

Al Bandar Report

Part II

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# **Chapter 1: Secular Council Containment Strategy**

What is Required?

Strategy Goals

Main Strategic Axes

Mechanism

Our Approach

Long Term Alternatives (2007-2010)

From a historical perspective, Mata'ams (Shiite religious meeting places) were and still regarded, as the headquarters for Shiite Community political activities onset:

- The heart where operations of fill enticing, influencing and recruiting succeeding generations, to believe in Wilayat Al-Faqih theology (Guardianship of the Jurist) which is critical of the National Project led by beloved King Hamad.
- Active focal point for upbringing, educating and preparing political opposition
- The centre of active mass communication and influential media avenue.

### ***What is Required?***

A strategy, buoyed by action plan supported by programs and organized mechanisms with the aim to:

- Contain advocates of Wilayat Al-Faqih Theology, and its field leaders represented by Olama Islamic Council systemically to tighten the governments' grip on it; Security, Control, political and structural and religious sectors. This is done through assembling full components of the "Political Project" led by the Head of Royal Court and under Executive supervision of the Specialized Commission competent in the framework of filtering doctrinal, intellectual, political, organizational and funding of Olama Islamic Council. (Annex 4)
- Rehabilitating supporters of Olama Islamic Council in the kingdom of Bahrain to serve as a positive and supportive component for the "National Security Strategy" politically, socially, economically, intellectually and its priorities (supporting the capacity of the State, structure and Status and prestige of the state).

### ***Strategy Goals***

Action programs, mechanisms and implementation plans aimed at:

- Full control over the advocates of Wilayat Al-Faqih, its field leadership field represented by Olama Islamic Council continuously to undermine the Council activities and projects which are deemed as anti-State Project.
- Develop and support the activities hostile to the advocates of the Olama Islamic Council through specific effective and intensive media campaigns that focuses on certain issues aimed to further loosen the Council's position. For example, Family draft law, Imams cadre, the Council's Stance on Iran events and conditions of Sunni citizens there, Sunni harassment in Iraq following Saddam regime downfall, foreign liaison and the directives of external dependence, loyalty to state, etc.... (see annex 1)
- Support the activities of independent Shiite blocs and neutral Shiite groups who are in favor of the King "Reforms Project" and expand it as a positive alternative supporting the "National Project" (annex 3)

## ***Main Strategic Axes***

### **The first axis:**

Preparing and organizing a unified and comprehensive database on the advocates of Wilayat Al-Faqih, represented in the political and spiritual network of Olama Islamic Council in all their activities areas focus. Information gathering will be done and by the concerned parties involved in the plan implementation (National Security, Directorate of Criminal Investigation, +Ministry of Justice & Islamic Affairs and the Ministry of Social Affairs).

### **The second axis:**

Prepare for full control, provisioning and containment over Olama Islamic Council power and influence centers to reflect effective National Presence.

### **The third axis:**

Establish an alternative organizational structure to administer and monitor the rehabilitation of Wilayat Al-Faqih advocates using well-thought tasks, mechanisms and programs to direct them to adopt full loyalty towards State well-defined fundamentals which were identified by the State leadership.

## ***Mechanism***

- Timeframe for phase one implementation starts from the beginning of October 2004 until the end of December 2006.
- Creation of a Permanent Joint Commission of the concerned authorities for Planning and Follow-up (The Royal Court, National Security, Criminal Investigations Directorate, Media, Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Justice and The Ministry of Social Affairs) under the auspices of the Supreme Defense Council.

## **Responsibilities of the Permanent Joint Committee (Phase I)**

### **Information gathering and Planning Phase**

Scrutinize all documents and records of Olama Islamic Council (see table, annex 1) to identify opportunities and provide resources to contain the Council through the concept of the National Security by utilizing these opportunities. This will enable the "Reforms Project" of his Majesty, the king to exercise efficient and thorough functionality and empowerment by successful containment of Wilayat Al-Faqih Theological concept.

### **Detailed Responsibilities**

Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Waqf

Preparing and processing all official, legal information, identify the names of mosques and Mata`ams administration, identify the reasons, constraints and opportunities available to control the places of worship.

The process of containment starts with the direct support of the security services specialized unit concerned with monitoring the activities of the Olamaa Islamic Council working directly under the Permanent Joint Committee through the following tasks:

#### National Security and Criminal Investigations Directorates

Carryout the procedures, agreed in advance, aimed at removing all obstacles through identifying, monitoring, classifying, and summoning individuals who are considered to be obstacles to the process of containment to help facilitate the mission of stopping the Islamic Council and ease the work of the anti Olama Islamic Council Activity unit.

#### Anti Olama Islamic Council Activity Unit

To be formed under the supervision and coordination with the Permanent Joint Committee to gather needed information to activate its role and implement tasks through providing an alternate framework inside each mosque and Mata`am and be brought under control through:

- Support and encouragement for the alternate components to be committed in attending the particular location (Financial & logistics support).
- Developing relationship with influential figures in places of worship in the designated area, and in particular to create a relationship and support independent individuals to prevail their voice over the supporters and other individuals who sympathizes with pro-Islamic societies.
- The commitment to implement the decisions and regulations of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs & Waqf and The Political Associations laws along with The Public Gatherings Law to maintain the sanctity of State laws the of places of worship. This is done by banning display of all political banners, posters and distribution of flyers and leaflets in order to gain the congregation confidence and thwart any exploitation attempt from the opposition groups and monitoring for any offence.
- The Unit exercises its role as a strong competitor in places of worship which has joint control between the Waqf Directorate & the opposition through tight policies in the framework of what is allowed according to the Ministry laws and to the satisfaction of public prayers in the mosque or Mata`am.
- Providing all required resources to employ to sustain durability of control and containment.

## Criteria

Compulsory criteria for the candidates who will supervise and implement the alternate replacement plan:

- To be a capable and influential figure to accomplish the tasks required of them, after undergoing a thorough security check done by the National Security Service to serve the interest of the project and its security

- Classifying political affiliation (Firm National Affiliation + Supporter of State Policy + A strong and Independent individual opposing the opposition, etc...
- Candidates' qualifications, suitability and relevance for the post.
- Financial situation

## **Responsibilities of the Permanent Joint Committee (Phase II)**

### **Parties' Control Phase**

Start gradually through firm and quiet steps to take control over places of worship which is not controlled by the Ministry of Islamic Affairs & Waqf, which are as follows:

- Under the control of groups of Wilayat Al-Faqih supporters & Supporters of Olama Islamic Council.
- Under the control of politicized religious groups in general, which will be beginning of the decisive stage whereby government will take full control of all targeted places, minimize and diminish the influence Wilayat Al-Faqih.

### **Work Mechanism & Duties for the Control Phase**

Timeframe for phase two implementation starts from January – December 2007 (12 months).

Functions of Anti Olama Islamic Council Activity Unit (January- March 2007)

- Do a substantive and well-versed study and assessment for each place of worship that is controlled by Olama Islamic Council to identify weaknesses and gaps that can be exploited and be used as entrance points.
- Design an elaborate plan for each place to instigate the quiet infiltration operations according to firm strategy that can be monitored periodically by the Permanent Joint Committee (to be agreed in advance, either weekly or monthly).
- Take into account the existing circumstances and work in accordance with the current political atmosphere (the decisive stage, which is in need of proper planning and implementation of calm, careful and ongoing planning).

Functions of Ministry of Islamic Affairs & Waqf

- Prepare and process all official and legal transactions, summoning the administrations of the targeted place (Mosque or Mata'am, etc...) by a managing committee to determine the causes, constraints and opportunities available, as circumstances permit.
- The process of containment and control over areas that are controlled by Olama Islamic Council. This requires cunning and insidious to exploit the weaknesses and gaps, specifically the administration of these places. This will be done with direct and calculated support of the National Security Services (the National Security + Criminal Investigation Directorate) through the Permanent Joint Committee.



- Mosques which are under the control of different Shiite groups can be tied down by preparing a legal formula to bind the administration not to offend the State laws, maintain order and the constitution. The ministry shall form a mechanism to monitor these mosques religiously.

The Ministry of Islamic Affairs & Waqf exercises functions as the official body responsible and supported with the following tasks:

#### Functions of National Security

- Expanding the recruitment process for secret sources which are required to identify the opposing plans, expose the instigators to undermine their activity and minimize their role.
- Take necessary security measures to tighten the grip around the administration, considered to be the main obstacle for full containment of the areas of control and influence by Olama Islamic Council. To be done through exploiting all authorities in the framework of the law to limit their role (the focus here lies on monitoring phone calls firstly to create the initial database)
- Provide necessary information periodically to the Permanent Joint Committee which helps to continue the plans implementation to quietly infiltrate and find a foothold to replace with the State alternative.

#### Functions of the Criminal Investigations directorate

Similar to the role of National Security Services, though it is possible to identify its functions in accordance with the laws and procedures, governing its work:

- Monitor the performance of imams and preachers to expose any breaches or legal violations against them.
- Monitoring all libraries, printing and publication houses, and audio-visual content providers and coordinate with the Information Affairs Authority.
- Reveal breaches and legal violations of opposition groups and take appropriate legal actions in accordance within the frame of law.
- Proposing necessary steps whenever required thwarting any attempts to hinder the national containment strategy.

#### Functions of the Ministry of Social Affairs

- Follow-up the lists of grants and subsidies periodically to expose abuses and violations and take appropriate action
- Expose Charities, Charitable Associations, and Public Utility Societies for any breaches or legal irregularities on how these societies run their activities within the framework of law
- Proposing necessary steps whenever required thwarting any attempts to hinder the national containment strategy.

