

EGYPT RISKS SPIRALLING INTO PARTISAN VIOLENCE

**AMNESTY
INTERNATIONAL**



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INTRODUCTION

“I then saw four people on top of the Giza Bridge with their faces covered aiming at me, and then I felt a lot of pain. There was no police or security in sight.”

Anouar Ali Anouar describes how he was injured by Mohamed Morsi's supporters at Giza Square on the night of 22 July 2013

“Amaal was hit behind me; she sustained a bullet to the head and another to the back. We took her into a computer store on the street, and the owner kept calling the police and an ambulance. A [police] officer in civilian clothes eventually came, and got an ambulance. But she was already dead at that point.”

Salwa Hefnawi describes the attack on a pro-Morsi protest on the night of Friday 19 July 2013 that led to the death of protester Amaal Metwali Farahat

The Egyptian security forces must do more to protect lives and refrain from the use of excessive force, following ongoing clashes between supporters and opponents of deposed President Mohamed Morsi which have left scores dead.

Mass demonstrations and clashes between rival protesters may escalate in the next few days. In a speech on 24 July, Minister of Defence Abdel Fattah al-Sisi called for Egyptians to stage mass protests on Friday 26 July to give the army a mandate to quell “terrorism and violence”. The call has been backed by the Tamarud (“Rebellion”) campaign, which sparked the mass protests against Mohamed Morsi.

The army's call raises concerns that the security forces may be paving the way to use force to end sit-ins and demonstrations by Morsi's supporters. Given their routine use of excessive force – as was seen on 8 July when 51 Morsi supporters were killed in the vicinity of the Republican Guard Club in Cairo, Amnesty International is concerned that such a move is likely to lead to yet more unlawful killings, injuries and other human rights violations.

Since the beginning of the latest political crisis in Egypt, Amnesty International has documented a consistent pattern of failure by the Egyptian security forces to protect protesters, bystanders and residents from attacks by armed assailants, or to put an end to violent clashes between rival groups.

The heightened political tensions after the ouster of President Morsi have resulted in frequent clashes between his supporters and opponents, leading to deaths and injuries on both sides in several governorates across Egypt.

Amnesty International has documented the case of two women protesters and a girl shot dead and another woman seriously injured by unknown attackers during a pro-Morsi march in Mansoura city, 185 kilometres north of Cairo, on

Opposite: The blue tent at the Cairo University sit-in where student Israa Lotfy Youssef was shot dead on the night of 22 July 2013

19 July 2013, amid the failure of the security forces to intervene.

At least 12 people were killed in clashes in Greater Cairo early on 22 and 23 July 2013, among them supporters and opponents of the deposed President, as well as bystanders. Live fire killed nine during clashes in Giza, including Mohamed Morsi's supporters and local residents opposed to his rule. An anti-Morsi protester was also killed when Morsi's supporters fired on him near Cairo's Tahrir Square, which has become the symbolic heart of the opposition to Morsi.

Amnesty International repeats its call on leaders across the political spectrum to condemn human rights abuses by their supporters and to urge their supporters to end violent attacks on rival protesters.





MANSOURA KILLINGS – 19 JULY 2013

On the evening of Friday 19 July 2013, thousands of supporters of deposed President Mohamed Morsi marched in the city of Mansoura, 125 kilometres north-east of Cairo. Protesters said that after completing the evening prayers of the Muslim month of Ramadan (*Tarawih*) they marched peacefully for around an hour from Zeraieen Mosque to the east of Mansoura. They then continued to march into the city on the main road, Abdel Salam Aref. They proceeded onto Al-Teraa Street, where unknown assailants in civilian clothes attacked the march.

The attack resulted in the killing of two women and one girl: **Amaal Metwali Farahat**, 45, **Islam Ali Abdel Ghani Ali**, 37, and **Hala Mohamed Abu Sheashaa**, 16. Another woman suffered a critical injury and at time of writing remained in a coma at a local hospital.

