

Dear all,

I send you below an article by Egyptian conscientious objector Maikel Nabil on the situation in Egypt. ...It is taken from <http://www.maikelnabil.com/2011/03/army-and-people-wasnt-ever-one-hand.html>

Best  
Andreas,

wishes,  
WRI

Activists tortured and Killed by the Army, Even after Mubarak's resigning (A study supported with documents)

**The army and the people wasn't ever one hand**

**Is The Egyptian Army Standing Beside the Revolution?**



On the 11th of February 2011, after the President's stepping down speech that was delivered by Omar Suliman (Vice-President of the Republic, and the former head of the Egyptian intelligence), many Egyptian powers rushed into declaring the victory and the end of the revolution.... I regret having to say the following, mostly because that many of them are my friends, but the people have the

right to know the truth... Some of them wanted to take advantage of the presence of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces to get some political positions by making deals with the Supreme council. They knew that they cannot achieve such positions through regular democratic process.... And some of them had connections with the secret service before the revolution was declared and supported the secret service institution per default (I don't want to describe them as Secret Service's agents) and some others thought that the army was not a part of the July Military Regime!!! And therefore was misled by the Army declarations (Press Releases) and have accepted the Army's role in the transitional Phase.

In fact the revolution has so far managed to get rid of the dictator but not of the dictatorship. A broad sector of Egyptian political Elite and rebels share this same vision with me. One of them is Dr. ElBaradei who mentioned in [his article concerning the current situation in Egypt](#): "The army is leading the transitional phase in a mysterious and monopolizing way". Many rebels continued to protest against the armed forces' will calling for a civilian council instead of Supreme Council of the Armed forces.

As I participated in the revolution since day one, I've witnessed the majority of the events. In the following study I will present all the evidences and documents which prove that the army did not stand by the people's side, not even once during this revolution and that the army's conduct was deceptive all the time and that it was protecting its own interests. In order to simplify this study, I've divided the Egyptian revolution into three stages that describe the army's position:

The first stage: Before Saturday, January 29, 2011 (i.e. before the army taking over the street)

The second stage: From January 29 until the stepping down speech in February 11, 2011 (14 days)

The third stage: After the stepping down speech (Since February 12 until now)



**The first stage: Before Saturday, January 29, 2011 (i.e. before the army taking over the street)**

The Egyptian revolution started in 25 January, 2011 and hundreds of thousands of Egyptians took the streets during the first four days of the revolution, the police forces faced them with brutality and killed more than 500 protestors and injured more than 6000 in addition to 1000 missing (turned out later that they are behind bars in the ministry of interior), so what was the reaction of the army?

- 1- Sami Annan, the Chief of Staff of the Egyptian army assured the United States of America that the Egyptian army is loyal to Mubarak and that it would**

not abandon Mubarak in contrary to what the Tunisian Army did.

In [its report about the Egyptian revolution](#), on January 25, 2011, the American news website “Startfor” (that is specialized in Intelligence reports) said: “it’s very little coincidence that the Egyptian army chief of staff is in Washington right now, with the U.S. getting assurances from the Egyptian army that the army will not abandon Mubarak like the Tunisian army did with Ben Ali.”

« Startfor » did not name the Chief of Staff in its report and therefore we did not get any confirmation that the person “Startfor” mentioned was “Sami Anan”... until the daily “Al-Masry Al-Youm”, mentioned on January 30, 2011 that the Chief Of Staff of the Egyptian Army Sami Anan came back today from the United States of America.



\* Startfor changed the data after I published the Arabic copy of this research. It was written “it’s not a coincidence”, and they changed it into “it’s very little coincidence” .... So who is very powerful to make Startfor change a topic written from 40 days? ... Sadly, I didn’t take a print screen of the Startfor topic before change.

**2- The army provides the police with live bullets to kill the demonstrators on January 28**

On January 28, 2011, hundreds of thousands of Egyptians took the streets to the Tahrir Square, after Friday prayers. The police confronted them with tear gas and smoke bombs as well as rubber and live bullets ... The battle between demonstrators in the Tahrir Square and the police forces last around 10 hours (from 2 pm until about midnight) ... Friday's evening after six o'clock, the police forces stationed next to the parliament councils stopped the shooting for they ran out of ammunition. after few minutes, the protesters saw military police Jeeps passing through them and heading towards the sieged police forces and then returned again... and after the departure of military police Jeeps, the police forces started firing live bullets at the demonstrators until they ran out of ammunition again... and this is how the same scene was repeated with Military police jeeps passing through demonstrators to provide live ammunition to the police so they start firing again... and at that point the demonstrators realized that the army is not on their side so they've set on fire two jeeps belonging to the military police and an armored vehicle belonging to the Armored Corps, and captured four tanks.