#### Functions of the Ministry of Justice

- Follow-up on the legal proceedings to punish abuses and violations by political associations.
- Expose the infringement and legal violations of opposition groups and take appropriate legal action within the framework of law.
- Proposing necessary legislations whenever required thwarting any attempts to hinder the national containment strategy.

## ***Our Approach***

Our approach of work is quiet infiltration to the places, which are controlled by groups supportive of Olama Islamic Council from the hinges towards the of activity (stepping up the level of influence, the capabilities of Wilayat Al-Faqih cadres, etc...) through:

- Recruiting sources and individuals to attend these locations on a daily basis and exploit the new cadre to expand our database to the maximum.
- Supporting and organizing rival media, entertainment and religious activities opposing to Wilayat Al-Faqih
- Protecting its informative and entertainment activities and combat against any acts considered as anti Wilayat A;-Faqih within the framework of law and sanctity of places of worship.
- To instigate prayers community by mass distribution (SMS, media, information, etc...) to expose any immoral acts or others considered to be disgraceful, regardless of how small or trivial which might be done by groups supportive of Olama Islamic Council and its leaders.

## ***Long Term Alternatives (2007-2010)***

Speaking of the functions of Olama Islamic Council containment requires us to discuss modern mechanisms for resolving the battle to the benefit of the National Option in the long run. This is because the Ministry of Islamic Affair & Waqf control, National Security Services support and Ministries of Justice and Social Affairs support will remain inactive without full core containment. This means creating a positive alternative to actively influence of Wilayat Al-Faqih, because any retreat of the official bodies roles will lead to a quick return of the influence of the Council cadres. On the basis of foregoing, we propose the following tasks:

- Founding and organizing an independent unit in the National Security Services concerned with monitoring and analyzing religious activity in the kingdom of Bahrain (see annex 2).
- Providing essential information periodically to assist in the coverage of vacancies and substitutes inside places of worship as required by the preachers cadre who will work in favor of new components loyal to the State or recruiting individuals known to be opposing Olama Islamic Council and recruiting sources from the National Security Services and Criminal Investigations...
- Preparing program and mechanisms for the rehabilitation of religious education, especially with regard to the Institute of Education al-Jaafari (Al-Jufair). In addition to the rehabilitation of the necessary cadres through studying Shiite theology to serve as a positive alternative to Wilayat Al-Faqih Theology.

- Listing all Colleges` of Advocacy and Sharia-Jafria graduates (in and outside Bahrain) and classifying them (employed vs. unemployed), as well as their political affiliations in order to be able to identify elements suitable for support...
- Encouraging jurisprudential, intellectual and political trends and directions in competition of Wilayat Al-Faqih through comprehensive and integrated activities (calls, workshops, visits, publications, conferences, etc...). Working in harmony with the full role of "Al-Watan" Newspaper (see annex 3) and the development of an information strategy for the Information Affairs Authority, especially for television and radio programs to be one of its priorities the audit of all its programs in the Council Containment framework.

## **Chapter 2: Wifaq's Agenda After Registration**

Wifaq's Development

The Strategy of Wifaq's Political & Spiritual Leadership

Wifaq's Progressive Tactics

Beyond Wifaq's Registration

Wifaq & the 2006 Elections

Our Priorities

## ***Wifaq's Development***

Four years passed since the association "of the Islamic National Wifaq" (6 \ 7 \ 2001) in Bahrain. Since the very beginning, it set its vision and Platform for Action is trying to monopolize representation of the Shiite community and to provide the organization as the only platform for the Defense of Freedoms. It claims it is an extension to the aspirations of the groups that expressed itself in the nineties through the riots and terrorism ominous.

During the past years "Wifaq" have passed gradual stages:

- Establishment June 2001 - February 2002.
- Expanding mass public February to December 2002.
- Building the organization January 2003 (the first general conference).
- Power test January 2005 (the second General Conference) - September 2005.
- Participation (Trojan Horse) in October 2005.

How many members are there? Are there 70 thousand as their media is promoting or 800 people who attended the meeting of the last General Assembly?"Wifaq" claims that it will continue to practice its role as the sole and legitimate representative for the Shiites in Bahrain. And there is an assault and slander by this on the currents expressed by other groups of Shiite religious and secular. And though that is the advertiser of the goals of "Wifaq" but he control of the Shia in it on the reins of power and the growing Iranian moral support and discharge conditions of Palestine and Lebanon and the eastern region in Saudi Arabia prompted "Wifaq" to unveil its real goals.

- adopting tactics of Hezbollah to push the file of a "constitutional reform first" and continue to portray the reform project as the tyranny of standardized reform as a focus for internal and external support especially from the U.S. and the EU .
- continuing to raise slogans in general to activate the heat of the Shiite and build-up political pressure on other political groups maneuvered around the position of the free trade agreement and the law of communities and terrorism, etc. ....
- accept to engage in the political process (Trojan), through the law of political associations. Are these hidden goals compatible with the paths of the project of His Majesty the King in the Kingdom of Bahrain? Is the leadership of "Wifaq" can continue to hide their real objectives?

"Wifaq "initiated the year 2005 by holding its second year conference in Jan. 4. Renewed its command structures and took a number of strategic decisions aimed at destabilizing the democratic experience in Bahrain. And re-arrange their positions during the deliberations of its General Assembly in mid-May 2005.

It completed the establishment of its organizational support teams (weight of social) and the development of the meeting enhanced Sheikh Ali Salman situation as a good maneuver. Sheltering the real "Wifaq" objectives with general slogans. And that he is the safety valve to achieve the objectives in the destabilization of the situation and distort and slander on the

experience of Bahrain and its political leadership Shuffle is the most appropriate for the next stage.

It also seeks to promote greater harmony to the religious authority (weight of morals) through the provision of Sheikh Issa Qassem, as a leader of the majority of spiritual "Shiite community" and seeks to establish the concept of loyalty to the range and its symbols abroad and not to the nation and must continue the campaign to force the state to recognize his situation as the (Sistani of Bahrain).

"Wifaq" seeks providing necessary funding to activate the agenda of its visions and aspirations of investment projects based on the parallel political ambitions (the weight of finance) but has not yet announced its sources of funding for their inflammatory campaigns and journey. What are the sources of these funds? Is it Kuwait? Saudi, AlAhsa? Or is it Iran? And does "Wifaq" fund its activities from the state funds? And no one knows what it did with \$ 50 thousand dinars, which were received last year. And from where comes the source for constructing business investment exceeding the estimated million dollars while claims that it represents the state of the oppressed and disadvantaged. Who pays for the political cadres, and ensures their livelihood, and a large number of them are unemployed and do not have a known income?

Ali Salman led a battle to approve the registration according to the law of political associations (8 \ 10 \ 2005) as a try to work for the recruitment and adaptation of its climate to lift the participation rate in municipal elections and the willingness to participate in the parliamentary, and limit the influence and effects of dissident groups by (Haq), which compete with (The Islamic Action).

In order to achieve all these hidden goals it adopted Taqiyya, politeness and not to declare the real objectives of the movements of "Wifaq" to make it easier to defend. But Wifaq's practices reveal all the parameters of the hidden objectives.

### ***The Strategy of Wifaq's Political & Spiritual Leadership***

- Lack of allegiance to Sheikh Hamad Al-Khalifa King of Bahrain in all circumstances. And considers that this position is an extension to reject the legitimacy of any system whose Sunni leadership since the days of the succession after the Prophet (PBUH).
- The denial of the regime in Bahrain and continuing the advocacy for the revolt that derives its legitimacy from the revolution of Al-Hussein (p) to the unjust Sultan.
- And the boycott of the national council is a principle position that cannot be abandoned only if it is the time to use it as a Trojan horse. Access to it in the 2006 elections, and then use it as leverage by threatening to withdraw from it at the right time.
- Its political stance is to change the foundations of the regime and not just the development of the reform project path and the stages of democratic development in Bahrain.
- And that it should avoid unconscious confrontation and adopt a maneuver to create the objective conditions for revolution.

### ***Wifaq's Progressive Tactics***

- Optimal exploitation of the Forum for the Future (November 2005), hired to expand the circle of its external communications.

- Exploitation of Ashura season each year renews the parameters of the Husseinia's revolution. Religious ceremonies in Muharram 2005 were the first step towards activating this goal and impose its own agenda on the general political climate in Bahrain. "Wifaq" considered "Ashura Bahrain" as a renewing of the Covenant with Imam Hussain.
- Continue to mirror what is happening in Iraq and Iran on the reality of Bahrain, expanding its sphere of influence in the eastern region of Saudi Arabia (funding + advocacy and political activity).
- Show off the strengths and exploit the political tensioned atmosphere which highlighted the facts of the celebrations in "Jerusalem" and "Ashura " to force the association of other political subjugation to the priorities of "Wifaq" in the direction of its preparations for the 2006 elections.
- Interest in the results and concrete yield of the mass movements as a major goal when planning. And by continuing to organize sit-ins and marches through a hot pack of files with slogans of sectarian discrimination, ethnic, and adding gradually the files of "housing," "Terrorism Act" and "environment file."
- Maneuver and cope with the political leadership of the Kingdom of Bahrain and call from time to time to direct dialogue, without commitment in order to save time and avoid contradiction with the preparation of the revolution in a suitable time. The aim is to exceed the executive, legislative and pressure to open a channel of communication directly with the Royal Court. Also tried by sending a constitutional petition signature (29 \ 1 \ 2005).
- call for "dialogue with the State "and "calm the situation" after every turn in the movement of "Wifaq" is the best and most appropriate tactic and flexibility due to the curvature in the face of the storm to avoid disrupting the growth of "Wifaq" . But all the dialogues of "Wifaq"
- must be based on Maneuvering refusing allegiance to the regime and whatever the reasons based on any negotiations with the ruling be in accordance with the pillars of "Wifaq" and its aims, which is to get as much of the gains. . And with the emphasis on the positions of the "Wifaq" would be "offensive" and that it will continue escalating its campaign as planned without regard for any comments on them from other associations or the State.
- avoid the ways that make it easier for enemies to object to the positions of "Wifaq." While continuing to use every means, which aims to break the state's prestige and to highlight the contradiction between the positions of state systems.

