Australian Government

Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice Egypt

Egypt – EGY36097 – Coptic Christians – Conscientious objectors – Military service – Freedom of religion – Bibles

26 February 2010

1. Please provide information about the penalty imposed on those who are conscientious objectors to compulsory service in Egypt.

No information was found in addition to the War Resisters International information referred to in research response EGY35828[1], which states that the penalty for refusing to undertake compulsory military service is one year imprisonment and a fine.[2]

2. Please advise whether there is any evidence that the penalty imposed on Christian objectors is greater than or different from that imposed on Muslims who object on grounds of conscience?

No published information was located regarding the treatment of Egyptian conscientious objectors generally; nor was any found indicating that Christian objectors are differently or more severely penalised than Muslims who object to military service on grounds of conscience. Dr Gennaro Gervasio, Director of the Centre for Middle East and North African Studies at Macquarie University was contacted for advice on this issue, and confirmed that he was unaware of any reports of Coptic conscientious objectors being treated more harshly by the Egyptian government.[3]

Dr Paul Rowe, an expert on inter-faith dynamics and Associate Professor in the Department of Political and International Studies at Trinity Western University, Canada, was also contacted for advice on 3 February 2010. He advised the following:

> I am not aware of any specific cases in which a Copt was penalized with a greater penalty than a Muslim Egyptian for refusing to engage in military service. The permanant [*sic*] state of emergency rule in Egypt since the beginning of the regime of President Mubarak would grant to the military courts very free and arbitrary rein in a situation in which an Egyptian refuses his military service, so it is essentially impossible to predict the way it would be treated except on a case-by-case basis. I believe it is likely that military courts would rule inconsistently on this matter, including on the basis of religion, but I do not know of any specific cases, nor would religion be the only reason for arbitrary distinctions between conscientious objectors.[4]

1 RRT Research & Information 2009, Research Response EGY35828, 15 December – Attachment 1
2 War Resister's International 1998, Egypt, WRI Website, 21 July http://www.wri-irg.org/programmes/world_survey/reports/Egypt – Accessed 4 February 2010 – Attachment 2
3 Gervasio, Gennaro 2010 Email from Gennaro Gervasio: Country Information Request EGY36097: 'Coptic Christians in the Egyptian Military', 25 February – Attachment 26
4 Rowe, Paul 2010, Email from Dr Paul Rowe: Country Information Request EGY36097: 'Coptic Christians in the Egyptian Military'', 3 February – Attachment 3

Dr Rowe's comments on the operation of military courts under the Emergency Law that has been in effect in Egypt since 1981 are supported by a number of reports. The Human Rights Watch (HRW) 2010 World Report notes that the Emergency Law authorises arbitrary detention and unfair trials before security courts, with critics of the security services arrested and harassed. It also reports that when sectarian violence occurs, including between Muslims and Copts, the government often fails to investigate properly and prosecute those responsible.[5] The Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights notes that the UN Commission on International Religious Freedom has expressed concern that Egypt's religious portfolio sits within the security apparatus, which includes the state security police.[6] Further, the United States International Religious Freedom (USIRF) Annual Report notes that:

> The State Emergency and Military Courts have been used to detain and try individuals deemed to have "unorthodox" or "deviant" Islamic or other religious beliefs or practices.[7]

The Ibn Khaldun Centre for Development Studies also points to "a deeply entrenched institutionalised discrimination against the Copts…practised by the State".[8]

Thus while specific reports on Coptic conscientious objectors being more harshly penalised than their Muslim equivalents were not located, the operation of Egypt's judicial system, particularly under the Emergency Law, increases the likelihood that arbitrary decisions on penalties for conscientious objection could be made on the basis of religion.

3. Please provide any available information on the poor treatment of Christian conscripts?

Only one published report was located that describes the poor treatment of a Christian conscript, aside from the articles found in research response EGY35828.[9] However, external advice suggests that the poor treatment of Coptic conscripts does occur, particularly in more remote military barracks. Additionally, two sources were located claiming that the period of compulsory military service may be determined by religion. One report was also located that describes the generally poor conditions for all Egyptian conscripts, information confirmed by the external advice received.