## **The second stage: From January 29 until the stepping down speech in February 11, 2011 (14 days)**

Since the early hours of Saturday 29th of January 2011, and after the demonstrators detained some of the army tanks and burnt the armors, the armed forces realized that they will not bear fighting the Egyptian revolutionaries ... this is when the armed forces started to change the tone with the demonstrators. The army officers started speaking to the demonstrators, calming them, pacifying them. Hence, a new phase of the relation between the revolutionaries and the army started not based on direct clashes, but it was based on managing the conflict through indirect mechanisms such as:

- 1- **Blockade of the revolutionaries and preventing the demonstrations from leaving El-Tahrir square** in the first few days, especially towards the direction of the ministry of Interior and the Parliament councils ... however, things got out of control the last three days of Mubarak's rule before his resignation, and that's when the army accepted the "de facto" of the demonstrators marching from the square, based on its policy of not having a direct clash with the revolutionaries.
- 2- **The continuous threat of using the force:**
  - On the 30th of January, the army tried –for no reason- to let-in a fire car into El-Tahrir square. The demonstrators thought it was going to be used for dispersing them with water splashes, thus they stopped it. That was when the army officer inside the fire car shot twice in the air to terrorize the demonstrators.

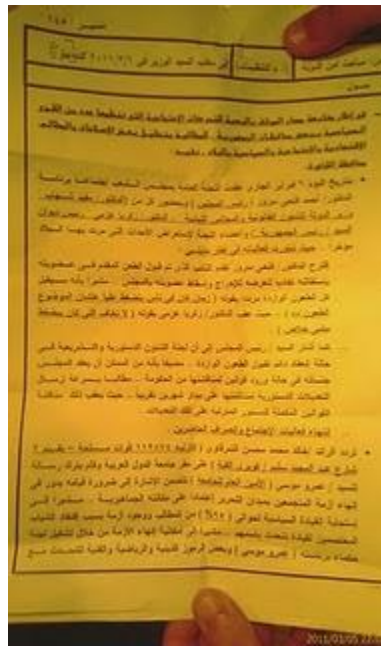
- The same attitude happened on the 25th of February when a senior officer threatened one of the demonstrators saying: "I will kill you".

3- **Passive neutrality:** The army has launched many statements claiming that it will protect the protestors; however the role of the army didn't continue behind launching statements. After the second speech of Mubarak at the night of Tuesday February the 1st, huge groups of thugs flooded the streets chanting for Mubarak to stay, and the army was still neutral. And during the following two days, on the 2nd and 3rd of February, the thugs attacked the demonstrators with camels and horses which resulted in the death of 10 martyrs and the injury of over than 1500 demonstrator. The army stood passively neutral and let the thugs and the snipers attack the revolutionaries. The thugs were also let climb the buildings overlooking El-Tahrir square to throw Molotov cocktails on the demonstrators

The army was simply mimicking the role of the police days before, letting the thugs attack the demonstrators so they could be guilt-free... The army, I'd say, participated in this attack with its negativity and ignoring the security and the protection of the citizens.

4- **The involvement of the Egyptian intelligence in a trial to use some politicians to incite the revolutionaries to leave El-Tahrir square.** One of the documents that was leaked from the state security headquarter in Nasr City, after breaking in on the 5th of March, reveals that a major in the armed forces named "Khalid Mohamed Mohsen Sharkawy" visited the secretary general of the Arab league, Amr Mousa, asking him to speak to the demonstrators to

leave El-Tahrir square, which is what actually happened; Amr Mousa went to the square and asked the demonstrators to accept what Mubarak offered in his 2nd speech.. The question is: If the army has really joined the revolution, why does the Intelligence do the effort to break it down? And if the Intelligence sector was working against the revolution, why didn't the army put an end to these deviations?



The document leaked from State Security

5- On the 3rd of February, **the military police broke into the office of Amnesty International Organization and Hesham Mubarak center for human rights and other international human rights centers**, confiscated their files, arrested their leaders, and they delivered the ones who happen to be there to the thugs to be beaten up!!!



6- **The military police arrested so many activists, collaborating with the state security and thugs;** on January the 30th Malek Adly was arrested, on February the 3rd the blogger "Sand Monkey" was arrested on his way – with medical aids- to El-Tahrir square, a few hours later his blog was blocked. On the 4th of February, Wael Abbas, the blogger, and I were arrested, and on the 6th of February the blogger Kareem Amer was arrested... Some estimated that the number of demonstrators who got arrested during these two weeks was over than 10,000, detained in tens of military detention places in Cairo and other areas of Egypt, the most important of those were the military prison in the Hike-step area and the Military Intelligence in Nasr City in front of Tiba mall. Those demonstrators told stories after they were released about torturing and killing of many other demonstrators by the officers of the army and the Intelligence, and here are some testimonies:

A- My personal testimony: One of the military tanks arrested me on the 4th of February next to "Dar El Qadaa El Aaly- The supreme Court" on my way to El-Tahrir square, I was then delivered to the military

police, and then to one of the army barracks, and then I was delivered to the military intelligence in Nasr City in front of Tiba Mall.. I was beaten up more than once, and sexually harassed, and all the day I was listening to voices of other detained demonstrators screaming out of pain and torture ([Full details here](#)). Day two after I was released, my father was punished also by changing his position at work.