## ***Beyond Wifaq's Registration***

"Wifaq"'s leadership believes that all changes in the various governments was caused by a Sunni, not Shiite. They cannot change the regime in Bahrain by a Shiite revolution. Therefore it is necessary to focus to strike and sever cohesion between the government and the Sunni community and encourage them to rebel and revolt against it.

Will "Wifaq"'s style in pious conciliatory succeed in their protection of politeness and to avoid talking about the hidden agenda?

The law on political societies turning point in the balance of political forces in Bahrain for the state, according to the directives of His Majesty the King of the Supreme Defense Council (February 26, 2005) in the wake of the excesses of Ashura, known as the starting point for control

of the situation (state institutions and the rule of law) and the containment of any developments, because it:

- Imposed legitimacy and sovereignty of the 2002 Constitution.
- A fundamental pillar to revolutionize the political map in Bahrain (set the boundaries).
- A guarantee of the national security of the country in the medium and long-term.
- An incentive to continue to insist on remaining laws' permission (groupings + terrorism, + the press and publication) during the fourth session of the first legislative and whatever it takes.

But a direct positive impact was on the opposition, and consecrating the impression that the country is entering a new phase characterized by firmness and prestige of the state to impose. . And the movement of resignations and the sort experienced by "Wifaq" is currently provided will interact in the direction of expanding the resignations of other political organizations (the Democratic Action + Islamic Action particular).

It is clear that the political map of the opposition will be modified in 4 basic directions:

- A majority will correspond to their positions with the Law of Associations.
- Minority group will try to maneuver the practice of quasi-legal work through the social and cultural fronts.
- Minority will emerge from the consensus-oriented and non-legal work and the adoption of covert action.
- A group will leave the country to work abroad (especially Britain) and try to expand the role and influence of the "Bahrain Freedom Movement."

## **What is required?**

It is important to define clearly:

- What are the most important materials that fear of application on "Wifaq" and its allies (and the promise of the Islamic Action and Democratic Forum) to focus on the activation of these materials in particular?
- And to make these materials the standard for the application of the firm law on the opposition without hesitation or tolerance, since the first moment after the month of November.

Thus, we can maintain the element of the lead and the control provided by law and to the fullest extent.



Material that fear "Wifaq"	Why?	Examples
Article 4 (8) the headquarter ad the activity in Bahrain	"Wifaq" cannot practice any activity outside of Bahrain	A seminar abroad Filing a lawsuit abroad Participation in any effective organization abroad
Article 6 (4 a) National Action Charter, Constitution	Comply with them and recognize the legitimacy of the 2002 Constitution	Any violation of it or challenging it is a violation of the law ...
Article 6 (4w)	Away from the practice of any activity in state institutions + places of worship + educational institutions.	Rental of facilities of any Maatam or a mosque or a school hall or a public institution is a clear violation of the law.
Article 9 of registration procedures.	Minister of Justice gives a license and failing to take action on the request is considered a rejection.	Control of records, oversight and evaluation.
Article 27 Conciliation of conditions.	November 2005.	Age of membership (less than 21 years)... Recognition of the Constitution of 2002... Recognition of the legitimacy of existing and future laws ...
Silence of the law about it.	Partisan publications.	Regulated by laws on the press and publications.
Article 13, the internal affairs of other States.	Prohibition of any activity that would offend the Kingdom's relationship with other	"Wifaq" and its leadership are prohibited to address any other country about Bahrain's

	countries.	matters..
Article 14 Funding.	Prohibition of acceptance of contributions or benefit or advantage from a foreigner or a foreign organization or an unknown person.	Any activity,even it was a training of members of a non-Bahraini institution bringing an Arabic coach at the expense of a non-Bahraini entity..
Article 20 External Communications.	Prohibiting communication and alliance with any foreigner.	Coordinating any contact is a violation of the law.
Article 22 + Article 23 Sanctions	Minister of Justice asking the major court to stop the activity of "Wifaq" for a period not exceeding 3 months or resolved if committed a grave breach of the Constitution or laws of the country.	Any violation may lead to resolve the Assembly.
Article 24 + article 25 + Article 26 punishment	Imprisonment not exceeding one year or a fine not to exceed 1000 dinars or together... Preference for the case of a more severe punishment in any other law.	Receipt of funds or commission of a violation of the provisions of the law... Activation materials deterrent in other laws (money laundering + terrorism ... etc.)
Article 28 The Minister of Justice.	Law enforcement decisions issued.	High Power.

### ***Wifaq & the 2006 Elections***

"Wifaq" Provided a comprehensive picture for its plan in the 2006 elections fight through a number of different statements and summaries of recent monitoring made by the national security (see the reports for the period February 2005 - November 2005). It is useful to realize that the issue is not related to municipal elections only, but is mainly related to the forthcoming legislative elections.

- It is clear that the pivotal person in this business is Anwar Haider and that there is full use of external expertise in the processing of their election campaign. And that "Wifaq" will hire a new cadres (a new row) will select about 7 to 10 of their candidates for the parliamentary elections, mainly from the list of membership of the nomination in the municipal parliament are:
- More names of candidates for the rise of the membership of the municipal nomination in Parliament are:
  - Abdullahi Majeed AlAali
  - Jawad Fairuz
  - Juma' Alaswad
  - Hashim Kadhim
  - Majid Abd al-Nabi
  - Jamil Mohammed Kazem
  - Morteza Mohammad Badr

Therefore, it is necessary to accelerate to activate the recommendations made by the paper "strategy to contain the Secular." Through:

- supplement the processing of the database on the status of departments.
- review and narrow the list of municipal and parliamentary elections earlier. And assess their chances for the upcoming elections.
- identify a list of characters competing in each department based on the reality of these lists for their support (direct \ indirect).
- The imposition of strict control over the communications of the Electoral "Wifaq" committee.

Completed "Wifaq"'s preparations to enter the last phase of the implementation of its strategic plan for a resolution adjust to the Societies Law as a first step to participate in the upcoming parliamentary elections.

- Aiming for "Wifaq" to obtain the 24 seats in municipal councils and 18 seats in the House of Representatives.

## **The Organizational Structure**

Supreme Commission for Elections, headed by Ali Salman, secretary-Sukainah Ekry and the membership of Abdul Ali Mohamed Hassan Jalal + Jalal Fairuz + Dr. Anwar Haider + Jassim Redha.

The working team consists of the following committees:

- Chairpersons of the provincial commissions (Anwar Haider for Muharraq + Abdel Nasser Zulaikh of the capital + Kazem Mousavi for the North + Abbas Mahfouz, Mohammed AlWardi for the middle).
- Finance Kareem Fakhrawi + Jassim Asghar AlBasri.
- Media Mehdi Rabea + Fahim Abdullah + Fadil Othman.

## **Candidate Selection Criteria**

- Efficiency and the ability.
- The religious and moral commitment.
- Affiliation and loyalty.
- Qualification.
- Social status.
- Full-time and experience.
- Assessment of "Wifaq"'s leadership.

Schedule of the campaign is October 2005 - October 2006.

## **Themes of Wifaq's Election Campaign**

Is to focus on general issues that are central to the concerns of its base in the basic neighborhoods of the Shiite majority, at all levels (local, regional, and global), which are:

- linked to people's daily lives, and their security, interests, and aspirations, and crucial issues.
- need to configure a practical principled position about it at the individual and social development.

Change according to current living conditions, regional and global levels.

These themes at Bahrain level:

- Nationalization and dual nationality
- Sectarian discrimination
- Constitutional reforms
- The financial , moral and administrative corruption
- Equitable distribution of wealth

- Unemployment
- Services
- Environment

At the regional level:

- Palestine's case and the intersection with the situation of Lebanon.
- The internal war in Iraq.
- Solidarity with Iran.

At the global level:

- Afghanistan.
- Chechnya.
- Sectarian conflicts in India and Pakistan.
- American project for the Middle East and globalization.

## **Wifaq's Municipal Election Program**

- Amendment of the Municipalities Law 2001.
- control of the municipalities in the executive department and marginalize the role of the provinces.
- Control of the government institutions and ministries.
- Environmental Protection.
- Tourism according to "Wifaq" standards.
- The development of municipal cadres.

## ***Our Priorities***

- dealing firmly with the supporters of jurist rule (Wilayat Al-Faqih), representatives of the Secular Council (scaling + containing + weakening) of the Plan, an integrated strategy (divide and rule);
- continue to prepare for the upcoming elections according to what was agreed upon from the previous steps (technically and politically);

- promote participation by parliament in line with the priorities of national security and vital interests of Bahrain is set to rhythm of the Shura Council, selected carefully taking into account the experience of the first legislative term (2002-2006).
- responsible municipal councils are strengthen with gradually conservative authorities and the role of the Ministry of Municipalities to account for its goal of serving the citizens according to the priorities of the state and does not leave spots for political gain and for "Wifaq".
- Intensifying the elements of the confrontation with supporters of the Secular through the media plan, raise the moral themes of deterrence calculated based on pre-emptive steps to maintain national unity and to stimulate the Sunni community to the fullest degree and pave the way for the implementation of the security plan which was approved by the Supreme Defence Council.

## **Chapter 3: The Naturalization Challenge (not added)**

## ***Estimates & Indicators***

Acquisition of nationality is a legal, political relationship between Bahrain and any naturalized person (loyalty).