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5 Human Rights Watch 2009,World Report 2010, HRW Website http://www.hrw.org/world-report-2010 – accessed 5 February 2010 – Attachment 4

6 Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights Freedom of Religion and Belief Program 2009, Freedom of Religion and Belief in Egypt: Quarterly Report, October http://eipr.org/sites/default/files/reports/pdf/FRBQ_July__Sept_09_EN.pdf – Accessed 1 February 2010 – Attachment 5

7 United States Commission on International Religious Freedom 2009, USCIRF Annual Report – Watch List Countries: Egypt, 1 May, p. 162 http://www.uscirf.gov/images/AR2009/egypt.pdf – Accessed 1 February 2010 – Attachment 6

8 Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies 2009, ICDS Civil Society and Democratization in the Middle East Annual Report 2008, ICDS website http://www.eicds.org/pdfs09/reports/Annual_Report_2008.pdf – Accessed 1 February 2010 – Attachment 7

9 RRT Research & Information 2009, Research Response EGY35828, 15 December – Attachment 1. The reports noted in this research response are: Abdelmassih, M. 2009, 'Forced Islamisation of Christian Conscripts in the Egyptian Army', Assyrian International News Agency, 12 October http://www.aina.org/news/20091012150443.htm – Accessed 5 February 2010 – Attachment 8; Compass Direct 2009, Stabbing, bombing attacks strike near two churches, Copts United website, 22 May (CISNET Egypt CX226875) – Attachment 9; and el-Hamalawy, H. 2006, 'Coptic conscript tortured to death?', The Arabist blog website, 19 August http://arabist.net/archives/2006/08/19/coptic-conscript-tortured-to-death/ – Accessed 5 February 2010 – Attachment 10.

In 2008 Canadian-based Egyptian Christian advocacy website *Egyptians For Christ* published a letter purporting to be from the grandmother of a Coptic conscript, claiming that her grandson had been beaten until he lost consciousness by other conscripts under the orders of their commanding officer after being "accused of evangelising Christianity in the camp and… converting people into christianity [*sic*] in Alexandria", and for being a follower of "Reverend Zakaria".[10] The letter was also re-posted on the *U.S. Copts Association* website.[11] Reverend Zakaria appears to refer to Zakaria Botros, a Coptic Priest from Egypt known for his criticism of the *Qu'ran* and Islam on a television program broadcast across the Middle East.[12]

Two speeches presented at the Coptic Associaton of America (CAA) International Coptic Conference in 2007 claim that the term of compulsory military service discriminates on the basis of religion, with service being reduced from three years to one for those who memorise the *Qu'ran*.[13] However no other reports were found corroborating this information.

The relative absence of reports describing the mistreatment of Coptic conscripts is conspicuous given the comparatively plentiful reports of discrimination against Copts in Egypt that abound on Coptic advocacy websites. This may be especially significant when taking into account claims of commentators such as Cornelis Hulsman, founder of the Centre for Arab-West Understanding, that overseas-based Coptic pressure groups are often guilty of:

> …exaggerate[ing] claims, ignor[ing] facts or tak[ing] them out of context to give the most negative interpretation as possible, usually blaming Egyptian authorities and security forces for ills against Copts.[14]

Taking this perspective into account, one might expect that the Copt advocacy websites in particular would contain more reports of ill-treatment of Coptic conscripts completing their military service, if this was an issue of serious concern.

Bahey el-din Hassan, General Director of the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (CIHRS), was contacted for advice on this issue. Advice received from Mr el-din Hassan states:

> I'm not aware with [*sic*] such treatment, but I can't confirm to you that it doesn't happen; as CIHRS is not a watchdog organization. Also, I didn't [*sic*] hear from any of those watchdog organizations about such pattern of abuse.[15]

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10 'SOS A massage from grandmother of Mina Tawfiq Fayiq' 2008, Egypt for Christ Website, 30 July http://www.egypt4christ.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=160:sos-from-grandmother-of-mina-tawfiq-fayiq&catid=59:human-rights&Itemid=60 – Accessed 23 February 2010 – Attachment 22
11 SOS to all concerned' 2008, U.S. Copts Association Website, July 31 http://www.copts.com/english/?p=2166#more-2166 – Accessed 23 February 2010 – Attachment 23
12 Ibrahim, Raymond 2008, Islam's "Public Enemy #1", Orthodoxy Today Website, 1 April http://www.orthodoxytoday.org/articles8/Ibrahim-Islams-Public-Enemy-Number-One.php – Accessed 24 February 2010 – Attachment 24
13 Isaac, Dr Kamal Farid 2007, Islamisation of the Educational System in Egypt, speech delivered at the Coptic Association of America (CAA) International Coptic Conference 2007, CAA Website http://www.copticassembly.org/showart.php?main_id=620 – Accessed 5 February 2010 – Attachment 11; Nakhla, Mamdouh 2007, The Copts in Egypt: Between a Hammer and an Anvil, speech delivered at the Coptic Association of America (CAA) International Coptic Conference 2007, CAA Website http://www.copticassembly.org/showart.php?main_id=618 – Accessed 5 February 2010 – Attachment 12
14 Cornelis Hulsman quoted in Dabu, Christl 2005, Christians living in Egypt as a minority, The Social Edge.com, March http://www.thesocialedge.com/archives/other/3articles-mar2005.htm – Accessed 5 February 2010 – Attachment 14
15 El-din Hassan, Bahey 2010, Email from Bahey el-din Hassan: Country Information Request EGY36097: 'Coptic Christians in the Egyptian Military', 7 February – Attachment 20