According to the Director of the Mansoura General Hospital, they received the bodies of two women and a girl that night; the two women had both sustained gunshot wounds, one to the head and back, and one to the head, and the girl had no visible injuries. However, forensic reports seen by Amnesty International do actually state that the girl, Hala Mohamed Abu Sheashaa, sustained gunshot wounds. The fourth woman was referred to another hospital for treatment.

The hospital also provided treatment to nine other patients who sustained minor injuries such as cuts, including one seven-year-old boy, **Ahmed Abdel Salam**. Protesters told Amnesty International they believed the number of injuries was much higher, as many protesters did not go public hospitals.

In a pattern that has become familiar across Egypt during the current crisis, the security forces failed to intervene to protect protesters from attack, or to control the street fighting which in this incident lasted for over an hour. A number of Mohamed Morsi's supporters have suggested that the attack may have been orchestrated by "thugs" acting in the interest of supporters of toppled President Hosni Mubarak – known for their hostility towards Mohamed Morsi and his supporters – as the violence erupted in one of their reputed strongholds in the city.

A Morsi supporter from Mansoura criticized the protest organizers' choice of the march's course on-line, stating that he and other Muslim Brotherhood youths had warned their leaders against letting the march pass through Al-Teraa Street, where they considered the risk of attack by "thugs" to be high. Rival protests were apparently taking place by the Governorate building, and some opponents of Mohamed Morsi tore his picture in front of the pro-Morsi march.

Like many protesters who witnessed the attack, Muslim Brotherhood member Ahmed Mansour Goma told Amnesty International that the women protesters walked together in the middle of the march, with men walking ahead and at the rear. A car with a loudspeaker separated the front rows of women from the men marching ahead. He said that sometime between 10.30pm and 11pm, he saw

Previous pages: Al-Teraa Street; the youngest son of Islam Ali Abdel Ghani Ali, who was killed in an attack on pro-Morsi marchers on the night of 19 July 2013

men in plain clothes (who he described as “thugs”) with swords, chains and axes attacking the march from side-streets at Al-Gazzar Square on Al-Teraa Street, suggesting that the assailants were targeting the women protesters. He also heard the sound of gunshots. He said that a few minutes before the attack he had heard noises similar to gunshots, but he continued to march as he thought they might be only fireworks.

A video posted by a protester on-line showed the march halting for several minutes after the protesters heard the shots, with women protesters panicking and rushing away, groups of men advancing to the front, and some protesters calling on the others to “gather their courage” and resume the march. The march began again, but in a state of confusion.

A few minutes later, more gunshots are heard on the video, accompanied by scenes of women fleeing towards a side-street, while some male protesters throw objects – apparently at the assailants – to cover the march’s retreat. The video suggests that the protest leaders had underestimated the danger posed by not changing the course of the march or retreating.

Jehad Al-Sayed and her daughter, who live on the sixth floor of an apartment building on Al-Teraa Street, told Amnesty International that at about 11pm they saw a pick-up truck driving into the back of the protest, apparently with the aim of dispersing the protesters and separating the men from the women. A number of men in civilian dress who were armed with swords, bottles and stones then started attacking the protesters, who ran into side-streets where they were met or chased by other attackers. This account was corroborated by several protesters.

Hala Mohamed Abu Sheashaa, 16, died after she was shot in the back and the thigh during the attack. Her sister Safia told Amnesty International what happened:

“I heard screaming and banging on the light poles [signalling an attack on the march]. There was confusion as suddenly broken glass was coming down at us, and I could hear gunshots. Thugs were running towards us from the side-streets on the left so we ran towards the right. They were holding sticks and swords. Our men tried to fight them off from the front of the procession. At this stage, I lost sight of Hala [Mohamed Abu Sheashaa].”

