THE MASPERO MASSACRE
 EVENTS OF A KILLING ON THE BASIS OF IDENTITY
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Introduction

Does an event, any event, belong to the memory or to reality, as exists despite any individual or collective memory thereof? If we accept that any event enjoys an existence independent of any memory thereof, it would be impossible to reach the truth of that event, since all we have of any event is the collective of what remained thereof in human memory and its extensions. On the other hand, if we believe that the event exists only in memory, its diverse representations in individual memories would be equal in their credibility; since there is no original outside any memory that could be used as a reference to judge the truth or falseness of it.

These speculations appear to floating in the realm of the theoretical, away from the facts and needs on the ground, where we always need to validate a specific story to adopt as the truth. This is a need without which we cannot perceive of our daily lives. It would not occur to any of us to question that a daily simple event is nothing more than our memory thereof. The memory of an event is the truth despite our conviction that the event itself exists independent of our memory. However, the lived reality may drive us to question this assumed and inevitable overlap between truth and memory. When stories regarding a certain event are multiple and sometimes contradictory, we have to look for an alternative but are faced with the reality that all we have is a heap of stories and memories. However, people’s rights and fates might be at stake and for that reason we cannot allow ourselves to remain within a space of philosophical questioning. If an event was nonexistent beyond memory, it should be subject to verification to arrive at objective criteria to address each story of the event. In that case we cannot claim that those objective criteria related to the event are the truth beyond any memory, but is more linked to the internal consistency of the memory, excluding contradictions and deliberate fabrication.

This report, like our previous one concerning the Mohamed Mahmoud events, aims to collect memories to weave by themselves an objective matrix against which to test any recall of the events. This time the event is what has come to be called “the Maspero events” in reference to the huge building by the Nile which hosts the most important media institution in Egypt, the Radio and Television Union, and which has witnessed the events on the evening of the 9th of October 2011, witnessed by the building and its cameras which broadcasted those events live to the homes of millions of Egyptians. Despite this live coverage the event was and remains surrounded by the grayness of doubt concerning the truth of what happened, a stark example that even what we see,
either directly or through the camera is not enough to form a memory that we can take to represent the truth which we assume is independent thereof.

What we know for sure regarding the event is its direct material consequences: the killed, the injured, the burnt vehicles (military and civilian), the empty cartouches of the fired bullets etc. Other than that, the interpretation of that material outcome is disputed by contradictory stories, some of which have reached official documents, while others have been repeated and published by media channels to create an important collective memory. Others remain held in the memories of those who have survived the event.

Official documents, authorities’ reports, investigation reports, minutes of court sessions, all weaved the story upon which depended, or not, the criminal responsibility for the event. Political responsibility remained floating in a space of denial or falling upon this or that party depending on the legal moment. The story of those who lived through the event, on the other hand, did not have the chance to formulate their alternative stories in a way that would be effective on the ground. This aspect is what this report is trying to show although it was not able to solve it to the extent we wished. Collecting this memory exiled from official documents and media highlights, we seek for the alternative story to forge its space. Also, collecting those official documents and highlighting what it elected from the lived memory of the event might enable us to outline what is objective and in harmony with that memory, so that we can confidently try the rest for being fabrication, fraud and lies.

Time does not deal in the same way with memories kept safe in the minds of its owners and those allowed access to papers, recordings and documentation. Thus, what finds its way from the realms of memory into what we call “history”, does not necessarily do justice to the memories that have been denied documentation. Investigating the substance of those memories is closely linked to questioning the authorities. The different representations of authority owns most tools of documentation. In most cases it is able to deny those alternative memories hoping for time to overshadow them. In a way our report, like the previous one, is trying to provide documentation for that alternative memory, using the few documentation tools that are not under state control, in the hope that they not be overlooked by history.
Report methodology

The subject of the report is the violent events that took place on October 9, 2011 known as the “Maspero massacre”. But it also, through the main event, briefly addresses incidents and incitement of sectarian violence that have occurred since the revolution of January 25 up to the massacre, which authors of the report believe have paved the climate for the bloodiest day in the recent history of Copts in Egypt. The report also refers to events and facts in modern history in an attempt to understand the scene of sectarian violence in Egypt, and to put the main event -subject of this report- in a broader context.

The report seeks to cover the event, to monitor its context, the parties that called for it and their demands, and the human rights violations that occurred and continue to occur, in addition to the various stages of litigation, and the attempts made to blur some of the facts. Thus came the need to write this report; because of the importance documenting events documented from an unofficial point of view, and hence revive the facts and memory, through the collection of material and making it available, and thereby providing raw material for the pursuit of truth. We hope that this material would in the future contribute to achievement of transitional justice, in case there is a political will to do so.

This report also comes as a reaction to the Egyptian government’s attempt to conceal the truth. The Egyptian government has refrained from publishing fact-finding reports which sought to collect information regarding this and other events after the revolution. We felt it was necessary to attempt to provide an alternative narrative to that of the authority propagated by official media. It is also an attempt to set regulations that promote concepts of victims’ and societies’ memories and conscience against state narratives and its attempts to conceal the truth.

Sources of information

The report is based on a number of interviews carried out by the researchers during 2015 with participants at the Maspero events. It also depended on dozens of documented testimonies published by individuals immediately after the event. The latter were a main resource to avoid memory lapses without ignoring the importance of the former, which were less emotional during the passage of time. The report also used several news pieces, reports, papers, articles, statements
and visual material that have been publicized during and after the events. Other sources include the transcribing of 290 minutes of official TV broadcast at the time of the massacre which were covered in more detail in an AFTE report by the title *Maspero Criminalized*. We also used the Maspero case file, including both its civilian and military aspect in addition to what has been documented by the various human rights organizations. Through those resources we try to narrate the facts and events that took place in an attempt to present a narrative that is different from the official one.

### Difficulties in preparation of the report

Over a period of seven months, the period for preparing the report, the team faced difficulties that varied in nature depending on the stages of preparation and writing. It was thought that most of them may be related to objectivity, by withholding the identities in the testimonies to ensure their protection and the impact thereof on the credibility of the content to the reader, in addition to other problems which usually face researchers in Egypt. However, the subject and timing of writing the report and the conflict parties posed difficult questions regarding what we are trying to achieve and its importance in light of the political climate, as well as archiving in a broader context, accessibility, writing etc. We were also concerned whether we can ensure the security and safety of participants at a moment where we cannot ensure our own safety.

During the early stages of preparation, during the collection of information and research in the electronic archive of newspapers and videos, we found that a lot of it has been erased, leaving only mere flashes in the memory of some of the people who lived through the events. Details that may not be important at the emotional turmoil associated with the event but are necessary the time of documentation were difficult to recall and required a great research effort in their validation.

We were also met with great difficulty in accessing the full Maspero legal case, including its civilian and military components. We sought several lawyers, human rights activists and activists until we accessed the complete file after two months. The difficulty in accessing the file was either due to unwillingness to cooperate by some parties, or because much of those documents was lost since they were not archived. After that stage we realized the importance to make those

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1. AFTE: Maspero Criminalized: between political agitation on violence and sectarianism and misinformation of the public, Cairo, December 2011. [https://goo.gl/rsTEqt](https://goo.gl/rsTEqt)
documents available and accessible through an electronic archive, that would spare others the effort of beginning from scratch, and maybe to enable them to reach beyond where we have reached. Even if only to make them available for reading was worth it.

During the collection of testimonies from participants to weave a narrative by the victims of what happened, we found that after five years after the incident some details have been erased from the memories of its survivors who had to make an effort to recall them, especially with the acceleration and similarity of the events that followed until the time of data gathering. Documentation after 5 years was subject to memory distortions either by adding or deleting details. We therefore decided to depend mainly on testimonies published on the internet after consulting with their owners. We found ourselves faced with an ethical question: can we truly ensure their protection and safety at a time when we may fail to secure ourselves amid successive security attacks? As aware as we were of the full significance of the word “secure”, we faced the fact that we cannot guarantee the safety of the participants. However, we were keen to receive the consent and explain the risks and confidentiality issues for those who requested to remain anonymous.

All these issues and many others, as well as the collection of testimonies and documenting the successive events at times of political change, constitute a difficult but fundamental matter. Since 2011 and until today, events continue to shape this period of political and social transformation in Egypt.
Background: Most salient incidents of sectarian violence in Egypt after the revolution

The Egyptian modern state has a long history of discrimination against Copts, failure in their protection against extremist attacks, and sometimes complicity. This has been the common feature of the various political regimes that ruled Egypt, which always claimed they were establishing “a state of rule of law and equality”. Those regimes always sought to ensure the alliance of the Copts through the use of the church using the scarecrow of a fanatic Islamic rule as the only alternative in case there is a movement for change, despite the fact that the state itself used violence against Copts, ranging from the use of a sectarian discourse in various situation to education policies as well as passing legislations that enforce discrimination against minorities including Copts. Hence for many Copts the church became the sage sanctuary especially during the rule of Sadat, who amended article 2 of the constitution so that Islam became the religion of the state and the Islamic jurisprudence the main source of legislation, instead of being only one of the sources of legislation, as well as used Islamic and Jihadist groups in his war against Nationalist and leftist groups.

Over the years the demands of Copts remained almost the same, and the church frequently spoke on their behalf as a negotiator and defender of their rights. Copts’ protests remained confined within the church for a long time. However with the increasing momentum of movement against Mubarak in 2010, which involved several sectors, Copts transferred their protests to the street. The first of those protests was in Tahrir square in February 2010 protesting Naga’a Hammadi sectarian events which resulted in the death of 7 Copts, then again upon the bombing of the two saints church in Alexandria on New Years Eve of 2011, which resulted in the killing of dozens.

Copts took again to the streets for a week in marches through the streets of Shubra. Those protests widened as a result of their organization outside the church, which allowed them to be joined and supported a number of political movements, some of which were arrested during the protests. The

Church intervened to stop the protests, and Pope Shenouda criticized demonstrators claiming that those demonstrations harmed the image of Copts, and that there are infiltrated by forces ride the wave claiming sympathy, while they are in no way associated with the problem. He added, “those elements speak on behalf of the Copts and they are far from our values.”

With the calls for protests by revolutionary and political groups in January 2011, the three Coptic churches, Orthodox, Catholic and Evangelical, refused to participate, commenting “we would never accept defying the ruler”. Pope Shenuda took a conservative position, similar to that of Sheikh Elazhar, encouraging churches to advise the youth not to be attracted by such calls, stressing that Copts are a people who do not revolt or disobey authority. However Coptic youth, like others, joined the protests, which later developed into a popular revolution that ousted Mubarak, and led to the rise of SCAF to power for a transitional period that lasted one and a half years.

The hopes and aspirations of everyone rose, including Copts, waiting for hints of a new era of freedom, and an end to the legacy of sectarianism and violence they endured, because of the tyranny and suppression system security. Contributed to that epic image witnessed by Egypt’s squares, which saw the unity of all sectors against the state. However, the dream of Egypt January 25 dissipated quickly, and the optimism of Copts of a state of citizenry retreated with a series of events that began with the transitional period and culminated with the Maspero events.

In the aftermath of the revolution and throughout 9 months which ended with the massacre of Copts, causes of sectarian violence escalated at an unprecedented rate, especially with the neglect of those causes and addressing clashes only after their occurrence. During that period SCAF adopted the same policies of previous regimes, including the same violence and complicity. The lack of legislations protecting the Copts, the lack of political will to address sectarian tensions through the enforcement of citizen equality and normal instead of exceptional laws, as well as principles of justice and equality all helped to maintain sectarian tensions and strengthen their causes. Throughout that period SCAF ignored Coptic demands of subjecting licenses for building and renovating churches to general rules of construction, which apply to the building of mosques. Nor did they endorse a unified legislation for building places of worship, respect the constitutional rights of citizens in practicing their religious rituals without discrimination, cancel the normative

discriminative policies that banned Copts from joining certain positions in so called sovereign institutions (the army and the ministry of interior), considering a fair representation of Copts in legislative and executive bodies, revising mainstream religious discourse as well as cancellation of the identification of religion on national IDs, all of which were demands that were also held by other sectors and groups.

Human rights reports and statistics indicate that disputes related to building of churches came on top of the causes of sectarian violence, followed by disputes related to emotional and sexual relations, disputes related to freedom of expression in matters related to religion and finally civil disputes.9

The following paragraphs attempt to narrate the main features of the scene preceding and leading to the bloodiest and most sectarian day in Egyptian history after the revolution, thereby trying to highlight the existence of objective reasons that called for Copts to raise demands for their rights and enjoyment of equal citizenship status in the spirit of the revolution. In return SCAF tried to oppress any activism by Copts, especially that the revolution gave birth to Coptic protest movements that enjoyed the solidarity and support of revolutionary youth. SCAF policies involved the unprecedented use of excessive force and extrajudicial killing against a peaceful oppressed minority to ensure the maintenance of its legacy and control over the country as well as aborting any possible opposition mass movement. SCAF sought the help of the church to contain Coptic anger, resorted to informal reconciliation committees that talked about “national unity between the two elements of the nation” to contain sectarian disputes and assaults on churches and places of worship as an alternative to the enforcement of the rule of law and opening a social dialogue for all society sectors. Those informal sessions witnessed the exercise of authority by the majority over the minority as well as pressuring victims to reconcile. SCAF continued the state policy that depended on security interventions as well as ignoring signs of tension and congestion, avoiding to address roots causes, and constant mobilization of its security forces to abort the violence and persecute the perpetrators.

In addition economic and social factors contributed to paint the scene of sectarian violence. Human rights and statistics indicates that most cases of sectarian violence took place in locations that show the lowest development indicators.10

The Environment leading to Maspero

Army’s demolition of the Anba Bishoy monastery wall

22 February 2011

Less than a month after the beginning of the 25 January revolution a group of military forces demolished the wall opposite the Anba Bishoy monastery¹¹ in Wadi el Natroun, built by the monks to protect the monastery from the security chaos at the time. Five monastery workers and monk were injured as a result of excessive force used by the military. Here violence was used instead of resorting to the law to resolve a dispute related to an alleged encroachment of state owned lands, a matter that should be settled by the law alone, including any penalties it stipulates. The church condemned the violence used describing it as unjustified, as well as called a group of Coptic youth to demonstrations that began from the cathedral to Tahrir square to protest the violence.¹² The following day SCAF issued its statement no. 13¹³ on its official Facebook page denying any attack on the monastery, stressing that what had been demolished was an unlicensed wall outside the monastery built on state property.

Demolition of Atfeeh church signals the beginning of the movement

4 March 2011

A rumor spread in the village of Sol in Helwan, Giza governorate that Copts at the village are using the Atfeeh church for black magic. The rumor spread upon a dispute between a Coptic and a Muslim upon news of a love affair between a Muslim girl and a Coptic young man.¹⁴ Three days later, on the 4th of March 2011, a group of angry villagers demolished the church of the two saint, Mar Girgis and Mar Mina as an act of revenge.

The second attack on Coptic places of worship after the revolution led groups of Coptic youth

¹². Anonymous testimony to AFTE
¹⁴. Anonymous testimony to AFTE
and activists to build a movement that represents them and raises their demands. The movement declared itself as the “Union of Maspero Youth”, the first Coptic political movement that is formed independent of the church. One of the founders of the movement told AFTE “WE agreed as a group that we must have a voice, especially after the revolution. We agreed to take to the streets. We chose Maspero as our location. We chose it because it is a central location, symbolic, and we wanted our voices to be heard”. Thus the Radio and TV union was the best choice to begin the sit-in.

It seemed that the first 9 days of the protest (6-15 March) bore some fruit. The following day Dr. Essam Sharaf, the then Prime minister, met with protesters in front of the TV building and promised to rebuild the church and to investigate its destruction. As usual, the state under the SCAF leadership dealt with the situation the old way. They held an informal meeting to solve the issue in place of seeking political and legal solutions. General Hassan El Roweini, former commander of the central area of the armed forces, in a conference held at the village and attended by security leaderships, family representatives in addition to Sheikh Mohamed Hassan, promised the commitment of the armed forces to rebuild and renovate the church at a scheduled time. At the same time the Helwan bishop was pressured to move the church from its old location to an area outside the village in order to protect it. However, church leadership refused.

SCAF promises did not convince the Maspero youth union to disperse their protest, upon which SCAF forcefully used violence against Copts for the first time. The protest was dispersed and 17 protesters were arrested.

Two months later the official spokesperson for the prosecution, judge Adel Said, assistant to the public prosecutor, announced that the general prosecution did not interrogate any of the defendants and that it will demand that military judiciary take charge of the investigation and trial of defendants should they be indicted.

15. [link](https://www.facebook.com/masperoyu/posts/810251359058612)
16. [link](http://www.ahram.org.eg/archive/The-First/News/66262.aspx)
17. [link](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2hH7hfpDgcd)
18. [link](http://www.ahram.org.eg/Archive/403/2011/1/25/56691.aspx)
19. [link](http://www.ahram.org.eg/archive/Incidents/News/77051.aspx)
March referendum: Sectarianism in place of politics

19 March

Although the 19th March 2011 referendum regarding constitutional amendments was the first democratic experience after the ousting of Mubarak, still it took place in a context of extreme polarization. The debate concerning constitutional amendments changed from a constitutional and political debate into a sectarian one based on identity, begun by Islamic groups, foremost the Muslim Brotherhood and Salafis20, and later joined by the church.21

As both parties tried to impose their visions, each sought the street to exert pressure and achieve gains, that politics may not be able to realize. The streets became full of sectarian propaganda and fatwas by religious leadership to the effect that “yes” was presented by the Islamic tendencies to pave a way to heaven, express support of religion and confrontation of the secular state which seeks to cancel the second article of the constitution, which was not involved in the amendments, in addition of course to calls for stability, security and rapid return of the army to their barracks. “No”, called for by the church and some civilian tendencies, was presented as a savior against a religious state and the danger of Islamists, should they rule the country. Parallel to that were lesser widespread calls by civilian revolutionary groups which expressed constitutional and political criticism and rejected the amendments, demanding a new constitution that responds to the demands of the revolution and protects its gains as well as in harmony with the new stage in Egyptian history.

Among “The battle of the ballot boxes” and “The ballot boxed say yes to religion” advocated by a Salafi Sheikh22 and “search for the turban” used by a priest23, the referendum was carried out for all 8 amendments to the 971 constitution in one package, all of which were related to the organization of presidential election procedures, its duration and conditions.

The following day the high electoral committee announced a 41% participation rate at the referendum, and a result of 77% for yes (14.2 million votes) and 4.2% for no (4.2 million votes).24

After the declaration of the results SCAF announced its intention to issue a constitutional

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20. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Je3TiOFmo-1
22. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sibja_VRYZw
24. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iCtdrWvbJdc
declaration that should organize affairs in the country during the transitional phase and until the election of the president of the republic and the two legislative councils. The constitutional declaration was issued on the 30th of March 2011.