The purpose of any naturalization process (population balance + sectarian + ethnic) is for it to occur while taking into account the protection of the national security of Bahrain.

There are conditions (written + oral) that determine the procedural framework (public + private + extraordinary) through which the naturalization process occurs. The ultimate goal of which is to facilitate the integration opportunities and rapid adjustment between the naturalized citizen and society as a whole. The conditions are predominantly aimed at the protection against infiltration and complementing the legal capacity (accountability) of the naturalized individual.

Therefore, knowledge of the language used in the State is considered a real proof of the integration or susceptibility to melting into the society.

There are other additional requirements. For example, Syrian law to ascertain the integration of those desiring naturalization requires the individual to replace their given name by an Arabic name as a guarantee, while Saudi Arabia requires Islam because in its own assessment, giving up such a requirement affects the basis of the state's structure.

The general conditions are (to the west and east, except Israel): the naturalized citizen should not be a burden on the state (financially, morally or physically), must have the minimum qualities of a citizen and, preferably, have legitimate means of earning a living and a minimum level of education. And it might be better if the individual has capital (Western countries) or registered real estate (Bahrain) or an experience that may be utilized (Syria, Egypt), etc.

The most important condition that should not be given up is loyalty to the state, respect of its laws and the non-compromise of the political system's integrity or the state's structure (economic + community + political).

All states set a minimum time for residency until the naturalization request is considered ranging between 5 years (France, Japan, Britain, Tunisia), 10 consecutive years conditional upon adequately knowing Arabic and Arab origin (Bahrain) and Islam (Saudi Arabia), 15 years (Oman), 20 years (UAE + Qatar + Kuwait) or 25 consecutive years for non-Arabs (Bahrain).

The number of residency years may be reduced in some cases. UAE grants citizenship to citizens of Qatar, Oman and Bahrain after they had resided in it for a period of 3 years. While Qatar considers the request of any Arab after they had resided in it for 7 years.

The situation of Bahrain needs a brave, strategic decision in which the exception prevails and meeting conditions is the exception and that is for reasons relating to the particulars of Bahrain's situation, most importantly, the dangers that a severe demographic imbalance may pose on the future of the regime and its sovereignty.



**REMAINING TRANSLATION OF CHAPTER 3 NOT COMPLETED YET**

## **Chapter 4: Youth Strategy: Challenges & Opportunities**

National Youth Strategy

Guidelines for Preparing the National Youth Strategy Action Plan

Polarization Channels

Polarization Mechanisms

## ***National Youth Strategy***

Youth (15-30 years) are the mainstay of the national security for the Kingdom of Bahrain, because of the success in this vital sector immunization against intrusion and anti-recruitment political means to maintain the country's future and support the social fabric.

Therefore the national strategy for young people comes at a critical immediate after the Constitution, and it's reflect the aspirations and hopes of 60% of the citizens of the Kingdom of Bahrain.

Opposition succeeded in penetrating the strategy, they seek to control the stages of implementation and employed the youth to support the political and social influence among young people.

Opposition succeeded in the establishment and effective interfaces work (legal and semi-legal) and incubators and political ideological formation among young people, in the absence of full incubators alternative national loyalty to the homeland and its leadership and its authority constants of the country.

The youth are facing, attempts to exploitation for political purposes, to high risk of unemployment and drugs and polarizing rhetoric of anti-state constants and the effects of mental alienation.

Bahraini youth is currently the weakest link of national security and threatens the political legitimacy and stability of the kingdom and its rules and principles.

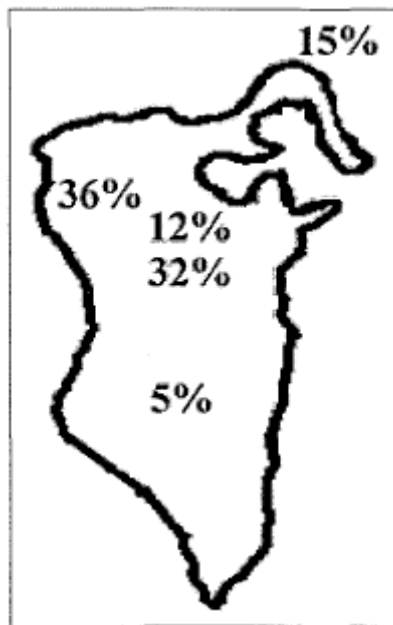
Protect young people from the intellectual breakthrough is the backbone to ensure the foundations of political and economic social security, in Bahrain. Attention and care must be taken to unify efforts to protect the future of the country and fortify youth and activated for the benefit of loyalty to the homeland and its leadership and protecting the constitutional legitimacy.

Support of the proposed creation of a "National Authority for Youth" powers and adequate resources and dependence on the direct supervision of the Crown Prince's Court, as it's one of the ways of ensuring the protection of national security and sovereignty of the Kingdom of Bahrain.

The future sector (15-30 years) is the forefront of the demographics and accounts for 60% of the Bahraini society. But this sector will Overseas the "Achilles heel" and "soft target" Soft Target to penetrate the horizon of development of the country painted as the "National Action Charter" and unloading of the contents identified by the Constitution 2002. The rate is most of them males (51%) and distributed rates of this sector to the following age groups:

Age Group	%
15-19	39
20-24	34
25-30	27

- The level of direct and we can not ignore the fact that there are more than 39 thousand new voters will participate in the elections of 2006.57% of them are males and we still do not know much about their characteristics. But the proportions allocated to the provinces as follows:



- The conference of the National Stadium speech dominated, political objectives and a clear ideological and has been involved "behind the scenes" discussions and interventions by a number of participants. Surprising that most of them (especially the representatives of national reconciliation and work) interventions have contributed to a preset wording indicates that there is attribution of political and regulatory framework and well prepared for such interventions to form a political strategy. It appeared in this meeting multiplicity of intellectual and political figures, and divergences in sectarian and multi-cultural patterns (originality / modernity, openness / closure) that surround the future sector in the Kingdom of Bahrain.

Strenuous efforts and the enormous resources that have been employed to break a national strategy for young people in Bahrain will override the events that did not lay claim to those who made it the gaps revealed by the discussions on April 21, 2005, and the most important of the multiplicity of loyalties + the emergence of the effectiveness of incubators ideological and political active in influencing them + external links. . Etc.

Clear reality and which will form the major obstacle to the Youth Strategy is the lack of awareness of the deportation serious political and practical challenges that are facing as a result of lack of attention in advance and prepare for the intrusions of political by supervisors (Amal Dosari + Ali Abdullah Khalifa) in exchange for incubators and cadres of political organization followed and focused on stages of development.

Despite the profound changes that have taken place in Bahrain since 1999, except that the Foundation's programs of the Youth and Sports (budget exceeded 14 million annually) focused basic outdoor activities and do not constitute activities of youth immunization priority to its plans and in particular lack the staff specialist and experience in the fields of communication and promotion of political communications and marketing in a position to contain and absorb breakthroughs political (faith + religious) experienced by youth groups, it seems that it is unable to develop action plans in line with the principles and priorities of the reform project of His Majesty the King Hamad Al Khalifa.

We can note here the extent to which the opposition participated in the formation of the national strategy for young people with reference to:

- Dr. Hassan Madan (Chairman of the Progressive Democratic Forum) was the reporter of the consultative meeting of the Strategy and is an active member of the Committee on the center of strategic culture.
- Abdul Aziz Abul (Secretariat of the Constitutional Convention) is the head of the center of the human rights of the strategy.
- Hassan Alhulaibi (Chairman of the Youth Association of the platform Aldemqradi Progressive) is the coordinator of youth initiatives and member of the management team for the work of the strategy.

In addition to broad participation in the preparations for the youth fronts of the Assemblies of opposition Accord + the Islamic Action + Action Democratic + National Democratic Rally.

The main challenge for the national strategy for young people in the coming period is to prepare an "action plan" Action plan and the program obey unable to respond with:

- Conditions and requirements and benefits of democratic transitions (greater freedoms + caveats below), which imposed the first phase (1999-2004) and enter your project for its second phase (2005-2010)
- Consolidation of social values and positive political and national (the ideals of + the development of the national Alcaourp + promote loyalty + tender).
- Provide the best channels and platforms that provide opportunities for positive distinct care + promote the development of the tender and participate in various aspects of national action.

- Keeping the values of belonging to Bahrain (land and people) , hereditary national and Arab-Islamic identity.
- Absorb the energies of youth and activated in order to preserve national loyalty and our basic values of society (National Action Charter).

To highlight the content of these strategic contribution must mention first horizon optimization, which must be borne in mind and a matter of urgency on the status of the implementation work plan (Action Plan) to download the guidelines of the national strategy for young people (2005-2009) on the reality of Bahrain and to establish loyalty to the country so as not to become strategy to the barrier and another barrier in the face of securing the legitimacy of the regime and threaten the stability of Bahrain and destabilize the social fabric and protect the national security.

Our strategic goal in the political project of His Majesty the King may God protect him is to support efforts aimed at creating a young Bahraini adheres to her identity belongs to Bahrain (first and foremost) and his loyalty to the political leadership of the kingdom and the ability to promote the reform project and universal respect for the Constitution and the rule of law.

And our immediate objective is to help with the competent authorities in the formation of incubators alternative to prepare the youth of Bahrain is of national responsibility and respect for civil rights and deal confidently with the requirements of 21 Century.

## ***Guidelines for Preparing the National Youth Strategy Action Plan***

### **General Framework**

It's necessary to focus on the ultimate goal which was to assign the support and legitimacy to the political priorities of the public input and priorities of the recommendations of the project, which is approved by the High Defense Council sense (authorities + voters), and linked it to national goals established by its authority, "National Action Charter."