However Dr Gennaro Gervasio provided the following advice to the Tribunal:

> I am aware of Coptic conscripts being poorly treated in some barracks/military areas in the Desert and in remote areas, but I am confident they are not denied the opportunity to practice their faith while serving. More in general, discrimination in the army reflects the wider discrimination in Egyptian society and the major thing si [*sic*] that Copts are usually denied the promotion to the upper posts in the military career. From fellow researchers and from friends I can say that generally speaking, being a conscript in Egypt is a very hard experience for both Muslims and Copts, and that solidarity prevails among fellow conscripts, while the issue become more complicated at higher levels of the military hierarchy (ie the above mentioned discrimination in getting the jobs).

Dr Gennaro's comments on the difficulties of conscription for all enlisted are confirmed in an article published in the *Middle East Quarterly*, authored by a retired U.S. Army colonel. The article comments on the situation for Egyptian conscripts generally, without reference to discrimination on the basis of religion:

> The idea of taking care of one's men is found only among the most elite units in the Egyptian military…Garrison cantonments have no amenities for soldiers…The young draftees who make up the bulk of the Egyptian army hate military service for good reason and will do almost anything, including self-mutilation, to avoid it.[16]

It is relevant, however, that research carried out for this and previous research responses does indicate that Copts in Egypt, while legally granted freedom of religion, are at risk of mistreatment both by non-state actors and security forces.[17] Human Rights Watch notes that discrimination against Egyptian Christians (as well as other religious minorities) continues[18] and Amnesty International reported that in 2009 sectarian attacks on the Coptic Christian community had increased.[19] The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) also reported an upsurge attacks by Islamists targeting Coptic Christians in recent years, and noted that only in very few cases have perpetrators been arrested and convicted for such offences.[20] In addition to violence, Copts in Egypt are subject to official and societal discrimination. USCIRF notes that there is *de facto* discrimination in appointments to high-level government and military posts, though Egyptian officials deny that

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16 De Atkine, Norvell B. 1999, Why Arabs Lose Wars, Middle East Quarterly, – Accessed December http://www.meforum.org/441/why-arabs-lose-wars – Accessed 5 February 2010 – Attachment 13

17 For two recent responses addressing the situation for Copts in Egypt, see: RRT Research & Information 2009, Research Response EGY35308, 18 August – Attachment 15; and RRT Research & Information 2009, Research Response EGY35653, 4 November – Attachment 16 United States Commission on International Religious Freedom 2009, USCIRF Annual Report – Watch List Countries: Egypt, 1 May http://www.uscirf.gov/images/AR2009/egypt.pdf – Accessed 1 February 2010 – Attachment 6.

18 Human Rights Watch 2010, HRW Annual Report – Country Summary: Egypt, January http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/related_material/egypt_0.pdf – Accessed 1 February 2010 – Attachment 17

19 Amnesty International 2009, 2009 Annual Report for Egypt, Amnesty International Website http://www.amnestyusa.org/annualreport.php?id=ar&yr=2009&c=EGY – Accessed 17 February 2010 – Attachment 21

20 United States Commission on International Religious Freedom 2009, USCIRF Annual Report – Watch List Countries: Egypt, 1 May http://www.uscirf.gov/images/AR2009/egypt.pdf – Accessed 1 February 2010 – Attachment 6

there is a law or policy sanctioning this.[21] Further, Christians in Egypt report that the state security services are guilty of discrimination, interference, harassment and surveillance.[22]

Taking into account the reports above confirming that discrimination against Copts does occur in Egypt in a variety of settings – sometimes perpetrated by instruments of the state and sometimes by non-state actors – and that in both cases the state often fails to prevent or prosecute such abuses, it is unlikely that the military is immune from cases of intolerance. In this context, advice received from Dr Paul Rowe is relevant:

