrest were hastily tried by military courts, even though they were civilians, in trials that violate fundamental standards of fair trial, including the right to adequate defence. Such trials are a legacy of Hosni Mubarak's rule, as for many years, civilians faced grossly unfair trials before military or emergency courts, as permissible under the Emergency Law and the now-abolished Article 179 of the Egyptian Constitution. Trials before these courts violate

some of the most fundamental requirements of due process and fair trials in international law, in particular the right to a fair and public hearing before a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law; the right to have adequate time to prepare a defence; the right to be defended by a lawyer of one's choosing; and the right to appeal against conviction and sentence to a higher tribunal. Although amendments to the Code of Military Justice in April 2007 introduced a right of appeal by way of cassation before the Supreme Court for Military Appeals, this remains short of providing guarantees of fair trial. Moreover, the court only examines the law, its interpretation and procedural issues, and not the evidence itself or the factual basis of the charges.

Such practices have continued after the resignation of Hosni Mubarak, raising concerns about the commitment of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces to establish the rule of law based on Egypt's obligations under international human rights law..

TORTURE BY THE SSI

While the armed forces were responsible for most cases of torture during the uprising, Amnesty International also received testimonies of such abuses by the SSI. For example, **Mohamed Mohamed Said Ayad**, aged 24, was arrested early on 9 February after he had spent several days and nights in Cairo's Tahrir Square. He said he was walking with a group along Champollion Street in downtown Cairo. Some of those walking with him, who were later discovered to be members of the SSI pretending to be protesters, suggested getting food from a nearby building. When they entered, the seven actual protesters were blindfolded, handcuffed and forcibly led to a vehicle. About 10 minutes later they arrived at what Mohamed believes was the SSI headquarters in Lazoghly in downtown Cairo. He said:

"After about 15 minutes we were told that we had to undress (except for our shorts) and lie down. For about 30 minutes I was beaten on the back with cables and canes. They subjected me to electric shocks applied by wires to different parts of my body. They stepped with their shoes on me."

He said that when his blindfold was off, he saw that some of those holding him were in police uniforms. During his six days in detention, he was interrogated several times and tortured with electric shocks, including to sensitive parts of his body, and beaten with sticks and plastic cables. He was asked about his political affiliations, his reasons for joining the protests, and the source of the funding allegedly received by protesters. He told Amnesty International that he and around 170 other detainees were released on 15 February. He lodged a complaint with the Public Prosecutor. The case was referred to the South Prosecution Office, and he was called in to give testimony on 17 February and referred for forensic examination, which was conducted on 20 February. During his detention, Mohamed's family had no news of his whereabouts and fate.

The SSI has now been dismantled, but it is crucial that the newly established National Security Department breaks with these methods. All those responsible for torture or other ill-treatment must be prosecuted to guarantee non-repetition and ensure that such practices are no longer tolerated.

Torture and other ill-treatment have also continued since the resignation of Hosni Mubarak. On 26 February, for example, **Amr Abdallah Al Beheiry**, his cousin and other protesters were reportedly beaten with sticks and then arrested as military police and the army used excessive force to disperse an overnight protest outside Parliament in Cairo. Some protesters were reportedly beaten with electric batons. Amr Abdallah Al Beheiry was initially released but was then rearrested shortly after, apparently because protesters had filmed his injuries.

While detained in the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, he and his cousin were beaten and given electric shocks. Amr Abdallah Al Beheiry, who by all eyewitness accounts was protesting peacefully, was convicted by the Supreme Military Court on 1 March of assaulting a public official on duty and for breaking curfew. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.[106]

6. KILLINGS OF PRISONERS

As security forces operating under the Ministry of Interior started to withdraw on 28 January, a number of prisons, which are under the Ministry's control, were reportedly stormed by unidentified individuals who led and, in some cases, forced inmates out of prisons. Prisoners also attempted to escape when they learned of the uprising and of prisons breaks elsewhere. Security forces responded to these events with firearms, which led to the killing and injury of hundreds of prisoners.

In some prisons, such as Abu Zaabal, north of Cairo, there were exchanges of fire between unidentified people, reportedly including large numbers of armed Bedouin, and prison guards who eventually fled.

Article 87 of the Law on Prisons (Law No. 396 of 1956), states that security forces in prisons may use firearms against prisoners to either: counter any violent attacks or resistance, if no other means are possible; or to prevent a prisoner's escape, if no other means are possible. In this case, the security forces must first fire a warning shot in the air after which, if the prisoner continues to flee, they may shoot at the prisoner's legs.

In some prisons, such as El-Qatta El-Gedid, north of Giza, there were no break-ins or prisoner escapes, but many inmates were killed.

According to the Fact-Finding National Commission about 25 January Revolution,"in prisons from where nobody fled" and where there was no prison unrest, some prisoners said that security forces fired shotguns at wards and cells, which resulted in deaths and injuries. The Commission also noted that prisoners had reported the use of tear gas in "different prisons", which caused incidents of suffocation and attempts by prisoners to get out of their wards. It said the Prison Administration put the death toll among prisoners at 189 in addition to 263 injured, while four members of security forces died and 30 were injured.

Extensive information gathered by Amnesty International points strongly to the unlawful use of lethal force by security forces resulting in the deaths and injuries of prisoners. The testimonies gathered in this chapter are from El-Qatta El-Gedid, Abu Zaabal, and Wadi El-Natroun Prison on the Cairo-Alexandria highway.

In the couple of days following the "Friday of Anger", about 23,000 prisoners were freed or escaped. The Ministry of Interior is quoted as stating that by mid-February, 10,500 prisoners had been rearrested or else handed themselves in. Some of these prisoners later died in unclear circumstances. Amnesty International documented the cases of two prisoners from El Faiyum Prison who died a few days after being rearrested by the armed forces, and whose bodies showed marks of torture or other ill-treatment.

About 115 bodies from three prisons alone were brought to Zeinhom Morgue in Cairo, most of which had bullet wounds to the head, neck and chest, according to a senior forensic pathologist interviewed by Amnesty International who wished to remain anonymous. The prisons, he said, were Iste'naf, in central Cairo, which houses death-row prisoners; Tora in

south Cairo where convicted and administrative detainees are held; and El-Qatta El-Gedid, north of Giza, where mainly convicted prisoners and others awaiting trial are confined. He said the bodies of inmates from other prisons, such as Abu Zaabal and Wadi El-Natroun were taken elsewhere. The senior forensic pathologist noted that bodies of prisoners sentenced to death were identified by their red prison uniforms, those serving sentences wore blue uniforms, and detainees awaiting trial had white uniforms.

The circumstances surrounding the prison break-outs remain murky. It is not clear whether they were staged by an embattled regime trying to show it was needed to protect citizens from chaos, or whether security guards cut off from their commanders were simply overpowered during prison unrest. During the uprising, state media portrayed prisoners who fled as criminals responsible for acts of looting and the security breakdown, which further stigmatized them and fostered an atmosphere of fear among the general population.

In its report, the Commission said it conducted visits to the prisons of Tora, south of Cairo; Abu Zaabal; El-Marg, north of Cairo; El-Qatta El-Gedid; and Wadi El-Natroun. It interviewed prison officials, prisoners and residents living in the vicinity of prisons. The Commission reported that prisoners had fled from the prisons of Abu Zaabal, El-Marg and Wadi El-Natroun, as well as El Faiyum and Qena, both in Upper Egypt. However, escape attempts did not succeed in Tora and El-Qatta El-Gedid prisons, as well as in Damanhur, Zagazig and Shibin el Kom prisons, north of Egypt.

After considering the testimonies, the Commission proposed two hypotheses to explain the prison breaks. The first was that the prison breaks happened because the security forces withdrew or left the prisons unsecured. The other hypothesis was that armed men had attacked the prisons from outside to free the prisoners.

The Commission found that attacks against prisons were accompanied by prison unrest, as prisoners learned about the uprising through media and sought to escape, as with El-Qatta El-Gedid Prison and Abu Zaabal Prison. In the case of Wadi El-Natroun Prison, the Commission reported that prisoners had fled with the acquiescence of the security forces.

EL-QATTA EL-GEDID PRISON

According to information collected by Amnesty International, at least 43 prisoners were killed between 29 January and 12 February at El-Qatta El-Gedid Prison – and possibly many more. Inmates interviewed by Amnesty International by phone gave the names of the 43, but the prison accommodates thousands of inmates, so the list may not have been complete. For instance, the senior forensic pathologist at the Zeinhom Morgue said that he had received 66 prisoner bodies since the beginning of the prison unrest, most from El-Qatta El-Gedid. In addition, a senior security officer at the Prison Section Department, Major-General Mohamed El-Batran, whose job was to supervise prisons and handle riots, was shot dead there, apparently by a local prison security officer during an inspection visit.

On 29 January, inmates asked to be freed after they heard prisoners had been released from other jails in Egypt. Unrest broke out just after the noon prayers when the prison authorities rejected their request. In response, prison guards allegedly fired tear gas and live ammunition at them. Later that day, the prison administration and guards reportedly left their posts, with

the exception of watchtower guards. Members of the armed forces were brought in to replace them and no prisoners are reported to have escaped.

Inmates told Amnesty International that, from 29 January until 25 February (when they were last contacted), watchtower guards fired at prisoners in the wings, in their cells, in the prison yard, and while they were near other buildings inside the prison, such as the hospital and mosque.

According to prisoners and families who have visited the prison, the wings, hospital and mosque are all surrounded by three fences: an inside cement fence topped with barbed wire reaching around five to seven meters high; a middle fence – a few meters away from the inside fence – that is higher by around two meters and includes all the watchtowers, each as high as a third-floor building; a third fence that is lower than the other two fences and is the last barrier that keeps prisoners from the outside world. The shootings of prisoners at El-Qatta El-Gedid are likely to have occurred while prisoners were present within the cement fence – three fences away from the outside world and indicate that the use of lethal force was excessive and unnecessary.