### **Specific Framework**

Incubators provide alternative (Bahrain First Bahrain Society for example, or political) by which the selection of promising elements and to provide opportunities for training and supervision through a system of collecting information from sources and activate access them in the restructuring of the channels of influence on young people in Bahrain.

### **Action Plan Determinants**

1. To absorb the activities of these incubators and see the alternative largest share of youth leisure time by age group (15-19, 20-24, 25-30).
2. Be borne in mind when planning programs and the provincial population characteristics and gender.

3. Priority to the care and support of substantive activities (arts + music) for the effective impact in the standardization of tastes and feelings of these age groups and for its role in the development of a culture of openness flexible.
4. Provide the necessary supervisory personally in the field of political communication to immunize young people by providing a minimum level of knowledge of the positive aspects of the political scene in Bahrain for the benefit of the reform project (main weakness of the national strategy for youth). These cadres must be characterized by loyalty to the national and political culture and regulatory qualify for the extrapolation of fact, Bahrain and have the ability to influence positive trends in young people through events and activities undertaken.
5. Comprehensive inventory of the necessary numbers of promising young leaders (disciplinary + talent + included) to meet the needs of the immunization this sensitive sector of the community, and be capable of a commitment to programs of the actual needs of young people (equality + equity)
6. Classification and sorting of these leaders, promising (consecutive grades) to develop their skills (administrative + regulatory + art) and refined (internal + external) to provide capabilities in packaging and the crowd of large groups of young people in various national events and special circumstances in record time.
7. Map the amount of minutes of the possibilities available and viable employment (collection + analysis + investment), which is available to service organizations (Youth and Sport + Work + of Social Affairs) and education (universities + Education + centers) and clubs scandal.
8. Make maximum use of the possibilities available and employ electronic (touch + connect) in linking young people Bmarjaiat reform project through the groups and forum posting dialog Forums and Groups (hardware + software + multimedia)
9. Adoption of Compensation benefits system and incentives linked to levels of commitment to the consolidation of national identity and loyalty and promote enthusiasm and the privacy of the democratic future of Bahrain in the framework of the constitutional monarchy led by King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa.
10. Advocacy of the utmost importance indirectly for the adoption of belonging and positive interaction with incubators and channels such as the path of the national plan for compulsory enrollment of the regular channels (Defense + National Guard + National Security) and benefit from training (external missions and grants).
11. Focus on creating channels in field training and instructional media development programs based on political, social and economic development within the public policy of the state.
12. Created a specialized unit to inform the youth are under the supervision of a flexible joint committee (media + General Organization for Youth).
13. Optimization of protocols and conventions on international and regional cooperation in the field of youth and employ them fully in favor of alternative incubators.
14. Create a youth center and a national central (Bahrain first instance) be the custodian and the main focus of the compilation of promising young leaders from sub-channels for the Youth activity. He can be presented as a representative for the youth of the Kingdom of Bahrain in the educational activities and global events.

15. The adoption of "special emblem" for each axis of an attempt Strategy (Environment + Healthy Living + Education and Training + Action + Sports and recreation + information technology and telecommunications, and globalization + culture + civil rights and citizenship).

### **What are the strategic challenges faced by the implementation plans of the national strategy for young people?**

- Since the year 1999 and the start of the reform project sector has become the future (15-30 years) is a quad core polarization (dumping in the politicization) between the political forces in Bahrain (home of Youth). Mobility and the emergence of high-level political uses of new methods in the build-up and promotion of political messages (+ petitions + media campaigns dedicated to one subject + electronic communications, etc. ...).
- Since the municipal elections (2002) it became clear how much the stampede among the various political spectrum (secular + religious) to compensate for the case of declining relative during the seventies and to the late nineties of the influence due to weak organizational structures + atrophy channels of polarization oriented young people (student unions + Commissions cultural and social clubs + cultural centers)
- Shia organizations were able to do its presence in the community youth (Genesis political + culture + motor) are listed since the first Gulf War, and by 1995 emerged as pillars of social development of those clandestine organizations.
- Organizations of the year (fix + Education) have succeeded in building incubators composition isolated from the central currents of the Youth and Student activity.
- left-wing organizations (Marxist + National) Circuit receded impact at home while maintaining its presence in the community of students abroad.

There is now an area of future sector organized a youth around 15, represent a spectrum of different approaches and ideas, goals and methods of work, and the efforts did not succeed after the unification in a public forum standard. But now it's on under way to coordinate communication between the youth work of the opposition political societies.

### ***Polarization Channels***

- Diverse and multi-taken problematic legal and semi-legal (and interfaces) and confidential.
- Each employed the legal framework through the mechanisms of the Ministry of Social Affairs (political societies + voluntary activity) to establish new entities (commissions + internal organizational foci). And other youth created the organizational form (for Jean + Forums) within the already existing institutions (associations + clubs) or through the restoration of employment or positions in the cultural committees dominated by. And the other through the customary forms of charity groups and hobbies (mosques + charity funds) and technical teams (the funeral).
- The massive expansion of sites during the groups (Groups) and forums (Forums) on the Internet.



- The use of campaign creation of a "general union of students" in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Coordination of the meetings is to show their opposition in control of the Preparatory Committee for the re-establishment of the Union of university students during the year 2006.
- Campaigns artistic and cultural seasonal (Ashura + campaign of loyalty to the Zainab + festival anthem Alilasma + Quran + etc.)
- Movement reorganization of the trade unions.
- All political currents (secular + religious) focus on attracting employees of the universities in particular. But Shiite currents activated extensively in various academic levels and concentrations of unemployed graduates file (unemployment).
- Youth groups linked to the Shiite sect incubators have more effective programs linked to political and cultural formation and social and organizational well-defined and integrated with the activities of funerals, and tend to her and orientations to gain membership to the social group poor (deprived + oppressed)
- While efforts are focused on the Sunni currents in the final stages of secondary school and university students. And tend to focus their efforts on the social group over the medium and the medium.

## ***Polarization Mechanisms***

- All political trends and ideological discourse used decals and is suggestive (printed + tape + video + poster + headbands + banners + ... etc) as a way to show affiliation symbolic classification and organizational affiliation and identity property. For example; red decals, logos, photos of Guevara's Marxism that dominated the ceremony of the 50 anniversary of the establishment of the Liberation Front Bahraini and filed by the Progressive Democratic Forum (24/03/2005).
- Secular trends focused on the literary cultural events to expand its sphere of influence.
- Focused on the trends of religious services (health and treatment + loans + facilities Marriage + Hajj and Umrah and visit ... etc) and employed effectively banks legitimacy of Zakat and quintiles.
- Reconciliation and the Islamic Action supported a significant number of projects, training (tutorials + language education + IT) and computer services and offices of educational services (print + photography + references ... etc.) and distribution of tapes and recordings of art.
- Some private institutes and academic and employed as sources of funding for political associations and to expand her social circle. Place where the social events and entertainment on an ongoing basis and used to invite and attract and composition of staff and rally (National Institute + Institute of DC + Bahrain Centre for Languages and Technology ... etc)
- Massive recruitment of Information Technology and the Internet to set up discussion groups and forums, and code pages ideological and religious elders. Observation and care by linking these sites with a series of its affiliated sites that ideologically and physically, and internally and regionally (ideologically + politically).

- Advocacy and intensive follow-up of satellite television programs on (Al-Manar + Al Alam+ Alforat) and the free distribution of recordings of their special program "under the 20" from Al-Manar (Hezbollah).

These organizations are moving to the political abuse of state resources to finance their activities. It is pushing the Ministry of Social Affairs for the allocation of premises and provision of support for their effectiveness and affect its share of the posts of Foreign Affairs and in official delegations and popular. It also attempts American Institute (NDI) to adopt and fund a number of educational activities and play a positive role in monitoring the names of active and recommending to the U.S. embassy to extend invitations for them to visit America and win them over in favor of the U.S. embassy Greater Middle East is another matter worth up here. The British Embassy is also active during the sessions of the British Council.

Mechanisms and channels of polarization refer to the large-scale funding which can be estimated at about 5 million dinars annually. These mechanisms are used as sources of investment to finance political activity and to provide assistance and training grants and study (a quick tour through the streets of Manama, the outlets and video tapes and books ... etc has enabled us to estimate the annual income).

In the following pages we can provide a rough picture of the incubators configuration prevailing in the sector of today's youth and adopted by the political entities as conduits to attract active for both sexes.

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# **Chapter 5: Primary Issues & the Official Position**

## Methodology for Formulating Official Positions

### I. The Country

The Constitution & Demands for Amendments

Naturalization

Political Societies' Law

Family Law (CSP)

Judiciary & Endowments

### II. Government

Living Conditions & Unemployment

Education

Health Services

Housing

Torture Victims

Marches & Demonstrations

### III. General Issues

Sectarianism, Coexistence & National Loyalty

Freedom of Expression & the Abuse of Others

The National Dialogue

### **For Limited distribution**

Given the importance of uniting the concepts and attitudes in all official circles in the Kingdom of Bahrain, particularly those associated with the raised issues on both the external and internal set up, an initial list of the most prominent of these issues, and the official position of the proposed action. The adoption of these formulations as general limits to talk with the ambassadors and foreign visitors and the media is a must.

### ***Methodology for Formulating Official Positions***

- The separation of state, government and public issues (without mixing the issues).
- The State derives its authority from the National Action Charter and the Constitution.
- The State is the one that refuses its agenda (no dependence on the agenda of others).
- The State always demonstrates an initial position and not a response (estrangement from the reaction).
- Relying as much as possible on the principles and values in the constitution.
- The executive power (the government) is preparing its authority from the national strategies in different areas.
- The government's stands response to the developments in the framework of the state's strategy.
- Rooting the legal official positions.
- Abbreviating and focusing on the positions.