> My general impression from conversations that I have had with both Muslim and Coptic Egyptians is that they equally share a distaste for the onerous demands placed upon those compelled to do military service. National service in Egypt consigns the conscript to long hours of monotonous labour, a poor diet, and poor treatment at the hands of superiors. In this environment of arbitrary authority common discrimination toward Copts would easily be heightened. I would not expect such discrimination to be systematic, but to relate more to the fact that Copts are less likely to enjoy elite connections and that in the context of army service their differences are less likely to be respected. As I say, this doesn't tend to be systematic but rather idiosyncratic. Should superiors wish to mistreat a Copt for their religious differences, there would be little recourse for the Copt concerned.[23]

As Dr Rowe notes, discrimination occurring within the military is probable, but is more likely the product of individual prejudices affecting both ordinary Muslim citizens and those in positions of authority, rather than any kind of state-sanctioned, systematic program of intolerance.

4. Is there any information available on the inferior or poor treatment of Coptic Christian conscripts, particularly reports of denial of the opportunity to practise their faith whilst serving?

No published information was located reporting that Coptic conscripts are denied the opportunity to practice their faith whilst serving; external advice provided conflicting information about the likelihood of this occurring.

In his response to the Tribunal's request for information on 3 February 2010, Dr Paul Rowe commented that Copts in the military would likely encounter difficulties in observing religious practices:

> I am unaware of any specific cases of Copts in the military unable to practice their faith. Given the distinctive practices of Copts from Muslims, it is likely that particular obligations such as Christian holidays, the lenten fast, and attendance at regular services would be limited for Copts. Muslim religious obligations tend to be simpler to grant to military recruits - for example, the regular Muslim prayers may be undertaken in any location, while Christian rites

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21 United States Commission on International Religious Freedom 2009, USCIRF Annual Report – Watch List Countries: Egypt, 1 May http://www.uscirf.gov/images/AR2009/egypt.pdf – Accessed 1 February 2010 – Attachment 6

22 United States Commission on International Religious Freedom 2009, USCIRF Annual Report – Watch List Countries: Egypt, 1 May http://www.uscirf.gov/images/AR2009/egypt.pdf – Accessed 1 February 2010 – Attachment 6

23 Rowe, Paul 2010, Email from Dr Paul Rowe: Country Information Request EGY36097: 'Coptic Christians in the Egyptian Military'', 3 February – Attachment 3

> are typically performed in a church. Muslim prayer spaces would exist in military barracks while Christian churches are subject to extreme limitations throughout Egypt.[24]

However, advice received from Dr Gennaro Gervasio (quoted above under Question 3) states that Dr Gervasio is "confident" that Coptic conscripts "are not denied the opportunity to practice their faith while serving".[25]

5. Is there any evidence that Christian conscripts are prevented from having bibles or prayer books?

No reports were located describing Coptic conscripts being prevented from carrying bibles or prayer books while undertaking their military service.

In his response to the Tribunal's request for information on 3 February 2010, Dr Paul Rowe stated that he was unaware of "any specific cases of a Copt being unable to have access to a Bible or prayer book".[26] Dr Gennaro Gervasio also advised that he was "not aware of any report of Copts being prevented from possession or reading of the Bible and other Christian Holy Books".[27]

6. Is there a ban on wearing any visible religious symbols applying to all conscripts or only to Christians?

No information was found indicating that there is a ban on displaying visible religious symbols in the military for Copts or other conscripts.

7. Are there any reports of forcible removal of the tattoo of the cross from Christians serving in the military?

No reports of conscripts being forced to remove the cross tattoo were found. However, external advice suggests that as the tattoo works to identify its bearer as a Coptic Christian, it is thus likely to motivate discriminatory behaviour by prejudiced parties.