**Imbaba events: State failure and complicity**

**7 May**

On the 7th of May 2011 an armed group headed for the Mar Mina church in Imbaba, claiming to search for a woman by the name of Abeer, whose husband claimed had disappeared in March after converting to Islam and their marriage. The husband claimed he received a phone call that she was held in one of Imbaba churches in El Mashrou Street. Muslims surrounded the church after Christians denied them the search. The scene exploded after a bullet was fired in the air. Violent clashes erupted between the two groups using Molotov and knives resulting in the killing of 13 individuals and injury of 280, in addition to torching of the church of the Virgin and destruction of several shops and houses in the surroundings.

The armed forces did not intervene to protect the church or to enable civil defense cars to reach the area to put out the fires. They didn't even stop Muslim in the neighborhood from completing the destruction.25

A week later the National Council for Human Rights (NCHR) issued its report regarding the incident, confirming that the police could not control the situation and indicating that armed forces arriving at the location did not undertake measures to end the clashes, which resulted in continuation of fights in the area until 3 am the following day. The report added that the march, which reached the church of the Virgin and torched it, had not been dealt with despite the presence of army forces and that the attack on the church lasted for 45 minutes.26

The then minister of interior, General Mansour Elessawi, only said that the situation should be handled firmly,27 without any reference to the negligence by security to control confrontations and secure the rest of the churches in the area. The failure of the police and the army had reached a level that local citizens had to transfer the injured by themselves and the youth of the area formed

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27. [https://goo.gl/Z0uUR4](https://goo.gl/Z0uUR4)
popular committees and protective shields to protect citizens and homes. As for SCAF it resorted to informal procedures and sought the help of religious clergy to calm Muslims and Copts as well as announced in its statement number 48 the arrest of 190 individuals and their referral to military trial.  

The Copts received SCAF statements as the usual empty promises. The Maspero youth union, for the second time since its foundation, decided to organize a protest in front of the TV and Radio building demanding the trial of those involved in the events of sectarian violence, amendment of the first and second articles of the constitution, and civil personal status laws to be applied to everyone. On the ninth day and after clashes between individuals in civilian clothes and the protesters using rocks and Molotov, Pope Shenuda demanded an end of the protest. In a statement prepared by him and read out by his secretary he said “the situation has gone beyond expression of your views. You have been infiltrated by people who are not like you, there has been fights and shooting, and all this harms the reputation of Egypt as well as yours. It is therefore that this sit-in should be ended immediately. Nobody is happy with what is happening. The rulers’ patience has come to its end. You are the losers if you continue to protest.” The protesters rejected the Pope’s statement and remained in their sit-in until the 19th of May, when Fr. Matias Nasr announced that the government has responded to the demand of releasing five Copts who had been arrested after clashes in front of the church of the Virgin.

The National Justice Council: aborted before it began

May 2011

Following the Imbaba events in May 2011, SCAF tasked the Sharaf Cabinet at the time, to form a committee, “the National Justice Council of Ministers”, which included experts in different fields, in order to fend off attempts by sectarian strife, draw an outline of the problems related to this file and propose solutions as well as their effective and rapid implementation. The council was also assigned to prepare a draft law criminalizing all forms of discrimination between all Egyptian citizens in accordance with provisions of the constitution, study a unified law for building places of worship, as well as respond to requests to open the closed churches after studying each case. The mission also involved a ban on demonstrations and gathering in front of places of worship.

activating the laws that prohibit the use of religious slogans in electoral and partisan propaganda. The work of the Commission was also authorized to provide the presidency of the Council of Ministers with the results of the investigations into the events of sectarian strife that took place after the revolution, and announcing them without prejudice to the confidentiality of investigations.\textsuperscript{30}

Divisions and disagreements began to escalate within the Commission after one month of its formation, where some founders among the Copts and youth of the revolution were unhappy with the Chairman of the Committee, Dr. Ali Alghatit, the legal adviser to the Council of Ministers, for not holding any official meetings, the poor performance of the Commission’s work, which did not to address any of the urgent sectarian and did not play its role in studying the unified law for places of worship\textsuperscript{31}.

The Commission continued to work without any real substance, holding a meeting from time to time, and issue reports that are ignored, the last of which was the commission’s report regarding the demolition of Almarinab Church in Assiut, which prompted Chancellor Noha El Zeini and others to freeze their membership of the Committee\textsuperscript{32}, putting an end to the work of the commission in October 2011 after any attempt at serious work was aborted.

\textbf{Almarinab, the straw that led to Maspero}

\textbf{August - 30 September 2011}

Over a month, the village of Almarinab, in Edfu, Aswan governorate, witnessed acts of violence between Muslims and Copts that ended with a number of Muslims demolishing the Mar Girgis church and torching Copts’ homes. The events erupted after the Copts of the village turned a service building of mud brick into a church after receiving permit from relevant bodies to rebuild it with concrete.

Certificates and official papers indicate that the Christians of the village had been praying in that contested building since 1940. For fear it might collapse they submitted a request to Department of Engineering for the restoration of the church. After a review by the advisory panel of engineering of the Aswan Governorate of the place, it issued a report that the building is not fit for restoration

\textsuperscript{30} http://cabinet.gov.eg/Media/NewsDetails.aspx?id=2369
\textsuperscript{31} https://goo.gl/vBqW9R
\textsuperscript{32} https://goo.gl/JWcJUb
or prayer and that it must be substituted and renewed. The governor then requested the opinion of the State Commissioners Authority and the decision was made that there is no objection to the replacement and renovation of the church. The engineering department of the government approved the designs and issued a building license by the number 42/2011 for the Mar Girgis Church.

After protests by Muslims in the village of the rebuilding and the renewal of protests in front of the church, security orders were issued to stop the construction until the crisis is over. During that period three customary sessions were held, attended by security authorities and representatives of Coptic and Muslim families of the village. The Copts had during the first session to agree to the conditions put forward by the Muslims which included not installing crosses on the church, as well as bells or microphones. They refused the demolition of the six domes of the church. The session concluded with a consensus by both parties and a promise by Muslims to contain the youth, and not to obstruct the construction. However, two days later, the clashes resumed. The Muslims of the village refused the rebuilding of the church, reconciliation sessions failed and the church was demolished in the presence of a security force for protection, especially after the agitation by the Sheikh leading Friday prayers on the 30th of September.

Statements by Mostafa Elsayed, governor of Aswan, played a role in fueling the crisis, since he denied any oppression of the Copts of the village, any assault on innocent people or torching of homes. The former general also justified the demolition on the basis that the place is a guest house and not a church, and that Copts had violated the building instructions by trespassing beyond the permitted area as indicated by legal documents and hence the law had to be implemented and the demolition had to take place. He added that the population size is less than that which would allow the building of a church and that the nearest church is only 2 km away.

The Copts’ anger escalated and it seemed that the Essam Sharaf cabinet and SCAF had no intention to find serious solutions for the crisis. Just as they did before both parties settled for promises and customary sessions as an alternative to political and legal solutions, despite the many reports sent by various bodies to the cabinet, warning of an explosion of the situation as well as proposing clear solutions for the crisis. Those, however, were totally ignored by the leadership of the country.

The national justice commission, recommended the impeachment of the governor of Aswan for

34. https://goo.gl/B89RI
his inefficiency in dealing with the Almarinab church crisis, held him responsible for the tensions and demanded the issuance of licenses for churches where prayers took place and those which had not been licensed yet.

The commission issued its report after reviewing the report by the fact finding committee which went to Aswan to investigate the causes and developments of the events. In its report the committee said that General Mostafa Elsayed, governor of Aswan, dealt wrongly with the events in addition to his statements which provoked Copts.” Judge Mohamed Atteya, minister of local development sent a report to the Prime Minister, Essam Sharaf, including some steps to address the situation. The government at the time did not disclose the results of any of the two reports, not did it refer in any of its official statements to the role of the governor in igniting the crisis, especially after his official statements, which the state did not contradict and hence were considered to indicate the position of the government.36

**Scenes of Coptic Anger**

**1 October - 8 October**

Fr Salib Elias, from the Aswan Diocese declares a three day fasting for Copts in Aswan, saying: “We aim in our fasting to say have mercy on us, O God, and to intervene in resolving the current crisis, and that is the spiritual role of the church to resort to God at a time of crisis and tribulations in order to interfere with mercy.”37

Outside the walls of St. Mark Cathedral in Cairo, there were other manifestations of anger; hundreds of Copts sleeping on the ground on the July 26 and Ramses streets, chanting slogans against the ruling military council; the Revolution Youth Coalition joins the protests to demand the rebuilding of demolished parts of the Almarinab church and the impeachment of the governor of Aswan.38

On the 3rd of October, demonstrations in front of the building of Aswan governorate protesting the prevention of Copts from building their houses of prayer and torching their homes.39

37. [https://goo.gl/WZJDvP](https://goo.gl/WZJDvP)
38. [https://goo.gl/qvPCj3](https://goo.gl/qvPCj3)
39. [https://goo.gl/imtijH](https://goo.gl/imtijH)
Four days passed without an apology by the government or the resignation of the governor. Calls went out by the Maspero Youth Union to protest in front of the Radio and TV building. Thousands respond and on the 4th of October protesters announce the beginning of an open sit-in in front of Maspero until their demands are met.40

In the evening Military police forces forcibly disperse the sit-in, shooting in the air and confiscating the contents of a van that was carrying tents and blankets in preparation for the sit-in.41

The anger of the Copts escalated after a video appeared on you tube and social media showing persecution of protesters and their detention in police transfer vans, the assault by military police on a citizen, who was later identified as “Raef Anwar Fahim”,42 who suffered fractures in his leg and arm as well as cut wounds in his face and various parts of his body, upon which he was transferred to the Coptic hospital for treatment43.

The protests escalated and the Maspero Youth union announced “the day of Coptic anger” on the 9th of October, on which parallel demonstrations were scheduled in 7 governorates: Alexandria, Beni Soueif, Qena, Assiut, Menya and Luxor. In view of its central position and the population density, the main gathering was in Cairo, a march of which authorities had been informed by the Union. The march included thousands including the Revolutionary youth coalition and a group of political movements and parties. The march was to begin at 4 pm from the Shubra roundabout in direction Maspero, to join the hundreds of protesters in the vicinity, protesting the way the state is dealing with the concerns of the Copts, demanding the resignation of the governor of Aswan, the building of Almarinab church and adopting a unified law for the building of places of worship44.

40. https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=3sOlNzZvXpw
41. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-qnz_xksPi4
42. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hbdHCeF0vww
44. https://goo.gl/ksaKJI
**Maspero: Events of Lethal Violence**

The reaction was swift. The violence of the state towards the Copts was met with a swift spread of calls for demonstrations that received solidarity from various bodies. The Mapsero Youth union raised its demands for the day: Refusal of the violence used by the state, resignation of the governor of Aswan and rebuilding of the church. Eventually military and police forces clashed with the protesters in front of Maspero. The outcome of the day of anger called for by the Coptic was the Maspero events (24 deaths and dozens of injured).

**Who issued the call?**

The call for the central march in Cairo was made and adopted by the Mapsero Youth Union, a march that would start from the Shubra roundabout at 3 pm and end in front of Maspero, to join a rally there. Earlier the union had published a survey on its official Facebook page to assess the rate of participation. The majority agreed to join in response to the demolition of the church and the attack on Copts in their recent sit-in. On the same day the Union announced the coordination with its groups in Alexandria and Menya so that the marches would begin simultaneously from in front of the Alexandria Library and the Cathedral in Menya. Soon, the call received the support of other political movements such as the youth coalition of the revolution, youth for justice and freedom, the 6th of April movement as well as political parties such as the popular socialist alliance and the Justice party.

Parallel to the call for the Shubra march there was a call for a protest rally in front of Maspero, called for by the Coptic consultative council - then the Egyptian Coptic Union - one of several Coptic entities that were formed after the revolution, founded by lawyer and former MP Ihab Ramzi. On the 6th of October the Coptic Union announced on its official Facebook page the agreement with political entities to organize a protest rally in front of Maspero along the Nile Corniche, that should begin at 5 pm and end at 8 pm on the 9th of October. He also called for the organization of rallies in front of their offices in the different governorates, along the Nile or by the sea, simultaneously with the main rally in Cairo.
On the morning of the scheduled day the Coptic union issued an official statement outlining the route of the march: We call upon all the honorable in Egypt to join a peaceful protest rally, dressed in black and holding candles together with political parties and movements to express our objection to the injustice befalling Egyptian Copts” adding that there is no intention for a sit-in and that several marches will move from Shubra, Omraneya and Imbaba that will all join the rally in front of Maspero at 5 pm on Sunday⁵⁰.

The bloody Sunday

At 4 p.m. protests began to gather in front of Maspero in preparation for the scheduled candle vigil, which was joined by priests as well as activists, supporters and members of movements and parties who joined in their personal capacity.

“I arrived at Maspero about 5.35 p.m. to participate in the candle vigil. I met a colleague there and we were giving out candles to protesters. While I was walking towards the building I noticed a huge number of central security forces, military police and army vehicles, the likes of which I had never seen before. When the march arrived from Shubra, we were clapping and applauding them and we continued to chant before and after the arrival of the march: Muslim and Copt one hand.. down, down with military rule.”⁵¹

“security presence in front of the Radio and TV building was intense. Among the forces were army and military police, equipped with antiriot tools, clubs, helmets and sticks. The presence of civilian police was not obvious.”⁵²

“when we arrived in Maspero we saw many soldiers with batons standing by the building and in the island in the middle and the other side of the street, together with military officers. We were standing at the other corner. People standing with us were distributing candles, which we lit. We were happy, raising crosses and banners. Among us were priests and Muslims and political parties and TV channels taking pictures. We were waiting for the arrival of the Shubra march to gather and state our demands. We had agreed with the priests that the rally will end at 8 pm and then we shall go home.”⁵³

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BPPHssdwYnQ
⁵¹. Testimony by Amal El Mohandes
⁵². Testimony by Vivian Magdi to AFTE
⁵³. Testimony of Samah Ragheb
At about 3.30 and in response to a call from the Maspero Youth Union a march began of about 5000 participants from the Shubra roundabout in direction Maspero to protest the way military police treated the Coptic sit-in, assault on Raef, demanding the resignation of the Aswan governor, the building of the Almarinab church and adoption of a unified law for places of worship.

The march began headed by Copts wearing white shrouds, raising crosses and banners on which was written “a martyr upon demand” and some of their demands as well as a mini van carrying a sound system and microphones, and on which were some organizers and priests.

“I arrived at 3 pm. The demonstration was gathering. Large numbers. Whole Families. Children and grandfathers together. Crosses raised. Young men and women wearing in total submission aprons, on which were written “martyr upon demand”. Heartfelt, pained slogans wondering why an Egyptian, if a Copt is not secure in the church? Why doesn't the police and army protect the churches from vandalism? And why after the revolution the regime is still using the same methods like the days of Mubarak.”

The number of demonstrators were unusual, and suggests that the latest incident and its consequences were determining in the quality and number of participants in the day. Dozens of protesters were joining the march; then the numbers multiplied in the advertised gathering points. Some estimated the numbers to reach some 20 to 25 thousand demonstrators in front of Maspero.

“The march from Shubra neighborhood to Maspero street matched in magnitude the numbers that took to the streets on the twenty-eighth of January .... The march began at about four in the afternoon from Shubra Street, passing through a forest of buildings. One of the participants explains the reason why the number of demonstrators at that march than those that came out last week to protest against the attack on St. George's church in Aswan. He says the soldiers beat a priest badly during the Coptic sit-in in front of the Maspero building on Wednesday.”

At about 4:30: The Chaplain spokesman reiterates that the march is peaceful and salutes Muslim supporters.”Later the chanting became: “Oh Tantawi where is your army, Christians houses are burnt, Egyptians' churches are burned”. We were chanting: “Son of Shubra come down from your home, a million Mubarakos are still here”, “Ye Egyptian join us”, and the numbers were actually increasing, Christians and Muslims were joining the march, most of the Muslims we passed by in

54. Testimony of Lubna Darwiche
55. Testimony of Sarah Carr
Shubra were expressed their solidarity, smiled, and joined the chants.  

However, while the march was passing through the Shubra tunnel over the Sabteyya bridge, it was attacked with stones and glass by people believed to be residents of the area; also the sound of gunshots was heard. This was told to AFTE by one of the march organizers in an anonymous testimony, as well as repeated by mot testimonies received by AFTE researchers, in additionto photo material, obtained by the working group or available through the Internet.

> In one of the traffic tunnels in Shubra Street, and shortly after the start of the march, everyone was taken aback by what sounded like gunshots, prompting marchers in the front to ask the rest of the demonstrators at the back to stop, since the march was under attack. Barrages of stones heaped from right and the left and from top of the bridge, below which protesters took shelter.

> Very naturally we walked in Shubra Street; some simple frictions and harassments here and there as usual. But because the numbers were large nobody dared to abuse or spit at us as happened in the two previous times. We arrived at the beginning of Shubra peacefully. While we were passing through the tunnel under the Sabteya bridge, a flood of stones and rocks was thrown at us from above the bridge. Some people were mildly injured and were helped at once. We remained standing under the bridge until a group of the youth of the Union of Maspero went on top of the bridge and the people who were throwing the ran away as soon as they saw them. We made sure that the problem was small and that those were just citizens of the neighborhood who did not like the scene of raised crosses and decided to make their opinion felt.

Without serious injuries the march continued en route, and in the Qolali neighborhood skirmishes occurred between residents and protesters again. After reviewing available visual material, the research team concluded the presence of a group of individuals on rooftops of buildings who threw stones and Molotov cocktails on the march. In response some protesters threw back stones, while the rest of the protesters continued on their way to Maspero.

> We continued until Qolalli. At a council building there we heard severe shooting. People dispersed and began to run in all directions. There was a priest standing on tope of the car that carried the chanters leading the march. As soon as he noticed this disruption he held the microphone

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56. Testimony of Lubna Darwiche
57. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TXW1Ridcmko
58. Testimony of Sarah Carr
59. Testimony of Beshoy Saad
and began comforting people and said: “Our demonstration is peaceful. No matter how many provocations or tensions it will remain peaceful. Please, we do not anybody to get nervous and lose control, even through abuse or insult. We do not want to disrupt the image of our march.”

The march reached Jalaa Street, again without serious injuries, lead by Pastor Matthias Nasr, Rev. Flobatere Gamil, and leaders of the Union. It continued its route through the area of Isaaif, aiming to reach the point where it would join the gathering point in front of Maspero.

