

*Full Length Research*

## **Rabba massacre and the military coup of Egypt**

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It was the day Egypt's security forces used automatic weapons, armored personal carriers and military bulldozers to raid and crush a month-long sit-in protest by thousands of supporters of former Egyptian President Mohammed Morsy. According to a yearlong Human Rights Watch investigation released this week, at least 817 people were killed. Six weeks earlier, Morsy had been removed from power in a popular military coup led by his then-defense secretary, Gen. Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. Morsy's supporters immediately took to the streets, protesting the removal of Egypt's first democratically elected president. The heart of the demonstrations was Rabaa Al-Adawiya, a mosque in eastern Cairo where tens of thousands of demonstrators gathered, occupying the building and an adjacent square. For weeks, Egyptian authorities ordered demonstrators to leave, then threatened to raid the massive sit-in that had mushroomed into a small town; it included a makeshift barbershop and a kitchen that prepared thousands of ready-to-eat meals. But Morsy supporters wouldn't budge. Many had brought their families, even their children. This was their Tahrir Square.

**Key words:** History of Muslim Brotherhood movement, Story of the coup, The Egyptian revolution, National council, Human Rights Watch, Sexual infringements

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### **INTRODUCTION TO EGYPTIAN COUP CRISIS**

Rabaa massacre which had been on 14 of Aug. 2013 was Egypt's Tiananmen Square. Tiananmen Square is a large city square in the center of Beijing, China. It witnesses a massive massacre. Outside China, the square is best known in recent memory as the focal point of the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989, a pro-democracy movement which ended on 4 June 1989 with the declaration of martial law in Beijing by the government and the shooting of several hundred, or possibly thousands, of civilians by soldiers.

Rabba is considered the biggest mass killing of civilians in the modern Egypt history. With the dawn of August 14,

2013. Egyptian police broke up the sit-in of the supporters of President Mohamed Morsy who were gathered in Rabaa and Elnahda squares in Cairo after more than 48 days they spent there, which left thousands dead and wounded people.

Egyptian security forces killed at least 817 persons in a few hours in Rabaa Al Adawia square alone and more than 1500 persons if we include the casualties in all provinces of Egypt.

The experts had made a statistical analysis to the victims of the massacre; Most of them are from the supporter and members of the Muslim Brotherhood. Their

leader was Dr. Mohamed Morsy Egypt's first democratically elected president.

### **History of Muslim Brotherhood movement**

Muslim Brotherhood was the most powerful political group and also a political party represented in "Freedom and Justice Party" which won more than 45% of the National Council in the election of 2012. Muslim Brotherhood was founded in 1928 by Mr. Hassan Elbana as an Islamist religious, and social movement. Basically when it was founded, it seek to call people to Islam. It was very far to any political activities and its role was only to spread the call for Islam. The group spreads to other Muslim countries but has its largest, or one of its largest, organizations in Egypt, where for many years it has been the largest, best-organized, and most disciplined political opposition force,

Following the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, it first had great success. It launched a civic political party the Freedom and Justice Party to contest elections, which it described as having "the same mission and goals, but different roles" than the Brotherhood and agreeing to honor all Egypt's international agreements. The party won almost half the seats in the 2011–2012 parliamentary elections.

In a highly religious country, many initially warmed to the brotherhood's apparent piety and the history of social work

### **Story of the coup**

The sit-in began in June 28 such as opposition to Morsy demonstrations in the 30th of the same month that make the army removed the country's first democratically elected president, Mohamed Morsy. Also to disrupt the constitution and stop the elected National Council was followed by Minister of Defense Abdel Fattah al-Sisiremoval decision, and after 11-month announced he becomes President of the Republic.

The military coup in Egypt in July 2013 was predicated on three deceptively simple arguments: Mohamed Morsy's year in office was a disaster; the people demanded his removal; the military would do better. As a former minister in the Morsy government I will not claim that we made no mistakes. We worked hard, and I believe our plans for unshackling Egypt from its autocratic past were sound, but we failed on many fronts.

### **Continuing of Murder**

These are the incidents and victims that happened in less than a year.

On July 8, 2013: Egyptian military forces killed at least 61 protesters in front of the headquarters of the Republican Guard, East of Cairo.

After that , On July 27, 2013: Police forces have killed nearly 82 protesters at least near the memorial east of Cairo, in what is known in the media events of the podium "Elmanasa".

The August 14, 2013: Security forces broke up the sit-in of Morsy supporters in Rabba Adawiya and Elnahda in Cairo which fall more than a thousand dead among the protesters, according to the statement by then-Prime Minister Hazem El-Beblawi, and "This was the worst incident of mass killing is a project in the history of Egypt talk ", while the media in support of Morsy on August 15, 2013 announced that the total deaths in the resolution of a fourth sit alone amounted to 2600 people.