- B- The report of the "[The Guardian](#)", which published a report on demonstrators who were detained and tortured in the Egyptian Museum in El-Tahrir square. And a testimony of a demonstrator named "Ashraf" who was arrested on his way to El-Tahrir carrying medical aids, and then he was tortured and sexually harassed and threatened to be raped and killed. A third testimony for another demonstrator who was arrested, beaten up, electrified, and then he was sent to Abdeen Police station in Downtown Cairo, where he was beaten up for more than half an hour once he entered the police station.
- C- The testimony of "[Mohamed Ibrahim El Saeed Ibrahim](#)" that was documented by the blogger "[Amira El Tahawy](#)"... Mohamed is a young man from Alexandria who was on his way to visit his mother in the hospital, but he was arrested by the army and detained at the "Third area" military camp. Mohamed and his fellows were subject to torture with whips, metal bars, continuously splashing water on them. He was screened on state-run-Television as one of the thugs that the army arrested. Mohamed was moved to more than one prison,

and during his period of detention, many demonstrators were murdered.

D- The report of [Amnesty International Organization](#) that included testimonies of young people who were arrested and tortured by the military police with whips and electric shocks... It also includes a testimony of a young man who was detained and tortured at Nasser Military Academy in Agouza Area, Giza.

E- The testimony of Kareem Amer, the blogger. Kareem was arrested by the military police on the 6th of February 2011 by the military police, and he was detained, with the colleague Sameer Eshra, at the military prison at the Hike-step area. Kareem wrote, after being released, about the torture crimes in the prison and how the demonstrators were tortured by the whips and electric shocks, and water splashes every now and then despite the cold weather... And on the 10th of February 2011, the military prison released 3000 demonstrators on a deserted road, without their items after being splashed with cold water... It was 3 am when this happened.



A man was tortured by the army. Photo by El-Nadim Center

7- **The army tried to invade into El-Tahrir square more than once** during the period from the 4th to the 10th of February 2011 to kick the protesters out. This resulted in many clashed between the protesters and the army, one of those was the clash at the night of the 6th of February when the troops next to the Egyptian Museum tried to make some progress into the square but they were met by the protesters, who made human chains to prevent the troops, so the army shot in the air threatening them, and arrested 3 protesters.. Till this moment, we have no information about these 3 protesters.







### **The third phase: After the stepping down speech (Since February 12 until now)**

After the stepping down speech, the army adopted a media style conveying a message that they joined the revolution, but at the same time they did everything to ensure suppression of the revolution or at least to guarantee that it won't gain any extra Privileges.

#### **1- The control of incorporeal affairs over media**

The Incorporeal Affairs Department is one of the Egyptian army's departments. Its normal job is to preserve the general incorporeal status of the nation during war time. Since the coup d'état in 1952, all the armed sections diverted from their main course of their jobs. And it's known that there were

investigations done to officials in the Intelligence agency after the 1967 defeat, Safwat Al-Sherif was among the investigated officers. This was done because of the sexual immoral deviations of the intelligence.

The incorporeal affairs diverted from its role as well. It became a Repressive department of which its main role was to deceive the nation and control public opinion. [When I visited the incorporeal affairs in April 2010](#), the leading officials were bragging about how they are controlling the public opinion and directing the groups and individuals trends.

A- **The first thing the incorporeal affairs did was to ban photography in El-Tahrir square.** The aim was to isolate the rebels emotionally away from the other Egyptian people. So, the revolutionists that were harshly attacked started to feel that they got abandoned by their own people. On the other hand, the rest of Egyptians started to wonder for what reasons are those "other people" revolting as they have no idea of how strongly they were being suppressed and attacked.



photography is banned according to army orders

- B- On Feb. 15th 2011, some officials in the higher council conducted a meeting with chief editors of newspapers and media icons and [gave clear orders to stop any discussions of Mubarak's wealth](#). The council requested also to help in improving the image of policemen, towards the evening of the same day, Egyptians were shocked to find that all talk shows hosted policemen trying to polish their image and claimed that there was intruders amongst rebels and this obliged them to use live bullets as a self-defense.**
- C- On Feb. 16th 2011, the army created [a page on Facebook](#), using a very emotional speech trying to draw people to their side and promote for its lies.**
- D- The IA (The Incorporeal Affairs) exploited its own men working in national newspapers and independent ones in polishing and brightening the history of higher council officials. one of the most crudest reports, was the one published by the 7th day newspaper (Al-Youm Al-Sabe3) under the title "[Field Marshal Tantawy: the second military governor in the history of Egypt and hero of the three wars](#)", forgetting that Tantawy was the defense minister during Mubarak's rule for 20 years, and before this was the chief of national republic guard for 3 years.**
- E- On 26th Feb. 2011, the IA [assigned major general, Tarek El-Mahdi \(one of IA members\) as a general supervisor over the television and radio union](#), which led to Egypt entering a phase of directed media by a perverse department inside the army. Tarek El-Mahdi started his job very soon after he was assigned**

(on the 27th Feb. 2011) by [excluding Mahmoud Saad and interrogating him, in addition to distorting Saad's reputation](#). This happened after Saad refused to do an interview with Ahmad Shafik (the prime minister who is assigned by Mubarak and refused by the nation). The funniest thing was that Al-Masry Al-Youm newspaper after posting the news about Saad's interrogation, deleted [the news feed](#), this opens a question on what was the pressure imposed on the newspaper to ban such a piece of information from people?