“Under the Galaa bridge the morale of the march was very high, strong chanting, most religious chants disappeared. At 6:04 I wrote [The demonstration is full of elderly and children. If any violence happens it will be a tragedy]. We were chanting [Down, down with military rule, we the people are the red line] and [Egypt for all Egyptians irrespective of sect or religion], [why was the church burnt? Is Adly back?] at the time we were about 25 thousand people. I decided to go to the other side to see how the situation was there.”

According to testimonies and the visual material surrounding Maspero that we have reviewed, the security presence was heavy, especially of army forces, which centered mainly in front of Maspero, and along Nile Corniche to prevent the arrival of the demonstrators to the gates of the Radio and TV Union building. Infantry troops were also stationed in Abdel Moneim Riad square and in front of the Corniche.

On the other side of the Corniche in direction of Maspero, the participants in the vigil were gathered around the platform run by the organizers awaiting the arrival of the march. The podium was in charge of organizing the vigil, the cheers, and speeches and interventions of the participants -most of whom were public figures and priests, with the aim to inspire protesters and to stress the demands and the peaceful nature of the vigil. One of the pastors welcomed the participation of Muslims in the vigil, while rejecting the presence of the Muslim Brotherhood. He said: “We knowwhat you want to do to the country”. Cheers escalate: [Raise your head high, you are an Egyptian] [we are millions, we are millions]. The podium requested quiet from the participants so that everyone could hear the intervention by writer Fatima Naaot. By the time Naaot was preparing to deliver her speech, the lead of the Shubra march had arrived at the margins of the vigil and the rest was catching up. It was then that the military police forces mobilized along the corniche opposite Maspero began to move towards the protesters.”

60. Ibid.
61. Testimony of Lubna Darwiche
62. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aXQzObqyg8k
“I arrived before the big march arrived. There were already people moving to the front of the vigil and cars and motorcycles inspecting the area and warning us. I arrived in front of the Radio and TV building coming from the side of the Hilton and not from the back. I entered from a point close to the October bridge. As soon as I joined I saw about 4 or 5 armed vehicles “Fahd” and a few vehicles nearby. They were parked exactly along the pavement opposite the building. They were standing still. The vigil was in an area we call the Borgeila, which is more to the inside from the main street, in a side street. People had been standing there carrying candles since 4 o’clock. We were there since 4 and until 6. Everything was just perfect. We were filming on video. People were standing with candles. Nothing more. As soon as the march began to join the vigil, the first thing I saw was soldiers shooting from the top of the armored vehicles.”

The bloodiest half hour

“Suddenly I felt my arm being pulled down. I looked at the boy who was holding me and I saw his leg giving way and a bullet in the right side of his head. It might have came out the other side, I don’t know. The boy began to trip and fell to the ground, while looking at me. His gaze was full of surprise, of disbelief of what is happening; his gaze was asking why am I dying and how? A gaze of disbelief in death itself.

With the beginning of the arrival of the lead of the march to the vicinity of Maspero skirmishes began between the army and demonstrators in the front rows. Several testimonies noted that as soon as demonstrators arrived to the margins of Maspero security forces were surprised by the number of participants. A few seconds later the sound of gunshots was heard. The shooting began about 6.30. It began in the air to prevent the march from progress in direction Maspero.

»By the Maspero building gates, we were saluted by the vigil. We chanted for the first 30 seconds and all of a sudden we were viciously attacked by military police and central security forces when they discovered that this was a huge march of 20 thousand.«

When I first arrived at the surroundings of the Maspero building, before the march arrived from the other side, I heard the vigil changing: [Muslim and Christian one hand]. About 30 seconds later I saw rows of the CSF running towards us while shooting in the air. Everybody ran away.

63. Testimony of Mina Thabet
64. Testimony of Mohamed Elzayat
65. Testimony of Ramy Yucef
from the shooting which now descended to the level of our bodies. Everybody was running…. We were surrounded by the army and CSF from all sides, on the bridge and below the bridge, the Ramses Hilton street and the Abdel Moneim Riad square. People who had children or elderly people with them began to search for each other and to try to remain out of danger. Everybody was shocked. Nobody was ready for this kind of violence. At 6.26 I wrote on twitter: “Sons of bitches are shooting at a march full of children.” At 6.32 “shooting again”.66

Hardly 30 - 40 seconds had passed since the arrival of the march and military police began shooting at demonstrators. We were running like chicken, all the while watching people fall around us. Injuries and lots of blood. My colleague and I saw a man who had fallen dead after receiving two bullets one in his back and the other between his thighs. People were in a hysterical state and all shops were closing”67

Army troops continued to fire shots in the air, and skirmishes continued in the front rows between the protesters and the military police force for a period estimated by AFTE to extend for approximately 5 minutes. Then the shooting began at the bodies of demonstrators. After less than a minute, armored army vehicles began moving towards the demonstrators.

“When I first arrived by Maspero I saw people retreating and soldiers moving towards us. There were sounds of heavy shooting, don't know if it was live ammunition or not. We ran to the end of the street and I turned by the corniche. I saw with my own eyes two army vehicles driving fast towards us and people were running away from them. One of them ran over two people. So protesters surrounded the vehicle and torched it. Those vehicles were running over the parking cars and some of the cars were turned over. We then saw the second vehicle coming at us at a crazy speed. It followed people who were running towards the pavement. It was not just hitting them. It was running them over. We began to carry the bodies, put them in entrances of buildings and run. Chaos.”68

Outside the Ramses Hilton Hotel, chanting stopped for a moment and the joy of having survived the Shubra attack declined upon marching in direction Maspero. The march was immediately met with gunfire in the air; but the shooting did not stop when the demonstrators marched on.

Suddenly, large crowds of people retreated, and a strange thing happened. Two armored vehicles

66. Testimony of Lubna Darwiche
67. Testimony of Amal Elmohandes
68. Testimony of Steve Nabil
came at frightening speed, penetrating the rows of the demonstrators, who jumped away from its path. On the roof of each vehicle there was a soldier with a gun which he randomly shot in all directions. Nevertheless, the high screams made it difficult to localize the source of the shooting.

“The two military vehicles darted in a zigzag path through the Maspero street and under the October bridge then drove backwards again in the midst of gunshots and the incessant screams of protesters.

“Then it happened. One of the two vehicles drove over the central island like a mad animal. I saw people disappear underneath it. I couldn’t see what happened to them when the vehicle began moving towards me.”

“The most important part of my testimony that I shall give to the prosecution is that beside my leg there was the brain of a person who had been crushed. 30 minutes later I was standing at a point that was far away from the shooting. Then this young man fell in front of me, with a bullet in his back. Together with others we carried him to the ambulance.”

Many of the testimonies indicate that the whole incident lasted half an hour, but it was the deadliest, and also the darkest, since the electricity was cut when the military vehicles began to move; also that only second passed between shooting at the level of the bodies and the fall of victims and the beginning of the of armored cars moving to disperse the demonstrators. All testimonies confirm that the armored cars moved along their paths several times in both directions.

All of a sudden we heard the sound of very heavy shooting; we found the people in front of us turning around, fleeing towards us and screaming [they are shooting”. Also all of a sudden all lights went off and I heard the sound of a car screeching against the street. It was an armored car being driven at a crazy speed, and on top of it a soldier opening fire in all directions. People were running like mad also in all directions. And the vehicle was running over anybody in its way. There was very little light. One couldn’t see clearly. We only heard the sound of screams and breaking glass from the shooting. Then I saw two further armored cars, again moving the same way, running people over. When they reached the end of the street they turned and did the same thing on the other lane.”

69. Testimony of Sarah Carr
70. Testimony of Ramy Yucef
71. Testimony of Bishoy Saad
“The three vehicles drove and disappeared fast. But one of them was a little slower. People gathered and ran after it and threw stones at it while it was retreating. They stopped it and threw at it with the remainder of a street light that was on fire. The vehicle caught fire. The stone throwing continued. Most people began to shout [stop the stones] and kept chanting in support of the soldier [come out, come out, come out]. They were afraid he might get burned inside. Finally he jumped out. Some people began to beat him while many others tried to free him from their hands. This was a soldier who had just killed our brothers; he was killing us in cold blood. But people decided not to soil their hands with blood. I saw him run in the protection of two elderly men.”7273

“I arrived about 10 minutes after armored vehicles ran over protesters and shot at them. It was a state of panic, hysterical screaming and crying by women and children; I met an elderly man who was bitterly crying while repeating [my son is dead, they ran over my son]. There were many injured. I saw them after they had been beaten up by soldiers. There were head injured and gunfire injuries. A lot of blood and people didn't know where to take the injured. Of course the cars refused to stop to carry any of the injured. The bodies of the martyred were pled in entrances of buildings or garages or maybe both. I saw two of them. They were completely squashed and the sheets were red from so much blood.”74

Search and inspection on the basis of identity

The coverage by Egyptian television and the agitating discourse broadcasted during the Maspero events had the greatest effects in creating a state of sectarian congestion, which led citizens to take to the streets in defense of the army and against what was considered to threaten their Islamic identity. Although most testimonies confirm that the armed forced were searching and assaulting citizens on the basis of their identity with the help of civilians, the testimony of Mohamed Gohar, head of the board of the 25 January satellite channel remains the most relevant in this regards. He was able to make this testimony disclosing his identity after he left Egypt and a year after the events in an filmed intervention with Yousry Fuda75. Fuda had mentioned some of the details of Gohar's testimony in an article in El Masry Alyoum by the title “Egypt's Schindler” where he kept Gohar anonymous.

72. Testimony of Lubna Darwiche
73. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fRU1JW5cH9A
74. Testimony of Farah Samaan
75. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kb7ubXaG1Go&t=228s
“In the very beginning we were broadcasting live..we were on the third floor, so we were very close to the street.. before concluding the talk we saw huge forces shooting in the air towards Coptic protesters. According to my knowledge the shots were “empty capsules” as we say, only sound bullets. Then we saw a torrent of bullets being shot at protesters by individuals in civilian clothes by the bridge. They were coming from the 6th October bridge, while other groups were in the dark - I don't know - standing on the rooftops, whether it was the 6th of October or the Ramsis Hilton, it was very close.. I entered the lobby of the building and realized it was the only open building for the injured because the ambulance cars could not reach any further..the road was blocked.. we opened the building for every injured and killed person.. I saw about 9 bodies and more than 20 injured... the families were screaming.. I saw people injured by bullets.. I saw injured who were slaughtered.. I saw bodies squashed by tanks. Of course the studio was on the 11th floor so I could not go up. I returned again to the third floor. We actually took footage for all those scenes but we could not broadcast them; they were horrible scenes. I returned to the third floor gain. Before sitting down I saw out own security who is guarding the building: 18 individuals led by a former general. The former general told me: here are members of the military police with civilian individuals who want the protesters who took refuge on the 11th floor on foot and hid upstairs. Before knowing whether they did go up or who went up, my spontaneous reaction was: nobody went upstairs. I looked up and saw 17 demonstrators. I thought they were all Copts. Three days later I got to know they had two Muslims among them and a Coptic priest. Without thinking twice I told him: those are people who do not carry weapons, who don't carry anything at all.. those are people who have panicked because of the hysteria and the panic the like of which I have never seen in my life. And of course there were some families of the victims carrying the bodies and beating the army standing outside and the army arrested them. The army was running after them. Some of them entered the building and others climbed from the back and there are those 17 climbed to the top. On the 12th floor we had a small space which we had turned into a toilet, so without thinking I let them enter this toilet and covered the space with a curtain and put a desk in front of the curtain. All the while we heard the army forces coming up, breaking all the glass they found on their way, stamping with their feet, making terrorizing sounds, until they reached us. They went to the anchor who was broadcasting live, Sherin El Sayad. She was screaming: “I am pregnant, have mercy, have mercy”. Because they had automatic guns and they ordered everybody at the office to lie face down on the ground and pointed the gun in their faces. As soon as all went down on the floor they began searching IDs. The first was a young photographer, 23 years old. Through his ID they realized he was a Copt. They beat him, broke his hand, injured his head, opened his head with the butt of the gun. Every couple of minutes they would reload the guns and ask: Where? Then they did not find any other Coptic ID because they had delivered their IDs as you ordered. I was not the only one who tried to provide protection. All our colleagues in channel 25 January were on it, they were concerned with providing protection to their Coptic brethren.
Then they began to hysterically and nervously search. They didn't find any Coptic IDs. One of the workers did not have an ID on him so they began to beat him. It was only after he began to recite the Quran that they let him be. They stayed for about 25 minutes and then left.

“After they left security called me again. I wanted to get rid of the security. I was afraid that people would tell them that there were Copts in the building.

“The soldier walked into the office and stood with his automatic about 10 or 15 cm from the door. If he had opened the door he would have found 17 people and a priest in their midst. He sent for other forces from the police and with them people in civilian clothes. I looked into the face of one of the soldiers and told him: “I understand that you are a soldier. But who is that with you?” He said: “This is an honorable citizen”. This honorable citizen was carrying a sword and a chain and was hitting the walls, the glass, everything, breaking everything. After security left I transferred the people. We have many flats in the building. For 12 hours I was transferring them, from 7 pm until 7 am next day. With every attack I would lead them to another place for fear somebody might have said where they were. From 7 pm until 7 am. At 7 am the curfew was lifted and I found the building surrounded by the same civilian individuals, army and central security forces. They were still searching the streets for IDs; they would stop cars that had crosses in them and attack them. We decided that as soon as there is some light and the curfew was lifted we would let the people out; we were getting tired. The problem was the priest, because he refused to change his cloak. We begged him and he said he would rather martyr in the clothes of the priesthood. I told him: Father take off this black head cover. Look downstairs. They are still attacking people downstairs and they are waiting for you. They know you and they are waiting for you. They are especially searching for you. He said: Never, and insisted on going down and joining the funeral. By then it was about 2 in the afternoon. They left the building one by one from 7 am until 2 pm. The only thing the priest accepted was to carry the Quran.”

The Coptic Hospital

After the beginning of the events and upon the fall of the injured participants began the process of transferring the injured to the nearest hospital. The choice fell to the Coptic hospital since it was the closest in Ramsis street. However, the agitation on official television and the calls for the “protection of the army” had transferred clashes between citizens to various locations until they reached the Coptic hospital, which had not guards at all.

Testimonies received by the AFTE researchers indicate that supporters had to form popular
committees to guard the hospital against attacks by thugs. The location of the hospital remained a battle field until the early hours of the following day.

Next day the Coptic hospital announced that it had received 88 cases from the Maspero events, including 17 deaths and 12 cases that had to be admitted to hospital in view of their critical health condition, and 69 cases that received the necessary help and left the hospital.

Official Media Discourse

The message of official media on dictatorial states, is meant to be the soft wing of control of political authority over its people; its counterpart being its more violent wing represented by security authorities. Methodologies of official media are in harmony with the general mood of the ruling power, that is automatically translated into criteria that control media work in general, leaving no space for improvisation. Such space, even if present, is predetermined only to allow some political ventilation and complete the alleged so-called democratic image. The coverage by official television of the events of that bloody Sunday is an example thereof, where the media message clearly took the side of an official body affiliated to the regime and incriminated in the events: during the massacre of the 9th of October Maspero was the official spokesperson for SCAF.76

Agitation against demonstrators

In his book “The truth at the time of lies - 150 days of Egypt’s history” Osama Haikal, the minister of mass media at the time wrote about the TV coverage of the events:

“Egyptian TV broadcasted the full Maspero events on the 9th of October 2011 live, where demonstrators had begun their protest in front of the building at 5 pm. Then acts of violence erupted at 6.30. Live coverage began again at 8 pm until 1 am. About 25 Coptic Egyptian citizens were the victims of that incident in addition to a soldier of the armed forces. It was not possible

76. Maspero criminalized (See above)
for television not to broadcast live such a tragic incident that happened in front of its building.\textsuperscript{77}

Haikal does not identify any incitement or agitation in the TV coverage, describing it as merely a natural emotional reaction. In his book he writes:

“at about 8 pm with the beginning of the live coverage of the news and 1\textsuperscript{st} channel, I noticed that broadcaster Rasha Magdy began coverage in a somewhat emotional way since she was influenced by the incident. This is normal since the building was at the center of the location of the incident. However, a media person has to bypass his emotions. I contacted Ibrahim Elsayyad, head of the news sector and requested to make an intervention on air. In that intervention I said that we do not know who fired at whom and that what is happening is not sectarian strife but an attempt to topple the Egyptian state.”\textsuperscript{78}

He continues his comment on the coverage:

“But after a while I found the channel reporting from inside the Radio and TV hospital where injured military police soldiers have been transferred. One of the soldiers spoke about his colleague who fell dead close to him. He uttered an abuse against Copts on air. I was very upset and called the head of the news sector again and told him to immediately air an apology for this mistake to our viewers. It took 35 minutes for this apology to be broadcasted on the screen and I asked the investigation sector to investigate the matter.”

He continued: “the heightened tone of criticism against Egyptian television, accusing it of inciting the killing of the Copts led to the formation of an independent committee from outside the Radio and TV building, chaired by Dr. Safwat Elalam, professor of mass media and the membership of Laila Abdelmegid, Mahmud Alam El Din and security expert Yasser Abdel Aziz. I asked them to undertake an accurate evaluation of the performance of Egyptian television and decide whether or not it was inciting.”\textsuperscript{79}

The committee concluded that “there was no incitement on the side of Egyptian TV during its coverage of those events. However, there were mistakes committed by Egyptian TV and other satellite channels.”\textsuperscript{80}

\textsuperscript{77} Osama Haikal, The truth at a time of lies: 150 days of Egypt’s history, Egyptian-Lebanese Bookshop 2012 (AR). P.35
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid. pp. 54
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid. pp. 55
\textsuperscript{80} Alahram, 16 October 2011. http://gate.ahram.org.eg/News/127257.aspx
In special statements to the Middle East News Agency Osama Haikal said that “the report showed that the coverage was at times lacking impartiality and that reports by reporters and some broadcasters was limited to one side of the story, which was that of the military forces, without an attempt to present the opinions of protesters, or their representatives or supporters. The report also criticized the performance by anchor Rasha Magdi.”

Through the analysis of 270 minutes of direct news coverage by El Nile news channel, a report prepared by AFTE concerning the media performance of Maspero - the governmental body monopolizing ground broadcasting - indicated the direct involvement by management policies of the Radio and TV union in one of the most important political crimes that threatened security and public peace at a most critical and delicate moment through the incitement of violence and hatred in addition to deliberate misinformation and distortion of information targeting some society sectors and groups against each other.

Reviewing the transcription by the report team of the news at the time we can claim major defects in consideration of principles of impartiality, balance and objectivity in news coverage in addition to many professional mistakes in the official visual coverage of the events; television had broadcasted news that Coptic demonstrators had fired against army soldiers resulting in the killing of three soldiers and the injury of dozens, with no reference to victims among the demonstrators, who have been totally ignored.