Hence the police continue in its mission, On August 16, 2013: Police killed at least 121 demonstrators during protests in the events of Ramses Square and the al-Fath Mosque (Ramses II events).

In this great event on October 6, 2013 (which is a really important event): Police killed more than 57 demonstrators during marches in favor of the resolution Morsy in various parts of Egypt, had been out on the occasion of the anniversary of the Egyptian army's victory over Israel on October 6, 1973.

A Muslim Brotherhood supporter aims fireworks towards supporters of the Egyptian government during clashes in Cairo on January 25, 2014. On this occasion of the third revolution in January 2011 anniversary of the police killed at least 64 demonstrators during the break up protests in various parts of the country, according to the official version.

### **After the coup and massacre**

Campaign of arrests against opponents since the coup are began after removal of President Mohamed Morsy on July 3, 2013 and committed by the security forces for months, but they have been doubled following the resolution of a Rabaa and Elnahda in the August 14, 2013.

According to the initiative "wiki revolution" launched by the Egyptian Center for Economic and Social Rights, the security forces arrested more than 41 thousand people since the removal of the President Morsy, said the organization "Human Rights Watch". The arrest was because of political and human rights activity, adding that "suppression of freedoms and human rights violations has become a pattern of continued Egyptian government."

Activists share on the social network sites documents of list of names and photographs of 57 girls and women in prisons and police stations in Egypt who have not been released until early August 2014.

Amnesty International said that "the arrests and detentions, which began July 3, 2013, are increased.

Also most of the detainees had spent months in detention without being charged or brought to trial, others of them and subjected to a range of ready-made and similar charges, and have been deprived of their right to taking into account the due process of law. "

Muslim Brotherhood won the main opposition group in Egypt, which belongs to the removal President Mohammad Morsy largest share of arrests and accusations, as well as other supporters of Morsy.

Also the crackdown affects some of the secular activists, journalists and other opponents, who are detained facing charges, include protest without prior authorization (permission) and incitement to violence or participating in it, and bullying, vandalism and obstruction of traffic and belonging to an outlawed group or terrorist.

### Inside the prisons

As a result of torture or deprivation of medication, eighty of detainees were killed in police stations and prisons since the military coup in Egypt, until June 2014, according to Amnesty International.

One of the highlights of massacres that occurred in the Egyptian prisons what happened in the deportations vehicle was on its way to Abu Zaabal prison on August 18 2013, and includes a large number of supporters of Morsy, and resulted in the deaths of 37 people suffocated after being bombs inside them.

And it became "something routine torture in police stations and places of detention in Egypt, especially with members of the Muslim Brotherhood, in order to extract confessions from them, or to force them to confess to crimes they did not commit," according to the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights.

As a result of torture campaigns and humiliation of detainees hunger strike large numbers of detainees within what was known as the "uprising prisons," the first and second, which organized in the period between May and July, and attended by approximately 23 thousand political prisoners in more than a hundred prison and place detention in various parts of Egypt, to protest against the torture and ill-treatment.

He said the detainees' families that their children are subjected to "torture concerts", and severe beatings, electric shocks, and flood the cells with water, and stripped of their clothes.

Amnesty International revealed in a May 26 / May 2014 that there are hundreds of Egyptian detainees in "Military Aezzole" in Ismailia prison were subjected to physical torture inside the cells or while being transported to the investigations.

### Rabaa's dispersal events

The military's behavior at Rabaa seemingly poses a sharp contrast with its allegedly more peaceful behavior in response to mass protests in January 2011. Rabaa and Tahrir square each, in their own way, challenge prevailing theories of military behavior during periods of mass defiance.

The killing, shooting and firing were done by the Egyptian's Central Security Forces and The Special Forces. But it was also in coordination with the Egyptian Armed Forces.

The dispersal started around 6.30 a.m. and along 12 hours they continued the emptying of rounds of line ammunition into men, women and children who they had entrapped.

In the meantime, the country has not been able to agree on a final or a specific death toll.

### The Egyptian revolution

When applied to the so-called Arab Spring, scholars have argued that in Egypt and Tunisia, the army "defected" from the regime, forcing Hosni Mubarak and Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali to step down. Some scholars argue that Egypt's generals opted to "back the uprising," or interpret the soldiers' behavior as the outcome of a decision "to side with the nonviolent movement." Other scholars at least partially attribute the successful ousting of Mubarak to the military's decision "not to shoot" at protesters, or the coercive apparatus' "failure to repress." In Syria and Bahrain, in contrast, the armed forces for the most part "defended" the regime, allowing Bashar al-Assad and King Hamad to remain in power. In Libya and Yemen, a fracturing of the armed forces took place, with some officers defending and others defecting.