On 29 January, **Major-General Mohamed El-Batran**, aged around 54, was rung by his sister at his office at around 9:30am on 29 January. She said that he was upset and, unusually for him, critical of the Minister of Interior. She added that he was angry at the release of "dangerous" prisoners from police stations and told her that he would not allow this to happen from prisons. A few hours later, she was told that her brother had been shot in El-Qatta El-Gedid Prison. Several prisoners described to Amnesty International how prison guards had killed him. One said:

"After the riots began, prison authorities opened fire at the prisoners. Some were wounded. Then Major-General El-Batran arrived at the prison to try to resolve the situation. He spoke with the prisoners and asked them to remain in their wings and told us that he gave an order to stop the shooting immediately. He then said the wounded had to be taken to the prison hospital to receive treatment.

"We started taking the wounded to the hospital and Major-General El-Batran and Sayed Galal [a prison officer] were walking near us. When we were five metres from the hospital, watchtower officers opened fire.

"Then, when the shooting stopped, Major-General El-Batran, who was wearing his military uniform and standing between the prison hospital and the prison administration building, started waving his arms and shouting: 'No one shoots, do not shoot'. The next thing I saw was that he was on the ground shot dead. Sayed Galal also fell and received a bullet in his foot."

On 14 February, the Ministry of Interior issued a statement listing members of its security forces who were killed during the uprising across the country. The list mentions several officers killed in prisons, including Major-General El-Batran. The Ministry of Interior's statement said he was killed "as he was carrying out his duty in confronting an attack (on the prison) and preventing the escape of prisoners threatening the society's security." The Commission's report said that police had stated that they had shot dead a number of

prisoners who had attempted to escape while Major-General Mohamed El-Batran was leaving the prison.

Mohamed El-Sayed Abdel Aziz, aged 32, a prisoner who had served most of his six-year sentence handed to him for drug-related offences, was also shot on 29 January. It is unclear if he died that day. It took his family 11 days to locate his body at Cairo's main morgue. Two prisoners, R.F. and M.R., who witnessed the shooting, spoke to Amnesty International. One said:

"Shortly after riots began, and some inmates were wounded, prisoners went back to their wings and water was cut off in the rooms… Mohamed volunteered to go with a bucket... We all waved our hands to the security officer at the watchtower and shouted to him that Mohamed is leaving the wing to get water for us. He walked to the tap, placed the bucket under it, and opened the tap. As he waited for the bucket to fill up, he was shot in his upper thigh."

His uncle, Salah Abdel Aziz, told Amnesty International that no officials contacted the family to tell them Mohamed had been shot or that he had died. He added that the medical report stated that he had died on 1 February.

Mohamed Abbas Megahed, aged 28, a detainee on D Wing, was visiting his cousin on C Wing on 29 January when he was shot. The cousin said Mohamed had been preparing food when a bullet came through a small window and hit him in the waist. His cousin said he died 15 minutes later.

Saber Farouq El-Sayed, aged 30, who had nearly completed his 11-year prison sentence for acting as a driver in a murder case, was killed on 30 January. An eyewitness told Amnesty International:

"Saber, a few other inmates and I heard the sound of a military helicopter and found that it was flying towards the direction of the prison. We wanted the people in the helicopter to realize the seriousness of our situation. We started carrying the bodies of our inmates who fell a day earlier and placing them in the middle of the yard to get the helicopter's attention.

"After moving a number of bodies, the watchtower guards opened fire on us. We all ran to hide and then realized that Saber was not among us… The bullet hit the back of his head and he was bleeding heavily. He was still alive but unconscious… He died shortly afterwards."

Neither the medical report nor the death certificate, which incorrectly records the date of death as 1 February, stated the cause of death. Both simply say it was a 'case of rioting'."

Saber Farouq El-Sayed's sister told Amnesty International:

"He's been locked in prison for 11 years… Do those who shot him know this? Do they know that we have been waiting all these years for his release, which was only months away? Do they know that I worked as a domestic worker in people's homes so that I could pay for the long journey to visit him?"

Adel Mahmoud Eid, aged around 38, called his father on 29 January to ask him to inform the family of **Fathi Fooli Mohamed Ibrahim** that he had been killed. The next day he too was shot dead. A cellmate in A Wing, said that Adel had gone to C Wing to borrow a phone:

"He then passed by D Wing and headed to the prison mosque as it was time for the evening prayers. The mosque is located between C Wing and D Wing. He crossed half way and just a few metres before he reached the mosque, he was shot in the face and fell."

The medical report, which was read out over the phone to Amnesty International by Adel's father, confirms that he was shot in the face. It also states that death had taken place at least a day before the examination, confirming claims by prisoners and families that some bodies were left in or near the prison for at least 36 hours before being taken away by the authorities.

On 11 February, **Ahmed Magdi Mursi** was among many prisoners who gathered at C Wing's gate to celebrate the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak. According to his fellow inmates, a bullet suddenly hit him in the head, killing him instantly. No further details are known.

The following day, according to Hany, a prisoner on C Wing, another inmate was killed when prison guards shot at him and five others who were carrying the body of Ahmed Magdi Mursi to relatives waiting at the prison gate. Hany, who did not know the name of inmate who was killed and was himself injured in the shooting, said:

"A security officer told us to place the body, which was covered in blankets, near the gate. The army soldiers positioned outside the prison told us to go back. But the security officer had a higher rank so we continued moving forwards near the gate when someone opened fire. We dropped the body and ran for our lives. I was injured in my left shoulder; a prisoner from another wing who was helping us was killed and another two were injured."

Prisoners and their families also reported that inmates were denied adequate food, water and other basic necessities, particularly from 29 January until 7 February, when soldiers gave bread, jam and cheese to inmates. During the unrest, the only medical care for those injured by the shooting was provided by fellow inmates with a medical background. In C Wing Anbar Geem, a prisoner who is a pharmacist said he had only been able to treat wounds with an antiseptic solution and bits of underwear for bandages. He told Amnesty International that between 29 January and 25 February, when Amnesty International last interviewed him, he treated about 45 prisoners for wounds caused by live bullets and lethal gunshot ammunition. Dozens of other prisoners were reported to be injured in the three other wings and they too were treated by fellow inmates. By 25 February, Amnesty International was also told that diabetic inmates were in desperate need of insulin, supplies of which had run out, and others with serious illnesses needed urgent treatment.

According to the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, the Public Prosecution has visited El-Qatta El-Gedid Prison for investigation after it submitted a complaint on behalf of the families of 11 prisoners killed.

ABU ZAABAL PRISON

On 28 January, thousands of prisoners held at Abu Zaabal Prison, one of the biggest jails in the north of Cairo, were set free by unidentified Bedouin gunmen, who apparently overpowered the prison's security guards. The Commission found that armed men exchanged fire with the security forces and used a bulldozer to break the walls from outside. During the fighting, prisoners rioted.

The release of all the prisoners in Abu Zaabal lasted for at least five hours, starting with an exchange of fire between the gunmen and security forces, the storming of the main gate, the opening up of all the wings of the prisons and finally, in some cases, breaking into the rooms inside each wing. It remains unclear why no reinforcements were brought in to support the security guards in a prison break that lasted at least five hours.

One prisoner, who was held in the section for political detainees and who escaped, described to Amnesty International the heavy shooting that began at around noon and continued until shortly before sunset:

"As we heard the firing [of] shots and as the smoke of tear gas canisters thrown at people outside the prison was leaking to our cells, we decided to revolt... We did not feel that we were doing anything wrong. I was detained behind bars for 17 years without trial, and many others were like me… We banged the doors hard and finally, some were able to break the locks of the cells. But we could not knock down the iron gate of our wing. People in civilian clothes showed up and they knocked the wing's iron gate with a bulldozer… and we were set free."

The political prisoner said the situation was chaotic and that people set fire to prison administration offices. As he stepped outside the prison's main gate, he said he saw five bodies of plain-clothed men, apparently of the people who were breaking in the prison. He could not tell if they were armed, but he didn't see rifles next to their bodies.

A man who lives nearby told Amnesty International he went to look for his 12-year-old son who left the house earlier and did not return. When he was told by his neighbours that there were shootings at Abu Zaabal Prison, the man headed there thinking that his son might have gone there to check it out:

"I saw between 15 to 20 armed Bedouins walking around, some covering their faces with shawls. I could tell they were Bedouins from their clothes, sandals, accent and terms they used while talking with each other. I also saw around 100 prisoners all wearing the blue uniform walking outside the prison… I entered the prison and saw bodies of two prisoners wearing the blue uniform and three men wearing the security uniform between the two entrance gates. Then just after the second gate, there were around eight to 10 bodies, mostly of prisoners. At that point, I was scared to venture any further, so I returned… but I could see prisoners were still getting out of their wings and heading to the main gate."

WADI EL-NATROUN PRISON

A break-in to Wadi El-Natroun Prison, north-west of Cairo, took place early on 30 January. Amnesty International received reports of a similar pattern to that of Abu Zaabal, indicating that the prison break took place with armed men storming into the premises of the prison and

ordering prisoners to leave. However, the Commission did not find evidence that the police were unable to stop attacks from outside. It saw a video showing security forces allowing prisoners to flee from Wadi El-Natroun Prison peacefully with their belongings, suggesting they were freed with the consent of the prison authorities.