F- **SMSs used to steer the nation.** The army forced the mobile companies to send SMSs to people. One of the silliest SMS was one saying “we waited for 30 years; there is no harm in waiting for just a little bit more”. While the truth is that people have kept silence with this dictatorship for 59 years, not 30. Egypt has been the prisoner of such Tyranny since the July coup d’état in 1952 and Mubarak was merely the extension of this system. The army used the SMS to threaten people in order not to participate in sit ins. The army even incited people to stand to rebels. SMS like “it is the sit in of some sections although conditions are normal is what is holding us from stepping forward” or” it’s the duty of decent patriots to stand in the face of irresponsible individuals”. The SMS were used as well to sweet talk people without any tangible improvements, like “we are fully aware of people's needs and working hard to meet the expectations”.

2- [Dispersing the Demonstrations by force in Tahrir Square:](#)

One day after the president's declaration of leaving his position, the army started to repeat the same intelligence discourse that was repeated after each of the three presidential speeches. It started telling the demonstrators: You triumphed and the revolution is over, so, go back to your homes, production should be resumed bla, bla, bla ... etc. Such discourse signifies that the revolution should stop.



Army Officer ordering demonstrators to leave

- A- On February 12th 2011, the military police forces intervened by force at night, assisted by some thugs and state security agents. They assaulted the demonstrators, stole some computers of the people's committees and it were said that one of the demonstrators died while he was battered.
- B- Starting February 12th, the army banned photographing in Tahrir Square, so that no one would know about the massive violence committed by the army. On February 13th, while I was in Tahrir, I saw one of the demonstrators carrying a label that reads "photography is banned according to army orders". "Since when do revolutionaries take orders from the army?" I asked him. He replied by complaining to me from the violence committed by the army against the demonstrators a day earlier, and that this lead to

the withdrawal of some demonstrators from the square, so that the army became able to intervene violently with the remaining smaller number of the demonstrators.

- C- On February 13th 2011, the military police battered some people who were protesting in Tahrir Square. Al-Jazeera Channel broadcast a live video of the military police using thick sticks in an attempt to disperse the protestors who were sitting-in.
- D- On February 14th 2011, the violence committed by the army reached a high peak. The army succeeded in dispersing all sorts of demonstrations in the square. Tens of injured persons were carried to Qasr Al-Ainy hospital. The military police injured them during forcibly dispersing the demonstrations. Then, the army published a statement in which it warned the citizens against demonstrating.
- E- On February 16th 2011, the blogger Wael Abd el Fattah [quoted Bothaina Kamel](#), a media lady, about the violent assault of the military police against a group of youth near Ramsis Central Communication Office.
- F- On February 21st 2011, some people of Suez gathered in front a military zone to ask about their kids who were arrested by the army, and were not released even after Mubarak left his position. The army dispersed them violently. Meanwhile, a tank hit the Egyptian woman I'tidal Ahmed Ghouneim and killed her on spot. On the following day, one of the army leaderships apologized to the demonstrators in front of the same military zone and promised to organize a court trial for the tank driver. However,

did any of you ever heard about the trial of this soldier? Or did any of those arrestees were ever released up till this day? No one knows.

G- The army repeated its violence on February 25th 2011, as the army leaderships in Tahrir Square refused to allow the establishment of any tents or stages, one of them even threatened to kill the demonstrators ([see the video here](#))

After 7 p.m., the army cut the electric supply to the square in preparation to what was planned to happen by midnight. After midnight, military police forces aided by Sa'iqa and private forces [attacked the demonstrators violently](#). They battered them with thick iron, wooden sticks and electrified whips. The demonstrators were forcibly dispersed and many of them were arrested.

- As regards this last incidence, it is worth mentioning to refer to [the testimony of the blogger Mohammed Moussa](#). Mohammed is an activist who participated in the sit-in in front of the cabinet building on February 25th 2011. He was arrested and tortured with some other revolutionaries by the military police in the early hours of February 26th. Though there are more relevant details about torture, yet, the most interesting is that the military police soldiers accused the revolutionaries of being paid by some foreigners to attack Mubarak. Moreover, the military police officers forced the revolutionaries to yell in support of Mubarak. It is worth mentioning that such details took place on February 25th, two weeks after Mubarak left his presidential position!!

H- On February 26th 2011 morning, the Supreme Military Council posted a statement on its Facebook page stating that the clashes that happened on the day before were not intentional, and that no orders were given to carry them out? Were the Sa'iqa and private forces present in the square by mere chance? And why did not the army interrogate the officers who violated the military orders?