### ***I. The Country***

#### **The Constitution & Demands for Amendments**

- Democracy is to respect the majority's opinion.
- The majority (98.4%) endorsed the National Action Charter, and the 2002 Constitution was released based on the principles and foundations of the Charter, which was held under this Constitution, the parliamentary elections, in which a majority of the people (53.4%) supported this constitution and the decision of the constitutional institutions, and formed on its effect the power legislature.
- Amended the Constitution defined the mechanism (Articles 92 120). Any request or desire of the amendment must pass through the legislature.

His Majesty's constitutional right is to propose an amendment to the constitution and to propose laws. The government holds the same right as well. Nonetheless, the right to propose, whether the King or the government is merely a proposal, it still must pass through the Legislative Council which may approve it or reject it.

## **Naturalization**

- Bahrain represents, as was the case during previous eras, a melting pot of cultures, races and assets.
- Bahrain is committed to its policy and laws for granting a residence permits for foreigners and nationalize them with the international standers, which does not differ in its essence from those applicable in the United States or EU countries.
- "Bahraini nationality is determined by law, and it must not be forfeited from those who have it, except in the case of high treason, and other conditions determined by law." (Article 17 of the Constitution).
- The nationalizing decision is a sovereign decision regulated by the Nationality Act 1963 and its amendments.
- Acquisitioning the Bahraini nationality is an honor that is only given to someone who served this land, and who has the right conditions to make him eligible to win that honor under the law and order, and justice requires that everyone is equal before the law because the constitution guarantees equality and prohibits any form of discrimination or segregation (Article 18). Equality forms the constitutional rules, and all authorities in the Kingdom of Bahrain are required to follow it.
- The National Council exercises its full supervision on the performance of government, including the performance of the General Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

## **Political Societies' Law**

- The law of political associations is the result of a proposal suggested to the House of Representatives that was approved by the legislature with its two councils after it exhausted all the constitutional procedures required, and was ratified by His Majesty and published in the official newspaper.
- The constitutional amendments did not contravene with the provisions of law as enshrined in the Charter to protect the rights and freedoms.
- This law is like other laws, and it is subjected for development in accordance with the procedure prescribed in the Constitution and the mechanism contained therein.
- This law was issued to regulate the political work of the associations that were authorized to exercise political action until the issuance of the implementing rules governing them.

## **Family Law (CSP)**

- "Family is the base of society founded on religion, morality, patriotism, law preserve its legal structure, strengthen its ties, and values, protects within it motherhood and childhood, takes care of young people, and protects them from exploitation, neglect, and shield them from literary, physically, and spiritually." (Article 5 "A" of the Constitution).
- Regulating the conditions of the family is to execute the principles of the Constitution, as it comes within the framework of conventions and Bahrain's commitment to regional and international covenants in this regard, does not contradict with Islamic Sharia Laws.
- The project of law is set by religious scholars and scientists, and they are the specialists that are reviewing materials to ensure the commitment of Islamic law's authority, and they are aside the men of law that are specialized in drafting the law to reconcile with the legal rules to ensure compulsory and recognizes the sanctions, penalties and rights.
- The project of family laws display, like other laws to the Legislative Council, that when any amendment to the project of law is taken the opinion of clerics and scholars, and issued with the established mechanism by the Constitution.

## **Judiciary & Endowments**

- With an emphasis on the important role that a religious scholar must have in the guidance, advice and direction, the judiciary and endowment are two institutions regulated by law and determines their relationship with the other authorities, in accordance with the provisions of Islamic Sharia Laws.
- Organization of endowments, managing it and controlling it is the specialty of the government as the guardian, and that is adopted in other countries.
- The nomination of judges - as is the case with all countries that take a system of separation of powers - is through the judiciary itself represented in the Supreme Council of Magistracy, and this nomination is in accordance with standards and established by the Board to ensure eligibility of judges from the legal and legitimate for the performance of the secretariat.
- The selection of judges happens by the Supreme Judicial Council according to the rules declared objective and accessible to all and advances in transparency and the achievement of the principle of equal opportunities.

## ***II. Government***

### **Living Conditions & Unemployment**

- Improving the living conditions is a priority goal that holds the constant attention of the country.
- In that respect, many royal commands and governmental decisions were, such as allocation of shares from the government projects for poor families, reducing water and electricity bills, stimulating the families to produce, raising the minimum wage, and reforming the labor market and others.

- It is hoped that the investment projects and reform programs contribute to the labor market to improve the level of income and treatment of a large part of the problem of unemployment.
- These attempts will not achieve the desired results unless it prepares a suitable ground for investment in Bahrain, and also the government is working to create the ground to provide services and maintain stability and security because the street as well as the demands of the contribution with the government in achieving that stability and security, and this is the responsibility and the secretariat that everyone is a part of the government, citizens, scholars of religion and civil society institutions.

## **Education**

### **Schools**

- "The country guarantees cultural and educational services to citizens, and education shall be compulsory and free in the initial stages specified by law." (Article 7 "A" of the Constitution).
- The number of public schools in the 2004/2005 school year in the various governorates of the Kingdom of Bahrain (203) schools that included (4301) classrooms absorbed about 124 thousand students. 10 thousand students join primary school every year, which calls for the providing the appropriate classrooms on an average of 330 classrooms to accommodate these numbers. In accordance, the Ministry of Education is working on establishing one school annually, according to the program installation and what is available from the location budget of construction. Also, the Kuwaiti Technical Office is contributing to the establishment of schools approximately every two years.
- To cover the need of classes per year, the ministry establishes additional academic buildings in existing schools to accommodate the growing numbers of students in an average of 40 classrooms in the year with a capacity of 1400 male and female students.
- The country encourages the private sector to establish schools and private universities under the supervision of the country. Bahrain currently has 62 private schools and 12 private universities that work alongside the public schools. The University of Bahrain absorbs a lot of students at various stages.

### **Curriculum development and teachers**

- The Ministry of Education is always keen on developing curriculums in all subjects, and that is done through the formation of specialized work groups to follow up on what is new in this area.
- In accordance with the new line of the teaching staff, which links promotions and training, the passing of internal and external training courses is a prerequisite for being improved, which contributes to raising the efficiency of teachers and will have a positive impact on improving educational outcomes.
- Since the 2003/2004 academic year committees were formed to develop the primary, intermediate and secondary education to update their educational environment, its curriculums, its methods of evaluation, and preparing teachers to improve education to be consistent with the requirements of this era.



## Teaching the Ja'fari Sect

- The Ministry is currently developing a curriculum in line with general educational innovations and social variables; politically, scientifically, and technically, and the Islamic curriculums are one of these covered areas.
- The development of the Islamic educational curriculums will focus on the aspects of Islamic values, Muslim unity in the tolerance principles of Islam in terms of coexistence, acceptance the opinions of others, respect for others, tolerance, honesty and cooperation with them in light of national unity.
- The Ministry of Education allows an opportunity to be specialized in religious education through religious institutions and Jaafari religious institutions, where specialized curriculum were prepared for both the institutes and students were encouraged with monthly financial allowances.

## Health Services

- "Every citizen has the right to health care. The country takes care of the public health, and ensures the means of prevention and treatment by building different types of hospitals and health institutions." (Article 8 "A" of the Constitution).
- During the last thirty years, the Ministry of Health has made great strides towards the expansion and establishment of health centers to cover all parts of the Kingdom, where the numbers reached 20 health centers and clinics. During 2005/2006, four new health centers are going to be established, and they are "center of palm trees" in the Central Province and the Center for in Isa Town and a third in a Setrah. In addition to the "Zallaq health center."
- The Ministry of Health has set its strategy to provide health centers for citizens on the basis of the expansion and proliferation in the provision of health services for all residential areas in the Kingdom and to accommodate increased population growth and the increase in the number of patients to health centers, which means that each health center serves 20 thousand people. The proposed establishments of health centers during the years from 2007 to 2020 are up to 21 centers.
- The country encourages individuals and bodies to build hospitals, clinics or private clinics under the supervision of it, and there are serious initiatives by some private sector companies and financial institutions to contribute in establishing hospitals and clinics, which contributes in reducing the pressure on existing centers.

## Housing

- "The provision of housing for low-income citizens is a right guaranteed by the country." (Article 9 "and" of the Constitution), and budgets and plans are held for its implementation.
- The problem of housing is almost becoming a dilemma in all countries because it requires a huge budget for the construction of cities, services, and adequate housing for citizens. Housing remains the focus of the policies and activities of governments.

- Until now, none of the countries was able to resolve the housing problem completely, although it may have been observed that some countries are better in it than others. A good example of a success solution to these serious problems related to housing is Singapore, which merged between growth of its moderate population and between its strong economy, which is characterized by a long period of political stability. Nonetheless, there are some problems that appear from time to time and the other even with of the success they have achieved.
- Bahrain has been dealing with the situation effectively over the past 35 years to identify the problems of the housing in the country. That is why Hamad Town and the construction of Isa Town were built along with other cities. The last part was merging the process of creating homes with a high level of urban planning, as happens now in the northern regions and new cities. The villages development program is focused specifically on providing homes for citizens of these villages.
- A royal grant was given to the old, dilapidated houses to solve their problems as part of the program of restoration and rebuilding of dilapidated houses.
- The country encourages the private sector to contribute to the housing projects, and construction. There are real initiatives undertaken by some companies, public and private sectors. These different responses are aimed to move the resources from both the public and private sector to provide adequate housing.
- In Bahrain, as the case in the rest of the world, requires a solution to the housing problem in cooperation and participation from all segments of society; government and private foundations, charitable institutions and from the citizens themselves. The last requires continuous efforts in the long run from all sides.
- The need for the provision of housing remains constant because of the increasing population and the rising costs.