One prisoner recounted to Amnesty International what happened:

"While we were praying at dawn, we heard firing shots… we finished our prayers and were alarmed because the firing shots were getting louder and louder and it was clear that they were close to the cells. Everyone panicked and began screaming in our cell and the neighbouring rooms. Prisoners yelled out loud: 'We're going to die, they're going to kill us… where are these shots?' I am 52 years old, so I just sat on the floor with another four inmates and we froze in our place. The prisoners were so scared, they removed the red fire extinguisher canister and started banging it against the door to run away from what appeared to be firing shots getting closer to the rooms cells. But the door is so thick it did not open. Then, four plain-clothes men carrying rifles spoke to us from the room's cell window… He and the men with him broke down the window on the top of the wall and then pulled out prisoners with their hands out of the window.

"While leaving the wing, I saw a prisoner in another room cell but from the same wing lying dead, and I think he was killed by the rubble that fell on him when the bulldozer stormed into the wing to make a hole for the prisoners in that room cell. The other body I saw was outside the wing. The man was shot dead but I didn't see who shot him. I also know about a third prisoner who was imprisoned in Wadi El-Natroun and his family who are from my hometown told me he was shot dead outside the prison. I don't know who shot him. I did not see dead bodies outside the prison, but I have fellow inmates who told me they have seen bodies of prisoners shot dead
.
"When I reached the main prison yard, there were motorcycles driven by plain-clothed men who were asking prisoners about specific prisoners. Armed plain-clothed men were also ordering around the prison guards. I heard one telling the prison guard: 'Take these prisoners to the gate,' and the guards would do what they were told."

EL FAIYOUM PRISONERS

Amnesty International saw footage taken on 8 February by Malek Tawfiq Tamer, who found the name of his brother, **Tamer Tawfiq Tamer**, an inmate at El Faiyum Prison, among a list of 68 prisoners listed in the Zeinhoum Morgue's register in Cairo. He was a 28-year old taxi-driver serving three years for a drug-related crime.

Malek was accompanied by a friend, Mohamed Ibrahim El Desouky, whose brother Reda, another El Faiyum prison inmate, was also found dead in the morgue. **Reda Ibrahim El Desouky** was a 45-year-old divorced father of two boys who owned a leather shoe manufacturing business. He had one-and-half years left to serve of a 10-year sentence for drug-related offences.

The two inmates had contacted the pair on 28 January and said they had been forced out of the prison by "armed men" following the "Friday of Anger". Malek and Mohamed agreed to collect them with the intention of bringing them home or taking them to the authorities, but

after travelling to the arranged pick-up on the morning of 30 January, they saw the men under the detention of military forces on the El Faiyum-Cairo highway near Dahshur Military Camp, south-west of Cairo.

A week later, Mohamed went to the Zenhoum Morgue after being told by unidentified men in plain clothes that Reda's corpse was there. Having discovered Tamer's name among 68 other men in the morgue registry, he informed Malek, who then visited the morgue equipped with a camera.

A hundred more corpses, apparently mostly belonging to other prisoners from El-Faiyum Prison, were transferred by military vehicles to the morgue on 9 February 2011. The circumstances surrounding their deaths remain unclear.

Tamer's death certificate from Zeinhoum Morgue stated he had died in El Faiyum Prison on 3 February from "suspicion of suffocation and an acute blood pressure drop". His brother was refused any medical report elaborating on the causes of death.

Malek described Tamer's body as being blue from his head to the lower chest, and there were bruises and coagulated blood on his head, nose and eyes. Mohamed said he saw similar wounds on Reda's body, in addition to burn marks. They believe they were tortured or otherwise ill-treated before being killed.

Reda's death certificate also specified he died on the same day but, under the reason for death, it only stated: "Forensically examined and case under study". No medical or forensic examination reports have been issued for either man.

Malek and Reda buried their brothers on 9 February 2011. Three days later, Malek submitted a complaint to the Public Prosecution's office and attached the videos.

On 21 February, both Malek Tamer and Mohamed Ibrahim El Desouky presented complaints to the office of the Public Prosecutor in Cairo with the support of the Egyptian Center for Development and Human Rights, a Cairo based human rights organization. The bodies were not exhumed for forensic examination.

7. TIME FOR REMEDY

"A life has been ruined, there can be no reconciliation [with the authorities] without justice."

Father of 19-year-old Mohab Ali Hassan, who was killed on 28 January during anti-government protests

Under its international obligations, the Egyptian government must provide victims of human rights violations with an effective remedy.[107] This obligation includes three elements: **truth** – establishing the facts about violations of human rights; **justice** – investigating violations and, if enough admissible evidence is gathered, prosecuting the suspected perpetrators; and **reparation** – providing full and effective reparation to the victims and their families, in its five forms: restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition.[108]

The UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law set up international standards for remedies for victims.[109] Principle 7 stipulates that these include the "victim's right to the following as provided for under international law: (a) Equal and effective access to justice; (b) Adequate, effective and prompt reparation for harm suffered; and (c) Access to relevant information concerning violations and reparation mechanisms."

Such international laws and standards must guide the Egyptian authorities – as well as their successors – in addressing the legacy of human rights violations and rebuilding the trust of the Egyptian population in their public institutions.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TRUTH

The Egyptian authorities set up investigations into human rights violations committed during the uprising, a move welcomed by Amnesty International. On 9 February, the former Prime Minister, Ahmed Shafik, signed Decree No. 294 on the "Investigation and Fact Finding Committee of the Youth Uprising". This was subsequently renamed the "Fact-Finding National Commission about 25 January Revolution". The mandate specified by the Decree was to look into events between 25 January and 9 February, with a particular focus on: "fact-finding relating to the non-legitimate practices" that happened during the demonstrations and the security vacuum in the period under the Commission's remit.[110]

The Decree announced the names of the five commissioners headed by Adel Qawra, Former President of the Court of Cassation, but failed to specify the length of the Commission's

mandate.[111] It did, however, stipulate that the Commission would have at its disposal all the necessary resources to carry out its tasks, including a secretariat and technical and logistical support. On 14 April, the Commission's work came to an end: a press conference was held and the summary of the Commission's its final report was made public.

While the Decree establishing the National Commission stipulated that official bodies were required to collaborate with its work, it failed to prescribe any legal penalties or other consequences for those who refused. Nor did the Decree provide the Commission with clear powers to subpoena witnesses, including current and former security officials, or give it powers of search and seizure. The failure to do so might have impeded the Commission's work; for instance in its final report it stated that no answer was received from the armed forces in relation to those individuals apprehended during confrontations between anti-Mubarak protesters and pro-Mubarak "thugs" on 2 February.

Amnesty International welcomed the fact that the Commission elaborated its mandate and sought to uncover the security plans in place before the planned protests; the responsible bodies or officials sanctioning the use of live ammunition against protesters; the reasons behind the withdrawal of the police across the country on 28 January; and the forces behind the organization and implementation of the attacks on anti-government protesters in Tahrir Square on 2 February.[112] However, it is disappointing that the Commission failed to establish the truth about the arrests, detention and torture of protesters and others, including by the military.

The summary of the Commission's final report only included its general findings on the excessive use of force during nationwide demonstrations, with additional details on confrontations between anti-Mubarak demonstrators and pro-Mubarak "thugs" in Cairo's Tahrir Square on 2 February; some details on prison unrest; and information on the disruption of communications during the period under its mandate. The summary of the final report formulated some recommendations in relation to legal and institutional reforms, including the rehabilitation of the police force and the respect of the right to freedom of assembly; as well as compensation for victims of the "25 January Revolution".[113] The complete findings, which were not available online at the time of writing, should also be made publicly available and widely disseminated, including a full list of those killed during the unrest and the circumstances of their deaths.

While Amnesty International encourages prompt inquiries into human rights abuses, it also highlights the importance of thorough investigations. It believes that the Commission at the very least should have looked into all abuses – including individual cases – in the period under its remit, in particular excessive use of force by security forces, arbitrary detention, torture or other ill-treatment, and killings and torture of prisoners.

In this context, the Commission should have conducted visits to places of detention, including those under the control of the armed forces, with a view to inspecting registries of detainees and interviewing officials in places of detention and other witnesses.

In terms of its findings on the use of force by security forces, the Commission argued that Egyptian security forces used excessive force against demonstrators based on instructions from the former Minister of Interior, Habib El Adly. However, the Commission did not

consider the specific circumstances of every incident of unlawful killings and reckless use of firearms, including who gave the order and on what grounds, what instructions were issued to security forces in advance of their deployment, and whether any steps were taken in advance to warn demonstrators and induce them to disperse peacefully. Neither did the Commission look at the steps taken by law enforcement officials when using force, including when using non-lethal weapons such as tear gas, to minimize the risks to people not involved in the protests, such as bystanders and residents of areas affected by the protests. The Commission's summary report did not include its own count of those killed during demonstrations; but rather utilized the statistics provided by Ministry of Health and Populations officials putting the final number at 846. Regrettably, the Commission's findings made publicly available did not include a full list of those killed during the unrest, and their circumstances of their deaths.

Another shortcoming has been the Commission's failure to visit remote areas of Egypt, where abuses took place but which have been largely underreported by the media. For instance, the Commission did not visit Upper Egypt, including the governorates of Beni Suef and Asyut, where killings of protesters have been documented, including by Amnesty International. In fact, it seems that beyond visits to some prisons, the Commission failed to conduct fact-finding missions to cities other than Alexandria.

Nonetheless, in a welcome move, from the moment the Commission held its first meeting on 14 February, it reached out to civil society organizations, eyewitnesses and others who have information and other documentation about abuses. It also called on the general public to provide information or evidence of abuses, including documents and video recordings, and issued several statements summarizing some of its activities.