Iman Sawah said she was holding hands with Hala Mohamed Abu Sheashaa during the procession. She told Amnesty International:

“Hala was chanting with a lot of enthusiasm. Near Adeib Square [by Al-Gazzar Square], we heard gunfire. We ran towards the right, standing on the main Al-Teraa Street, by closed stores. The attackers were facing us, standing on the main street, hurling broken glass and stones at us. People were falling on top of each other; we were on the ground.

“My sister Amira was next to us, I heard her screaming. I touched her and felt blood, she was injured with [shotgun] pellets in her left side. I then lost sight of Hala, and ran with Amira to a side-street, and the thugs were running behind us, and we ran into a building and closed the door.

“They stood in front of it, burning pictures of Mohamed Morsi and hurling insults at us. After half an hour, we got out with the help of people, who gave us safe passage and jumped into a

taxi to the hospital."

Amaal Metwali Farahat, a 45-year-old mother of four, died from a gunshot wound to the head and the chest, relative Ahmed Mansour Goma, who had seen her medical report, told Amnesty International. Amaal Metwali Farahat had mobilised and motivated her female relatives to join the march. After the march, they had planned to join the sit-in in Cairo at Rabaa Al-Adawiya Mosque, where her son had been staying.

One of those who Amaal Metwali Farahat had encouraged to join the march was Asmaa Ahmed Mansour. She told Amnesty International that she had been walking a few metres behind Amaal Metwali Farahat but lost sight of her when the attack started.

Protester Salwa Hefnawi told Amnesty International that as they marched they were insulted by passers-by, who were apparently opposed to deposed President Morsi. Her testimony suggests Amaal Metwali Farahat was shot while fleeing the scene.

Salwa Hefnawi said that after the attack started the women sought refuge:

"We [women] were under attack as we ran to side-streets and found groups of thugs at every intersection. As we were running, we came face-to-face with a group; I turned my back and continued running, rocks and broken glass were raining down on my back, as well as really impolite insults. I heard gunshots as well."

"Amaal [Metwali Farahat] was hit behind me; she sustained a bullet to the head and another to the back. We took her into a computer store on the street, and the owner kept calling the police and an ambulance. A [police] officer in civilian clothes eventually came, and got an ambulance. But she was already dead at that point."



Islam Ali Abdel Ghani Ali, a 37-year-old pharmacist and mother of four, was also killed during the attack. Her husband said that an autopsy had been carried out on the body and that the primary medical report stated that she had sustained a gunshot wound to the neck.

Above: The family of Islam Ali Abdel Ghani Ali

Protesters fled in different directions, seeking refuge in residential buildings as the attackers roamed the streets and stood in front of the buildings, threatening to break-in to chase them. Some women went up to Jihad Al-Sayed's apartment building for protection. She told Amnesty International that "street fighting" continued until about 12.30-1:00am, when three armoured vehicles arrived.

Daawa Awad remained trapped inside an apartment building for hours until she was taken away by an armoured police vehicle. She told Amnesty International:

"I was really scared for my baby daughter, who I was holding in my arms. With a group of several women and a few of our men, we found an abandoned house with a metal door. We got in and locked it behind us.

"The attackers stood in front of us, trying to break-in. They were insulting us and saying: 'You [Morsi supporters] will not see the street again'. They were making signs to scare us, putting their swords by their necks in a gesture threatening to slaughter us. We went up and hid on

the roof. I could hear intermittent shots and see street fighting."

Asmaa Ahmed Mansour found refuge in a flat in one of the nearby buildings. She said that some protesters tried to seek refuge in shops or cafes, but they had either been closed or the shopkeepers denied them access or, in some cases, actually attacked them. Some residents also threw objects at the protesters from the buildings. About two hours later the street was safe again and she finally left the building. She said that what appalled her most were the insults hurled at the protesters by the passers-by, who gloated over the deaths of the Morsi supporters.

The Public Prosecution opened an investigation into the attack and reportedly ordered the arrest of six suspects, two of whom were taken into custody. Forensic autopsies were carried out on the bodies of the victims.