## **Torture Victims**

- Since His Majesty the King in the country took the reins of government in 1999, he started the overall modernization; political, economic and social, within the framework of the reform project of His Majesty the King based on the rule of law and respect for human rights in various areas.
- One of the most prominent features of the reforming project is the acceptance of the people of Bahrain to the National Action Charter, including some sort of consensus by 98.4%, along with confirmation of the amended Constitution promulgated in February 2002 to strengthen the causes of good governance, democracy in the framework of constitutional monarchy, and to work to achieve the hopes and ambitions at the time of highlight amnesty.
- The issuance of decree law no. (10) for the year 2001 of the general amnesty for all offenses against national security except those resulting in the death of a person for the citizens within the country and abroad. Along side of it is the decree law no. (56) for the year 2002 in the interpretation of certain provisions of decree law no. (10 ) for the year 2001, as well as the pardon decrees issued exemption for all those convicted or arrested or accused, whether citizens or non-citizens and for the perpetrators of all crimes against national security except of the ones resulted in the death of someone or other with that the national reconciliation was completed in full equality who reunited this exemption without discrimination of any kind, including citizenship or residency.

- The bypassing of the past through the Amnesty Act brings support of the move towards the future with its fast launching. Forgiveness must be a habit of everyone because there is no selection in the pardon and the rights for those who have been subjected to torture, ill-treatment, affected by terrorism, arson and vandalism. Dignity is indivisible.
- The doors of the country are open to help everyone who needs care or attention to overcome the effects of past, and to protect them from exploitation to move towards the future with pure hearts.

## **Marches & Demonstrations**

- The right of assembly, demonstrations, and marches is guaranteed in Bahrain, but like all the nations of the world, it must be made within a framework of law and sovereignty.
- In Bahrain, in comparison to what is happening around us, is one of the countries that exhibits a great number of marches, demonstrations and activities in full freedom (the reference to the number from time to time is important). The country does not prevent the demonstrations and marches, but it works on protecting and facilitating their tracks.
- The government sees the need to respect the rule of law, and compliance with the law and regulations is not a matter of selectivity and duplication of Standards and leniency especially under the light of the circumstances that prevailed in the region. The government hopes that the civil society institutions and human rights groups understand that the goal is to safeguard the security of the citizen and his property, and save the system; not to avoid criticism.

## ***III. General Issues***

### **Sectarianism, Coexistence & National Loyalty**

- Compliance to the teachings of the Islamic Sharia laws and to the national commitment principles that were established by the Constitution guarantees to achieve unity and reject disarray, which closes the opportunity to anyone who tries to split the national front.
- "People are equal in human dignity, and citizens are equal before the law in rights and duties; there is no discrimination on grounds of sex, origin, language, religion or faith." (Article 18 of the Constitution).
- No one has the right to question the affiliation of any individual of this land. Whoever lives on this land and serves its people is a genuine Bahraini, regardless of religious, sectarian or ethnic affiliation. The community of Bahrain, as is the case with other communities, has formed over the years from various communities, assets and races. No one is preferred on anyone except in following the national principles and working on serving the people.

### **Freedom of Expression & the Abuse of Others**

- "Everyone has the right to express his/her opinion and to publicize it verbally, in writing or otherwise, in accordance with the terms and conditions enacted by the law, without prejudice to the foundations of the Islamic faith and unity of the people, and without starting discord or sectarianism." (Article 23 of the Constitution).

- The regulation of rights and public freedoms enshrined in the Constitution cannot be done except by law, or build upon it, and the organization or the definition may not obtain the essence of the right or freedom (Article 31 of the Constitution).
- Accordingly, the issues that are raised in the online sites, internet forums, or on the pages of local newspapers should be handled with the force of law. With law, freedom of expression, the right, the freedoms, the beliefs and the privacy of others are protected,
- To ensure the freedom of expression as a constitutional right, and to ensure that there is no prejudice to the principles of the Islamic faith and the unity of the people or provoking discord or sectarianism as well as a constitutional principle, there should be no discrimination and separation between religion and politics.

## **The National Dialogue**

- The national dialogue must have a base that it flourishes from, and a framework to set its course and its objectives. A constructive national dialogue is the one that aims to move forward in addition to what has been achieved.
- The dialogue should not be used as philosophy or a way of turning back.
- The dialogue has rules:
  - It should adhere to the priorities of national security and to the vital interests of the Kingdom of Bahrain.
  - It should follow the constants and the terms of reference set by the National Action Charter and by the ratified the 2002 Constitution.
  - It should relate to the crucial issues that interests all citizens.
  - It should commit to institution of civilization and traditions of dealing.
- The responsible, constructive, beneficial democratic dialogue is the one that draws its themes from the elements of the reform project as a whole including the economic development, the diversification of economic activity and the national income sources, the optimum utilization of natural resources, the economic openness, the support of the private sector, the social development and human and building human Bahraini building a sound, the maintenance of the democratic right of society to open up, and the achievement secure society, which reassures the citizen today and tomorrow, and his wealth and his children. In addition to the maintenance and promotion of political development and cultural renaissance and democracy the country has witnessed, politics is part those of the general formula for a constructive dialogue.
- Dialogue, in accordance with these frameworks, is constant and cannot be interrupted. Some time ago, the country witnessed that the dialogue is still continues to build a national economic development and labor markets. The dialogue had a great national outcome of participation and affectivity, and it was shadowed by the national spirit of the reform and progress.
- The country will be supportive of any national dialogue aimed at constructing, and developing the interest of the homeland and citizens.

## **Chapter 6: Restructuring Religious Activity (not added)**

**NOT COMPLETED YET**

## **Chapter 7: Bahraini Guantánamo Detainees**

## ***Recommendations***

- Diplomatic and official negotiations facilitated the solution, and their impact is more positive than the legal and rightist role of law firms or NGOs. Judicial proceedings will take a long time. Legal and judicial procedures will take too long.
- End the exploitation of this issue through:
  - Forming an official legal committee that includes legal figures or prominent Bahraini law offices that would follow up on this issue.
  - Forming a national committee made up of civil organizations that would coordinate civil action.
  - Sending a letter to the US Secretary of State to urge her to speed up the treatment of this issue due to its impact on the bilateral relations.

## **Information**

- Bahraini Detainees
- The State's position
- The Position of the detainees' families
- U.S. Law Firms
- The political exploitation of the Guantanamo file
  - Al Wasat Newspaper
  - The Opposition
  - The Human Rights Center
  - The Human Rights Association
  - The Human Rights Watch
  - The Lawyers' Association
  - Bahrain Society for Public Freedoms and Democracy
  - Committee of the Martyrs and Torture Victims
  - Al Asalah Assembly

- Al Minbar Assembly
  - Independent MPs Bloc
  - Islamic Forum Society
  - Public Figures
- Annexes



Since June 2000, the military prisons in the Guantanamo base in the Cuban republic have held around 600 detainees from 42 countries. The current detainees have been reduced to 545 after the release of 641 prisoners, where 61 were delivered to their governments that would investigate with them and provide evidence that would convict them for a criminal trial.

## ***Bahrain's Detainees***

The Bahraini detainees include 6 people who were arrest in Pakistan, and not Afghanistan, with four of them (Al Dousari + Hajji + Al Murabiti + Al Balushi) considered by the US authorities as Enemy Combatants, while the rest have not been categorized by the specialized military committees. 'Enemy combatant' is a term for a person who assisted the Taliban regime or "Al Qaeda" or any other party involved in combat against the United States of America or its allies.

The detainees are:

- Abdullah Majid Al Naimi: 19 years old (Now 22). He graduated from Al Hikma School and later travelled to the USA in order to pursue his studies in electric engineering but he cut off his studies. It is alleged that his visit to Pakistan was an attempt to persuade a friend of his to return back to Bahrain. He did not inform anyone at his home about his real destination when he headed to Pakistan, as he was convinced that he would be prevented from travelling, therefore he claimed he will travel to the United Arab Emirates for the sake of practicing sniping.
- Salah AbdulRassul Al Balushi: 19 years old (Now 22). He was a student of the Sharia department in the Medina Univeristy in Saudi Arabia but he did not completely his studies after his sudden travel to Pakistan for no specified reason.
- Jumaa Mohammed Al Dosari: 31 years old (now 33). After graduating from high school, he worked in the contracting business and after that in public relations as a pursuer. He then travelled to the USA to complete his studies, but he was forced to cease his studies and return to Bahrain after his father had suddenly fell ill. Afterwards, he travelled to Pakistan to support the Afghani refugees.
- Adel Kamel Hajji: 41 years old (now 44). His family resides in Bahrain but does not hold the Bahraini citizenship. He travelled to Afghanistan after taking a month off from his job, where he worked as an accountant for the defense forces. He initially travelled to Iran, and left to Afghanistan from there.
- Issa Al Murabiti: 43 years old (46 now). Married with 5 children aged 5-16. He was a sergeant in the defense forces but he resigned in 1997 after 21 years of service due to personal circumstances. He worked as a freelancer and in the contracting business without much success. Following his depression, he travelled to Pakistan to aid the refugees there.
- Al Sheikh Salman Bin Ibrahim Al Khalifa: - There is no mention of him in media and a lack of information about him due to the fact that he is part of the ruling family.

## ***The State's position***

- Since 2002, the Ministry of Interior has coordinated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to send security envoys to the prison in Cuba. The first visit was in April 2002, the second in February 2003, the third in April 2004, and the last in June 2005. The purpose of these

occasional visits is to examine the physical and mental health of the detainees and to discuss with US officials the possibilities of their release.