Before the publication of its final report, the Commission periodically published its preliminary findings, another welcome move. For instance, in its third press release it confirmed that security forces used tear gas, rubber bullets and live ammunition against protesters in and near Tahrir Square, and noted that in some instances security forces used deliberate and excessive force against protesters, including by driving into them in armoured vehicles. The Commission reported the results of its meeting with two former high-ranking police officers who confirmed that the use of firearms against protesters was directly ordered by the former Minister of Interior. Amnesty International welcomes the Commission's efforts at transparency and calls on it to immediately make available its full report.

The Commission confirmed that it had shared its finding with the Public Prosecutor in six separate communications.[114] Amnesty International welcomes this and calls on the Egyptian authorities to ensure that the Commission's full findings are made public.

Another fact-finding commission into human rights violations in the context of the uprising was announced on 7 February by the national human rights institution, the National Council for Human Rights (NCHR), under the leadership of Mohamed Fayek.[115] According to one of its commissioners, Hafez Abu Saada, who also heads the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights, the Commission looked into violations reported between 25 January and 11 February, including excessive use of force, torture and other ill-treatment of detainees, and the killing and torture of prisoners. It visited the cities of Cairo, Suez, Alexandria and Ismailiya and interviewed eyewitnesses, families of victims and some police officers willing to co-operate

with the investigation. The Commission also visited Wadi El-Natroun and Abu Zaabal prisons and met members of the prison administration there. The Commission shared its findings with the Public Prosecutor, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces and the Prime Minister on 21 March. The Commission made its findings and recommendations public on 23 March, calling on the authorities to pursue judicial investigations and provide reparations to victims. Hafez Abu Saada confirmed to Amnesty International that the NCHR Commission enjoyed a collaborative relationship with the National Commission, which facilitated its access to detention facilities, and that the two commissions exchanged information and findings.

ACCESS TO JUSTICE

It remained unclear whether the National Commission identified suspected perpetrators of human rights violations and collected information indicating individual criminal responsibility. Such information should have been sought and forwarded, on a confidential basis, to the relevant prosecution authorities for further investigation, with a view to ensuring that those who are criminally responsible for human rights violations are brought to justice. The Commission's recommendations were silent on victims' right to justice even though it has confirmed forwarding its finding to the Public Prosecutor.

Amnesty International is aware that the Public Prosecutor has been conducting investigations into abuses committed during the unrest in parallel with the work of the National Commission. The Public Prosecutor in Cairo has received complaints from relatives of individuals killed during the unrest and from injured people. In fact, many families of individuals killed during protests whom Amnesty international interviewed have lodged complaints with the Public Prosecutor in Cairo, and submitted complaints to his representatives (*wakil*) in various governorates. Those who have submitted complaints have been called to give evidence and asked to identify witnesses.

In several cases known to Amnesty International, the Public Prosecutor ordered the exhumation of bodies of people believed to have been killed by security forces during demonstrations, including in the towns of Biba and Beni Suez in Beni Suef governorate, and Imbaba and Boolaq El Dakroor in Giza. The process was conducted in the presence of representatives of the Public Prosecution, forensic doctors, and the families of the victims; and followed the UN Manual on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions of 1991, the UN Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions and the UN Model Protocol for Disinterment and Analysis of Skeletal Remains, particularly in ensuring that bodies or individuals that may be implicated in human rights violations have no access to sensitive information. However, it remains unclear under what specific circumstances such exhumation orders are being applied, as the practice has not been implemented consistently across the country. In the cases of Beni Suef and Biba, the exhumation order came directly from the Public Prosecution and was not the result of family demands. It is unclear why the Public Prosecution has not issued similar orders in other cities.

In another positive development, the Public Prosecution has been making periodic public announcements, including on its Facebook page, about its investigations into human rights violations during the uprising. For instance, on 15 March, the Public Prosecution confirmed receiving evidence from the National Commission regarding the violence meted out against anti-government protesters in Tahrir Square and signalled its intent to call in for questioning

120 eyewitnesses identified by the Commission. In the context of its judicial investigations into the events, the Public Prosecution ordered the arrest of officials accused of human rights violations. On 18 March, the Public Prosecutor ordered the detention of the former Minister of Interior, Habib El Adly, while investigations continued into his direct responsibility for the use of firearms against peaceful protesters. Habib El Adly, who has been detained since 17 February on money-laundering charges, continues to deny that he instructed security officers to use live ammunition against protesters.

On 29 March, the Public Prosecutor referred Habib El Adly along with six other former high-ranking security officials to trial on various charges. The former Minister of Interior and three of his co-defendants – the former heads of the CSF, General Security and the SSI – face charges of participating in and facilitating the deliberate killings of protesters. Other charges relate to the failure of the security apparatus to adequately maintain public order.[116] On 10 April, the Public Prosecutor ordered the 15-day detention of former President Hosni Mubarak while investigations continue on various accusations including his alleged involvement in the shooting of protesters.[117]

In addition to such prominent cases, the Public Prosecution has summoned several police officers accused of using lethal force against protesters, including those accused of violence against protesters in front of Raml 2 and Moharam Bey police stations in Alexandria.[118] The Public Prosecution is also investigating allegations that NDP members were directly involved in inciting violence against anti-government protesters in Tahrir Square on 2 February, and have ordered the detention of former Speaker of the People's Assembly Fathi Sourour in relation to these allegations.[119]

Amnesty International is calling on the Egyptian authorities to conduct full, impartial and independent investigations into all cases of human rights violations committed during the protests, without discrimination, even when no official complaints have been lodged with the authorities, and ensure that all those responsible are brought to justice.

REPARATION AND GUARANTEES OF NON-REPETITION

The Egyptian authorities took steps to provide some forms of reparation to certain categories of victims. However, the reparation offered seems to be limited to financial compensation and some forms of health rehabilitation, and some categories of victim have been excluded.

On 16 February, former Prime Minister Ahmed Shafik stated that the relatives of the "martyrs of the 25 January Revolution" will be awarded a monthly pension of 1,500 Egyptian pounds (US$250) or a one-off payment of 50,000 Egyptian pounds (US$8,400) where the victim has no dependants.[120] The Ministry of Finance issued further procedural instructions for families wishing to obtain such pensions, directing them towards the Directorate of Exceptional Pensions in Cairo to present proof of identity, their relationship to the victim and the relevant death certificate.[121] The Ministry stressed that the death certificate must be certified by the Public Prosecution to prove that the person died during anti-government protests. On 29 March, the Ministry announced that it had received 334 requests for compensation from families of victims, and that it had distributed funds to 22 families at a ceremony honouring the sacrifices of the victims.[122]

While welcoming the acknowledgement that families of victims are entitled to financial compensation, Amnesty International has several concerns regarding the compensation proposals. All victims of human rights violations are entitled to financial compensation without discrimination. However, the exact amount of financial compensation awarded must take into account the gravity of the violation and the harm suffered, and be based on objective criteria that are not discriminatory in nature or in their implementation. In line with the UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation, compensation should be provided for any economically assessable damage, as appropriate and proportional to the gravity of the violation and the circumstances of each case, such as:

"(a) Physical or mental harm; (b) Lost opportunities, including employment, education and social benefits; (c) Material damages and loss of earnings, including loss of earning potential; (d) Moral damage; (e) Costs required for legal or expert assistance, medicine and medical services, and psychological and social services."[123]

When awarding financial compensation to families of victims, certain considerations need to be taken into account, such as whether the person killed was the family's sole breadwinner and the number of dependants.

Amnesty International is also concerned that not enough information and assistance is provided for potential beneficiaries seeking to claim compensation. For instance, many families of those killed complained to Amnesty International that they received contradictory information from government bureaucrats as to the documents needed to claim compensation. One family in Beni Suef told Amnesty International that despite having a death certificate and a medical report certifying that their loved one died as a result of "gunshot" on the day of demonstrations, the family was asked to bring a police report certifying that the family had reported the "crime". Egyptian authorities must reach out to all individuals entitled to compensation, particularly in remote areas, to ensure that they are informed of their rights and the procedures needed to collect their compensation. These measures must be taken promptly, as many of the families are of modest means, and in addition to suffering the loss of their loved one, are enduring the loss of the sole or main breadwinner of the family.

Amnesty International is further concerned that other victims of human rights violations have not been included in proposals for financial compensation. For instance, people who have suffered serious physical harm as well as material damage due to loss of earnings as a direct result of the injury should also be entitled to financial compensation, which is appropriate and proportional to the gravity of the violation and the harm suffered. Such compensation should complement the confirmation by the Ministry of Heath and Population that all costs of treatment for those injured in the context of protests would be covered by the government.[124] Moreover, injured victims should be rehabilitated without charge to the highest standard of medical treatment, particularly those who were disabled by their injury, such as losing the sight of an eye or permanent paralysis. While officials in the Ministry of Social Solidarity were quoted as saying that proposals for the financial compensation of those "harmed" during the "January 25 Revolution" were being studied,[125] as far as Amnesty International can determine, no concrete steps were taken to realise these promises.

Victims of other human rights violations such as torture, and families of victims of unlawful killings during the prison unrest, must also be provided with compensation, in line with Egypt's international obligation to provide an adequate remedy to all victims of human rights violations, without discrimination.

The National Commission did recommend for victims of human rights violations and their families to receive compensation including "financial, medical, psychological and social assistance" – failing to specify what such assistance should entail in practice. Victims are entitled to adequate reparation, including but not limited to financial compensation, in line with the UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law. In addition to measures of restitution, rehabilitation, compensation and satisfaction, a broad range of other reparations should be offered to victims. These include measures that would prevent repetition of past violations, such as reforming laws, administrative procedures and practice; vetting the police and security apparatus to exclude suspected perpetrators; strengthening the justice system; and promoting human rights education.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Impunity for serious human rights violations has been the hallmark of the political landscape in Egypt for the past 30 years, and has led to the loss of trust in public institutions and the rule of law among ordinary Egyptians. In fact, many Egyptians viewed national institutions as obstacles to, rather than guarantors of, their enjoyment of human rights. The Egyptian authorities today have a unique opportunity to rebuild the trust of the public by ensuring that the bravery of those who stood up against decades of repression, poverty, corruption and human rights abuse is honoured.