### Reactions of Egyptians

There were many in Egypt who felt the massacre was justified. The campers themselves believed they were campaigning to uphold democracy and the rule of law. Outsiders saw them as extremists who posed a threat to Egypt's national security. "They are a group of terrorists and fascists," Egypt's best-known living novelist, Alaa al-Aswany, told the Guardian a few weeks later.

In fact, the vast majority of pro-Muslim Brotherhood protesters were unarmed, but there was a small group with guns who killed eight policemen while defending the camp that day. More damning were the dozens of retaliatory attacks on churches and police stations that alleged Brotherhood supporters carried out across the country as news of Rabaa began to trickle through to the provinces.

Then there were the sectarian slogans – which many felt incited the subsequent church attacks and aggressive speeches by former militants such as Assem Abdel Maged delivered from a stage erected outside the mosque.

### **National council and Human Rights Watch**

Really it was unprofessional Report .After more than six months Rabaa and Elnahda massacres, specifically on March 5 2014, Committee fact-finding which selected by, "The National Council for Human Rights" in Egypt issued a report about the sit-in events.

The most important thing in the report was that "the forces that carried out a dispersal of the square were the forces of the police only. Also, there are some practices and infringements like: crimes in contravention of domestic and international law such as torture, extrajudicial killings and the arrest of some citizens, detention and incitement violence and hatred and the exploitation of children and bear arms, forcing the silver. "

The report said that "the police force committed to international standards in the process of settling and used force to the extent necessary and it has the state of necessity in the use of firearms and maintained a qualitative proportionality between the weapons used, but they had committed some procedural errors unjustified, and that the militants inside the protest were moving and firing from the center of the protesters, in what could be described as the protestors using them as human shields. "

"The Arab Organization for Human Rights" has issued a special report to respond to the fact-finding committee's report, said that "the report of the Committee is not related to the professionalism and objectivity, came contrary to reality for the truth and expressing the interest of the current authorities, removing the police serious crime, making the blame on the victims, contrary to the most basic international for collecting and classifying typical fact-finding rules and rules of procedure for fact-finding bodies of the United Nations issued in 1970 standards. "

Arab Organization said "presumably must be on the committee that is working on a fact-finding about the different facts that are neutrality and integrity in accordance with international standards, and not to have a political side.. It is well known for the members of the fact-finding committee of the National Council for Human Rights that they are all recruited by the current authorities, and that they are supporters of the military coup winning on 03.07.2013, which challenges the impartiality and makes their work, lacks objectivity and impartiality required for such a mission. "

It also stated that "the Commission relied on the investigation of the Ministry of the Interior is fully and

echoed by the security services in the official statements of charges is fixed physical evidence or a court order, and considered it for granted information without investigation or to prove," adding "it also denied the involvement of armed forces in the process of settling did not to fully address mentioned in any way, although it is known to all and observed beyond a reasonable doubt and even, according to official statements of the involvement of the army in the process of settling mainly."

Arab human rights organization called on the Secretary-General of the United Nations set up a commission to investigate the full facts powers to detect crimes committed following the Third of July 2013, and bring those responsible to justice.

As for the Human rights watch , 195-page Human Rights Watch report that concluded the Rabaa massacre was a premeditated assault equal to, or worse, than China's Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989. "This wasn't a case of security forces pinpointing particular armed elements within the demonstration, and having collateral damage as a result," says Omar Shakir, the HRW lawyer and researcher who wrote most of the report. "This was a plan that envisioned opening fire on crowds – tens of thousands of largely peaceful protesters – for hours on end without safe exit."

Shakir's report concludes that Rabaa was likely a crime against humanity, planned at the highest level of Egyptian government. "A crime against humanity," says Shakir, is "a systematic, widespread attack on a civilian population as part of government policy. This is exactly what we saw in Rabaa square."

But justice is not likely soon. HRW's global director, Ken Roth, and regional chief, Sarah Leah Whitson, were deported from Egypt a day before they were due to announce their findings. The government and Egypt's pliant media have denounced HRW in the days since.

"The legacy of the Rabaa massacre continues to cast a dark shadow over Egypt," Roth later said. "Egypt will not move forward until it comes to terms with this bloody stain on its history."