Some of the impartialities noted by the report concerned the care and insistence to describe demonstrators as “Copts” with no consideration of the sensitivity and the social and sectarian tensions prevalent in Egypt, putting one sector of society against an institution, which wide sectors of Egyptian society consider to be the one stable and important entity responsible for the administration of the affairs of the country at that moment. Official TV broadcast presented the event as a clash with the military establishment as a whole, and not its political wing only. Furthermore there was an imbalance in the description and broadcast of actions taken by all parties of the crisis or in the coverage of the injuries and the killed on both sides.

Below we present some of the media broadcast which shows the lack of impartiality by the official Egyptian television and the incitement broadcasted by its anchors and news reporters:

“7.17 correcting the news we had broadcasted a while ago we wish to remind you that one and not

81. Ibid.
82. Maspero Criminalized - AFTE (see above)
three of army soldiers have martyred and twenty others were injured after Coptic demonstrators opened fire at them”.

“9.04 three martyrs and more than 100 injured among army soldiers after being shot at by Coptic demonstrators in front of Maspero”

“And we remind you of the urgent news that Coptic demonstrators in front of the building of Maspero had thrown rocks at the military and police as well as burnt some vehicles belonging to the army in front of the building”

Anchor Rasha Magda said:

“until now probably more than three martyrs and 20 injured, all of whom are army soldiers, and by whose hands? Not by the hands of the Israelis or the hands of an enemy, but by the hands of a sector of the sons of this nation. The army that is being attacked now is the army that stood by the revolution. This is the army that protected the revolution and refused to shoot a single bullet at any of the sons of the Egyptian people. Today we find that there are some who are shooting at the sons of the army”

That was a sample of what has been broadcasted on Egyptian official television of appeared on the news tape on its screens over a period of 270 minutes, which is the duration of the coverage of the events. Such statements were made by new reporters or anchors on Nile TV, Nile News and News of Egypt.

It is not enough to diagnose this coverage as a result of professional inefficiency. The coverage had been deliberately and centrally politically used to present events in a way that is distorting of the truth and inciting of society in the interests of the ruling regime.

When, after an hour of an imbalanced coverage, the field reporter spoke about the entry of a third party in the events, which was the residents of Boulaq Abu El Ela, the reporting applauded the involvement of the residents and their role in securing the area and preventing the clashes by demonstrators against army soldiers, as follows:

(By the third half hour) first announcement of the involvement of Boulaq Abu El Ela residents to face Coptic demonstrators.

Field reporter: do you hear those shouts now?
Anchor: Yes, I hear you.

Reporter: It is clear that some citizens from the area of Boulaq Abu El Ela are trying to attack Coptic demonstrators. I don’t know why. Some of them say that seeing soldiers dying and getting injured drove some citizens from the areas surrounding Maspero to try and deal with the demonstrators, but the police is trying to separate between them.

In the fifth half hour, in a dialogue between the anchor and the Nile channel reporter form the corniche area:

Anchor: It seems to me from the scene that residents of the Boulaq area and even the area of Rod Elfarag have joined in the location. It seems they are playing a big role in containing the situation. The situation seems calm to a great extent.

Reporter: … but I was also told that some of the residents played an important role in controlling the situation and dispersion of demonstrators who were throwing stones at the army. Some of them moved toward the area of Zamalek, over the 6th October bridge and tried to move away the demonstrators as best as them can. Demonstrators who were throwing stones escaped from the area through the 6th October bridge.

Anchor: Said, you are pointing to an extremely important point in the context of addressing this event, which is the popular role in dealing with the situation. Did you feel from any of the police or military leadership that any of them has noticed this thread and is trying to direct this popular engagement to contain the situation?

Reporter: In fact I tried to contact leadership in the police and the army, especially central security forces, but it seems the current situation is difficult to attempt to get any comments from them. But it seems to me, Ahmed, that the percentage of civilians from residents of the area present here is high compared to security forces, which indicates that it was the residents who confronted the demonstrators to a great extent.

The scene after the official television coverage appeared different. Residents of the areas of Boulaq, Ghamra and the surrounding areas joined the ranks of the military police to protect them in what was portrayed by the television as “Coptic attacks against the army”. Thereby the army had used television to create a civilian conflict between Muslims and Copts. In a video taken secretly
be one of the witnesses of the incident while standing among the angry residents, we see that with the help of military police and central security forces buildings and surrounding areas until downtown and including side streets are being searched for Copts, where they were subjected to severe beatings, verbally abused and then given over to security forces. Those attacks were led by citizens wearing civilian clothes, carrying white weapons and Molotov, protected by security forces. Persecutions continued until late hours after military forces imposed curfew at 11 pm on Sunday upon the areas of Maspero, Abdelmoneim Riadh square, Tahrir square, Isaaif square, Ghamra, Abaseya and Kobry Elqobba. The curfew was announced on television as urgent news to extend from 2 am until 7 am to calm the situation.

“I saw people carrying soldiers on their shoulders, shouting God is Great. I agree with my friend who described this moment as one of the most miserable where he heard the name of god mentioned in this way. It was not about faith, but terror imposed by some citizens and the state. The white weapons and the sectarian tensions were frightening.”

“We heard about the violent events when we were in Zamalek. We decided to go and see for ourselves. On the way, on the 15th of May bridge I saw a number of people most of them young people going in direction Maspero from the side of the foreign ministry. A man on a motorcycle stopped and asked a bystander of what was happening there. He replied “Copts are raising hell”. We came close to the location. There was a group of young people chanting “God is Great” and swearing at the other side… Yes, there were a few thugs, but the majority were very ordinary, unorganized people. We decided to walk towards Ramsis Hilton. On the way, by the 15th May bridge, we saw an injured young man. We asked him if he needed help. He said he was all rights and that he and others are walking the streets looking for cars that have crosses to destroy them. “We have to destroy the cars of the Copts”. On our way towards Ramsis Hilton. From the October bridge we saw young people preventing a police tractor from passing through to the bridge saying: “The Copts will destroy you!” This was the day I heard most the word “Copts” being said. We went to Tahrir square and we saw a group chanting “Raise your head high you are a Muslim” walking together with military men. Then we saw another group chanting “Islamic.. Islamic..raise your head high you are a Muslim” surrounded by army people. We sat for a rest in Tahrir and suddenly people began to run in all directions and the army was chasing all who had remained in the square.”

83. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FiagIzLQSdI&index=21&list=PLaxBiwouy_yg6O4olYAF249_4xR4p8Axt
85. Testimony of Ahmed Abu Hussein
Raiding satellite channels

During the coverage of the events, military police forces broke into the office of the 25 January satellite channel located in a building close to Maspero. They claimed that wanted people were hiding on one of the floors. The raid took place during a live interview with security expert general Seif El Yazal. The forces broke doors and windows, searched employees, and forced them to stop airing. One of the employees of the channel in his testimony to El Nadim Center for the Rehabilitation of victims of torture said that the raid targeted the confiscation of a tape that had already been broadcasted, where some military men are seen driving military vans while running over protesters and shooting at the crowds.

“I was covering directly live what was happening in front of Maspero at that time. I was giving a detailed description of the situation when the news reached me. I was having an interview with general Sameh Seif El Yazal, the security expert. While I was posing my third question to him I heard a loud sound coming from outside the studio. Suddenly I saw my colleagues running in front of me inside the studio. There was a board that one of the raiders tried to turn over. I didn't move until an army draftee entered the studio carrying his weapon in addition to 8 central security soldiers who did not carry weapons but instead were carrying sticks and shields. They were accompanied with their commander. An army draftee attacked us while shouting: “My colleagues have died. I must avenge them”, which led me to scream on air. He kicked the table in front of me. I had to stand up and fell. The draftee was pointing his weapon in my face. He seemed in a nervous breakdown. After a short while his commander calmed him down. He was so tense and angry I expected him to shoot me. At that moment I and one of the photographers were sitting on the floor with our hands on our heads as if we were prisoners of war. Later, I, the editor in chief and another woman colleague sneaked into the sound studio. A colleague joined us crying saying “they will kill us”. They were looking for any person who was a Christian. They searched our hands for the tattooed cross. One of the security men told us” “We are Muslims like you, this is just a security procedure.”

Military police also raided the building of El Hurra satellite channel which is located in the same building and had shown live footage of the raid during its live coverage from the studio. The footage shows anchor Amr Khalil, who remained for a few minutes on air. In an attempt to calms down the angry soldiers he was saying “I am Egyptian… I am Egyptian”.

86. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F6k9saARSOo&index=9&list=PLaxBjwouy_yg6o4oiVAF2s9_4xR4p8Axt
87. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HQLIA0XrXM&index=10&list=PLaxBjwouy_yg6o4oiVAF2s9_4xR4p8Axt&t=242s
Authority’s story of the events

The Government

Since Sunday evening many official statements were made. All of them condemned the incident. But none of them acknowledged the constitutional and legal responsibility of the state. The cabinet and SCAF insisted on describing the killing as the result of clashes between Muslim and Copts caused by “foreign elements” that seek to create conflict, ignoring the involvement of military officers and soldiers in the incident, a matter what was mentioned in all testimonies and footage. None of the statements indicated the official media coverage of the events which incited against Copts. The press conference organized by SCAF praised the impartiality of media coverage, and accused peaceful protesters who marched from Shubra to Maspero of attacking members of the armed forces.

In a press release by Prime Minister Dr. Essam Sharaf, Sunday evening, the 10th of October 2011 he described the events as “unnecessary violence” caused by a conspiracy that seeks to mess around with national unity and inciting strife between Muslims and Copts, ignoring all the running over and shooting at demonstrators. He said “The greatest danger threatening the security of the nation is messing with national security and inciting strife between Muslims and Copts, sons of our dear Egypt, as well as between the people and the army, creating an opportunity for the enemies of the nation to threaten its safety, creating disruption and chaos..this is their objective.. but we shall not surrender to these wicked conspiracies and we shall not accept to return to the past.. it is difficult to consider what happened in Egypt over the past hours to be a sectarian conflict.. but it is definitely an indicator of this conspiracy and I trust the ability of Egyptians to overcome this matter and to be aware of the extent of that conspiracy”

The statement by the Prime Minister called upon all sectors of the Egyptian people to stand firm and united in facing those conspiracies. “I call upon Muslim and Coptic clergy, media people, intellectuals, people of culture and artists to bear their national responsibility in filling the gaps in the nation’s matrix, which inciters of strife have sneaked through to mess with the safety and security of the homeland.”88 The aforementioned statement was released after a cabinet session chaired by Dr. Essam Sharaf to discuss the consequences of the events. The session concluded

with some decisions, among which was “the formation of a fact finding committee that should immediately begin to look into the causes and consequences of the incident. The committee should announce its results as soon as possible, exposing the inciters and those responsible, identify them and holding them accountable according to the law; stressing the responsibility of the government to support the capacity of security forces to enable them to do their duties and firmly confront all illegitimate acts and severe implementation of existing laws; submit a draft law regulating the situation of existing unlicensed places of worship to the legislative committee of the cabinet; commissioning the national justice committee to hasten societal dialogue regarding a unified law for places of worship and introduction of a new provision into section 11 of the law of criminal procedures, indicated as 161 bis. concerning ban of discrimination as follows:

Punishable by imprisonment and/or a fine between 30 and 50 thousand pounds any person who commits or abstain from committing an act that may result in discrimination between individuals or against a group of individuals on the basis of sex, origin, language, religion or belief, if such discrimination results in violation of the principle of equity of opportunities or social justice or disruption of public peace. The penalty would be for no less than 3 months in prison and/or a fine between 50 and 100 thousand pounds if the above mentioned crime was committed by a public employee, civil servant or any person commissioned with a public service.89

Monday morning, SCAF held an urgent meeting, chaired by the general commander of the armed forces, Field Marshal Hussein Tantawi, which commissioned the cabinet to promptly form a fact finding committee. The statement that was announced after the meeting said: “the people of Egypt have followed with great concern the unfortunate events that were witnessed by the country yesterday evening and which turned peaceful demonstrations into bloody ones that led to the fall of victims and injuries from among the sons of our people.” SCAF reiterated its determination not to give in to attempts to drive a wedge between the armed forces and the Egyptian people as well as bearing its continuous national responsibility and protection of the destiny of the people and its gains after the 25 January revolution, and the implementation of the road map until authority is transferred to an elected civilian authority.90

In response to that the minister of justice Mohamed Abdel Aziz issued his decree no 10014/2011, the first article of which stated that the ministry will form a committee for fact finding and gathering of information regarding the Maspero events, the causes and developments of those

90. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6XKFtGcr4ve&list=PLax8iwour_yg6o4oLYAF2e5o_4sR4p8Axt&index=4
evens beginning from the facts that took place in Marinab village in Edfu, in Aswan governorate, and that the committee should report including its conclusions and recommendations as soon as its work is done. The committee was chaired by Judge Omar El Khattab Marwan Abdallah and the membership of judges El Sayed el Sawi and Ayman Mohamed Kamel Afifi. 

SCAF and a different story

SCAF did not acknowledge its responsibility for the killing that happened in front of Maspero. On the contrary it directed accusations to the demonstrators themselves.

On the 12th of October SCAF held a press conference concerning the events, where it tried to acquit its commanders on the ground. In that conference Major General Staff of war Mahmud Hegazi, head of the Board of Management and Administration at the time, and currently Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces said:

“At present the honorable members of the Armed forces are securing borders and vital targets, ready to sacrifice their lives for the protection of this country. It is not possible nor acceptable that those people be rewarded or this deliverance be met with ingratitude or assault on any of its members. What is definite that there are enemies of the homeland who are using demonstrations as an opportunity to sneak in to achieve destructive objectives which calls upon us all to put this into consideration in the interest of the homeland. If we recall the Abaseya events to those of the embassy to the latest events in Maspero we shall find that events begin with a demonstration that may be peaceful. But suddenly this peacefulness turns in violence that shatters security in the homeland and leads to possible unfavorable results.”

In his intervention he repeated that the military police did not shoot, and that was in harmony with its mandate, and that the success of the armed forces is in the leadership and protection of the people and not against them. But they may have to be firs in applying the law against enemies of the people. He also stressed that “the weapons of the armed forces are different from any other weapons. The weaponry of the armed forces is a killer weaponry and not for securing, and if they had used this weaponry or if we had allowed them to use it the consequences would have been catastrophic.”

91. Photocopy of the decree by the minister of justice
92. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gyCe-zZGlpw
As for General Adel Emara, assistant to the minister of defense he began his intervention saying: “We are facing uncontestable facts”, and that the Radio and TV building is one of the most strategic targets. That is why any threats of it being raided or obstructed should be taken seriously like any other state institution.”

Concerning the security of the Radio and TV union Emara said that members of the armed forces present to secure the building from the outside do not exceed 300 individuals, armed with antiriot tools. He denied their possession of any live ammunition. He said: “It has been our way and principle since the beginning of the 25 January not to raise a weapon in the face of the Egyptian people, or shoot a bullet at the chest of an Egyptian citizen. This is the principle which the armed forces are committed to.”

He then began to recall the events according to the view of SCAF, which considered that there was clear incitement by public figures and Christian clergy before the march because of the Marinab church incident in Edfu. To prove this incitement he showed a footage that included a phone call between George Ishaq and the Hayatt channel and another showing one of the priests calling for the a march of dignity saying [We shall organize a march the like of which Egypt had not seen before]. The footage also showed a priest during the march saying “the governor must resign. The perpetrators must be arrested and the church rebuilt. The Field Marshall should do this. If he doesn’t, he knows what might happen; and if the governor does not resign within 48 hours he will die a terrible death.”He also accused the governor of lying, while the rest of the footage showed the demands by demonstrators.

He proceeded “We are providing facts and truths. We do not analyze or evaluate the situation from our point of view. These are documented facts.” Those facts claimed by SCAF are a complete denial of all accusations and responsibility for the violence that took place. He said: “those who claim there was live ammunition..if the individuals being attacked in those vehicles had live ammunition, nobody could have come close to that vehicle.”

He continued: “The idea of using our tools to crush a human being is an idea that does not exist in the dictionary of the armed forces. We do not have something like this in our doctrine; not even when dealing with the enemy do we commit those mistakes, which are criminalized internationally. It never happened, even in our wars with our enemies, that a members of the armed forces ran over a citizen or a human being with a car. This cannot be attributed to the Egyptian armed forces; you can attribute it to anyone else, but history will never mention that on any day at all did we crush a person, not even in fighting a real enemy.”
“I do not deny the possibility that the car might have hit somebody while it was moving; I do not confirm that, but what I want to confirm is that this is not systematic and it is a shame for an Egyptian to say that an Egyptian from the armed forces’ training is to crush demonstrators. It would have been easier to provide the soldiers with live ammunition and then nobody would have dared to come close.”

The press conference continued to deny any acts of lethal violence against demonstrators, but rather provided excuses for the soldiers driving the vehicles for being subjected under extreme pressure because of the attacks by demonstrators, which affected them psychologically.

Attempts to conceal the truth

No prayer for the bodies (the morgue)

“For two days we remained at the morgue; two days with bodies struggling to be described as martyrs, struggling against the whole Mubarak regime; not only the Mubarak soldiers who run them over, nor Mubarak’s media which denied them to be martyrs and described them as murderers, nor Mubarak’s prosecution which avoided to grant them their violated rights; the bodies struggled to keep the glory of martyrdom in the morgue of a poor governmental hospital morgue with no facilities at all, a struggle against the myths of the Mubarak era that autopsy was a mutilation of the dead not an attempt to claim their rights; against the hegemony of the priests and clergy of the sultan saying that whoever seeks justice on earth has given up on it in the afterlife; against the sectarianism of Mubarak that makes the poor enemies to the poor to look away from those who steal their livelihood.”

Demonstrators began immediately to carry the dead and the injured to surrounding hospitals. Most cases were taken to the Coptic hospital in Ramsis street. There was not enough place at the hospital for 22 bodies, so they were distributed according to first-come-first-places between the two morgues and on the floor in the corridors. Huge numbers of supporters we were waiting

inside next to the victims and their families, while outside others were trying to secure the hospital from possible attacks.

Upon the declaration of curfew those some groups in front of the hospital left, while others waited. At 2.30 am the prosecution came to undertake a primary observation of the bodies, permitting the burial of 5 bodies without autopsy, and expressing its wish to issue burial permits for the rest of the bodies the same way and to settle with hospital reports which were based on external observation.94

“One of the priest volunteered his advice: Let us bury them fast. The weather is hot and the morgue does not have iceboxes. Driven by the pride and naiveté of the square we intervened: What about justice? What about retribution? This is our last chance to prove the crime. We need forensic reports.”95

Some of the priests present at the hospital pressured families of victims to refuse autopsy of their relatives. Testimonies received by AFTE researchers indicate that priests told families that the Pope will not be able to pray for the dead because of tightness of time and that burial permits must be sought and not wait more than this and that the reward of the victims remains in heaven with the martyrs.