The extraordinary 18 days that toppled Hosni Mubarak were marred by human rights violations perpetrated by a political system using all the weapons in its arsenal to survive. While the battle might have been lost, it came at a heavy cost. Hundreds were unlawfully killed, and thousands more injured, including permanently. Thousands of others were arbitrarily arrested and detained, seemingly outside the framework of any law, and many of them subjected to torture or other ill-treatment, including by the military. The new rulers of Egypt hail those who sacrificed for the "25 January Revolution"; but the real salute would be ensuring that all those responsible for such violations are brought to justice, that all victims receive reparations, and that such violations are never repeated.

Amnesty International presented a comprehensive set of recommendations to the new Egyptian authorities in its Human Rights Agenda for Change,[126] aimed at making fundamental and long-lasting reforms in Egypt to break with the long legacy of human rights violations and to build a new political system based on the respect of the rule of law and human rights. These include establishing a commission of inquiry, or other similar mechanisms, to address human rights violations that took place during the whole rule of former President Hosni Mubarak. Such an investigation should have access to all relevant information, including archives, and have the power to compel witnesses, including current and former officials, in order to uncover and then publicly reveal the truth of Egypt's past. Its major task should be the formulation of recommendations aimed at ending and preventing human rights violations; and at ensuring truth, justice and reparation to the many victims.

To address the human rights violations perpetrated specifically in the context of the "25 January Revolution", Amnesty International makes the following recommendations to the Egyptian authorities:

To the Egyptian authorities:

- Conduct full, impartial and independent investigations into all cases of human rights violations taking place in the context of the "25 January Revolution", including excessive use of force; arbitrary detention and torture and other ill-treatment, including by members of the armed forces; and killings and torture of prisoners. Ensure that the investigations cover violations committed outside the major urban centres, especially regions in Upper Egypt and in Egypt's informal settlements;

- Ensure that victims and families of those killed and their legal representatives have access to and are informed of all information related to the Fact-Finding National Commission about 25 January Revolution and Public Prosecutor's investigations, and are aware of mechanisms enabling them to present evidence;

- Publish the full findings of the Fact-Finding National Commission about 25 January Revolution, including a full list of all those killed during the unrest and the circumstances of their deaths;

- Guarantee that no evidence of human rights abuses, including evidence of unlawful killings, is tampered with or destroyed and that investigations into all killings follow the methods set out in the UN Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions;

- Ensure that the National Commission's findings, including a full list of those killed in the unrest, and its recommendations, are officially published and widely disseminated without undue delay, including by means of a written report describing its findings in detail;

- Ensure that everyone who provides information to investigations into human right abuses is adequately protected from reprisals or any other form of intimidation;

- Take special measures to assist victims, their families and their legal representatives in accessing information about the investigation, presenting views and concerns, registering their case, participating and giving testimony;

- Guarantee that families of those killed are provided with autopsy reports, medical certificates and any other evidence or information necessary to clarify the circumstances and causes of the death of their relatives;

- Establish a vetting system to ensure that, pending investigation, officials and others about whom there is evidence of serious human rights violations do not remain or are not placed in positions where they could repeat such violations;

- Ensure that all those criminally responsible for unlawful killing and injuries as a result of excessive and arbitrary use of force in policing demonstrations or in prisons, including those who committed the violations or ordered others to commit them, are brought to justice in proceedings meeting international standards of fair trial and with no possibility of the death penalty;

- Investigate all allegations of torture or other ill-treatment in line with the Principles on the Effective Investigation and Documentation of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, even when no official complaint has been made; bring all those responsible to justice; and provide adequate reparation to victims;

- Publicly condemn torture and other ill-treatment; ensure that these practices cease; and make clear to all officers involved in arrest, detention and interrogation that torture and other ill-treatment will not be tolerated under any circumstances;

- Establish a mechanism that provides for the mandatory conduct of independent, unrestricted and unannounced visits to all places of detention (which include confidential interviews with any detainees of the visiting body's choice), including any national security and military facilities;

- Ensure that all injured are rehabilitated at the highest standard of medical treatment without incurring expenses, especially those who suffered from handicap as a result of their injury;

- Provide all victims of human rights violations with financial compensation and other forms of reparation that are appropriate and proportional to the gravity of the violation, the harm suffered and the circumstances of their case, including the coverage of full medical costs to those injured during demonstrations as a result of excessive use of force or other abuses by members of the security forces;

- Ensure that enough information and assistance is provided for potential beneficiaries seeking to claim financial compensation;

- Issue a formal apology at the highest level of the State to victims of human rights violations;

- Publish and disseminate in a form that is readily accessible to the public the rules and regulations on the use of force by all security forces, including the army;

- Ensure that security forces and other law enforcement officers act in line with the UN Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials and the UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials, by giving clear instructions that force may only be used when strictly necessary and only to the extent required for performance of their duty, and that lethal force may only be used when strictly unavoidable in order to protect their lives or the lives of others;

- Undertake a fundamental overhaul of all the security and law enforcement bodies, and make public a clear structure of the various security branches with a clear chain of command and full accountability under the law;

- Ensure that the newly-established National Security Department does not have powers to arrest and detain people incommunicado and is firmly placed under judicial oversight;

- Immediately lift the state of emergency and repeal all provisions of the Emergency Law that entrench human rights violations. The state must not arbitrarily detain people, torture them, engage in other reprisals against them, or deny their right to fair trial;

- Abolish trials of civilians before military and emergency courts. Halt immediately all trials of civilians before military courts and either release them or transfer them to civilian courts for fair trial;

- Release all those detained solely for peacefully exercising their right to freedom of expression and assembly, including those convicted by military courts; and uphold the rights to freedom of assembly and to freedom of expression, including by protecting the freedom to

seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers and through any media; and by refraining from imposing undue restrictions on Internet and mobile telecommunications services; and

- Ratify the Optional Protocol on the UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the International Convention for the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearance and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

ENDNOTES

[1] See *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, "840 killed in Egypt's revolution, health ministry official says", 4 April 2011: http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en/node/385973, accessed 28 April 2011.

[2] English spellings of places in Egypt are consistent with the Cairo Engineering and Manufacturing Company. map; while those in Greater Cairo are based on the Dar El Kutub maps.

[3] See Amnesty International, *Egypt: Human Rights Agenda for Change* (Index: MDE 12/015/2011), 10 February 2011: http://amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE12/015/2011/en/1e527ccb-4ada-420d-8831-7a5a2d6052be/mde120152011en.html, accessed 28 April 2011.

[4] *The Independent*, "Mohamed Heikal: 'I was sure my country would explode. But the young are wiser than us'", 15 February 2011: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/mohamed-heikal-i-was-sure-my-country-would-explode-but-the-young-are-wiser-than-us-2215070.html, accessed 28 April 2011.

[5] See United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Arab Human Development Report 2009, Challenges to Human Security in the Arab Countries*, 2009, p11. See also: Associated Press, "Egypt's Mubarak aims for 8 percent annual growth", 25 December 2010: http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20101225/ap_on_re_mi_ea/ml_egypt_mubarak. See also: AFP, "Egypt braces for nationwide protests", 25 January 2011: http://www.france24.com/en/20110125-egypt-braces-nationwide-protests, accessed 28 April 2011.

[6] This estimate is given by Egypt's Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, although official numbers vary.

[7] *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, "Abu Al-Naga: Egypt's national debt under control", 14 January 2011.

[8] See Transparency International's corruption perceptions index of 2010 at: http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2010/results

[9] International Institute for Strategic Studies, "The military balance 2010", 2010, p250.

[10] Law No.162 of 1958.

[11] See for example: Amnesty International, "Egypt: Muzzling civil society" (Index MDE 12/021/2000), 18 September 2000: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE12/021/2000/en, accessed 28 April 2011; Amnesty International, "Egypt: Government should immediately release Musaad Abu Fagr and Karim Amer" (Index: MDE 12/029/2009), 22 July 2009: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE12/029/2009/en, accessed 28 April 2011. See also: Amnesty International, "Egypt: Amnesty International calls on the government to lift the state emergency and to guarantee freedom of expression, association and assembly" (Index: MDE 12/024/2010), 11 June 2010: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE12/024/2010/en, accessed 28 April 2011.

See also examples of following Amnesty International reports: *Egypt: Violations of Human Rights* (Index: MDE 12/014/1982), January 1982; *Egypt: Security Police Detentions Undermine the Rule of Law*, (Index: MDE 12/01/92), January 1992; *Egypt: Indefinite Detention and Systematic Torture, the Forgotten Victims* (Index: MDE 12/13/96), July 1996; and *Egypt: Systematic Abuses in the Name of Security* (Index: MDE 12/001/2007), 11 April 2007:

http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE12/001/2007/en, accessed 28 April 2011.

[12] See Footnote 11.

[13] Amnesty International "Egypt: Proposed constitutional amendments greatest erosion of human rights in 26 years" (Index: 12/008/2007), 18 March 2007: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE12/008/2007/en, accessed 28 April 2011.

[14] Amnesty International, "Egypt: Justice subverted: trials of civilians before military courts" (Index: MDE 12/022/2007), 2 August 2007: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE12/022/2007/en, accessed 28 April; and Amnesty International, "Egypt: Continuing crackdown on Muslim Brotherhood", (Index: 12/028/2007), 30 August 2007: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE12/028/2007/en, accessed 28 April 2011.