### **Activists and Bloggers**

A court in Egypt has sentenced prominent liberal activist Ahmed Douma to life in prison along with 229 other defendants. Douma played a key role in the 2011 uprising against former President Hosni Mubarak. The activist was convicted of rioting, inciting violence and attacking security forces. He was also fined \$2.2m (£1.4) for setting fire to a science academy housing rare manuscripts.

Douma reacted to his sentence with an ironic round of applause, the BBC's Orla Guerin reports. In response the judge said: "Are you in Tahrir Square? Don't talk too much or I'll give you three more years." A life sentence in

Egypt is 25 years.

Along with fellow activists Ahmed Maher and Mohamed Adel, Douma is already serving a three-year prison sentence for staging protests without a permit, a violation of Egypt's stringent new public order law.

In January 2015 an Egyptian court overturned the convictions for embezzlement of former President Hosni Mubarak and his two sons and ordered a retrial.

It was the last remaining case keeping Mr. Mubarak behind bars. The 86-year-old has been in detention since April 2011.

A Cairo appeals court upheld a three-year jail term for activists Ahmed Douma, Ahmed Maher, and Mohamed Adel on charges of breaking the Protest Law and assaulting police officers at the Abdeen Courthouse, in downtown Cairo.

The defence's plea nearly five hours before the court gave its final decision, according to member of the defence team Tarek El-Awady, who was tweeting live from court.

The defendants were sentenced in December 2013 to three years in prison and a fine of 50,000 EGP on charges of violating the Protest Law, attempting to break into the court, assaulting police personnel and engaging in violent activities.

Last June, the Hisham Mubarak Law Center (HMLC) published a report analysing why the condemning court verdict was flawed. The report stated that some policemen's testimonies did not match the accusations, were sometimes contradicting, vague and inaccurate, in addition to eyewitnesses not recognizing the defendants in several instances.

### **Sexual infringements**

Human rights activists and a number of revealed ex-prisoners in the prisons of Egypt that a number of girls from the detention of the military coup of mass rape and sexual harassment by officers and policemen.

He spoke "anti-coup alliance" for Egypt, 45 girls were raped in prison, except for the physical and psychological torture and confinement in very bad conditions.

The Alliance said that one of the raped inside the prison became pregnant as a result of that, some of them have been subjected to abortion, while the health status of some of them was not allowed to do so, who are now the seventh or eighth month.

It also provides "Global Alliance for Egyptians abroad" on August 2 2014 of this memorandum to the High Commissioner for Human Rights of the United Nations in Geneva to demand an investigation into the risks to Egyptian women after the dismissal of President Mohamed Morsy.

The note contained documentation of a number of international and local human rights centers for cases of

rape and harassment against "political prisoners" in Egypt.

Rape cases on the detention are not limited to girls, but also the male detainees, the British newspaper "The Guardian" documented the occurrence of "atrocities" in the Egyptian prisons against those who refuse military coup, whatever their views, stressing the increasing incidence of rape of detainees by police officers.

"Guardian" spoke in a report which issued on April 14 2014- rape as a weapon of Egyptian police in the face of protesters, documented and published a report names about it.

It said that "a young male from political opponents that they had been raped within the two to the police, thus reason to believe that these incidents indicate a broader strategy with the continuing brutal repression of dissidents."

The newspaper quoted Muhammad Lutfi -Who one of the founders of the Egyptian Human Rights Commission (an independent group) - confirmed that many of the detainees are increasingly complaining of sexual abuse or their harassment within the prisons, saying that it looks like a "new tactical process followed by the security forces to humiliate detainees and make them feel succumbing to the police."

### **Egypt nowadays conditions**

Energy is one area where the Sisi regime should have done well, given massive support from some Gulf countries. Yet, queues for diesel have been growing as the country grapples with a deficit in energy resources estimated at 30% of the country's energy needs. Once an exporter of gas, Egypt is now seeking to import gas from Israel.

Many foreign companies have left the country since the coup. Inflation and unemployment rates are at the highest for decades. Tourism levels have dropped precipitously. The budget deficit is expected to reach 15% of GDP. In a blatant attempt to curry favor with Mubarak-era oligarchs, the government signed into law an "investment edict" that precludes any oversight over privatization of public assets or transactions between the government and investors. The fire sale of the country's assets has been protected by law.

Life support comes from the regional autocratic dictatorships in Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Both were frightened that a successful democratic Egypt with democratic Islamist parties would inspire demands among their own peoples. They are using every dirty trick to support the counter revolution. The latest decree by the Saudi regime labelling the Muslim Brotherhood a banned terrorist organisation stems from their frustration with the military's failure to halt the rise of revolutionary forces. The same decree is full of unprecedented

draconian measures to criminalise and punish any sort of dissent within Saudi Arabia – a clear sign of weakness and fear that the

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