It was a very deceptive statement. It did not pay any apology, and it stated that the clashes were not intended (i.e., they were friendly firing). It was deceptive also when it gave the day February 25th the name "The Friday of Loyalty", in spite of the fact that it was a Friday of purifying the system, not of declaring the people's loyalty to Mubarak. The army deleted this statement after the youth expressed their rage about it on the Facebook, and they posted an alternative statement carrying the same number (22) but without mentioning the term Friday of Loyalty. Nevertheless, on Saturday noon, when the army statement was being posted on the Facebook, and when the secret intelligence authority agents were copying it and saying that the army apologized, the army was forcibly dispersing a demonstration in Tahrir Square by hitting the demonstrators with thick and electrified sticks!!!!



Friday of Loyalty????



The amended version of the statement



In this statement the army is lying, because if the Supreme Military Council gave orders to release the revolutionaries, why did Amr Al-Bhairie was sentenced to imprisonment two days only after the release of this statement?

- It is worth mentioning that the army used the same logic in its treatment of most of the demonstrations all over the country. On February 16th 2011, the armed forces [besieged the employees of the manpower offices](#) who were sitting-in in front of the ministry of manpower in Nasr City and attempted to forcibly disperse them... In the same day, the armed forces [prevented the journalists from entering Mahala Textile Company](#) [to cover the sit in of its laborers], as well as preventing the second shift laborers from joining their fellows inside the company and ordering them to return to their homes... And on February 14th 2011 the armed forces [published a statement](#) saying that they will never tolerate any demonstrations of sit-ins... On March 3rd 2011, the military police [arrested 20 EBESCO laborers](#) and battered one of them.



3- The Army continues to detain and torture activists who participated in the revolution.

Although the armed forces repeatedly pretended to have taken the side of the revolution, they continued to detain and torture activists just like before the revolution, as if nothing had changed

- A- **On February 17, Al Jazeera news channel** broadcast [a report](#) about a young man who had been detained during the days of the revolution and his torture continued for 4 days after Mubarak had stepped down.
- B- **Ahmad El-Sobki's testimony, [documented by Eng. Wael Nawara](#)** (Secretary general of Al-Ghad party)... Ahmad El-Sobki along with 25 other protesters were arrested in Tahrir Square by the military police on February 23rd and tortured by the military through brutal beating and electric shocking in genitals and molesting the women.
- C- **The incidence of torturing [Mohammed Saad Ayyad](#)** which was exposed by the lawyer Ameer Salem. Mohammed Saad was tortured for several days after Mubarak had stepped down; he was beaten by electric batons and tortured through his genitals. Do you know what happened to Amir Salem for having exposed this incidence? An attempt of assassination. Yes, an attempt to assassinate Amir Salem... So has the regime really changed?
- D- **Nadim Center's report [published by Al Badeel website](#)** on February 23rd, 2011... Al Nadim uncovered the detention of around 1000 protesters arrested by the police during the first days of the revolution and who are still detained in Al Wadi Al Gadeed prison (without any legal procedures)... One day prior to that, the Minister of Interior Mahmoud Wagdy (who is supported by the armed forces) declares on TV that there were no detainees who had

participated in the revolution... Note that the number of missing people from January 28 were around 1000 protesters which means that those missing protesters were forcefully detained by the Ministry of Interior with the knowledge and approval of the armed forces... Also worthy of mention that on February 13th, the armed forces sent a group of officers to Tahrir Square to convince the protesters to evacuate the square. I told one of the officers that we want the release of all detainees; [he then told me that the detainees will not be released until we evacuate the square.](#) (This means that the detainees were kept as hostages to get us to evacuate the square). The strange thing is the square was evacuated a few days after that and the detainees have not yet been released to this day, and we fear that the Ministry of Interior might kill all the detainees to erase all traces of its crimes.

E- [Mrs. Ayda Seif El Dawla's testimony](#) (Al Nadim center) on some of the previous detainees who were detained again after Mubarak had stepped down. Notice that the lying Minister of Interior said that he will not sign any detention orders. Does that mean that we have entered a time in which civilian detention is done without even a managerial decision? Mrs. Ayda listed the names of the people detained by the past regime, were released then detained again after Mubarak stepped down!!!

F- [Shorouk newspaper's testimony](#), March 1, 2011... Shorouk newspaper had received information that assured the detention of some of the protesters of January 25 in Al Wadi Al Gadeed prison after 3

weeks from Mubarak's departure. Again, these protesters were not convicted in court and there were no official orders to detain them. What right does the Ministry of Interior have to detain them until now?

G- **Arresting [Amr Abdullah El Behairy](#)**... Amr was one of the activists who took part in the protests on Friday evening February 25, 2011. After midnight, Amr, like all other protesters, was beaten and the military police finally arrested him... On Sunday, [news websites](#) published [Amr's picture](#) among a group of protesters and the armed forces claimed he was one of the thugs who were interpolated between the protesters and they falsely accused them of bearing weapons. [They were taken to court on Monday and on Tuesday were sentenced to 5 years in jail](#)... The protesters were tried in the military court [without defense or witnesses and their families were not informed about the case](#)... The armed forces who hadn't had enough from beating the protesters and torturing them in Tahrir Square are also giving activists unjust military trials pretending to the public that those were thugs they were arresting.

