

EGYPT

2013 - 2018

UNDER SISI



ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG

EGYPT

2013 - 2018

UNDER SISI



Egyptian army and police are **killing** daily

2.2 citizens

63 PRISONS¹

total

17

built since 2013



PRISONERS²

106,000

prisoners

60,000

political prisoners



LGBTQ³

232

Arrests



From September 2013 to March 2017

CIVILIANS IN MILITARY COURTS⁴



at least

7513

From 2014 to 2017

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT⁵

Used as a tool of torture, some prisoners have been in solitary confinement

4

for more than

years



ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCES⁶

1290

Since the 2013 coup till August 2017



DEATH SENTENCES⁷

a total of

2658

From 2014 to 2017: **2332**
From 1 January to 1 August 2018: **326**



DEATHS IN CUSTODY⁸

461

persons

From June 2014 to June 2018



KILLINGS/ ASSASSINATIONS⁹ BY ARMY/ POLICE

From June 2014 to June 2018

3270

total persons were killed



TRAVEL BANS¹⁰

At least

500

activists and dissidents
From 2014 to 2018



INTERNET CENSORSHIP¹¹

at least

500

news outlets, human rights organisations and political groups websites blocked between May 2017 and September 2018

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS¹²

#161

Egypt's rank in the 2018 World Press Freedom Index out of **180** countries.



¹ The Arabic Network for Human Rights Information (ANHRI): <https://anhri.net/>

² Report by the ANHRI, "There is Room for Everyone... Egypt's Prisons Before & After January 25 Revolution": <https://anhri.net/there-is-room-for-everyone-egypts-prisons-before-after-the-25-of-january-revolution/?lang=en>

³ Report by the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR), "The Trap: Punishing Sexual Difference in Egypt": <https://eipr.org/en/publications/trap-punishing-sexual-difference-egypt>

⁴ The ANHRI: <https://anhri.net/>

⁵ Amnesty International, "Crushing Humanity: The Abuse of Solitary Confinement in Egypt's Prisons" <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde12/8257/2018/en/>

⁶ Report by Stop Enforced Disappearance Campaign <http://stopendis.org/?p=5976>

⁷ Stats compiled by EIPR, published monthly on: <https://twitter.com/EIPR/>

⁸ Stats compiled by the Nadeem Center for the Rehabilitation of Victims of Violence: <https://elnadeem.org/>

⁹ Stats compiled by the Nadeem Center for the Rehabilitation of Victims of Violence: <https://elnadeem.org/>

¹⁰ The ANHRI: <https://anhri.net/>

¹¹ Report by the Association of Freedom of Thought and Expression, "New laws. The thick stick of the state to control the Internet" https://afteeegypt.org/digital_freedoms-2/2018/09/04/15717-afteeegypt.html?lang=en

¹² Reporters Without Borders <https://rsf.org/en/egypt>

INTRODUCTION

Currently, the Egyptian army and police are killing at least two citizens per day. This information is laid out in our new data sheet detailing the massive human rights violations committed by the Egyptian government. Since the military coup in July 2013 the human rights situation in Egypt has constantly deteriorated.

The German and other European governments have neglected to use the means at their disposal to pressure the Egyptian government to respect human rights. Instead, the Egyptian government is still seen as a strategic partner to fight "the war on terror" and to secure the borders against migrants wanting to flee to Europe. Germany's and Europe's cooperation with the Egyptian government has become even closer, in particular in the fields of security¹ and migration control² despite of the government's grim human rights record of the recent years.

On the 14 August 2013, Egyptian security forces under then-General Abdel Fattah el Sisi raided two camps of peaceful protesters in Cairo, killing at least 817 people. Human Rights Watch described the massacre as one of the largest killings of demonstrators in a single day in recent history. A month following the "Rabaa Massacre"³, on 23 September 2013, the army announced it "will rid Egypt of terrorism within days, maximum within a week."⁴ However, it soon became clear that Sisi's "war on terror" was essentially a war on dissent, modelled along the "dirty war" strategy⁵ that promotes an extreme form of domestic militarized policing aiming at population control and protecting the interests of ruling elites, using the alleged insurgent threat as an excuse.