[15] Other powers as set out in Article 3 of the Emergency Law (Law No. 162 of 1958 as amended) are: "(2) order the surveillance of letters of any type; supervise censorship; seize journals, newsletters, publications, editorials, cartoons, and any form of expression and advertisement before they are published, and close their publishing places; (3) determine the times of opening and closing public shops, and order the closure of some or all of these shops; (4) confiscate any property or building, order the sequestration of companies and corporations, and postpone the due dates of loans for what has been confiscated or sequestrated; (5) withdraw licences of arms, ammunitions, explosive devices, and explosives of all kinds, order their submission, and close arms stores; (6) evict some areas or isolate them; regulate means of transport; limit means of transport between different regions."

[16] Samples of Amnesty International campaigning on the case of Khaled Said include "Brutal police killing of young man must be investigated" (Index: MDE 01/192/2010), 14 June 2010: http://www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/egypt-brutal-police-killing-young-man-must-be-investigated-2010-06-14, accessed 28 April 2011; "Egypt: Protection of witnesses and suspension of police officers needed" (Index: MDE 12/023/2010), 15 June 2010: http://amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE12/023/2010/en/298b4553-f7a3-4321-bd13-7a735cba5084/mde120232010en.html, accessed 28 April 2011.

[17] The group can be found at: http://www.facebook.com/ElShaheeed, accessed 28 April 2011.

[18] See Amnesty International, "Egypt: Intimidation and assault on journalists and peaceful demonstrators must stop" (Index: MDE 12/025/2005), 7 June 2005: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE12/025/2005/en/8eaca4ea-d4de-11dd-8a23-d58a49c0d652/mde120252005en.html, accessed 28 April 2011. See also: Human Rights Watch, "Egypt: Security Forces Attack Opposition Demonstrators", 1 August 2005: http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2005/08/01/egypt-security-forces-attack-opposition-demonstrators, accessed 28 April 2011.

[19] Human Rights Watch, "Egypt: Police Severely Beat Pro-Democracy Activists", 30 May 2006: http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2006/05/30/egypt-police-severely-beat-pro-democracy-activists, accessed 28 April 2011.

[20] Amnesty International, "Egypt: Disciplinary action against judges a challenge to judicial independence" (Index 12/007/2006), 27 April 2006: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE12/007/2006/en, accessed 28 April 2011.

[21] Amnesty International, "Egypt: Arrests of Kefaya movement leaders, investigation needed into police

killings" (Index: MDE 12/006/2008), 11 April 2008: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE12/006/2008/en, accessed 28 April 2011.

[22] Amnesty International, "Emergency court jails 22 in Egypt", 16 December 2008, accessible at http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/news/emergency-court-jails-22-egypt-20081216, accessed 28 April 2011.

[23] Amnesty International, *Buried Alive: Trapped between poverty and neglect in Cairo's informal settlements* (Index: MDE 12/009/2009), 17 November 2009: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE12/009/2009/en, accessed 28 April 2011.

[24] See Amnesty International, "Egyptian authorities urged to release peaceful protesters", 7 April 2009: http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/news/egyptian-authorities-urged-release-peaceful-protestors-20090407, accessed 28 April 2011.

[25] For more information see Amnesty International, '*Shouting slogans in the wind': Human rights concerns ahead of parliamentary elections* (Index: MDE 12/32/2010), 21 November 2010: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE12/032/2010/en, accessed 28 April 2011.

[26] Amnesty International, "Egypt must stop police intimidation of dead detainee's family", 11 January 2011: http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/egypt-must-stop-police-intimidation-dead-detainee%E2%80%99s-family-2011-01-11, accessed 28 April 2011.

[27] For more information see Chapter 5, and Amnesty International, Urgent Action, "Human rights activists detained in Egypt" (Index: MDE 12/008/2011), 3 February 2011: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE12/008/2011/en/6daf65e2-0f72-41ea-9cae-61d5381f6d17/mde120082011en.html, accessed 28 April 2011.

[28] See for example, *Al-Masry Al-Youm,* "Egyptian Foreign Ministry defends reported bid to smear uprising", 15 February 2011: http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en/node/320125, accessed 28 April 2011.

[29] Associated Press, "Vodafone: Egypt forced us to send text messages", 3 February 2011: http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20110203/ap_on_hi_te/eu_egypt_cell_phones, accessed 28 April 2011.

[30] See for example, the *Guardian*, "Egypt cracks down on foreign journalists", 4 February 2011: http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/feb/03/egypt-media-crackdown-foreign-journalists, accessed 28 April 2011.

[31] Reuters, "Suleiman rejects foreign intervention in Egypt affairs", 3 February 2011: http://uk.reuters.com/article/2011/02/03/uk-egypt-suleiman-usa-idUKTRE71275520110203, accessed 28 April 2011.

[32] The four largest Internet providers (IP) Etisalat Misr, Link Egypt, Telecom Egypt and Vodafone/Raya effectively ceased their operations immediately. A smaller IP, the Noor Group, reportedly remained active until 31 January 2011 when it, too, shut down.

[33] See Statements - Vodafone Egypt, 28 January 2011: http://www.vodafone.com/content/index/press/press_statements/statement_on_egypt.html, accessed 28 April 2011.

[34] See Statements - Vodafone Egypt, 3 February 2011: http://www.vodafone.com/content/index/press/press_statements/statement_on_egypt.html, accessed 28 April 2011.

[35] Al Jazeera, "Egypt shuts down Al Jazeera bureau", 30 January 2011: http://english.aljazeera.net/news/middleeast/2011/01/201113085252994161.html, accessed 28 April 2011.

[36] Reuters, "Al Jazeera says Cairo office destroyed by 'thugs'", 4 February 2011: http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/02/04/us-egypt-jazeera-idUSTRE7133ZI20110204, accessed 28 April 2011.

[37] Reuters, "Egyptian satellite restores Jazeera transmissions", 9 February 2011: http://in.reuters.com/article/2011/02/09/idINIndia-54765720110209, accessed 28 April 2011.

[38] Amnesty International, "Egypt continues crackdown on media", 31 January 2011: http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/egypt-continues-crackdown-media-2011-01-31, accessed 28 April 2011.

[39] See for example, Committee to Protect Journalists, "Mubarak intensifies press attacks with assaults, detentions", 3 February 2011: http://cpj.org/2011/02/mubarak-intensifies-press-attacks-with-assaults-de.php, accessed 28 April 2011; and Reporters Without Borders, "Tally of cases of abuses against journalists", 4 February 2011: http://en.rsf.org/egypt-tally-of-cases-of-abuses-against-04-02-2011,39487.html, accessed 28 April 2011.

[40] See the *Guardian*, "Supporters of Hosni Mubarak attack foreign journalists in Egypt", 2 February 2011: http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/feb/02/hosni-mubarak-supporters-attack-foreign-journalists?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487, accessed 28 April 2011.

[41] Egyptian Centre for Economic and Social Rights, "Egyptian working class adds a social heart to Egyptian revolution" (original in Arabic) 10 February 2011: http://ecesr.com/?p=2917, accessed 28 April 2011.

[42] See *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, "840 killed in Egypt's revolution, health ministry official says", 4 April 2011: http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en/node/385973, accessed 28 April 2011; and Ministry of Heath and Population, "Health: Preliminary report of the numbers of deaths and injuries in events of 25 Revolution", 22 February 2011: http://www.mohp.gov.eg/mediacenter/bayena3lamy/Detail.aspx?id=535, accessed 28 April 2011.

[43] World Economic Forum, *The global gender gap report 2010*, 2010, pp126-127: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2010.pdf, accessed 28 April 2011.

[44] Amnesty International, "Egyptian women protesters forced to take 'virginity tests'" (Index: PRE01/152/2011), 23 March 2011: http://www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/egyptian-women-protesters-forced-take-%E2%80%98virginity-tests%E2%80%99-2011-03-23, 28 April 2011.

[45] Sixth statement by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, 14 February 2011.

[46] Amnesty International, *Time for Justice: Egypt's corrosive system of detention* (Index: MDE 12/029/2011), 20 April 2011: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE12/029/2011/en/3c835ce6-8d5e-4103-9d7b-6bc75202b31c/mde120292011en.pdf, accessed 28 April 2011.

[47] Amnesty International, "Egyptian referendum voters must not be harassed or intimidated", 19 March 2010: www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/egyptian-referendum-voters-must-not-be-harassed-or-intimidated-2011-03-19, accessed 28 April 2011.

[48] Article 21 of the ICCPR.

[49] The relevant provisions of the Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials are – Principle 3: "The development and deployment of non-lethal incapacitating weapons should be carefully evaluated in order to minimize the risk of endangering uninvolved persons, and the use of such weapons should be carefully controlled." Principle 5: "Whenever the lawful use of force and firearms is unavoidable, law enforcement officials shall: (a) Exercise restraint in such use and act in proportion to the seriousness of the offence and the legitimate objective to be achieved; (b) Minimize damage and injury, and respect and preserve human life; (c) Ensure that assistance and medical aid are rendered to any injured or affected persons at the earliest possible moment; (d) Ensure that relatives or close friends of the injured or affected person are notified at the earliest possible moment." Principle 9: "Law enforcement officials shall not use firearms against persons except in self-defence or defence of others against the imminent threat of death or serious injury, to prevent the perpetration of a particularly serious crime involving grave threat to life, to arrest a person presenting such a danger and resisting their authority, or to prevent his or her escape, and only when less extreme means are insufficient to achieve these objectives. In any event, intentional lethal use of firearms may only be made when strictly unavoidable in order to protect life." Principle 10: "In the circumstances provided for under principle 9, law enforcement officials shall identify themselves as such and give a clear warning of their intent to use firearms, with sufficient time for the warning to be observed, unless to do so would unduly place the law enforcement officials at risk or would create a risk of death or serious harm to other persons, or would be clearly inappropriate or pointless in the circumstances of the incident."