H- **Trial of Nour Hamdi and 19 other activists**... Nour Hamdi is a member of the April 6th Youth movement. He was arrested with several other protesters during the revolution and the armed forces claimed he was a thug and [he was trialed on February 17th, 2011](#) (After 6 days from Mubarak's departure)... Nour has not yet been released and due to the rapid rate of sentencing in military trials, we suspect that he has also been sentenced to five years

in prison... What's ridiculous is that the April 6th Youth movement that Nour belongs to conducts conversation with the military board and praises it and has forgotten that one of its members is unjustly detained by the armed forces!

I- **Mohammed El Sayyed Mohammed's testimony, [published by Al Badeel](#)...** Mohammed El Sayyed was arrested on January 29th and detained in prison for 18 days, until February 16th, meaning 5 days after Mubarak had stepped down. Mohammed talks about the protesters being tortured and some dying from torture.

- Also in that context, Major Ahmed Ali Shouman was investigated because he had joined the revolution!! Ahmed Shouman is an officer in the Egyptian army who decided on February 10th to join the protesters. He turned in his weapon and appeared on Al Jazeera news channel verbally attacking Mubarak and Tantawi, accusing the latter of being a part of the corrupt regime... Major Shouman was turned for investigation but the protesters did not stay silent and started many campaigns to support Shouman until the armed forces [were forced to stop the investigation with Shouman](#)... If the Army believes in the legitimacy of the revolution, why then was Major Shouman turned to investigation in the first place?



Army buses waiting for arrested demonstrators

#### 4 - Maintaining the repressive Institutions, and continuation of torture because of the revolution, even after the speech of stepping down.

After the step down of Mubarak, The army warble us - by a sweet talk method - with televised statements about the armed forces which responded to the people`s revolution and sided with the people, And the Military Junta that runs the transitional period for six months only, Pave to construct a democratic civil state...etc., to all the bullshit said by the army...I say bullshit, Simply because their actions contradict with their words all the time.

The Armed Forces are still today upheld the emergency state and curfew without any acceptable reasons; they also uphold the existence of SSI (State security investigations), the central security. The interior minister in the caretaker government described the two devices (SSI, the central security) as patriot Institutions!

For example, The Seventh Day newspaper (Al-Youm Al-Sabe3) published on 18 Feb. 2011 (after a week of

the step down) that: The SSI in Assiut arrested and tortured a young man, and the SSI officer said to his family " You haven` t liberated the country and we as we are”

If the armed forces actually want the democratization, Why they didn` t abolish the emergency state until now? , Why they insist on maintaining the repressive devices as SSI and the central security? , Why the repressions of these Institutions continue despite the announcement of the ruling military council that they biased to the revolution, and they are not a continuation of old regime?!

#### 5- Protection of Mubarak and his corrupted fellows:

For 18 continuous days (the period between 25 January & 11 February) The Egyptian people revolted against Mubarak, and said to him "Leave"..... Then, in the period which the army said that he is beside the revolution and the people. But, the army appears as usual his actions contradict with his words along the line.

A- In the 3rd statement issued by the supreme council of the armed forces, they said "the supreme council of the armed forces makes all greetings and appreciations to President Mohammed Hosni Mubarak for his affairs in the course of the national work war and peace, and his national position to prefer the higher interest of the homeland". If the army praising the dictator, who we revolted against, how can we believe that the army is on our side?!

- B- The army has vowed not to prosecute Mubarak, his family and his assistants in any way. The army banned to lunch any media campaigns which aimed any offending on the personal or the literary level ([El-Dostor Newspaper 17 / 2 / 2011](#)).
- C- [Mubarak still sees himself as a president of Egypt](#), and [he still exercises his powers as the chairman of the national party](#). [He traveled to Austria in the presidential jet; there he had been received officially by the Egyptian ambassador in Austria!!!](#)
- D- Vice president of the republic "Omar Soliman" and Prime office of the republic "Zakaria Azmy", they [are present in a suspicious manner inside the presidential palaces](#). [In addition news about the execution of documents which condemns the pillars of the system](#).
- E- The army make the opportunity to the corrupt officials to suppress the evidences against them, fires has been burned up in the compound of "Tahrir", another in the [Central Auditing Agency](#) and other State Institutions... In addition - of course - most of the headquarters of the SSI, which culled millions of documents under the eyes and ears of the army without any interfering.