Daily raids were conducted during which the police and army targeted Muslim Brotherhood leaders, mid-level and base cadres, before expanding the crackdown into a full onslaught on dissent of all political shades, even including politicians and activists who initially endorsed the coup, secular leftists, liberals, members of the LGBTQ community,⁶ writers, artists.⁷

University campuses – long considered a no go zone for security forces under the reign of presidents Sadat and Mubarak⁸ – were raided by the Interior Ministry's Central Security Forces and Special Forces deploying live ammunition.⁹ Students were shot and killed in broad daylight.¹⁰ The army's elite paratroopers were brought, on several occasions to crush peaceful protests by female students.¹¹

¹ Naceur, Sofian Philipp: An "accessory to repression"? Police training and equipment aid by the EU in North Africa and the Sahel, https://www.rosalux.de/fileadmin/rls_uploads/pdfs/Online-Publikation/03-18_Online-Publ_accessory_to_repression.pdf

² Roll, Stephan: Egypt: Migration Policy and Power Consolidation, in: Anne Koch, Annette Weber, Isabelle Werenfels (eds.) Profiteers of Migration? Authoritarian States in Africa and European Migration Management, Contributions to Research Papers 2018/RP 04, July 2018, 74 Pages, S. 56-65. https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/research_papers/2018RP04_koh_et_al.pdf

³ Photo-documentation of the massacre and the aftermath: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/mosaaberising/sets/72157635071774090>

⁴ The army's statements are included in a front-page report by the state-owned Al-Ahram newspaper: <http://www.ahram.org.eg/NewsQ/233302.aspx>

⁵ Jon Lee Anderson, "Egypt's Dirty War?", The New Yorker <https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/egypts-dirty-war>

⁶ The Jacobin: Egypt's Rainbow Raids <https://jacobinmag.com/2017/10/sisi-homophobia-lgbtq-arrests-repression/>

⁷ HRW: Egypt: Campaign to Crush Artistic Freedom <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/08/16/egypt-campaign-crush-artistic-freedom>

⁸ Reuters report: Egypt targets universities as last haven for political expression <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-egypt-universities-crackdown/egyptQtargets-universities-as-last-haven-for-political-expression-idUKKBNOIJORT20141030>

⁹ Video recorded on Cairo University campus: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m3i18fEclhM>

¹⁰ Mada Masr Report: 1,181 students detained, 21 killed, 65 referred to military trials in 3 years: AFTE <https://www.madammasr.com/en/2017/03/22/news/u/1181-students-detained-21-killed-65-referred-to-military-trials-in-3-years-afte/>

¹¹ Video taken outside Al-Azhar University in Cairo: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K47NaGGTdVg>

Factory organizers are the targets of crackdowns,¹ and strike leaders are sometimes referred to military tribunals.² Independent trade unions, which mushroomed after the 2011 revolution, were stifled.³

In Sinai, following decades of marginalization and discrimination against the Bedouins who are treated as second class citizens, a low intensity insurgency had already been in place since 2004. The army relied on strategy and tactics borrowed heavily from the "dirty wars": massive counter-terror was unleashed, while collective punishment measures were imposed on the towns and cities of Northern Sinai. The city of Rafah was demolished;⁴ its population forcefully relocated.⁵ The army used cluster bombs⁶ and executed suspects extrajudicially. Videos and photos were leaked exposing the army's executions of innocent civilians, after which guns would be placed beside the corpses and photographed to allege that the executed men were insurgents.⁷ The provincial capital, Arish, has been placed under siege, and food supplies have dropped sharply.⁸ The army's brutal tactics create fertile ground for terror recruitment and radicalization.

Civilians continue to face military tribunals and exceptional courts.⁹ Forced disappearances of dissidents and suspects remain common.

The government created new bodies and enacted new laws¹⁰ to tighten its grip on local media and internet users.¹¹ The Egyptian press syndicate was raided by the police, probably for the first time in its history, to arrest journalists who sought refuge inside its building.¹² Scores of journalists remain in prison. Foreign reporters are under constant pressure to abide by the government's line and views.¹³

The repression, together with failing social and economic policies¹⁴ which have seen an aggressive mixture of neo-liberalism and militarization,¹⁵ and the continuous squandering of resources on white elephant projects,¹⁶ make Egypt a fertile ground for what the regime pretends to fight: radicalism and migration.