At the time human rights lawyer Khaled Ali went to the public prosecutor, Judge Adel Elsaid, to request an order for autopsy. After negotiations it was agreed that the forensic team would move from the Zenhom morgue to the morgue at the Coptic hospital and that Khaled Ali will bear the responsibility of transferring and securing the forensic team and emptying the hospital from the families to avoid any clashes.96

“Yes, it seemed we were responsible of securing our demonstration; then we were responsible for the security of public institutions; and now we became responsible for the safety of state employees if we wanted the state to act like a state. We did not bother with the question “what is the role of the army and the police”. The answer was obvious on the bodies of the martyrs.”97

The autopsies were done with very limited facilities and in the midst of security belts formed by the families, supporters and human rights activists. The assistant to the minister of Interior,
Ahmed Gamal, had told Khaled Ali that the state of anger of the families will not allow the army or police forces to ensure the safety of the medical team.

The autopsy was done on 17 bodies inside the Coptic hospital; 7 were killed by gunfire in various places of the body and 10 cases were killed because of being crushed and fractures. Khaled Ali held the public prosecution responsible for issuing burial permits for five bodies without carrying out an autopsy.

“Hours of crying, discussions and hugs, during which we were fighting times with blocks of ice and miserable fans, hoping that our love was enough to maintain the purity of the bodies.”

**Manipulation of medical reports**

Before and after the autopsies causes of death changed from an elbow injury or a collision with a solid object to gunfire injury and squashing.

Layer Khaled Ali confirmed that the primary medical reports prepared at the Coptic hospital were not reflecting the truth and that the medical reports were manipulated. The condition of Mina Danial was described in the beginning as an acute circulatory failure that lead to death. Upon pressure by his sister and after the arrival of the forensic team later reports documented gunfire injury to the upper right side of the chest resulting in laceration of the right lung, liver and severe hemorrhage.

“While we were on the verge of a victory we faced the most difficult obstacles. The families believed in the dream of justice and allowed us to manipulate the bodies of their children, accepted to do without a prayer by the priest, even accepted that the burial may be delayed for another night. They accepted to sacrifice all that we asked them to sacrifice despite their hesitation in the beginning. Now, they wanted guarantees. They wanted to feel that justice, while we were giving them technical talk and gibberish legal jargon. Why does the report say squashed by a heavy vehicle when the truth is clear and that vehicle was an armored car. Why don’t they say armored car? What is a projectile? Why don’t they say military projectile? Didn’t you promise me justice? Where is the name of the perpetrator? Don’t we all know who he is?”

98. Ibid.

99. Footnote 9

100. Footnote 10
Doctor Jean Lomin, member of a group of physicians for monitoring medical services, says that the preliminary medical report for Emad Abdel Halim described a projectile that settled in the pelvic tissues; the rest of the report was neither dated nor signed and spoke about a foreign metal body, cylindrical, in the urinary bladders, about 2 cm long and 3 cm diameter, without explicitly saying that the isolated metallic body was a bullet.101

Dr. Mohamed Fattouh, general surgery specialist and chair of the Tahrir Doctors association - a medical association that was formed after the revolution for rapid intervention in crises and emergencies - said they had received news that the families refused autopsy except in the presence of independent doctors to ensure authenticity of autopsy reports. He adds “I went there and we entered a room that had a fridge with three drawers to keep the dead and another annexed room, that had a board on which martyrs were laid. The number of bodies was high. Some of the bodies were on the floor. The autopsy took place in both rooms. Some of the bodies were disfigured and lacked limbs. It was difficult to move between the bodies. Also the smell was very difficult. The bodies had been there since yesterday. The forensic team came, consisting of 6 doctors in addition to workers. The forensic doctors did their job skillfully and were serious in trying to reach the truth within the limits of the poor facilities available to them.”

In a televised interview102 Dr. Fattouh added that the doctors had to write alternative reports to 8 martyrs to clam the families until the official forensic reports came out. Among them were three cases with gunshots, one of them deadly which entered from the chest and lead to death because of internal organ laceration. In five other cases the injury was traumatic squashing as a result of an extremely heavy object, specifically a heavy vehicle, that caused tissue damage and amputation of limbs, constriction of the chest cavity and internal hemorrhage. The autopsy did not reveal projectiles because of the presence of an entry and an exit point.

Evidence is of no value

The autopsies did not provide any projectiles because they had an entry and exit opening. However, doctors managed to retrieve bullets from two of the injured; one from the jaw of Ali Khaled in Elnozha hospital and the other from Emad Abdel Halim in the Coptic hospital. Criminal evidence that had been manipulated until their whereabouts were unknown.

102. Footnote 93
In a phone conversation with Dr. Hesham Shiha, assistant to the minister of health for curative medicine, he said that the bullet taken out of the body of Emad Abdel Halim on the 17\textsuperscript{th} of October was kept as evidence in the office of the director of the Coptic hospital, Dr. Moheb Ibrahim, waiting for legal procedures to hand it over to the public prosecution and then to the forensic department.\textsuperscript{103}

However, Ghada Shahbandar, board member of the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights, sent a telegram to the public prosecutor (615/670) informing him of the presence of the bullet, and holding the director of the Coptic hospital the responsibility of delaying its submission, after explaining that the hospital director was violent with those who asked him to deliver the bullet to the prosecutor to proceed with the investigations, saying “this is none of your business. What does human rights mean?”\textsuperscript{104}

Days passed and the evidence (the bullet) was not given to the body concerned to continue the investigation. Magdi Ibrahim, director of the Coptic hospital, explained that as soon as the projectile was extracted from Emad's body, it was signed by a medical committee and was sent to the prosecution on the 19\textsuperscript{th} of October. However the prosecution informed the hospital that it was the military judiciary who was the body responsible to receive the evidence. He also said that they had sent the evidence to the military judiciary on the same day and they had confirmed its receipt the following day. They corresponded once again on the 24\textsuperscript{th} of October a request for acceleration of the receipt of the projectile and that until the 30\textsuperscript{th} of October nobody was sent to request the delivery of the projectile kept at the office of the hospital director.\textsuperscript{105}

The other bullet that was retrieved as an evidence was extracted from the jaw of photographer Ali Khaled. It was kept as evidence in the office of the director of Elnozha hospital. However, five years later, in a phone communication with AFTE Ali Khaled said he knows nothing of the fate of that bullet.

"With my own eyes I saw death, by people who describe themselves as protector of the country. I was monitoring the real events from top of the 6\textsuperscript{th} October bridge. I was shot from the roof of Ramsis Hilton because I was a photographer. People carried me and others stole me taking me for dead. The hospital was not equipped at all."\textsuperscript{106}

\textsuperscript{103.} \url{http://bit.ly/2mFLJtj} \hfill \textsuperscript{104.} Footnote 16 \hfill \textsuperscript{105.} \url{http://bit.ly/2njwiKu} \hfill \textsuperscript{106.} \url{http://bit.ly/2mIN5oN}
In his testimony to AFTE Khaled ads that major pressures have been committed against him beginning with the minister of health to others to extract he bullet in the government hospital to which he was taken upon his injury. They wanted to be in charge of the extracted bullet, since it was evidence against the state.

On the 2nd of November a military source who refused to mention his name said on a program on the OnTV satellite channel that the extracted bullet “was not important” because it does not indicate the gun by which it was shot and that only empty shells carry criminal evidence.107

However, in the same program, Dr. Ayman Fouda, consultant in forensic medicine, denied the correctness of this information. He said that through the shape of the entry point of the projectile we can determine the distance, direction and level of shooting and the projectile allows us to identify the used weapon, whether it is civilian or military.108

No cooperation with fact finding committees

Three weeks after the Maspero events, the National Council for Human Rights issued the results of the fact-finding committee formed by the council from among its members, pursuant to a resolution passed at its emergency meeting on October 10. In its report the committee said that it relied on field testimonies, hearings, and reports of human rights organizations about the incident. However, Hafez Abu Saada, head of the Egyptian Organization for human rights, and member of the fact-finding committee, said in a televised interview109 that the evidence available to the Commission is insufficient, stressing that the Ministry of defense did not cooperate, did not provide any evidence to help the Commission in doing its work, resulting in a deficiency in information related to military personnel and their injuries. He also pointed to the lack of access to reports from the department for criminal evidence, or technical reports on the type of ammunition used and their manufacture, and whether it was used by regular troops, especially that testimonies confirmed that troops had shot bullets in front of Maspero.

Hafez points out that the report did not confirm whether or not the army had used bullets, but that he documented testimonies that were live bullets, while others said the used bullets were sound

108. Footnote 21
bullets. He added that unknown individuals dressed in civilian clothes shot at demonstrators in the Shubra tunnel and Maspero and the October bridge; and that the testimony by Dr. Emad Gad, member of the political bureau of the Free Egyptians party, and deputy to the head of Al-Ahram Center for strategic studies certificate, also confirmed the presence of a sniper on the October bridge, as well as testimonies regarding the presence of snipers in the buildings surrounding the Maspero area, and that security forces did not protect demonstrators although the march had a security clearance.

Dr. Mona Zulfikar, head of the fact-finding committee, explains that the Commission was not officially informed of the causes of death of protesters, because the data released by the Ministry of Health gave only the names and whereabouts, as criminal investigations by the prosecution were classified. Zulfiqar said “There was a need for more transparency,” and that the Commission has received 21 death certificates out of 28, and that the Commission got to know this number by chance from hospital files; also that the statement by the Ministry of Health, did not refer to an assessment of the condition of those injured among the military, since the hospital could not access the data.

**Facts from the case files**

**Different paths for the case file**

According to the case files, and although the major part of the Maspero events took part in the surrounding Radio and TV building, yet the incident extended along different paths, regarding location and time; accordingly it was subject to investigation by several bodies depending on geographical jurisdiction between the prosecution of Shubra, Elsahel, Boulsq Abu Elela, Manshiet Nasser, Kasr El Nil and Azbakeya. In addition, the incident also fell within the jurisdiction of state security prosecution as well as the involvement of military prosecution in the investigation since those who carried out the arrests were affiliated with the armed forces. According to the case files the case converged at the end by the magistrate appointed by the appeal prosecution.

In view of that complicated web of jurisdictions among other reasons, the case file we have in our
hands is not the full case file, but only the part we could access, which makes it difficult to draw a timeline for the investigation in the case. Each of the various prosecutions was investigating a different incident depending on the location for example or as a result of specific reports of facts and not the incidents as a whole. However, and based on the available documents the Boulaq prosecution – which is in charge of the location of the Maspéro building, the military east prosecution and state security prosecution in addition to the investigative magistrate were in charge of the bigger section of the investigation. Boulaq Abu El Ela investigated a section concerning the killing incidents, including following the autopsy, releasing burial permits, taking testimonies of families of those killed as well as listening to testimonies by injured civilians, inspection of the location of the incident at Maspéro, investigating incidents of damage of private property and taking testimonies of individuals reporting and victims. The military prosecution investigated the arrested, as well as incident of theft of weapons missing from the armed forces, inspection of damage done to tools and equipment of the armed forces, taking testimonies from reporters or victims attacked by participants in the march. After the withdrawal of military prosecution from the case, it was passed over to state security prosecution concerning civilians. The former was only in charge of investigating defendants from the military. Thus state security prosecution became responsible for investigating the whole case, to be eventually taken to the investigative magistrate.

Fundamental information about the case:

The case was registered under 855/2011 criminal military claimant East Cairo> on the 19th of November 2011 SCAF issued statement no. 82 announcing the referral of the Maspéro events case, under investigation by military prosecution to the relevant public prosecution. On the 23rd of November the military prosecutor’s office in East Cairo sent the whole case file to the state security public attorney to investigate, while keeping the investigations with military personnel to be completed by the military prosecution. On the 11th of December 2011 the case file was sent to the head of the court of appeal and the public prosecutor by the first state security first public attorney.

Also on the 11th of December 2011 the head of the public prosecutor’s technical office sent the case files to the head of the technical office of the Cairo court of appeal to send them to the heads of courts of appeal Tharwat Mohamed Ahmed Hammad and Adel Ibrahem Elsayed Elghaweeet, appointed as investigative magistrates to investigate the Maspéro events according to decree no. 38/2011 issued by the head of the court of appeal on the 10th of December 2011.
## Names of those killed according to forensic reports

### Death as a result of crushing and being run over

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Report no.</th>
<th>Report (External observation and PM)</th>
<th>Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Girgis Rawy Radi</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>Recent vital traumatic injuries as a result of collision with solid and heavy object/s of whatever nature and at a time that coincides with the date of the incident. Death was the result of traumatic injuries causing fractures and lacerations of both lungs, the liver and hemorrhage and irreversible hemorrhagic shock</td>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Michael Mosaad Girgis</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>Recent vital traumatic injuries as a result of collision with solid and heavy object/s of whatever nature and at a time that coincides with the date of the incident. Death was the result of sever squashing traumatic injuries causing lacerations of internal organs, severe hemorrhage and irreversible hemorrhagic shock</td>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Eissa Ibrahim Rizk</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>Death was the result of squashing traumatic injuries causing fractures in the chest and pelvic bones, lacerations of the left lung, accompanied with severe hemorrhage resulting in acute circulatory and respiratory failure.</td>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Case Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Fares Rizk Ayub</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>Recent vital traumatic injuries as a result of collision with solid and heavy object/s of whatever nature and at a time that coincides with the date of the incident. Death was the result of squashing traumatic injuries causing fractures in the ribs, pelvic bones, and bones of the right lower limb as well as lacerations of the right lung, and the urinary bladder accompanied with severe hemorrhage and irreversible hemorrhagic shock.</td>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Shenuda Nosshi Atteya</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>Recent vital traumatic injuries as a result of collision with solid and very heavy object/s of whatever nature involving the head, chest, and right upper limb. Death was the result of squashing traumatic injuries involving the head and chest, including comminuted fractures of all bones of the head and the face resulting in sever laceration in brain tissue, some of each has been lost, as well as comminuted fractures of all ribs, thoracic vertebrae resulting in laceration of the heart and lungs resulting in immediate death.</td>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gamal Fayek Wanis</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>Recent vital traumatic squashing injuries involving the whole of the chest causing fragmented fractures of the left ribs and thoracic vertebrae as a result of collision with solid and very heavy object/s of whatever nature. Death was the result of recent vital squashing traumatic injuries as described on the body associated with comminuted fractures involving all of the left ribs, and thoracic vertebrae resulting in lacerations of the left lung, retroperitoneal hemorrhage resulting in circulatory and respiratory failure.</td>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Case Number</td>
<td>Cause of Death</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Romani Makkary Limbi Girgis</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>Death was the result of recent vital cut traumatic injuries of the head causing fractures of the bones of the skull, lacerations of the brain, brain hemorrhages and arrest of higher brain vital centers resulting in respiratory and circulatory arrest and death.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Megalli Munir Megalli</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>The observed contusions and bruises in the scalp, face, the right side of the chest and limbs. As well as the injuries observed on the face are recent vital injuries of a traumatic collision and squashing nature, as a result of collision with solid, rough object/objects of whatever nature. Death was the result of traumatic squashing injuries as described on the head associated with fractures of the skull and lacerations of brain meninges, compounded by observed fractures of cervical vertebrae and ribs associated with injury to the spinal cord, right lung and traumatic hemorrhage resulting in circulatory and respiratory collapse.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mosaad Mehanni Mosaad Ibrahim</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>Examining and dissecting the body we observed the presence of recent vital squashing injuries involving most ribs on the left and right side and the pelvis as a result of collision with hard heavy object/s of whatever nature. Death is secondary to trauma from the recent vital squashing injury described above and associated with the described fractures of all ribs and the pelvis resulting in severe hemorrhage and acute circulatory and respiratory failure.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Michael Taufik Gindi</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The observed injuries are recent vital squashing traumatic injuries resulting from collision with heavy, solid object/s of whatever nature and at a time that coincides with the date of the incident. Death was the result of the severe squashing traumatic injuries described above resulting in fractures of the bones described above, laceration of main blood vessels in both thighs and internal organs, severe traumatic hemorrhage and irreversible hemorrhagic shock.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Osama Fathi Aziz Hanna Allah** |
| 11 |
| 153 |
| The observed injuries are recent vital squashing traumatic injuries resulting from collision with heavy, solid object/s of whatever nature and at a time that coincides with the date of the incident. Death was the result of the severe squashing traumatic injuries described above resulting in fractures of the bones of the skull, lacerations of the brain, subarachnoid hemorrhage and failure of vital brain centers. |

| **Magdi Abdou Rizk** |
| 12 |
| 153 |
| The observed injuries all over the body are recent vital squashing and collision traumatic injuries resulting from collision with heavy, solid object/s of whatever nature, some of which have a rough surface. Death was the result of the severe squashing traumatic injuries described above resulting in fractures of the ribs and pelvis, lacerations of the liver and right kidney associated with severe traumatic hemorrhage resulting in acute circulatory and respiratory failure. |

No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ayman Saber Beshay</td>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
<td>The observed injuries all over the body are recent vital of a squashing and collision nature from collision with heavy, solid object/s of whatever nature, some of which have a rough surface. Death was the result of the multiple vital recent squashing traumatic injuries resulting in fracture ribs and pelvis and lacerations of the lungs and liver associated with severe hemorrhage and shock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Magdi Fahim Mosaad</td>
<td>No. 855/2011 East Alexandria/Military case</td>
<td>Injuries observed on the right side of the head, face, neck, chest and abdomen as well as the right lower limb - all of which are traumatic lacerations - have been the result of severe traumatic collision with a solid object of a rough surface. The injury may be the result of collision with an armored vehicle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Nasif Ragi Nasif</td>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
<td>Injuries observed and described on the upper part of the thigh and the pelvis are recent, vital, squashing traumatic injuries as a result of collision with heavy solid object/s of whatever nature and at a time coinciding with the date of the events.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Deaths as a result of gun injury

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Report no.</th>
<th>Report (External observation and PM)</th>
<th>Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sameh Girgis</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>The observed injury of the right humerus is a recent vital injury of a gunfire nature resulting from a projectile of the time 7.62/39 mm; point of entry is in the right humerus; projectile stopped below right iliac bone; direction of shooting was from the right to the left in a standing position, taking into consideration the wide scope of movement of the trunk. The projectile was shot from a distance farther than close, which is set at half a meter for long barrel weapons and half that distance for short barrel weapons. Such injury does not cause death. Death in this case was the result of a traumatic cut injury described above in the neck, associated with tear of main blood vessels, esophagus, trachea and section of the spinal cord. Contributing to the death are the collision traumatic injuries observed in the abdomen and the chest associated with laceration of the intestines resulting in severe traumatic hemorrhage and subsequent acute circulatory failure.</td>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Case Number</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mohamed Ali Sheta</td>
<td>No. 855/2011 East Alexandria/Military case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(soldier)</td>
<td></td>
<td>The two injuries observed and described in the face are recent vital injuries consisting of entry and exit points of a projectile shot from a weapon specified for those kinds of projectiles. The direction of shooting was mainly from left to right in the normal upright position considering the scope of body movement and from a distance that was farther than close. It is technically difficult to specify the nature of the projectile causing the injury in view of its lack of stability. The injury happened at a time coinciding with the date of the incident. Death was the result of the above described gunfire injury of the chest resulting in lacerations of the lungs, coronary arteries, and traumatic hemorrhage resulting in irreversible hemorrhagic shock.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ayman Nasif Wahba</td>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
<td>The lacerated contusions observed and described in the face and the upper part of the chest are traumatic recent vital injuries resulting from collision and friction with a solid body of a rough surface of whatever nature. The injury observed and described in the abdomen is a vital gunfire injury resulting from a projectile, shot from the left to the right side in the usual upright position of the body and from a distance farther than close. Death was the result of gunfire injury in the abdomen causing laceration of the spleen, stomach, intestines, mesentery and the right kidney as well as severe internal hemorrhage causing irreversible hemorrhagic shock.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The injury observed in the right thigh is a gunfire injury, vital, recent as a result of single projectile that did not settle in the body and thus was difficult to specify its type or the type of weapon that was used.