## [6- Attempt to circumvent the demands of the revolution](#)

Although the Army acted as if they joined the revolution, but they constantly tries to circumvent the demands of the revolution

- A- Armed Forces are to this day refuses to end the state of emergency, but still stick to the existence of a curfew, and violators of the curfew has been transferred to military trials, and still refuses to configure a civilian presidential council running the country (all those points were within the basic demands of the revolution)
- B- Supporting for a long time the Government of Ahmed Shafik (who took office commissioned by Mubarak), and the use of ministers who are an extension of the previous regime... Such as Interior Minister Mahmoud Wagdy, a former director of the Prison Service, [who has a long history in the torture of detainees](#) ... And such as Mahmoud Latif, Minister of Petroleum in the new government ,[who is a member of the corrupted Gas Export Company](#) which Sameh Fahmy (former Minister of Petroleum) was hate because of it .. Stick with Maraay and Aboul Gheit who are popularly hated ... In addition of course, [the scandal of former education minister Ahmed Zaki Badr, in issuance an official order, after 15 days from his official leaving day from the Cabinet.](#) Did the army not know that Badr is continuing to his official ministerial job? Or the Army knew and an accomplice?
- C- The drafting of a Committee of constitutional amendments to eliminate a revolution ... Although the revolution that brought down the 1971 Constitution, the armed forces rejected the proposal of El- Bastawisy to make a Constitutional declaration, and insisted on amending the 1971 constitution which supports the tyranny over the people. If the army recognizes the revolution, why stick to the old constitution, which was

dropped by the revolution? ... This committee then conducted a [marginal adjustments](#), but did not recognize the shift to parliamentary system, and therefore retained most powers in the hands of President of the Republic, facilitating the way for the arrival of a new person for the position of President to be transformed into a new tyrant ... There is no justification for us to explain why they chose a Committee that bad? And why the Committee refused to transfer Egypt's democratic system, and remain committed to the presidential system? And why the military insists on the presidential elections before the parliamentary elections which will protect us from having a Parliament as bad as the previous one?

#### 7- The army participated in the scenario of the sectarian strife.

Since the early days of the revolution, many central powers in the presidential institution, State Security and the National Democratic Party were trying to portray the revolution as if it were an Islamist revolution and trying to ignite a sectarian strife between Muslims and Christians. In this context, comes all the conflict that was created around the second amendment in the constitution related to the Islamic law, from Salafi demonstration and the campaigns between Christians, then the meetings of the Islamist society in southern Egypt, then the kidnapping of many Christian girls, between them the daughter of the entrepreneur of Omraneyya church, then the assault on churches in northern Sinai and looting them, then the assault on churches of Rafah and Tahta, then the assassination of

the priest Marcus Dawud in Asyut, till the latest of these events.

We used to think that the army wasn't involved in that issue, and we used to think that this issue was run by State Security Investigations. But however, the army was directly involved in a number of faults which makes it a partner in making the sectarian strife, even making us wonder: Were the rest of the sectarian events made by State Security or the army?

**A- The first action was the choice of Tarek Elbeshri to head the Commission to amend the Constitutional.**

It's supposed in any amending commission to take into account neutrality, or to include elements of all spectra. But choosing Tarek Elbeshri who is known for his belonging to the Islamist current, and choosing Sobhi Saleh the member of the Muslim Brotherhood Society, all of that as well as antagonism toward Christians without a logical justification.

**B- The second action, and it's the clearer one, was represented in the assault on a large group of monasteries - the most famous of them is [St Bishoy in Wadi El-Natrun, in the 23rd of February 2011](#).** What can't deny is that the monasteries assaults the state lands continuously, but at the same time, Egypt is a state of law, meaning that if a person assaulted state land the case should be referred to the judge and the issuance of the judgment against the assaulter, as well as notifying the assaulter with the judgment in order to leave the land which doesn't belong to him, so if he didn't retreat, the executive authority to force him to leave the disputed land. But, when militarist units come to attack

the monastery, cracking the crosses, demolishing its wall without relying on judicial provisions and hits monks and visitors of the monastery with live ammunition and RPG missiles, to hit many of them, then takes some of the monks as captives, all of that refers to that there are leaderships in the armed forces who are racist against Christians and want to exploit that phase to fuel a sectarian strife between Muslims and Christians.

What's silly in the subject, is that when the armed forces found that the Egyptian people dealing with the events without sectarian conflicts happening, then militarist units demolished Fath mosque in Alexandria, in the dawn of Friday, the 25th of February (notice that this happens in Alexandria where the Salafi existence is intense). So, after all that, will we believe that the army is innocent from the accusation of making a sectarian strife as a type of a counter-revolution?



A Statement in which the army lies and says that he didn't attack st Bishy monastery, so will we believe them, and ignore the videos ?



Some members of the Supreme Military Council

### **The most important question: Why didn't the army shoot the demonstrators?**

I think that this question is the most important topic in my research. Many of Egyptians were afraid that the Egyptian army would use its heavy armament to suppress the revolution, and the bloody example in Libya is present to them, so Egyptians considered that not committing that crime from the army against them is a bias towards the people, despite the huge difference between both cases. Indeed, not committing that crime from the Egyptian army, using live ammunition against protestors, has many logical explanations; I'll try to summarize some of them here:

**1- The army won't be able to exceed the citizens militarily.** What happened with the army at night on the 28<sup>th</sup> of January 2011 when the army supplied the police with live ammunition, the protestors burned a shielded vehicle and two army jeeps, as well as capturing 4 tanks, so the army realized clearly that using its weapons against the protestors would lead to the loss of his militarist pieces which will fall to the

hands of revolutionaries, and would lead to the bias of army men toward citizens and their disobedience for commands. Anyone who followed the Libyan position would notice that this exactly what happened as a result of using army weapons against citizens.