[50] The relevant provision of the Code of Conduct is: Article 3: "Law enforcement officials may use force only when strictly necessary and to the extent required for the performance of their duty." Paragraph (C) states: "The use of firearms is considered an extreme measure. Every effort should be made to exclude the use of firearms, especially against children. In general, firearms should not be used except when a suspected offender offers armed resistance or otherwise jeopardizes the lives of others and less extreme measures are not sufficient to restrain or apprehend the suspected offender. In every instance in which a firearm is discharged, a report should be made promptly to the competent authorities."

[51] Amnesty International, *Egypt: systematic abuses in the name of security.*

[52] Minister of Interior's Decree 276 of 1972 relating to the organization of the use of live ammunition stipulates that provisions of Minister of Interior's Decree 156 of 1964 continue to be in force.

[53] Article 21 of the Law on the Judiciary (Law No. 46 of 1972) and articles 1 and 2 of the Code of Criminal Procedures (Law No. 150 of 1952).

[54] The relevant articles of the CCP are: Article 40 (arrest and detention) and 137 (preventive detention); 63-64 and 77-81 (investigations); 157 and 214 (indictment), 204 and 209 (release); 206 (home searches), 269 and 271-272 and 295 and 302 (trial), 362 and 374 (enforcement of sentence).

[55] Article 25 of the CCP.

[56] Article 24 of the CCP.

[57] Article 22 of the Law on the Judiciary.

[58] Article 22 of the CCP as well as Article 10 (7) of the General Instructions in criminal matters.

[59] Article 42 and 43 of the CCP and Article 27 of the Law on the Judiciary.

[60] Article 125 of the General Instructions in criminal matters.

[61] Since 1953, when the Supreme State Security Prosecution was established by decree of the Justice Minister, its powers have been expanded by other decrees. Its members have been mandated to investigate security offences anywhere in Egypt as well as crimes referred to it by the President.

[62] These are the same powers as those given to the Public Prosecution under the now-defunct law establishing State Security Courts. After the abolition of the State Security Courts in 2003, these powers were given to the Public Prosecution under the CCP when dealing with security offences.

[63] The only difference between the added article of the CCP and previous legislation is that these powers can now be exercised only by members of the Public Prosecution with at least the rank of chief prosecutor.

[64] Ministry of Heath and Population, "Health: Preliminary report of the numbers of deaths and injuries in events of 25 Revolution", 22 February 2011: http://www.mohp.gov.eg/mediacenter/bayena3lamy/Detail.aspx?id=535, accessed 28 April 2011.

[65] *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, "Health: the revolution's martyrs are 384 in our hospitals only, and 840 in university, army and police hospitals" (original in Arabic), 4 April 2011.

[66] The list compiled by the Front to Defend Egypt's Protesters can be found at http://www.box.net/shared/e0zar7kcar. The Front is composed of a number of human rights and civil society organizations; and provides legal and other support to individuals whose rights have been violated due to their participation in protests, strikes and other peaceful public action.

[67] The tear gas grenade was found in Boolaq El Dakroor. It has "Made in USA" written on it. It is deployed manually by pulling the pin out and throwing it. The canister itself clearly states that: *"For outdoor use only. The contents may cause severe injury if not used in accordance with this warning instruction. Give Medical Aid to persons seriously affected."*

[68] This long-distance tear gas grenade was found in El Matareya in Cairo. It is deployed using a riot gun or grenade launcher. The cartridge itself clearly states "For use only by qualified personnel trained in the use of this product." It also has written on it "Made in USA".

[69] See Anneke Osse, "Understanding Policing: A resource for human rights activities", Amnesty International Netherlands, 2006, section 5.4.3: http://www.amnesty.nl/documenten/rapporten/Understanding%20Policing%202007%20Full%20text.pdf , accessed 28 April 2011.

[70] Ministry of Interior, "A number of police officers martyrs killed on duty" (original in Arabic), 14 February 2011: http://www.moiegypt.gov.eg/Arabic/Departments+Sites/Media+and+public+Relation/News/ns09022011.htm, accessed 28 April 2011; and Ministry of Interior, "Individuals and recruits martyrs killed while on work duty" (original in Arabic), 14 February 2011: http://www.moiegypt.gov.eg/Arabic/Departments+Sites/Media+and+public+Relation/News/n140220114.htm, accessed 28 April 2011. These statistics are referenced by the National Council for Human Rights in its *Report on the results of the work of the Fact-Finding Commission into the crimes and irregularities committed during the period of the 25 January 2011 Revolution*, 23 March 2011: http://www.nchregypt.org/ar/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=444:-25-2011&catid=22:2010-02-08-20-22-40, accessed 28 April 2011.

[71] Those serving in the CSF or other security forces as part of their obligatory military conscription.

[72] In terms of the circumstances of their deaths: five were believed to have been killed by Bedouin gunmen in North Sinai; four in attacks on prisons by gunmen; and one killed himself by mistake. Explicit reference to "protests" were made in the following cases: Ahmed Aziz Faragallah, a CSF recruit, who died on 26 January 2011 in Tahrir Square in a stampede; Ahmed Ismail Mohamed El-Shafey, a sergeant, who died on 28 January while extinguishing fire at the NDP headquarters in Cairo, apparently set ablaze by protesters; Ibrahim Mohamed Abdel Meguid, a sergeant, who was shot by "individuals" on 28 January in Alexandria while securing Raml 2 Police Station from the roof and died on 5 February; Mohamed Suleiman Salama, a police agent at SSI, who died on 30 January 2011, from gunshots by "criminal elements participating in protests" while on duty in Al-Haram in Giza; Gouma Hamed Abdel Hameed Issa, a police agent, who died on 3 February, following a protest in North Sinai in front of the SSI office in Rafah.

[73] Amnesty International visited the following hospitals in or in the vicinity of central Cairo: Mounira Hospital, Nasser Institute Hospital, El-Sahel Teaching Hospital, Red Crescent Hospital, Ain Shams University Hospitals (including Demerdesh Hospital), Ahmed Maher Hospital and Cairo University Hospitals (Kasr Alainy). Amnesty International enjoyed varying levels of co-operation by administrators and other staff in the hospital: some provided detailed statistics about deaths and injuries during protests, including types of wounds, dates the patients were admitted into the hospitals, and biographical data; others refused to provide details beyond general statements such as there are "at least 10 deaths" or "lots of injuries". Amnesty International is particularly grateful to administrators at the Mounira and Nasser Institute hospitals for allowing the organization to gather testimonies of injured protesters; and for providing detailed information.

[74] See map of Cairo at beginning of report.

[75] See Fact-Finding National Commission about 25 January Revolution, *Summary Final Report*, 14 April 2011: http://www.ffnc-eg.org/assets/ffnc-eg_final.pdf, accessed 28 April 2011.

[76] See National Council for Human Rights, *Report on the results of the work of the Fact-Finding Commission into the crimes and irregularities committed during the period of the 25 January 2011* and AlKarama for Human Rights, "Egypt: 303 confirmed cases of death since the beginning of the 25 January uprising", 21 February 2011: http://ar.alkarama.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4073:-303-25-2011&catid=113:-&Itemid=130, accessed 28 April 2011.

[77] Interviewed on 3 February 2011.

[78] According to a 2006 census, the population of El Matareya was 590,982 people.

[79] Shafafia Centre for Social Studies and Development Training, *First report on events of the bloody Friday and its aftermath in east Cairo* (original in Arabic), 29 January 2011.

[80] Amnesty International cannot independently confirm the number of deaths, if any, among security forces. According to the Ministry of Interior, Mahmoud Mohamed Reda Abdel Shafy, a recruit, was killed near his home in El Matareya from several gunshots "during the ongoing events". It is unclear whether he was on duty and Amnesty International was unable to meet his family to gather information on his death.

[81] Visited by Amnesty International on 19 February 2011.

[82] Figures from 2006 by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, *Study of Informal*

Settlements in Egypt, April 2008, pp28-32. This proportion increased to almost 69.9 per cent after territories from the Giza Governorate went in 2008 to the newly established 6 October Governorate.

[83] According to the 2006 population census by the Central Agency for Public Mobilisation and Statistics. See: http://www.msrintranet.capmas.gov.eg/pls/census/cnsest_a_sex_ama?LANG=1&lname==&YY=2006&cod=21&gv=, accessed 28 April 2011.

[84] *Al-Ahram*, "Excavation of six bodies of martyrs of 25 January from Imbaba" (original in Arabic), 20 February 2011.

[85] *El-Youm El-Sabaa*: "Forensic medicine: Martyrs in Imbaba and Kerdasa wounded by bullets" (original in Arabic), 27 March 2011.

[86] Amnesty International, "Egypt: Sweeping measures against torture needed" (Index: MDE 12/034/2007), 5 November 2007: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE12/034/2007/en, accessed 28 April 2011. See also: Amnesty International, "Egypt: Police officers who tortured must be kept off duty", 9 April 2009: http://www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/egypt-police-officers-who-tortured-must-be-kept-duty-20090409, accessed 28 April 2011.

[87] Globe rupture occurs when the integrity of the outer membranes of the eye is disrupted by blunt or penetrating trauma.

[88] According to a Ministry of Interior statement, Ibrahim Mohamed Abdel Meguid, a police sergeant, was shot at in the head by "individuals" while securing a police station after it had been set on fire with "fire bottles" by "individuals". He died on 5 February. See Ministry of Interior, "Individual and recruit martyrs killed while on work duty".

[89] Beni Suef governorate hosts a population of around 2.3 million, according to the 2006 census.

[90] A married couple were reportedly killed in Al Wasta: they are Mohamed Sadeq Moawad and Mabrouka Abdel Aal. Another man was reportedly killed in Al Fashn.