¹² Egyptian independent union leaders arrested in dawn raids <https://egyptsolidarityinitiative.org/2017/09/25/dawn-raids-arrest-union-leaders/>

¹³ Carnegie Endowment report: The Expanding Jurisdiction of Egypt's Military Courts <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/64840>

¹⁴ HRW: Egypt: Unshackle Workers' Right to Organize <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/04/30/egypt-unshackle-workers-right-organize>

¹⁵ HRW: "Look for Another Homeland" <https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/09/22/look-another-homeland/forced-evictions-egypts-rafah>

¹⁶ HRW: Egypt: Army Intensifies Sinai Home Demolitions <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/05/22/egypt-army-intensifies-sinai-home-demolitions>

¹⁷ Amnesty International: Egypt: Use of banned cluster bombs in North Sinai confirmed by Amnesty International <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/03/egypt-use-of-banned-cluster-bombs-in-north-sinai-confirmed-by-amnesty-international/>

¹⁸ HRW: Egypt: Videos Show Army Executions in Sinai <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/04/21/egypt-videos-show-army-executions-sinai>

¹⁹ HRW: Egypt: Looming Humanitarian Crisis in Sinai <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/04/23/egypt-looming-humanitarian-crisis-sinai>

²⁰ HRW: Egypt: 7,400 Civilians Tried In Military Courts <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/04/13/egypt-7400-civilians-tried-military-courts>

²¹ Egypt passes law making anyone with more than 5,000 followers subject to prosecution for posting fake news' <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/egypt-social-media-fake-news-blog-website-journalist-a8453151.html>

²² Amnesty International: Egypt: Proposed laws an assault on online freedoms <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/07/egypt-proposed-laws-an-assault-on-online-freedoms/>

²³ Egypt arrests journalists in raid on press syndicate <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/egypt-arrests-journalists-press-syndicate-160502053033022.html>

²⁴ Times reporter Bel Trew expelled as Egypt tightens media grip <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/times-reporter-bel-trew-expelled-as-egypt-tightens-media-grip-rcvfhd38k>

²⁵ Zeinab Abul-Magd, "Egypt's Coming Revolt of the Poor," Foreign Policy <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/03/31/egypts-coming-revolt-of-the-poor/>

²⁶ Transparency International report: The Officers' Republic http://ti-defence.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/The_Officers_Republic_TIDS_March18.pdf

²⁷ TRT report: Can Sisi turn around Egypt's economy with mega projects? <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/can-sisi-turn-around-egypt-s-economy-with-mega-projects--18718>
Frederick Deknatel, "White Elephants" <https://www.thenation.com/article/white-elephants/>

FOR FURTHER READING

Sofian Naceur

Egypt's new cybercrime law. What Sisi sees (7/2018)

<http://en.qantara.de/content/egypt%E2%80%99s-new-cybercrime-law-what-sisi-sees>

Scirocco

A Case Against Deportations

Animation film about deportations (7/2018)

<https://www.rosalux.de/mediathek/media/element/976/>

Sofian Naceur

An "accessory to repression"?

Police training and equipment aid by the EU in North Africa and the Sahel (2/2018)

<https://www.rosalux.de/en/publication/id/38624/an-accessory-to-repression/>

Hossam El-Hamalawy

Revolution and counter-revolution in Egypt (1/2018)

<https://www.rosalux.de/en/publications/mediathek/detailseite-en/media/element/968/>

Sofian Naceur

Q&A with German MP Stefan Liebich: Revealing German arms exports to Egypt (11/2017)

<https://madamasr.com/en/2017/11/16/feature/politics/qa-with-german-mp-stefan-liebich-revealing-german-arms-exports-to-egypt/>

David Suber

Failing Readmission: If sending migrants back won't work.

A case study of Italy and Tunisia. (June 2017)

<http://www.rosaluxna.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/David-L.-Suber-failing-readmission16-08.pdf>