The shooting was from the front to the back in the normal upright position of the body and in an almost horizontal level considering the movement and rotation of the body at the time of shooting as well as the way the used weapon was carried. Since the projectile was shot from a distance longer than ¼ to ½ meter there were no signs of the distance it was fired from neither around its entry point nor on the clothes opposite it.

Death was result of injury to the main right femoral artery resulting in hemorrhage and shock.

The injury observed in the chest is a gunfire injury, vital, recent as a result of single projectile that did not settle in the body and thus was difficult to specify its type or the type of weapon that was used.

The direction of shooting was from the front to the back in the normal upright position of the body with a mild tilt to the left in the upper half of the body and to the right in the lower half of the body considering the movement and rotation of the body at the time of shooting as well as the way the used weapon was carried. Since the projectile was shot from a distance longer than ¼ to ½ meter there were no signs of the distance it was fired from neither around its entry point nor on the clothes opposite it.

Death was the result of the above mentioned gunfire injury causing injury to the heart and right lung associated with severe hemorrhage.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 21  | Wael Michael Khalil            | 132  | The injury observed in the neck is a gunfire injury, vital, recent as a result of single projectile that did not settle in the body and thus was difficult to specify its type or the type of weapon that was used.  

The direction of shooting was from the right to the left in the normal upright position of the body in an almost horizontal position of the body considering the movement and rotation of the body at the time of shooting.

Since the projectile was shot from a distance longer than ¼ to ½ meter there were no signs of the distance it was fired from neither around its entry point nor on the clothes opposite it.

Death was the result of a recent vital gunfire injury as described above causing fracture of the lower jaw and injury in the main blood vessels in the neck associated with severe hemorrhage and shock. |
| 22  | Shahat Thabet Hanbali Mo‘awad   | 140  | The two observed and described injuries in the trunk are recent and vital showing two entry and exit points of single bullets shot from a multiple projectile weapon.

The direction of shooting was mainly from left to right and from front to back in the normal upright position of the body taking into consideration the scope of movement of the body. Technically it is difficult to specify the type and caliber of the projectile causing the injury since it did not settle in the body and was shot from a distance that is farther than close.

Death was the result of the above described gunfire injury to the abdomen causing lacerations to internal organs, blood vessels, severe abdominal hemorrhage and irreversible hemorrhagic shock. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Injury Description</th>
<th>Case Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mina Ibrahim Danial</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>Injury associated with loss of tissue with lacerated internally directed margins, of about 1 cm diameter</td>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in front of the right shoulder (entry point of projectile) No indication of distance of shooting.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Injury associated with loss of tissue of an area 1.5 x 1.5 cm below the upper right side of the back, 4 cm above the scapula and 4 cm to the right of the midline (exit point of projectile).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Hady Fuad Atteya</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>We observed a recent vital gunfire injury on the upper left side of the back (bullet), the nature of which cannot be specified since it did not settle in the body. The projectile was shot from a distance farther than close, from the back and right to the front and left in the normal upright position of the body</td>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Ahmed Hassan</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Cut wound in the head</td>
<td>No. 2840/2011 Boulaq Abu El Ela administrative case</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Names of defendants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Girgis Said Elsayed Ayub Tadros</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Amin Munir Ayad Michael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ishaq Ibrahim Rafael Michael</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Hani Helmi Aziz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Essam Rabie Rashed Kahlil Wassef</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Anwar Remon Anwar Iskandar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Andrew Makram Shehata Ghattas</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Michael Fayez Sadek Faragallah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fady Baksh Rafael Michael</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Romani Ezzat Wanis Boktor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hani Kamel Mahmud Salem</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Hani Magdi Anis Boktor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Atef Mohamed Mohamed Kasper</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Milad Nabil Adib Rizqallah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>George Safwat Girgis</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Osama Samir Taufik Asaad Girgis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ibrahim Munir Agban Bebawi</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mina Samir Ayad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Haitham Milad Abdu Mansour</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Abanub Samir Taufik Asaad Girgis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Eid Makram Allah Zakher Hanna</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Mina Talaat Nosshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mamdouh Ayad Noman Ayad</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Abdelrahman Mohamed Mostafa Qutb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Milad Sadek Fahim Abdel Malak</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Alaa Ahmed Seif El Islam Abdelfattah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Mina Danial Gaballah Danial</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Michael Adel Nagib Farag</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The official story on the events

In this part of the report, we take the official version and rely on the investigations by military police, General Intelligence, the Ministry of the Interior, in addition to reviewing the report by the committee on media coverage and investigations thereof, as well as statements by members of military police and central security forces involved in the events, all based on the case documents investigated by appointed investigative judge.

We conclude this part with a review of the summary of the Commission of Inquiry report into the events of Maspero formed by a decree by the Minister of Justice No. 10014 for the year 2011 on October 10, 2011, headed by Judge Amr Marwan Assistant to Minister of Justice.

Story of the military police administration, investigative branch, of the events:

Here we are referring to the investigation report by the military police, to be the primary source for the version of events according to the armed forces, despite the 6 days in issuing the report and the fact that some of the testimonies of officers and recruits were dated earlier. This report is the only official document in the case, dated and referenced and issued by the armed forces. In addition, it enumerates the demonstration incidents in the various locations in addition to the clashes in front of the Maspero building as well as the numbers of the killed and the injured from the armed forces, the police and civilians, and the damage that befell armed forced equipment and the lost weaponry. It also enumerates the numbers of the arrested and the names of the agitators according to the view point of the military police.

In October 15, 2011, the military police investigation branch sent the report concerning the incident and the losses made at the time to the Chairman of the Military Judicial Commission.

It said "in the framework of the implementation by the Military Police Department (Investigation Branch) of the General Command of the Armed Forces instructions and follow-up events in the region since the events of January 25, 2011, which [include] all events (sit-ins - strikes - demonstrations - infiltration - storming - sabotage - obstruction of production ... etc.) and gather of [relevant] information ... related to the threat to facilities and their safety, especially regarding
what may be planned by some lawless elements, to cause intimidation and bullying, or exploit rallies to destabilize internal security and stability - as well as the collection of publications that were distributed, for the purpose of early reporting of any unusual events, and informing top-level authorities all the details of the events to make the right decision.

In the memorandum of military investigations it said that “about 2 pm on the 9th of October 2011, about 250 individuals of Christian religion gathered in front of the bus stop by the roundabout of Shubra Masr, chanting slogans hostile to SCAF, demanding the rebuilding of the above-mentioned church (Marinab church). On our part we lead elements from the department of technical assistance at the military police branch to film in anticipation of any development of the situation and prepare the necessary footage thereof. We noticed the increase in the numbers of individuals, which reached about 3500 subjects. They marched in direction Ramsis street. During the march they were joined by others until the number reached 8000 among them 90 individuals who lead the march wearing white cloaks on which was written “a martyr on call”. Others were carrying firearms (automatic guns, 9 mm pistols, homemade guns) as well as white weapons (pocket knives, knives, various sharp instruments) and wooden sticks.”

Regarding the arrival of the march at 6.20 the memo said “The march coming from Shubra arrived at the area of Maspero march in front of the radio and television building and spread out over a distance of approximately 1.5 kilometers beginning from the beginning of the October bridge in front of Ramsis Hilton and until the beginning of the 15th May bridge. Their numbers at the time reached 10000. After that one of the individuals tore the Koran, some individuals shot bullets and used knives, wooden sticks and stones at members of the military police, which lead the military police to shoot sound bullets to disperse the march since demonstrators set fire in the vehicle “Fahd” and a military Jeep and a bus belonging to the public transport of the armed forces.”

As for the clashes at Maspero, brigadier Mahmud Mohamed Mostafa Shalabi, commander of military police, commissioned with the guarding and protection of Maspero, described the clashes to the military prosecution on the 21st of October 2011 as follows “The beginning of attacks by demonstrators was organized with defined roles. It began with a big group among them heavily throwing stones at elements of the military police. Immediately after another group attacked military police elements using wooden sticks, iron rods, knives, swords and pocket knives. A third group began to set fire to the vehicles and armored cars of the military police, while another formed groups to surround individual members of the military police, and brutally beat him up. There were other demonstrators standing on top of the October bridge throwing stones at military
police personnel who tried to approach to prevent the attack. Demonstrators were pushing ahead trying to reach Maspero while all the while attacking military police with stones. I do not believe that such organization and definition of roles the way I saw was not preplanned. I cannot imagine that this was spontaneous.”

As for the location and armament of security forces, both army and police in the Maspero area, Brigadier Abdelhamid Taufik Sorour, when asked by military prosecution on the 17th of October 2011 about the distribution of military police in the area surrounding Maspero, he said “Central security forces were blocking the direction Boulaq Abu El Ela and military police were surrounding the building and the location of the protest, while some individuals were redirecting traffic and the officers were trying to calm down people”. When asked about the weapons carried by members of the armed forces, he said “Some were carrying shields, sticks and helmets and others were carrying automatic guns loaded with sound bullets.”

As to the answer by Lieutenant Mahmoud Diaa Mohamed Mohamed to the same question by the military prosecution he said “the officers were carrying 9 mm pistols with 7 live bullets” As for the weapons carried by the junior officers and soldiers he answered “as for junior officers they did not carry any weapons, and as for the soldiers, 16 of them carried automatic 36 mm rifles. Regarding ammunition every soldier had a load of sound bullets, 20 antiriot soldiers had shields, sticks and did not carry any weapons. The rest of the soldiers…. Were wearing the usual police uniform, their badge, their beret and were not armed.”

Regarding the armed forces’ control over the situation around 10 p.m. the memo stated “the situation was under control, no person was allowed to break into the radio and television building, and the gathering was dispersed, except for a few groups who committed acts of thuggery on the streets and squares and caused damage to some cars. About 3500 marched towards Ramsis street and fired some bullets in front of the Coptic hospital, set fire to a civilian bus, the fire of which extended to the first floor of a building in front of the national agency for tunnels, next to the hospital, in order to terrorize secure citizens. Also more than 10 cars were set on fire, and the fire was put under control by 49 vehicles of civil defense.”

Notably, according to the memo several weapons and other things were lost, among which the most important were:

- Loss of 4 automatic rifles. The following dawn Col. Ahmed Khairy, investigation inspector of the West brigade in coordination with members of the military police arrested one of the demonstrators with one of those lost rifles in his possession. On the same day residents found
another of those lost rifles with one of the demonstrators who was arrested. The rifle was loaded with sound bullets. Both rifles were taken as evidence and a report was prepared no. 2840/2011 admin. Boulaq Abu El Ela. Presenting the report to the Central Cairo prosecution it decided to send both pieces of evidence no. 126-128/2011 to the forensic department to examine the gun and its suitability for use.

- Also a machine gun belonging to the torched Fahd vehicle no. 145355 was found in addition to 16 chambers of an automatic gun - a box of automatic ammunition (300) 7.62 x 39 mm and (200) 7.62 x 51 mm live bullets; 60 sound bullet 7.62 x 29 mm, 50 7.62 x 51 mm sound bullets in the possession of the first brigade of the military police, 130 normal bullets 7.62 x 54 mm, 70 exposing bullets 7.62 x 51 mm and 50 penetrating torching projectiles 7.62 x 54 mm in possession of the fifth brigade of the military police.

The memo indicates that “by verbal questioning of Brigadier General Mahmud Mohammed Shalabi and Col. Yasser Azmi (military police administration) and Col. Mohamed Ahmed Khalaf (fifth military police brigade commander) they testified that after the arrival of demonstrators in front of the headquarters of the building of the radio and television union they found the demonstrators carrying firearms (automatic guns - 9 mm pistols - a primitive made pistol), white weapons (swords - iron rods - pocket knives - knives - sharp tools) and wooden sticks, and they were firing from different places - as well attacked the military police using white weapons, wooden sticks and throwing stones, leading to the death of one soldier and wounding others.

They added that because of this, the military police sought to defend itself while exerting self control as much as possible, shot sound bullets and managed initially to control of the situation. However, the protesters set fire to some civilian and military vehicles. Senior police and military police officials contacted commanders and elements of central security forces who were on the location asking for their intervention, the most senior of whom is Brigadier of civilian police Medhat Abdel Shafi. There was no response to the request for lack of orders to deal with the situation despite their presence and witnessing the events. At 19.30 they intervened after orders had reached them and by 22.00 the situation was under control and the place was evicted of demonstrators and the injured.”

According to the memorandum Col. Yasser Azmi added “Upon an inspection of the local of the incident we found signs of gunfire at the light columns in front of the Radio and EV building behind the military police indicating that the shooting was in direction of the military police. We also found some Ferion gas tubes underneath vehicle Fahd which resulted in the setting it on
fire and the confiscation of the machine gun fixed on its top in addition to 4 machine guns. Col. Mohamed Ahmed added that he saw some demonstrators immediately upon their arrival at the Maspero area carrying Qurans, tearing them apart and throwing them on the ground.”

**Ministry of Interior general security investigations**

The case files included individual testimonies that were not in line with the overall stories by some members of the army and the police, including different recalls or beginnings of the events. In some testimonies, for example, it was mentioned that the demonstration which led to the clashes was coming from direction Tahrir and not Shubra; or that the march included cars filled with weapons. However, the various investigation bodies did not further investigate those testimonies. The prosecution did not ask witnesses or accurately investigate the plate numbers of cars, except taking one testimony by an officer, which only included those plate numbers.

On the 21st of February, Brigadier Anwar Said, inspector at the general administration for criminal investigation opened an investigation to respond to the requests of the investigative magistrate, which included general security investigations at the ministry of interior regarding the Maspero events, the crimes committed in that regard, who they were committed by and outlining the role of each defendant in that regard.

His report included various details regarding investigations of the event. At first the investigations indicated the cause that lead to the events, “On the 29th of September, some Muslim residents of the Marinab village, Edfu, Aswan, broke into a guesthouse belonging to the church of Orthodox Copts in Aswan, where religious rituals were practiced. They set fire to a storage room in its vicinity, demolished its domes, set fire to some rubber frames in the middle of the road, in protest for the use of the guest house as a church without permission, and imposing a clerical character upon the place.”

Regarding the call and who had made it, the investigations indicated that “a number of priests of the Orthodox church had planned for it in collaboration with some political alliances of liberal and leftist orientation and some Coptic organizations inside and outside the country, of which we identified (6 April movement - coalition of youth for justice and freedom movement - coalition of Maspero youth union - Copts without borders movements - Copts for Egypt movement) who utilized the Marinab village incidents to organize marches and protests to serve their political
interests and orientations at the present time, pressure SCAF to accept their demands regarding
the building of churches and bringing officials to justice for attacks on churches during the
previous period.”

Concerning the beginning of the march investigations say “on the 9th of October 2011 large numbers
of Copts gathered in the area of Shubra roundabout with the participation of a number of priests
in response to call via the internet as well as some Coptic channel, especially the Coptic satellite
channel, which is broadcasting from Giorgio, USA, to mobilize Copts from all governorates to
participate in a march that will head for Maspero. Some of them were wearing t-shirts on which
was written “Martyr on demand” chanting “the day of Coptic anger”. Secret sources indicated that
some of them were carrying fire guns, knives, sticks and Molotov bottles. They distributed some
leaflets protesting the violent dispersion of the last Coptic protest in front of Maspero, demanding
the resignation of the governor of Aswan, and issuing a law that licenses places of worship.

While the march was passing through Elqolalli area, clashes happened between demonstrators
and residents of El Hekr area, close to Elqolalli, during which rocks were thrown as well as empty
bottles. Some participants in the march set fire and caused damage to some cars parked by the
pavements as well as some shops in the area in addition to injuries to a number of citizens.”

When the march reached the area of Maspero, now about 10 thousand protesters, they blocked
the corniche road in both directions, threw stones and Molotov as well as set fire to a number of
army vehicles and some cars that were parked in the area. The armed forces tried to control the
situation using some military maneuvers to disperse the crowds. However, demonstrators set fire
to the armored vehicle Fahd as well as stealing some firearms from its inside. They escalated their
assault on forces and cars in the area resulting in the burning of a bus and a jeep belonging to the
military police driving some members of the armed forces to escape carrying their equipment for
fear of assault, during which they collided with some demonstrators resulting in the death and
running over some of them (military judiciary is investigating events). Upon that some residents
from the area of Boulaq, who have been harmed by the events (street vendors and shop owners)
engaged in clashes with the demonstrators using firearms, Molotov, sticks and stones resulting in
the death of 24 demonstrators, of whom 13 were crushed which 7 were killed by gunfire, and 4 as
a result of beating and stabbing, in addition to the death of a draftee at the armed forces, and the
injury of a number of army officers and soldiers, central security forces, a number of military and
central security vehicles and a number of citizens (both Copts and Muslims)... 29 people were
arrested and held in custody by the armed forces.”
Investigations indicate that on the 9th of October 2011 the Rod Elfarag police stations was informed by citizens Ali Abdelfattah Hassan Abdelfattah and Sherif Mohamed Abdelrehim Ahmed Ibrahim that they had seen a group of Coptic demonstrators, setting fire in a car belonging to the armed forces (armored vehicle), attacking their soldiers with beatings and verbal abuse and one of them took the automatic weapon from one of the soldiers. They were provoked by what they saw, so they followed the protesters until the 6 October bridge and made them believe they were Copts and managed to take the weapon and deliver it at the police station. The weapon turned out to be an automatic gun 7.62x39mm, a Kalashnikov no. 5158395 - 1988, with five projectiles of sound bullets. A report was made of the matter no 61 on the 9th of October 2011 that was sent to Boulaq police station to be adjoined to the original report.”