In his response to the Tribunal's request for information on 3 February 2010, Dr Paul Rowe stated that he was unaware of "any specific cases of a Copt being…compelled to disguise the tattoo that is commonly displayed on the wrist".[28] However, Dr Gennaro Gervasio advised that the cross tattoo often incites discrimination:

> Fully aware of Copts being mocked and harassed because they were wearing religious symbols (**in particular the tattooed cross on the arm**)… [*Tribunal's emphasis*][29]

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24 Rowe, Paul 2010, Email from Dr Paul Rowe: Country Information Request EGY36097: 'Coptic Christians in the Egyptian Military'', 3 February – Attachment 3
25 Gervasio, Gennaro 2010, Email from Gennaro Gervasio: Country Information Request EGY36097: 'Coptic Christians in the Egyptian Military', 25 February – Attachment 26
26 Rowe, Paul 2010, Email from Dr Paul Rowe: Country Information Request EGY36097: 'Coptic Christians in the Egyptian Military'', 3 February – Attachment 3
27 Gervasio, Gennaro 2010, Email from Gennaro Gervasio: Country Information Request EGY36097: 'Coptic Christians in the Egyptian Military', 25 February – Attachment 26
28 Rowe, Paul 2010, Email from Dr Paul Rowe: Country Information Request EGY36097: 'Coptic Christians in the Egyptian Military'', 3 February – Attachment 3
29 Gervasio, Gennaro 2010, Email from Gennaro Gervasio: Country Information Request EGY36097: 'Coptic Christians in the Egyptian Military', 25 February – Attachment 26

An article published on Egyptian news website Al-Masry Al-Youm quotes an Egyptian woman who claims that her son was abused during his military service because of the cross tattoo on his wrist:

> Umm Hani went on to say that her own son had been persecuted during his army service for having a tatoo of the cross on his arm. "He was beaten up by Muslim servicemen who stripped him naked and crucified him on a tree," she alleged…[30]

Only one report was located that referred to the forcible removal of the tattoo of a cross from an Egyptian Copt (however, no mention is made of the Copt undertaking compulsory military service at the time). The report, posted on Christian advocacy website *Sisters in Service* (website at www.sistersinservice.org), contains an excerpt from *Daughters of Hope: Stories of Witness and Courage in the Face of Persecution*[31], a collection of stories of Christian women residing in countries outside North America and Europe. The story quoted in the report describes the cross tattoo being forcibly removed from a female Coptic Christian in Egypt.[32]

While the original text could not be sourced online, it appears that the story is referring to Islamic militants targeting young Copts in Egypt. *Sisters in Service*, the website upon which the story excerpt appears, is an evangelical Christian development organisation targeting women and children in "the least-reached places of the world" (see www.sistersinservice.org/aboutus). Its President and Founder, Michelle M. Rickett, co-authored *Daughters of Hope* with Christian author Kay Marshall Strom.

List of Attachments

1. RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response EGY35828*, 15 December.
2. War Resister's International 1998, *Egypt*, WRI Website, 21 July http://www.wri-irg.org/programmes/world_survey/reports/Egypt – Accessed 4 February 2010.
3. Rowe, Paul 2010, Email from Dr Paul Rowe: Country Information Request EGY36097: 'Coptic Christians in the Egyptian Military'', 3 February.
4. Human Rights Watch 2009, *World Report 2010*, HRW Website http://www.hrw.org/world-report-2010 - Accessed 5 February 2010.
5. Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights Freedom of Religion and Belief Program 2009, *Freedom of Religion and Belief in Egypt: Quarterly Report*, October http://eipr.org/sites/default/files/reports/pdf/FRBQ_July__Sept_09_EN.pdf - Accessed 1 February 2010.
6. United States Commission on International Religious Freedom 2009, *USCIRF Annual Report – Watch List Countries: Egypt*, 1 May http://www.uscirf.gov/images/AR2009/egypt.pdf – Accessed 1 February 2010.

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30 Amer, Pakinam 2010, 40 days on, blood still boils over Naga Hammadi slayings, Al-Masry Al-Youm Website, 16 February http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en/news/40-days-blood-still-boils-over-naga-hammadi-slayings – Accessed 24 February 2010 – Attachment 25

31 Strom, Kay Marshall & Rickett, Michele 2003, Daughters of Hope: Stories of Witness and Courage in the Face of Persecution, Intervarsity Press, Downers Grove, IL, accessed via Google Books http://books.google.com.au/books?id=AM58_FBWVUwC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Daughters+of+Hope&source=bl&ots=5fLUnbSP2Y&sig=df51xjhQa76mRdTb0qXNsjTEcWk&hl=en&ei=ralrS9qsOsuHkQXYkuH1Aw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CA8Q6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=&f=false – Accessed 5 February 2010 – Attachment 18

32 Sisters in Service 2004, Summer 2004 Update: Above the acid scar, SIS Website, July http://www.sistersinservice.org/images/fall2004newsletter.pdf – Accessed 3 February 2010 – Attachment 19

7. Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies 2009, *ICDS Civil Society and Democratization in the Middle East Annual Report 2008*, ICDS website http://www.eicds.org/pdfs09/reports/Annual_Report_2008.pdf - Accessed 1 February 2010.