The following day, Mohamed Morsi's supporters organized a woman's march to the Ministry of Defence in Cairo to protest against the killings in Mansoura. The supporters also organized a large march in Mansoura in defiance of the killings, although it did not take the same road.



GIZA AND DOWNTOWN CAIRO – 22-23 JULY 2013

GIZA SQUARE

Clashes in Giza Square between supporters of deposed President Mohamed Morsi and local residents left at least nine people dead as a result of “gunshots”, according to a source at the Forensic Pathology Department in Cairo. Doctors and media workers camped-out since late June at the pro-Morsi sit-in at the Cairo University told Amnesty International that five of the victims were participants in the sit-in. They were named as: **Hossam Eldin Mohamed Sadeq; Mohamed Abdel Hamid Abdel Ghani; Israa Lotfy Youssef; Abdel Rahman Abdallah Mohamed; and Islam Mahrous Gad**. The remainder of the victims are believed to be local residents, including Giza coffee-shop worker **Abdel Dayem Mekhemar Ahmed**.

According to pro-Morsi protesters and local residents, clashes erupted on 22 July at about 11pm around Giza Square. Earlier in the day, groups of Morsi supporters marched from their main sit-in area at the Cairo University to Istiqama Mosque on Giza Square. After evening prayers, they were planning on heading back towards Cairo University when violence broke out. Street-fighting continued with Morsi supporters based in and around the mosque, as well as at Giza Bridge, while local residents were on Giza Square and congregating on side-streets.

At 11.30pm, local Giza resident **Mohamed**, 17, sustained shotgun-pellet injuries to his stomach and left hand after he went to run some errands. He told Amnesty International that he saw Morsi supporters shooting at the people gathered in Giza Square from Giza Bridge.

Local resident **Anouar Ali Anouar** sustained a gunshot wound to his testicle, rupturing it. He told Amnesty International that he had left his store on Saad Zaghloul Street to check whether his relatives in Giza Square were safe, when he heard about ongoing clashes with Morsi supporters.

He described the scene when he arrived at Giza Square:

“There were Morsi supporters by the Mosque and our youths were trying to protect the Square from them. They [the Morsi protesters] were shooting tons of [shotgun] pellets. A laser beam was pointed at me; I then saw four people standing on top of the Giza Bridge with their faces covered aiming at me, and then I felt a lot of pain. There were no police or security in sight.”

The clashes progressed and moved onto University Road, near the site of the sit-in, with numbers of participants increasing on both sides. According to a doctor at the field hospital at the University, by 1.30am, he had received two fatally injured Morsi supporters. At about 12am, Mohamed Abdel Hamid Abdel Ghani was brought-in. He had sustained a gunshot to the back of the head, an official from the forensic pathology department told Amnesty International. The bullet had exited through his right eye.

The situation then calmed down until about 3am. Shortly after 3am, unarmed Giza

Opposite: Giza-resident Mohamed shows Amnesty International his injuries



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Above: A Muslim Brotherhood protester shows Amnesty International his injuries

residents, who had expressed their opposition to the Muslim Brotherhood, were walking along University Street when they came under fire from the Faculty of Agriculture building, eyewitness Leila Souef said in an on-line post.

Coffee-shop worker **Abdel Dayem Mekhemar Ahmed** was killed at that moment, after he was shot in the back. The round exited through his chest.

Morsi supporters at the sit-in in Cairo University also told Amnesty International that they had seen someone shooting at the sit-in from the top of the Faculty of Engineering building.

One of the victims was 18-year-old university student **Israa Lotfy Youssef**. Her mother and brother told Amnesty International that she had only come to the sit-in that night to pray with the rest of the family. Her brother continued:

"Our whole family prayed at dawn together, my father, my sister, my aunt, and other relatives. At about 5am, we heard gunfire, and people were screaming and saying that the shooting was coming from the Faculty of Engineering building. I was trying to find out what was happening, and went out of the tent. At that moment, amid the confusion, my mother went back into the tent and found Israa lying on the ground in her own blood."