Investigations also indicate that Col. Ahmed Khairy, investigation inspector of the West police brigade managed to arrest one of the demonstrators carrying an automatic gun 7.62x39mm no. 5158460 with 9 projectiles of the same kind, which proved to be one of the weapons stolen from the armed forces. However, demonstrators managed to help the defendant escape, a matter that was documented in report no. 4-Kasr El Nil on the 10th of October 2011 and sent to Boulaq police station to be adjoined to the original report.”

**National Security Sector intelligence**

Upon the request of the investigative magistrate, major Omar Hammad of the national security sector opened an investigation involving national security intelligence.

Concerning intelligence information the major said “we received information from our secret sources, confirmed by accurate secret intelligence that:

- Another march was called for by some priests including priest Flobatere Gamal Aziz (pastor of the church of the virgin in the Tawabeq area - Faisal - Giza) which was called the March of Anger, called for by the aforementioned priest saying (this will be the new march of the Copts and it will end at Maspero). During the passing of the march through the area of Shubra there were some clashes with residents of the Qolalli area…

- Information and intelligence indicated the participation of a number of Copts and Christian clergy as well as activists and political human rights advocates in the Shubra roundabout march in direction Ramses street, carrying banners and chanting slogans that are abuse of Muslim religion
as well as attack on state officials, attempting to break into the Radio and TV building. However, military forces prevented them from doing this, upon which some of them used force and violence against army forces, causing damage and setting fire to some military vehicles and private cars and shops and public and private property in addition to terrorizing passing by citizens and confiscation of some weapons from army draftees.

Information by sources added that Michael Gerome Iskandar, known as Michael Munir, born on the 23rd of July 1968, Abu Qorqas - Menya, engineer residing in 380 Corniche El Nil - Maadi, and head of the “Hand in Hand Association”, held a meeting on the 6th of October 2011 in the annex to the Ramsis Hilton in the vicinity of the events, with priest Flaubatere Gamil and priest Mathias Nasr with the aim of supporting and mobilization of demonstrators to implement their plans.

Information and intelligence confirmed the involvement of some Christian clergy and political activists in the incitement and participation in the perpetration of those acts, including (12 names are included in the report)

**General Intelligence (Mokhabarat)**

On March 14, 2012 General Intelligence sent a memorandum to the investigating judge upon a correspondence where he demanded the General Intelligence to will send information about the events of Maspero on February 28, 2012:

The memorandum includes the following:

**1- We do not have any information other than the ones we coordinated, which includes the following:**

- a- information regarding some suspects of being involved in the events.

- b- Two CDs with some footage of the Maspero events and the elements which attacked members of the armed forces.

- c- Copy of a letter from the head of security at the TV building concerning events in the Maspero area.
2- Our complete willingness to collaborate with you regarding any information requested from us to reach results of benefit for the investigations.”

The memo by the head of the security sector at the Radio and TV Union to the vice chair of the national security included the following:

“We would like to inform you that on Sunday the 9th of October 2011 at 18.00 hours large numbers of Copts gathered in front of the Maspero building to protest some incidents they have been subjected to (Imbaba events, Sol church) in addition to an earlier forceful dispersion of their sit-in in front of Maspero.

Clashes took place between Coptic demonstrators and members of the military and civilian police resulting in many injuries in addition to cases of death among the protesters and a case of death to a member of the military police.

Details:

A fact finding committee has been formed by the national council for human rights (NCHR) which concluded the following regarding the media:

Accusation of Mr. Ibrahim El Sayyad, head of news sector and Mr. Abdeaziz Elhelw head of the central management for news programs in addition of anchor Rasha Magdi of charges related to the broadcast of media content that involves agitation against organizers and participants of marches and demonstrations on that day and portraying them at starting attacks against police and army forces, as well as vandalism and damage of public and private property, attempt to break into the Radio and TV union building in a manner that resulted in clashes resulting I the killing of a draftee we well as death of a number of civilians and injuring others.

- The public prosecution has questioned the above mentioned individuals, decided to ban them from travel and impose a fine of 10 thousand pounds on Mr. El Sayyad and Ms. Magdi, and of 5000 pounds on Mr. Elhelw.

- We note that no attempt was made to break into the building by protesters and that the losses were limited to the burning of three private cars belonging to employees in the building in view of their being parked outside the building.
Committee for the evaluation of media performance formed by a decree by the minister of mass media

Upon a decision by the minister of mass media, Osama Haikal, on the 10th of October, a committee of media experts was formed to evaluate the media coverage by the news sector and the Nile News channel of the Maspero events which took place on the 9th of October 2011. After receipt of certain footage from the R&TV union representing the coverage by the news sector and the Nile News channel, the committee reached a number of conclusions, including:

1. The coverage (which appeared on Channel One and Nile News Channel) had not being impartial in most cases, and told the story by one side without displaying information regarding the viewpoint of the other side of the event represented by the demonstrators.

2. Presenter Rasha Magdy transgressed her role defined as “a broadcaster of ongoing events, where she must adhere to neutrality and avoid giving opinions and personal impressions,” such as saying, “there are some people who are shooting at the sons of the army,” and “the army, which stood by the revolution.” and “three martyrs and 20 wounded, all from the sons of the army”, and “by whose hands of? By the hands of a class of citizens,” and “any class with legal and legitimate demands.. to build or not to build a building.. does this deserve to burn the entire homeland».

3. Obvious professional weakness in the performance of several presenters, reporters, editors and researchers, especially in the coverage of urgent events and crises.

4. Inability to manage some problems that might arise during live coverage, such as not promptly apologizing by the reporter when one of the injured draftees began swearing at Christian citizens. It took full 35 minutes before the TV apologized for this abuse.

5. The coverage on the whole was not balanced, which was reflected in not mentioning the names of victims of the event from among the demonstrators.
As for the recommendations, they were as follows:

1. Beginning an immediate investigation with persons involved in the coverage to identify responsibility for the mistakes, distortion and confusion that characterized it from all aspects, civilian and those on part of the MOI and undertaking the necessary measures with those proven to have committed them, also to draw lessons for the future.

2. Undertaking urgent practical measures to support the transfer of Egyptian television to the pattern of public service in accordance with political changes following the 25 January revolution.

3. Necessary apology to public opinion regarding the unprofessional media performance, which may reflect negatively on the conclusions by the audience or provoke its sentiments.

On the 20th of January the investigative judge summoned presenter Rasha Magdi who said that after she received the introduction – which she read out – from the editor of chief of the program, Abdelazi Mohamed Elbastawisi Elhelw, who undertakes the reparation and the writing of the introduction as well as clearing it by the head of the news sector, Ibrahim Kamel Ibrahim Elsayyad, she presented it and read it out on the 9th of October 2011 at 8.27 pm. Its content was as follows: What is happening now in front of Maspero? What is happening to the Egyptian people? If any group has legal or legitimate demands, such as building or demolishing a building, does that call for the burning of the nation? This army and what is happening to it now, is who protected the revolution, not shooting one bullet, but is the one that is being shot at now, and by whose hands? Not by the hands of Israelis, but by the hands of a section of the sons of the homeland. Any group who has demands should not act like this. Fear Allah in your homeland! Fear Allah for Egypt! Where are you wise men of the homeland, who are talking day and night where are you now, to sound the voice of reason and stop the spilling of blood?"

During the investigation she added “that she had nothing to do with the urgent news on Egyptian TV regarding the killing and injury of a number of junior officers and soldiers of the armed forces because this type of work is the responsibility of the head of the news sector and that he demanded the reading of the urgent news, which he should present to the minister of mass media before its broadcast”.

On the 1st of February the investigative judge listened to statements by Abdelaziz Elhelw head of
the central management for the news sector. He denied accusations and added “in his capacity as general director of political programs in the news sector he underrates the preparation and writing of the introduction which is read out by the presenter in the program “Etegahat” [Trends]. And that he did actually edit notes saying if there is a group of people who have demands this does not call for all that happened and there are legitimate channels to achieve those demands. Where are the sane in this nation and its wise men who should enforce reason at a time like this” I have actually written this sentence: Fear God for Egypt and the rest was improvisation by the presenter. As for the broadcast of the urgent news, this was the responsibility of the head of news sector.

Questioning Ibrahim el Sayyad head of the news sector at the R&TV union he denied accusations and added that in his capacity as head of the news sector he does not know whether the chief editor of the program had prepared and written the intro to the program presented by Rasha Magdi on the 9th of October 2011 and that it is the editor in chief, who should prepare and write the introduction and sometimes present this introduction to the deputy to the head of the sector, or head of news programs or head of the news sector. He added that the introduction was not presented to him and that he does not know if it had been shown to any other officials. As for the broadcast of urgent news, there were four of them; the first regarding clashes between Copts and the army; the second was an amendment of the first deleting the word “Copts”, the third: sound of gunshots and the last about the number of deaths among the armed forces; and that is the editor in chief who is the one authorized to broadcast the urgent news. On that day from 8 pm until 9 pm no permissions were taken regarding an urgent broadcast.

During a confrontation by the investigative judge between Ibrahim Kamel El Sayad and Abdel Aziz Mohamed El Bastawisi el Helw, the former said that if it was Abdel Aziz El Helw who wrote the introduction written by presenter Rasha Magdi, then it was a major professional error for which he should be held accountable.

The latter said that he had written the intervention made by presenter Rasha Magdi upon instructions from Ibrahim El Sayad and he had received his approval of the text and was requested that presenter Rasha Magdi read out the urgent news that appears on the screen, reporting the death of three soldiers and injury of 30 upon being shot by Coptic demonstrators, and that instructions by the former to him were that in the case of investigating the matter he will hold presenter Rasha Magdi fully responsible and that he will not be anybody’s scapegoat.
Forensic report concerning the weapons used (report no. 129)

According to decisions by the Central Cairo prosecution in case no. 2840/2011 Dr. Hamdi Mostafa Abdelrahman, forensic doctor at the technical office of the head of forensic department examined the evidence no, 127/m to identify the type of weaponry, its caliber and comparing it with the retrieved bullet shells as well as with whatever projectiles to be extracted from the body/ies of the victims, in addition to comparing he empty shells with the fire guns sent for examination to determine whether they are the ones used by those weapons. Also he was to examine the evidences no. 128/1,2 to examine the nature of the fire gun, identify its type, caliber and suitability for use, whether it has been recently used and was the cause of any of the injuries of victims; as well as examine the confiscated projectiles for type, caliber, suitability for use and whether they have been used by the aforementioned gun. He is also to examine evidences no. 126/1,2 to determine whether the latter had any ammunition, whether it included live ammunition and if they could have caused any of the injuries of the victims.

First, as for the 5 bullets, they are copper projectiles, of 7.62 caliber, the shells have not been shot, and all of them are complete and intact, does not include projectiles, its tip is closed upon itself. Four of those have been shot to examine the two weapons and the empty shells put in the holding envelope again.

Second, a piece of evidence consisting of 9 copper projectiles, of 7.62 x 39 caliber, complete and intact, not used, all of which are sound bullets, including no fiery projectiles with intact tip.

Third, a piece of evidence containing empty canister of a metallic cylindrical tear gas projectile, opposed of a metallic body and a base of the same metal, in the middle of which was a capsule ready for shooting, and that the projectile was semi central, written on it was that it was of the C.S. smoke type made in the USA and expires in August 2015. On its base was carved C.T.S.

The evidence also includes two fired copper bullets, of 7.62 x 39 caliber of the sound type which include no gunpowder and its tip is twisted with a small opening indicating it has been fired.

Fourth, a piece of evidence including an automatic gun with a flexible barrel and a wooden brown butt, to which was attached a green belt of cloth holding the bullet safe. The gun was black in color, wrapped in white gauze, and had been confiscated by Col. Ahmed Khairy in case 2840/2011 Boulaq. The gun is of a 7.62 x 39 caliber. The right side of the weapon carries the number 5158460/1988 on the fixed part of the right side of the weapon number 8460 on the rear
of the cover of the weapon attached to a green belt of cloth. The various part of the weapon are intact and complete and is suitable for use. It has the smell of gunpowder at its tip indicating that is has been used but the time of use cannot be accurately defined. Associated with the weapon is an empty safe of bullets with no projectiles. Two sound bullets have been successfully shot by this weapon.

Fifth, a fire gun, 7.62 x 39 caliber, an iron butt. The right side of the weapon carries the number 5158395/1988 on the fixed left part of the gun and number 8395 on the rear of the weapon cover. The various part of the weapon are intact and complete and is suitable for use. Associated with the weapon is an empty safe of bullets with no projectiles. Two sound bullets have been successfully shot by this weapon.

Sixth, a projectile extracted from the right buttock of Beshoy Kamil Sam, metallic, grey, sharp tip, twisted rear part, about 2 cm in length and ¾ cm in diameter similar to developed projectiles of 7.62 x 39 caliber and cannot be used for comparative research in its present condition.

Seventh, a projectile extracted from the body of deceased Sameh Michael, for whom autopsy was done in the Shubra general hospital. The projectile is of 7.62 x 39 caliber, developed in most of its parts, showing four impressions of seemingly right direction, eroded, unclear and cannot be used for microscopic comparison.

The forensic examination made the following conclusions:

1- the two available weapons are both machine guns of 7.62 x 39 caliber, the main parts of which are complete and intact and are suitable for use at the time of examination. From the technical point of view there is nothing to contradict the possibility that death of the deceased could have been the result of a projectiles shot by those two weapons or others like them.

2- the sent intact projectiles are of 7.62 x 39 caliber, complete, intact and have not been shot. They include sound bullets, with a closed tip and no gunpowder. Shooting such bullets does not cause firearm injuries to the body of the person at which they were directed.

3- The empty shells belong to used sound bullets, 7.62 x 39 caliber, and do not cause firearm injuries to the bodies of the persons at which they were directed at the time of shooting. Hence, shooting those bullets could not have causes the death of any of the
victims who have been examined and autopsied after the events.

4- The empty smoke projectiles consist of shells of tear gas projectiles, made in the US and expire in August 2015, twisted and has been used at a previous time that cannot be accurately determined from the technical point of view.

5- The projectile sent by the public prosecution is a remnant of a bullet similar to projectiles of 7.62 x 39 caliber, extremely developed and is not suitable to be subjected to comparative microscopic research.

6- The bullet extracted from the body of deceased Sameh Girgis Michael is developed in most of its parts, has for impressions on it seemingly of right direction, eroded, not clear and not fit to be examined microscopically. We found it to be of a 7.62 x 39 caliber, similar to that of the two sent weapons. It is technically difficult to confirm that the projectile has been shot by any of the two sent weapons in view of the difficulty of microscopic comparative examination.

On the second of November 2011 the weapon and ammunition department at the ministry of defense sent a letter titled “format for status of small weapons” that included information about the weapon as follows:

Legal name of the weapon: Multipurpose automatic with rear plate; Nationality: Belgian; Number of weapon 145355; characteristic left sign: FN

Regarding the technical condition of the weapon the letter said that it was suitable for use and shooting projectiles.

The weapon was delivered to unit K (1) military police by Col. Mohamed Elsayed Ibrahim in accordance to the North Cairo military prosecution.

The person accused of stealing this weapon was Michael Adel Nagib Farag.
Investigations and results reached by the investigative judge

After undertaking the necessary intelligence by the intelligence branch of the military police, the criminal intelligence department, the military intelligence investigative department, military security agency, public security authority, national security authority, national security authority (general intelligence), they reported that after research and investigation they have identified some individuals who caused the incitement and the death and injury of soldiers and demonstrators. 29 individuals were arrested, among them 3 Muslims and the rest Christians.

The investigative judge and false testimonies

By reviewing the memo concerning the closure of the lawsuit (against civilian defendants) the investigative judge addressed several testimonies which proved to be false. Among them are the following:

Testimony by Hanan Khawasek

Questioning Hanan Mohamed Mohamed Khawasek she said she had seen Alaa Ahmed Seif Elislam Abdelfattah while driving her car over the 6 October bridge opposite Ramsis Hilton. He was in the company of a group of individuals who were attacking a driver of a lorry belonging to the armed forces, and stole three long guns that were in the car next to the driver. While he was carrying the weapons he began to sway because of the heaviness of the weapons while walking in direction of the Egyptian museum. That was about 6 pm on the 9th of October 2011. She was unable to see the number plates of the lorry which was immediately in front of her. She added that before the events she received threats by members of 6 April movement on her two mobile phones, which she mentioned in the investigation. Checking her two phone lines and the geographical area on the date of the events, information was received from the two communication companies that the first phone line belonged to the administrative prosecution and the second to the state ministry for environmental affairs, and that the geographical scope of both phones on the 9th of October 2011 between 5 and 7 pm indicated her presence in Madinet Nasr, which means that she was not on the 6 October bridge at 6 pm of the same day, and consequently her testimony was false.
Testimony by Abdelaziz Fahmy

Questioning Abdelaziz Fahmy Elmokkadem he said that while walking in front of the Radio and TV building, at 5.30 pm on the 9th of October 2011 he saw Alaa Ahmed Seif Elislam Abdelfattah together with Bahaa Saber Semeida Ali Elsayed, Wael Abbas and Ahmed Azzam while the first was attacking a member of the armed forces, stealing his weapon, running with it and escaping from the place. Investigating the mobile phone of Abdelaziz Fahmy Abdelaziz Elmokkadem and its geographical location on the date of the events the communication company informed that the location of the phone line belonging to Abdelaziz Fahmy Abdelaziz Elmokkadem on the 9th of October indicates that he had not left Tanta - Gharbeya governorate throughout the day, indicating against that he was not present in front of the Radio and TV building at 5.30 pm of the same day, and hence his testimony is false.

Testimony by Zeinab Elmahdy

Questioning Zinab Elsaghir Elmahdy she said that while she was walking along the Nile corniche in front of the Radio and TV building she saw a group of people attacking a member of the armed forces on top of one of the armored vehicles, and that one of them caught one of the soldiers and threw him to the ground from atop the vehicle, got a pocket knife from under his clothes and assaulted the soldier in his neck and did not leave him until he was soaked in his blood. She added that three defendants have been shown to her in the military prosecution and that she identified them as participants in the march but not among the assailants. When confronted by her statements to the military prosecution that the used tool was an iron bar and not a pocket knife she insisted on her statements and the content of her testimony in front of the investigative magistrate and did not specify a certain person to have committed those acts.