[91] Ministry of Interior, "Individual and recruit martyrs killed while on work duty".

[92] Flare guns, available in Suez as it is a port city, were used to scare the riot police with their bright fluorescent light.

[93] The first call for a nationwide general strike, on 6 April 2008, by political activists was inspired by a strike in El Mahalla. While the strike was called off, mass protests erupted in El Mahalla against the rising costs of living, with protesters gathering in the central Al-Shon Square. Violent clashes took place with security forces and three people died in the crackdown. Hundreds of people were arrested and some were tortured; 49 people were tried by the Emergency Supreme State Security Court and in December 2008, 22 defendants – mostly young craftsmen in their twenties – received sentences of between three and five years for theft or possession of firearms. See Amnesty International, "Emergency court rulings on Mahalla protests entrench abuses", 15 December 2008: http://www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/emergency-court-rulings-mahalla-protests-entrench-abuses-20081215, last accessed 28 April 2011. See also: *Egypt: Arrests of Kefaya movement leaders, investigation needed into police killings*, 11 April 2008: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE12/006/2008/en/ec2af0c6-07cd-11dd-badf-1352a91852c5/mde120062008eng.pdf, last accessed 28 April 2011.

[94] According to the Ministry of Interior, Mohamed Abdel Mineim Ramadan, a recruit in El Mahalla, was

killed by gunshot to the stomach on 28 January 2011.

[95] Interviewed on 2 February 2011.

[96] According to Dr Colin Roberts, a policing expert at Universities Police Science Institute, University of Cardiff, who examined video footage taken on 30 January 2011.

[97] Articles 36 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (CCP) stipulates that a detainee must be brought before the office of the Public Prosecutor for questioning within 24 hours of arrest, after which the detention period can be extended or the detainee is to be released. Article 139 of the CCP provide protection against arbitrary detention, denial of access to lawyers and other abuses by stipulating that anyone arrested or detained must be informed of the reasons for their arrest or detention and have the right to communicate with whomever they deem fit to inform and seek legal counsel. The same article also provides protection against prolonged detention without charge and denial of the right to challenge the detention by stipulating that detainees must be promptly charged and have the right to lodge an appeal to the courts against any measure taken to deprive them of their liberty.

[98] The Constitution has since been suspended by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. However; it was still in place at the time of the torture and other ill-treatment documented by Amnesty International.

[99] Torture is defined under the section of the Penal Code entitled "Coercion and ill-treatment by civil servants against people" (Articles 126-132). The most severe penalties for torturers are up to 10 years' imprisonment for anyone "who ordered or committed torture to force an accused to make a confession" or, when the victim dies, to "the same sentence stated for intentional killing" (which is up to death penalty). Torture, including death threats, can be punished by imprisonment under other provisions, including Article 282 of the Penal Code. However, this only applies when the person tortured has been arrested unlawfully, as specified in Article 280 of the Penal Code, by someone purporting to be a police officer or wearing police uniform. Article 282 stipulates "Whoever arrests, confines or detains a person without an order from one of the concerned authorities, and in other than the cases wherein the law and statutes authorize the arrest of the suspects, shall be punished with the detention or a fine not exceeding two hundred pounds."

[100] For more information, see "Chapter 2. The trajectory of the '25 January revolution'".

[101] See Amnesty International, "Fears for a Google Employee in Egypt", 6 February 2011: http://www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/fears-google-employee-egypt-2011-02-06, accessed 28 April 2011.

[102] Real name withheld on his request to protect his security.

[103] Real name withheld on his request to protect his security.

[104] Name withheld for security reasons.

[105] Real name withheld on his request to protect his security.

[106] For more information, see Amnesty International, "Egyptian authorities must free protester convicted by military court" (Index: PRE 01/099/2011), 2 March 2011: http://www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/egyptian-authorities-must-free-protester-convicted-military-court-2011-03-0, accessed 28 April 2011.

[107] The right to an effective remedy for victims of human rights violations and serious violations of international humanitarian law is guaranteed in international law. It is enshrined in Article 2(3) of the

ICCPR and further expanded in the UN Human Rights Committee General Comment No. 31 on the "Nature of the General Legal Obligation imposed on States Parties to the Covenant", adopted on 29 March 2004 at its 2187th meeting. It is also recognized in Article 8 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Article 6 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; Article 14 of the Convention against Torture; Article 39 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child; Article 3 of the 1907 Hague Convention concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land; Article 91 of the Protocol I Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Additional Protocol I); Article 75 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court; Article 7 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights; and Article 23 of the Arab Charter on Human Rights.

[108] The Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law as well as the UN Human Rights Committee General Comment No. 31 set out the five forms of reparation.

[109] Adopted and proclaimed by UN General Assembly Resolution 60/147 of 16 December 2005 (UN Doc: A/RES/60/147).

[110] Article 2 of Decree No. 294.

[111] The other commissioners were Mohamed Amin El-Mahdi, Iskandar Ghatass, Mohamed Samir Badran, and Nagwa Hussein Khalil. On 7 March 2011, Mohamed Amin El-Mahdi withdrew from the work of the Commission. No official explanation was provided for the reasons for his withdrawal.

[112] Fact-Finding National Commission about 25 January Revolution, "Press release from National Fact Finding Commission, Press Release number 2", 23 February 2011: http://www.ffnc-eg.org/assets/file03.pdf, accessed 28 April 2011.

[113] The summary of the report is available on the National Commission's website at http://www.ffnc-eg.org/main.html, accessed 28 April 2011.

[114] Information about the Commission's work and its press releases can be found on its official site at: http://www.ffnc-eg.org/main.html, accessed 28 April 2011.

[115] National Council for Human Rights, "The council establishes a fact finding commission into human rights violations that happened during this period against protesters"(original in Arabic), 7 February 2011: http://www.nchregypt.org/ar/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=424%3A2011-02-07-15-54-33&catid=22%3A2010-02-08-20-22-40&Itemid=17, accessed 28 April 2011.

[116] *Al-Ahram*, "Trial of Adly and six of his aids in front of criminal court on charges of killings protesters and inciting disorder. Ahram gets access to the referral decision" (original in Arabic) 29 March 2011: http://www.ahram.org.eg/The-First/News/69886.aspx, accessed 28 April 2011.

[117] Reuters, "UPDATE 3-Prosecutor to summon Mubarak in deaths, graft probes", 10 April: http://af.reuters.com/article/egyptNews/idAFLDE7390DL20110410, accessed 28 April 2011. At the time of writing, Hosni Mubarak continued to be hospitalized.

[118] See section on Alexandria in Chapter 4.

[119] See, for example, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, "Habib Adly denies shooting protesters as investigations continue", 13 March 2011: http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en/node/351040, accessed 28 April 2011.

[120] The Cabinet of Ministers, "Provision of exceptional pension to all families of martyrs"(original in Arabic), 17 February 2011: http://www.egyptiancabinet.gov.eg/Media/NewsDetails.aspx?id=2191, accessed 28 April 2011.

[121] Ministry of Finance, "Distribution of exceptional pensions for families of martyrs of the revolution upon presentation of death certificates" (original in Arabic), 19 March 2011: http://www.mof.gov.eg/Arabic/MOFNews/Press/Pages/news-a-19-3-11.aspx, accessed 28 April 2011.

[122] See Ministry of Finance, "Distribution of first 22 checks to beneficiaries of pensions for families of martyrs of 25 January" (original in Arabic), 29 March 2011: http://www.mof.gov.eg/Arabic/MOFNews/Media/Pages/releas-a-29-3-11.aspx, accessed 28 April 2011.

[123] Article 20 of the Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law.

[124] See Ministry of Health and Population, "Ministry of Heath confirms the continuation of treatment at the expense of the state" (original in Arabic), 1 March 201: http://www.mohp.gov.eg/mediacenter/bayena3lamy/Detail.aspx?id=539, accessed 28 April 2011; and Ministry of Health and Population, "Minister of Health issues a decision for the treatment of all injured of 25 (January) Revolution at the expense of the state" (original in Arabic), 22 February 2011: http://www.mohp.gov.eg/mediacenter/bayena3lamy/Detail.aspx?id=534, accessed 28 April 2011.

[125] Dream TV, "'Solidarity' considers reparations for victims of the 25 January Revolution", 13 February 2011.

[126] See Amnesty International, *Egypt: Human Rights Agenda for Change* (Index: MDE 12/015/2011), 10 February 2011: http://amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE12/015/2011/en/1e527ccb-4ada-420d-8831-7a5a2d6052be/mde120152011en.html, accessed 28 April 2011.

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EGYPT RISES

KILLINGS, DETENTIONS AND TORTURE IN THE '25 JANUARY REVOLUTION'

During 18 extraordinary days in early 2011, millions of Egyptians rose up against police brutality, poverty and the relentless repression of their basic freedoms, and ended up ousting the President. Most of the protests were peaceful, yet the authorities' response was not. At least 840 people were killed and around 6,500 were injured. Thousands were detained and many allegedly tortured by the security forces or the army.

The security forces used tear gas, water cannons, shotgun pellets, rubber bullets and live ammunition against protesters, usually when they were posing no threat. They showed a flagrant disregard for life and exercised no restraint, nor did they seek to minimize injury, including to bystanders.

This report describes why and how the "25 January Revolution" unfolded, and the patterns of repression by security forces. It documents many cases of those killed, injured, arrested or tortured. Amnesty International is urging the authorities to investigate all these abuses and provide the victims and their families with an effective remedy, including by bringing to justice those responsible and providing victims with reparation. It is also urging the authorities to implement a Human Rights Agenda for Change so that Egypt can truly break away from its repressive past.

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Index: MDE 12/027/2011
May 2011

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