During a visit to the sit-in on 24 July, Amnesty International examined a bullet hole in the tent, which was facing the Faculty of Engineering. According to a forensic pathology official,

the bullet which killed Israa Lotfy Youssef entered through the back of her head and exited from the front.

Eyewitnesses interviewed by Amnesty International, including local residents and pro-Morsi protesters, said that the presence of security forces was intermittent and that they played a minimal role in defusing the clashes. This is despite the fact that for the past few weeks the area around Cairo University has been characterized by a heavy presence of both military and police armoured vehicles, tanks and personnel.

Prosecutors questioned some of the injured at hospitals on 23 July.

DOWNTOWN CAIRO

On 22 July 2013, several marches by supporters of deposed President Mohamed Morsi reached downtown Cairo, coming close to Tahrir Square where anti-Morsi protesters have been staging a sit-in since the end of June 2013. One march, protesting the killings of Morsi's supporters, stopped in front of the office of the Public Prosecutor at around noon. At the same time, Morsi's family held a press conference at the Engineers' Syndicate, which is on the same street, denouncing the fact that the deposed President and nine members of his team are being detained in an unknown location.

In the afternoon, Morsi supporters marched to the US Embassy, near Tahrir Square, to protest against the US's position towards Morsi. These marches didn't result in violence. However a video taken by a journalist showed men in plain clothes – apparently Morsi supporters – wearing helmets and armed with sticks and guns, firing intermittently in the direction of Tahrir Square, sparking clashes with anti-Morsi protesters.

Amr Eid Abdel Nabi, 21, died during those clashes. A forensic source said he sustained a gunshot wound in the stomach which exited from the back. The clashes stopped after Morsi's supporters retreated to break their fast at 7pm, and reportedly after army forces urged protesters in Tahrir not to pursue them.

According to a source in the Forensic Pathology Department in Cairo the fatal casualties on 22-23 July were:

DEATH IN QASR EL NIL AREA

- Amr Eid Abdel Nabi, 21, from a gunshot to the stomach which exited at the back.

DEATHS IN GIZA AREA

- Hossam Eldin Mohamed Sadeq, from a calibre 7.62 gunshot which entered at the back of the abdomen.
- Nasser Abdallah Khalil, from a calibre 7.62 gunshot which entered at the left shoulder and stopped at the right side of the chest.
- Ali Abdel Razeq Ali, from a gunshot to the right of the chest which exited from the left of the chest.
- Abdel Rahman Abdallah Mohamed, from a gunshot to the left of the neck which exited

from the right of the neck.

- Youssef Abdel Samad, from a gunshot to the right of the head which exited from the left of the head.
- Abdel Dayem Mekhemar Ahmed, from a gunshot to the right of the back which exited at the centre of the front of his chest.
- Islam Mahrous Gad, from a gunshot to the top left of the back which exited from the top left of the chest.
- Mohamed Abdel Hamid Abdel Ghani, from a gunshot to the back right side of the head which exited from the right eye.
- Israa Lotfy Youssef, from a gunshot to the back left side of the head which exited from front right side of the head.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Amnesty International calls on the Egyptian authorities to:

- Conduct prompt, independent and impartial investigations into the political violence in which demonstrators on both sides and bystanders were killed and injured in order to establish individuals who are responsible and ensure their prosecution in fair trials, without recourse to the death penalty;
- Ensure that investigations look into the role of security forces in failing to protect lives;
- Ensure that full autopsy and medical reports are issued to facilitate thorough investigations and ensure access to justice and reparations for all victims and their families;
- Protect members of the public, including peaceful protesters, regardless of their political affiliation, and uphold the right to peaceful assembly, including where necessary by protecting protesters from violent attacks by their opponents and;
- Ensure that security forces adhere strictly to 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.

Amnesty International calls on Egyptian political leaders to:

- Condemn human rights abuses by their supporters and to urge their supporters to end violent attacks on rival protesters.

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