**2- The American instruction:** in the wake of the 29<sup>th</sup> of January while I was on my way to El-Tahrir square, I saw for the first time the army tanks in Cairo streets. What caught my attention since the first moment was that all the military pieces spread in Cairo streets were Russian and German tanks and shielded vehicles and not a single American-made piece, at all. After the internet connection was restored, I noticed that the military pieces in Alexandria, Suez and the rest of the governorates were all Russian too, and there were no existence for the American Abrams tanks. What was strange in the subject is that most of the Egyptian military armament was American and that Egypt almost didn't buy Russian weapons since 1973 war, in other words, the Russian weapon existing in streets of Cairo is the same weapon which the Egyptian army fought with, 40 years ago! The arising question: why would the army gets out dilapidated pieces that were very outdated and leaves its essential military pieces in stocks?

The closest interpretation to the mind would be, the army can't prevent people from photographing and the army doesn't want photographs of new military pieces in media, but that logic is very silly, because the essential military pieces in the Egyptian army are bought from the United States, according to official and known deals, and the foe knows about it before the friend. American tanks' models and

designs are something that is almost in the hands of everybody, so there is no use of hiding it.

All of that leads us to the conclusion that there were clear American instructions not to use American weapons during the revolution. Americans for sure didn't do that believing in the Egyptian revolution, but simply because if the American weapons were used to suppress the civilians, that would be a bad reputation to the American weapon and would reduce its sales and profits (notice that we are here talking about the biggest exporter of weapons in the world) and we notice as well that the American weapon was used only once against the Egyptian revolution, in the 31<sup>st</sup> of January 2011, when the fighting airplanes F-16 was flown over El-Tahrir square, the next day the American president Barack Obama came out with a statement that Mubarak has to leave immediately.

The ones who were following the background of the relations between the Egyptian and the American armies would realize that point deeply. The Egyptian army is publicized globally as an ally to America. Egyptian army is also a member of the [Mediterranean Dialogue](#) of the NATO (this is a kind of a membership in the NATO), and it joined many processes under the United States of America commandment and the NATO. The Egyptian army receives an American-militarist aid with an amount of 1.3 billion dollars annually, and the Egyptian army leaders are sent to the United States yearly to be trained with the American army. Sami Anan, the chief of staff of the Egyptian army spends long periods of time in America, to the extent that it was a coincidence that he was in America at the time when the revolution erupted. America can't bear the international reaction against it if an ally army as the

Egyptian army used the American weapon against unarmed demonstrators. This is the real reason for the American weapons' disappearance from the military pieces that the Egyptian army got out in streets, and this is the reason for not using the weapons against the demonstrators.

**3- The third reason was that the Egyptian army knew well the consequences of using weapons against the civilians.** Who is following the Libyan situation sees the natural results of using weapons against peaceful demonstrators. Muammar Gaddafi and most of the Libyan leaderships were transferred to the International Criminal Court and international arrest warrants were issued against them; assets and bank accounts abroad; the Security Council issued sanctions against the Libyan regime; the preparation for a military intervention is in process. The same scenario would have happened in Egypt if the army had used weapons against demonstrators. So, were the Egyptian army leaders ready to lose their weapons, money and assets and become internationally chased criminals in a homeland in which they won't be able to protect from a foreign occupation? All of that for Mubarak! Did Mubarak deserve all these sacrifices? They know well that they would lose everything if they used live ammunition against us?

**All of those points say that the army use for weapons against demonstrators wasn't even an option, and so they have no favor for us in that.**

### **Related Topics:**

[The Story of 2 Days I spent at the Egyptian Intelligence](#)

## [Selmyya . Peacefully - Joint Statement considering the Egyptian Revolution](#)

### **Videos:**

25th January revolution, Against the Army

Marevelous Speech by Tarek Abdel-haleem (A Salafy Leader), discussing the role of the Army fighting the Egyptian Revolution

Army Solieders end demonstration by violence

Torturing of Muhammed Saad Ayyad, After the stepping down of Mubarak

Injuries from torture, on the body of Muhammed Ibraheem

Unexplained treatment form Army officers in Ismailia

A complete video of the invation of the Army on St Bishoy Monastery

Another videos on the invation of the Army on St Bishoy Monastery

[http://www.youtube.com/user/jesus201177#p/u/8/RwrQTi8KR\\_Y](http://www.youtube.com/user/jesus201177#p/u/8/RwrQTi8KR_Y)

A senior officer in the Army threats one of the demonstrators: I'll kill you

Brutal actions against demonstrators in the dawn of 26 Feb. 2011

## External Links:

I noticed that lots of News Websites which wrote about army violations, deleted lots of its news after days of publishing them. El-Masr Al-Yum deleted tens of topics. El-Dostor changed lots of its published data. I don't believe that we have an independent media in Egypt

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