8. Abdelmassih, M. 2009, 'Forced Islamisation of Christian Conscripts in the Egyptian Army', *Assyrian International News Agency*, 12 October http://www.aina.org/news/20091012150443.htm - Accessed 5 February 2010.

9. Compass Direct 2009, *Stabbing, bombing attacks strike near two churches*, Copts United website, 22 May. (CISNET Egypt CX226875)

10. el-Hamalawy, H. 2006, 'Coptic conscript tortured to death?', The Arabist blog website, 19 August http://arabist.net/archives/2006/08/19/coptic-conscript-tortured-to-death/ - Accessed 5 February 2010.

11. Isaac, Dr Kamal Farid 2007, *Islamisation of the Educational System in Egypt*, speech delivered at the Coptic Association of America (CAA) International Coptic Conference 2007, CAA Website http://www.copticassembly.org/showart.php?main_id=620 - Accessed 5 February 2010.

12. Nakhla, Mamdouh 2007, *The Copts in Egypt: Between a Hammer and an Anvil*, speech delivered at the Coptic Association of America (CAA) International Coptic Conference 2007, CAA Website http://www.copticassembly.org/showart.php?main_id=618 - Accessed 5 February 2010.

13. De Atkine, Norvell B. 1999, *Why Arabs Lose Wars*, Middle East Quarterly, - Accessed December http://www.meforum.org/441/why-arabs-lose-wars - Accessed 5 February 2010.

14. Dabu, Christl 2005, *Christians living in Egypt as a minority*, The Social Edge.com, March http://www.thesocialedge.com/archives/other/3articles-mar2005.htm - Accessed 5 February 2010.

15. RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response EGY35308*, 18 August.

16. RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response EGY35653*, 4 November.

17. Human Rights Watch 2010, *HRW Annual Report – Country Summary: Egypt*, January http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/related_material/egypt_0.pdf - Accessed 1 February 2010.

18. Strom, Kay Marshall & Rickett, Michele 2003, *Daughters of Hope: Stories of Witness and Courage in the Face of Persecution*, Intervarsity Press, Downers Grove, IL, accessed via Google Books http://books.google.com.au/books?id=AM58_FBWVUwC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Daughters+of+Hope&source=bl&ots=5fLUnbSP2Y&sig=df51xjhQa76mRdTb0qXNsjTEcWk&hl=en&ei=ralrS9qsOsuHkQXYkuH1Aw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CA8Q6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=&f=false - Accessed 5 February 2010.

19. Sisters in Service 2004, *Summer 2004 Update: Above the acid scar*, SIS Website, July http://www.sistersinservice.org/images/fall2004newsletter.pdf - Accessed 3 February 2010.

20. El-din Hassan, Bahey 2010, Email from Bahey el-din Hassan: Country Information Request EGY36097: 'Coptic Christians in the Egyptian Military', 7 February.

21. Amnesty International 2009, *2009 Annual Report for Egypt*, Amnesty International Website http://www.amnestyusa.org/annualreport.php?id=ar&yr=2009&c=EGY - Accessed 17 February 2010.

22. ‘SOS A massage [*sic*] from grandmother of Mina Tawfiq Fayiq’ 2008, Egypt for Christ Website, 30 July http://www.egypt4christ.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=160:sos-from-grandmother-of-mina-tawfiq-fayiq&catid=59:human-rights&Itemid=60 - Accessed 23 February 2010.

23. SOS to all concerned’ 2008, U.S. Copts Association Website, July 31 http://www.copts.com/english/?p=2166#more-2166 - Accessed 23 February 2010.

24. Ibrahim, Raymond 2008, *Islam’s “Public Enemy #1”*, Orthodoxy Today Website, 1 April http://www.orthodoxytoday.org/articles8/Ibrahim-Islams-Public-Enemy-Number-One.php - Accessed 24 February 2010.

25. Amer, Pakinam 2010, *40 days on, blood still boils over Naga Hammadi slayings*, Al-Masry Al-Youm Website, 16 February http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en/news/40-days-blood-still-boils-over-naga-hammadi-slayings - Accessed 24 February 2010.

26. Gervasio, Gennaro 2010 Email from Gennaro Gervasio: Country Information Request EGY36097: ‘Coptic Christians in the Egyptian Military’, 25 February.