As for the legal adaptation of the case, the events were presented in the case file to involve the following crimes:

Attempt to forcefully occupy a building of a governmental facility (Radio and TV building), using force and violence against those commissioned with a public service (officers and soldiers from the army and the police securing the building) and assaulting them while doing their job; deliberate damage and theft of weapons and equipment belonging to the armed forces; theft of moneys
belonging to others; premeditated murder; beatings resulting in permanent disability; possession and seizure of unlicensed weapons and ammunition, all of which are crimes punishable by articles 78H, 90 bis, 136, 137, 137 bis (a), 230, 231, 235, 240, 241, 242, 316 bis (a) of the penal code and articles 1, 2, 26-3-7 of law 394/1954 amended by item (a) of the second section of schedule no. 3. Since in the matter of charges the investigations had been completed and the conclusion from information by all who had been questioned, whether confirming or negating witnesses or victims - injured - civilian or military was that no specific individual has been identified to have committed these crimes, or was seen committing them or has been reported, a matter which does not include information provided by some witnesses regarding the responsibility of Coptic demonstrators or members of the military police and their leadership for those crimes, since the statements were general without specification or identification a specific person to have committed material acts whether from among the demonstrators or members of the military police commissioned to secure the Radio and TV building. Also, through technical reports concerning assault on a human being it was difficult to identify the type of weapon used and the single projectile which caused the death, since the projectile did not settle in the body of any of the deceased and the empty shells found at the scene of the crime were all of sound bullets which do not cause death, and even do not cause an impact on the body of any of them, a matter which was confirmed by intelligence collected by the military police department, military security, general security, national security and statements by their personnel, all of which did not identify a perpetrator. Accordingly the case files are void of a specific defendant that can be accused of the charges; the perpetrator is unknown and has not been identified by the investigations and hence there is not ground for a criminal lawsuit in view of the lack of identification of the perpetrator.

Some incidents based on the case file

The weapons’ car

There was a mention of a car, or cars, carrying weapons, or microphones, in the testimonies of some soldiers and officers. In some testimonies the arrival of that car signaled the beginning of clashes between demonstrators and troops. In the testimony by Col. Mohamed Ahmed Abdelgelil (from military security) to state security prosecution, he said “it should be noted the presence of a pickup at the lead of the march, which broke through the security cordon and helped the gathering to advance towards the building, which resulted I the retreat of members of the armed forces to the back, which explains the presence of some armed forces vehicles, since those vehicles
were parked next to the cordon.”

This car or those cars were repeatedly mentioned in more than one testimony by soldiers when they were testifying in front of the various investigation bodies. According to draftee Ahmed Soliman Saber (military police training center) to the military prosecution, the pickup was full of automatic weapons and Molotov. When he was asked by the prosecution regarding his testimony concerning the Maspero event he said “I was standing with members of the military police securing the radio and TV building as well as the demonstrators standing in front of the building. Then, we saw pickups full of people with automatic weapons and knives and they began to attack us.”

According to the story by Col. Hossam Nabeeh (Armored Corps) to the investigative judge, the march was coming from Tahrir square led by a car. “I found a huge march of Copts, about 4000 individuals, organized, solid and connected, headed by priest Flaubatere. He was on top of a small pickup, with loudspeakers on the sides, filled in the center with rocks, sticks, broken marble. The march was coming from direction Tahrir.”

Col. Ahmed Abdelgelil, officer at the military security sector, specified the number of cars carrying weapons on that day in his statement to the investigative judge. “There were 11 cars, one of them was a pickup. It unloaded a box with 16 bottles of Molotov that were given to individuals. There was another car carrying knives and its plat number was A N F 214, as well as another car no. W N T 283. The rest were carrying firearms, and I have mentioned their numbers in detail during the investigation as well as the time and location of spotting them”.

**The motorboat**

According to the papers and the testimonies of some witnesses, both soldiers and offices, that there was a motorboat, which was shooting live bullets at the troops of the military police troops.

For example, Col. Mohamed Anwar Abdulghani (C 21 military police) told military prosecution: “A march of demonstrators arrived. Very huge numbers. Over 10000. They carried iron rods, knives, swords, and broken glass. As soon as they arrived they immediately attacked members of the Armed Forces present there, throwing stones at them from all directions. There was shooting of live bullets from the top of the bridge and there was a boat in the water shooting live bullets and dispersing soldiers, causing injuries to several soldiers.”

In the testimony by soldier Ismail Hassan Saleh to the military prosecution he said “what happened
was that I was appointed among the group securing the building of the radio and television; we
found a gathering of Copts in front of the building. Then a car arrived and the Copts gathered
around it and took from it firearms, knives, clubs and Molotov and started attacking us. There was
a motorboat in the Nile that was shooting at us. The shooting was pouring upon us like rain. We
couldn’t do anything. As a result I was injured as well as some of my colleagues.

As for Col. Hossam Nabeeh, he testified about the location of the motorboat and the weapons
present therein. He said “the shooting was continuous from the beginning of the events and until
things calmed down. It decreased and escalated. At the same time there were gunshots shot from
two automatic guns. The source of the latter was a mobile boat in the Nile in front of the radio and
TV building”. He added “as for the shots coming from the march I could not specify the person
shooting them. As regards the shots coming from the boat, I saw two boats, with their lights off,
moving longitudinally and across the Nile in both ways. It was difficult to locate its source since I
was fully concentrating on the protection of the building and the accompanying troops.”

Although the report by military intelligence had specified the number of deaths on the side of
the army as one person only, soldier Mohamed Ali Sheta, statements by some of the officers
mentioned the presence of more deaths from the military. For example Col. Hossam Nabeeh
Ibrahim when asked by the military prosecution on the 10th of October “Did the aforementioned
acts of violence result in any deaths or injuries among the troops?” he replied “yes, three military
police soldiers died and another number was injured and have been transferred to various hospitals
for treatment.”

The crushing incidents

The crushing incidents were not mentioned in most of the testimonies by security forces, whether
from the police or the army. Even when the prosecution asked about the incidents of indicated
that forensic reports concerning the death of some civilian demonstrators as a result of crushing
or collision with a vehicle, most of the answers said they did not see the incident, or it never
happened at all or the witness was not present at the location when it should have happened. After
the report by the military intelligence, no mention was made of the crushing incidents except
in the testimonies of a small number of officers. It was not mentioned by any of the questioned
soldiers, including the soldier whose name was mentioned in the report as the driver of the
armored vehicle Fahd, which crushed the demonstrators.
The report by the military intelligence continues [after examining the footage received by the military investigation department of the military intelligence] regarding an incident of collision with an army vehicle (Walid vehicle) with a bus belonging to the armed forces, as well as two further cars; upon questioning the two drivers of that vehicle - draftee Ahmed Rabie Khalaf - he said that as a result of demonstrators throwing rocks at the vehicle he lost balance and collided with two jeep cars and a transport bus, after which one of the demonstrators climbed atop the vehicles and threw a big stone inside it.

Regarding another vehicle (Fahd) driving at high speed through the demonstrators crushing them as well as its passage beside another torched vehicle, its driver - draftee Mahmoud Sayed Abdelhamid - when questioned, said that he saw one of the vehicles stop and inside it his colleague and that demonstrators were assaulting him, so for fear that the same might happen to him he drove at high speed and collided with the demonstrators.

“In the meantime the armed forces tried to control the situation using some military maneuvers to disperse the demonstrators. However, the demonstrators stood fast and continued to set fire and assault the troops present at the location, which lead the vehicle commanding troops to collide with some demonstrators resulting in numerous injuries and deaths” said Brigadier Anwar Said Ali to the investigative judge. When asked about how the collision happened he said “When the soldiers saw the demonstrators setting fire to a bus belonging to the armed forces and a Jeep also belonging to the armed forces as well as theft of firearms from some draftees and beating them, they escaped in those vehicles before they get torched or the firearms in them stolen or being killed. They escaped driving right and left in an attempt to escape but they collided with some of them resulting in injuries and deaths of some of them.”

As for Col. Ahmed Mohamed Abdelgelil, he described the crushing incident differently. According to his testimony those who collided with the demonstrators were three civilians. He testified in front of the judge that on the same day, three Copts - Peter Hanna Samaan, Joe Girgis Samaan and Argest Eissa Morcos - between 8 and 9 pm were attacking a lorry driver and one of them drove that vehicle forward; in front of him was a Jeep and in front of that was an armored vehicle, which he hit and moved towards the front. Besides and in front of those vehicles was a group of demonstrators who were injured by those three vehicles which did not move more than 5 meters, after which the vehicle was stopped, the drivers left it; they have been followed until identified.”

“Regarding Fahd, the armored vehicle they claim has been crushing people.. this vehicle was only moving among the people and when someone came to be in front of it, it would stop and did not
run over any person and the proof for that is the when the driver was trying to avoid people he drove over the pavement and the vehicle stopped. That was when demonstrators set fire to it and took the weapons inside it including the machine gun that was fixed to its top” said Lt. Mahmud Diaa to the military prosecution.

**Clashes with residents**

The march was dispersed with the help of residents of Boulaq and el Sabteya according to testimonies from the case file as well as the memo ordering the arrest of individuals from the location of the incidents. However the clashes with the residents were not mentioned in the investigation report by the military intelligence.

“After the attack by Christians on members of the armed forces It took the troops accompanying me and went over the 6 October bridge. Demonstrators continued to pursue us, throwing rocks and sounds of gunfire coming from top of the bridge. After about half an hour the residents of Boulaq Abu El Ela came into the lines of central security forces with clubs, sticks and knives and attacked the Christian demonstrators as well as beat them and continued to pursue them even when they were running over the bridge and underneath the bridge. I and my troops tried to prevent the attack on them” quote from testimony by Col. Mohamed Abdelhamid Taufik (Col. Of the military police) to the military prosecution.

“How were those masses dispersed” was a question directed by the military prosecution to Col. Ashraf Mohamed Abdelghani. He replied “with patience and endurance and determination by the soldiers to protect their vehicles and the building which they were securing. We protected them until our strength was completely drained. With the help of God I heard that together with residents from Boulaq and neighboring areas they faced the protesters in side streets resulting in their dispersion until we received support from the administration of the military police.”

“We also saw a group of residents from the area of Boulaq Abu El Ela in direction Maspero. After they gathered they began clashes and attacks on the Coptic demonstrators. Both groups beat each other with sticks, stones; even the cars passing over the 6 October bridge were stopping and their owners stepped out and beat the Copts from the back on top of the bridge. After things calmed down to some extent. The reason why things calmed down was the intervention by civilian residents who came from direction Boulaq and caused disruption in among the organized Copts. After then members of the military police as well as civilian residents arrested about 20
defendants’ quote from testimony by Col. Hossam Nabeeh Ramadan to the investigative judge.

As for the reason why Boulaq residents clashed with the demonstrators, Br. Anwar Saiid said that according to information he received the reason was the damaged that befell them from the events. Most of them were owners of commercial shops nearby or workers at those shops or residents of the area who were concerned about their lives and the lives of their children. When asked whether this participation was the result of a call therefore his answer was in the negative, in contradiction to the testimony by Br. Ahmed Elharani to the investigative judge. According to his story the reason for the participation of the residents of Boulaq was the news spread through the various media channels. In his testimony of the events he describes the intervention by Boulaq residents as follows: “As soon as Boulaq residents heard that members of the military police were under attack and heard the sounds of gunshots which continued since the arrival of the march, also what has been spread through the various media channels that Copts were trying to break into the Radio and TV building, a group of residents from Boulaq and Elsabteya came to the Maspero area and clashed with the demonstrators using sticks and knives.”

Ramsis street and the surroundings of the Coptic hospital

According to the investigation report, after the dispersion of the march and restoring control over Maspero, about 3500 participants in the march gathered in Ramsis street and shot bullets as well as set fire to one of the busses. The fire extended to the nearby building of the national agency for tunnels.
Maspero fact finding committee

On the 10th of October Judge Mohamed Abdelaziz Elgindi, the then minister of justice, issued decree no. 10014/2011 regarding the immediate formation of a fact finding committee for the Maspero events, chaired by Judge Omar Marwan. Upon its formation the committee addressed itself to the Aswan governor and prepared a detailed report regarding the Marinab events. It returned in the early hours of Saturday the 15th of October and continued its mission which it accomplished on the 22nd of October 2011.

According to its report, the committee’s methodology was based on retrieving information directly from its sources and documenting them before their verification. It moved to locations of the events to listen to people concerned, collecting the largest amount of footage, undertake the examination of the locations, and communicating with relevant bodies related to the events. This process enabled the committee to produce a CD with footage of the 9th October events beginning from the Shubra roundabout, through El Qolalli area and finally Maspero, using its own available resources to ensure confidentiality.

The committee reached the following results:

I. Cases of death and injury

1- Demonstrators

   a. 23 persons died in the events. 13 as a result of crushing, 7 cases as a result of gunfire and three cases as a result of beating and stabbing.

   b. The number of injured people was 216, including 6 cases with a gunfire injury and the remainder bruises, lacerations, stabs, fractures and suffocations.

2. The armed forces and the police

   a. At least one death as a result of gunfire (according to statement by military judiciary)

   b. 75 cases of injury (according to statement by military judiciary)
3. Responsibility for the deaths and injuries

a. The armed forces should be questioned regarding three of its members (names were mentioned) who killed 13 demonstrators, crushing them with their vehicles, since there is no evidence of them being armed with live ammunition during the events.

b. Also, the armed forces should be questioned regarding the injuries that befell the demonstrators. The investigation bodies should document the numbers and identities of the defendants.

c. Residents of the area surrounding Maspero should be questioned regarding the death of 7 demonstrators as a result of gunfire in addition to three others who were killed through beating and stabbing as well as the numbers of injured. The investigation bodies should identify the perpetrators of those crimes.

d. Demonstrators should be questioned regarding the death and injury of some soldiers of the armed forces as well as the burning and damage to a number of its vehicles and the investigation bodies should identify the perpetrators of these crimes.

e. The Armed Forces and the demonstrators should be questioned regarding the damage caused to public and private property of a number of citizens and their cars.

4. Some of the residents have attacked the demonstrators with rocks while walking through the Shubra tunnel. Also gunshots were heard, although not causing any injury. Investigative bodies should identify the perpetrators.

II. According to law 25/1966 amended by law 45/2011 the military judiciary is the only body - to the exclusion of others - to investigate the Maspero events.

III. Contributors to the event

- Military judiciary carried out detailed investigations in the Maspero events and ordered the detention of three of its soldiers for crimes of crushing persons to death. It also ordered the detention of 29 defendants of Copts and Muslims and ordered the arrest of others for their involvement in the events.
Military judiciary informed us that the complaint submitted by Father Matias and Raef Anwar against General Ibrahim El Damaty is being investigated and is registered as 544/2011.

IV. The widespread availability of the various types of weapons and ammunition during the recent period, as shown by the events and the large number of confiscated smuggled weapons and ammunition of different calibers, some of which are made in Israel and has been used according to the committee.

V. Delay in implementing the law on all members of society and withholding information from citizens in general and those concerned with the events in particular has led to some losing trust in the effectiveness of state institutions and has driven some to take the law in their hands.

VI. The negative role by some media channels in inciting an emotional state that maximized the extent of the events and increased the gap between sectors of society, as well as lack of accuracy if information and broadcasting them to attract large numbers of viewers, even if at the cost of public interest.

Finally, recommendations:

The committee recommends some mechanisms to avoid danger to the homeland and coming out of the state of chaos.

1. Seriousness in applying the law in its broad sense to all aspects of life, and holding violators accountable to maintain the prestige of the state.

2. Drawing a national project that would involve all Egyptians to attract their affiliation to Egypt to the exclusion of other affiliations and prevent their involvement in sectarian or factional issues.

3. Focusing on behaviors and conducts and promoting respect for the other through the Muslim and Christian religious discourse and taking a firm stance towards those who breach that.

4. Issuing a law for the organization of demonstrations and not their ban.
5. Moving forward in the organization of the building of places of worship.

6. Unifying the licensing body for satellite channels and developing an accurate mechanism for the monitor of their performance.

7. Encouragement of transparency and timely disclosure of results to citizens by all state agencies and institutions.

**Conclusion of the report**

This report does not claim to offers the full truth about the events of Maspero, but it undoubtedly provides facts about the event. This report attempts to gather and revive stories and testimonies five years after the event, as well as document its details from the viewpoint of the victims themselves, to present an alternative narrative to the story the authorities are trying to imprint in the minds of the public regarding that day. We hope that the report would be a draft for a more in-depth research of the events, or to serve - with other documents that can be consulted - to achieve justice and retribution for the victims, especially in light of the public state policy that is always trying to control the narrative of events to its advantage, and to proceed without openness and accountability.

The Maspero events represented a major turning point in the sense of Copts of their citizenship, especially that they took place in an atmosphere of sectarian tensions, to the extent that the state sought the help of official state television to act as a key instigator against Copts in the events, by alienating one party against the other, until it reached the contribution to the killing and dragging of citizens on the basis of their identity. Official television was also the primary tool used by the state to force its narrative of the events upon any alternative one. During those years, the state used the authorities of its various institutions to maintain impunity, and erase what happened under the pretext of advancement.

Over more than five years since the day the massacre, the crime of impunity pursued successive governments starting from SACF leaders, which was running the country at the time and until now.
These governments were a key partner in the spilling of Coptic blood. In addition of state policies and its responsibility in consolidating a sectarian tension that erupts with each new incident, there was also the unfulfilled responsibility to carry out thorough and independent investigations; it has ignored demands of politicians and lawyers to summon armed forces field commanders responsible for giving orders regarding the treatment of demonstrators; nor did it respond to the demands to examine the CD footage of the surveillance cameras at the Radio and Television Union which had recorded the events.¹ There was a deliberate obscuring of evidence, withholding exhibits and manipulation of medical reports issued in favor of the martyrs and the injured; it also refused to cooperate and blocked any attempt at finding the truth or bringing those involved to a fair trial. Referring the case to the military judiciary was also aiming to avoid any possibility for a fair trial, which meant entrusting an implicated authority in the investigation instead of assigning the investigation to an independent and impartial body, which was the primary reason for the withdrawal of the defense of civilian defendants from the case in mid-April 2012.

Also, attempts by families of victims to have fair and serious investigations seeking retribution for their relatives were not met with success and this the litigation continued in military courts for more than one year after the events. The case was concluded with a prison sentence for three draftees according to article 238 of the penal code, two years for the first and second defendant and 3 years for the third defendant for charges of manslaughter. The North Cairo criminal chaired by Judge Salah Rushdie, in February 2013, decided to close investigations with 29 defendants due to insufficient evidence.

The Maspero massacre was a crime by those state bodies. It has no statute of limitation, and there is no way we can move forward or reconcile with what happened without reopening investigations and bringing those responsible for the crime to a fair trial in front of a natural judge, regardless of their position in power.

¹ http://bit.ly/2n5VLq7