- The last meeting over this issue was in July 15, 2005 in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs chambers, and it had involved top officials from the ministry representing the detainees' families, three members of parliament (Adel Al Mu'awda, Mohammed Khaled and AbdulNabi Salman), and representatives from the Dorothy & Whitney law office.
- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has actively sought to secure the release of the Bahraini detainees and it has met with both the previous and current US ambassadors.
- The first envoy to visit the Guantanamo prisons was the Bahraini envoy.
- The Bahraini embassy in Washington DC has been consistently following the issue with the US authorities.
- There are political associations that seek to politically exploit the issue.
- The issue has been strongly mentioned to the top officials in the US administrations during all the official visits to Washington, and the following details may be referenced:
  - The Ministry of Foreign Affairs released a statement on 6/8/2004 clarifying that ministry had requested the embassy in Washington to send an official statement to the US foreign ministry regarding the claims of torture against two of the Bahraini detainees, to confirm the validity of this information in order to take the required steps with the USA. Then in 12/8/2004, the ambassador in Washington brought up the topic with the American Naval minister during a meeting conducted by the minister with ambassadors from countries who has citizens detained in Guantanamo.
  - Regarding the issue of torture against Bahraini detainees, the Prime Minister His Highness Sheikh Khalifa Bin Salman Al Khalifa has confirmed in a statement in 8/8/2005 through local media that "the government has been following up on this issue with great concern."
  - On 22/8/2004, the U.S. Charge d'affaires met at the Embassy with one of the lawyers of the Dorothy office to discuss the issue of defending citizens and the actions that the U.S. courts want to take up in the event of granting permission for the lawyers to visit their clients at Guantánamo. Another meeting on 13 \ 10 \ 2004 discussed the issue of visiting clients, with a follow-up meeting on 24/10/2004 with regards to sending a team of lawyers to Guantánamo.
  - A memorandum from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the U.S. embassy on (30 \ 8 \ 2004) requested for a security delegation from the Ministry of the Interior and the National Security Apparatus to visit the detainees in Guantánamo, and accompany the detainees' relatives during the visit. In addition to the ministers' request to urge the U.S. authorities to release Sunni citizens with the Ministry's readiness to take the necessary measures prior to being deported back to Bahrain. The U.S. government agreed only to the visit of a security delegation to Guantanamo base.
  - During the 59th session of the UN General Assembly in September 2004, the foreign minister met in New York with the U.S. Secretary of State and the Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs with regard to the issue of the detainees in Guantanamo, and the different possibilities for their release and deportation to Bahrain. This was

followed by Bahraini Ambassador in Washington through a meeting with the Secretary of the US Navy in the Pentagon on 2/11/2004. They discussed the issue of Bahrainis in Guantanamo and he presented a letter concerning the ongoing discussions and contacts between Bahrain and the USA regarding this case. This letter emphasized Bahrain's desire to reach a solution and its willingness to accept the return of its 6 citizens as well as its readiness to comprehensively discuss with the USA the necessary measures for deporting them back to the Kingdom.

- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has provided the U.S. embassy on 10/11/2004 & 24/11/2004 with copies of certificates of good conduct issued by the Ministry of the Interior for the 6 citizens in addition to similar certificates from other authorized bodies and certificates signed by the people and acquaintances of the six citizens. The U.S. embassy sent these certificates to the concerned authorities in Washington as these documents are in favor of the detainees and their cause.
- Following a meeting in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 25\1 \2005 between the security delegation and the detainees' families, the letters were delivered by the delegation to the families, assuring them of their children's health, and explaining to them that conditions of detention and treatment by officials at Guantanamo have improved compared to the conditions from a previous visit.

### ***The position of the detainees' families***

The negative campaign led mainly by the opposition and Sunni religious associations (Reform + Authenticity) called for a consensus by the majority that:

- The State is not interested enough in the issue retrieving the detainees.
- Objected to the manner in treating this issue, where it clarified that the current pressure on the U.S. government is not sufficient like it is on other countries. The state is accepting of the promises made by the U.S. to the security delegation during its occasional visits, such as the "release after the final evaluation" promise.

This was stated by the detainee's father, Sheikh Salman bin Ibrahim Al Khalifa:

"The government and the official source are not correct about what is happening to the detainees, and the security delegation which visited the detainees twice in the past two years does not have the courage to uncover the facts that they know about the detainees."

On 17/8/2004, The family of Issa Mirbati accused the Ministry of Interior, as represented by the security delegation of "cowardice" after searching Mirbati's home and taking some of his memoirs, after the security delegation's direct return from Guantanamo and handing it over the memoirs to the U.S. authorities. This pushed them question the credibility of the visit, which came in favor of the Americans more than the detainees and their families. Adel Hajji's brother supported the Mirbati's statement after he confirmed that the security delegation:

"Went to investigate with the Bahraini detainees there and not to check up on their health and conditions, and after that, the delegation was not sincere in everything they had stated as they had gave them letters from the detainees without anything new, and it seemed like they were hiding many facts, including the reasons they gave for the lack of any new letters from the detainees. The delegation had responded that the detainee had refused to write letters to his family, which strongly surprised them."

The detainees' families continued to demand from official authorities to exert more effort in releasing their sons.

## ***U.S. Law Firms***

- To achieve their interests and gain the sympathy of the detainees' families, it expressed its regret for the disregard or lack of interest from the Bahraini government in following up this file and coordinating the law firms.
- U.S. law does allow lawyers to raise a case or become the families' attorney without knowing the name, age, nationality and reason of arrest of the detainee. Therefore, the firms were keen on meeting all the families in order to obtain all the names and to get authorization to defend them.
- In July 2004, a defense team for the Guantanamo detainees, headed by the American representative of the "Justice Foundation In Exile" and "Center for Constitutional Rights" Clive Stafford, in addition to the Chairman of the Kuwaiti detainees at Guantanamo commission and a representative of Amnesty International, visited Bahrain to conduct several meetings with authorities, Shura council, the parliament, and the detainees' families in order to clarify the case's image, as well as the position of the detainees and the support needed by the defense team.
- There are 60 law firms under the supervision of 400 lawyers in the USA that volunteered to defend the Guantanamo detainees, only to benefit later from the compensation funds. The Kuwaiti government is the only side that has bore the cost of defending its citizens (more than 10 million dollars). Meanwhile, we find that the two institutions mentioned above are getting financial support from the Kuwaiti and Saudi civil committees as well as support from the Kuwaiti, Sudanese and Australian governments.
- The Dorothy & Whitney firm in New York (see p. 18) represents all Bahraini detainees to defend them, noting that the lawyers claim to be 'voluntarily defending them for free' despite the fact that the lawyers' legal expenses exceed half a million dinars!
  - The representatives of the office have made several visit to Bahrain. The next visit will be on July 3rd, 2005.
  - The bears the defense expenses but it searches for ways to win later compensations, estimated to be worth millions of dollars.
  - It attempts to claim that the law firms' mission is not material, but is about the defending justice and the constitutional foundation in the USA, and that it is keen to protect the constitution and the right of the detainee to defend himself under fair legal procedures. It rejected what the illegal procedures conducted by the administration, like jailing and indefinite imprisonment without charges, the inability of the detainee to contact a judge, and the secrecy of the prison and its location, as well as threatening the detainee after his release. In addition to this, is the bad treatment during imprisonment which violates the implementation of the Geneva Convention regarding the treatment of prisoners and detainees.

There are still strong doubts over the financial benefits and the exploitation of unknown consequences when it comes to the conditions of the detainees in getting large amounts of money to the law firms, after filing them as 'compensation cases'. After 4 years, we find that out

of the 421 Saudi detainees, only 30 of them got an attorney. Also, from the 100 Yemeni detainees, only 30 families got an attorney.

## ***The Political Exploitation of the Guantanamo File***

The political exploitation of a file Guantánamo

### **Al-Wasat Newspaper**

Published more than 200 news pieces and comments on the Guantánamo detainees while the 'Al Ayyam' newspaper has not published anything like that during the same period of time for more than 49 times. It publicly acted for the arrangement of a campaign to defend their right to a fair trial since the summer of 2002, or to hand them over to security authorities in Bahrain to prosecute in the event of proving any accusation against them or their involvement in acts of "terror." But it also organized the campaign to distort the position of the State regarding the file and it tried to keep public opinion from supporting the constitutional legitimacy (see Appendix, p. 13). It also paved the way to a strategic alliance for the opposition through uniting the visions among public opinion (the Sunni and Shiite) over files on the opposition.

### **The Opposition**

The immediate objectives of the opposition led by 'Al Wifaq' is to build bridges with the leaders and the masses of the Sunni community, and to promote political alliances with them against the state. It is important not to allow the members of Bahraini political groups any opportunity to exploit this particular file, especially with with the "Minbar" and "Asalah", as we head to the 2006 elections.

### **The Centre for Human Rights**

Nabeel Rajab coordinated between U.S. lawyers and the detainees' families from Bahrain and Saudi Arabia, and that is a follow-up to the resolutions of the meeting in Sana'a to defend detainees (from Bahrain, Jordan, Syria, Libya and Egypt). It was organized by the Manama meeting in August 2004 to discuss the Arab detainees in Guantánamo. Nabeel Rajab is a representative of the Sana'a Committee to defend Guantánamo detainees in Bahrain, and is the link with the families of Saudi detainees. He provides services and networks his contacts to the 'Center for Constitutional Rights' in New York and a number of other commercial offices. There are indications that Nabeel Rajab gets money from these offices in return for arranging meetings.

### **Bahrain Society for Human Rights**

The Society launched a national campaign for the release of Guantánamo detainees in mid-May 2004, and it sent a popular petition to the U.S. embassy on November 2004, signed by more than 1100 people, demanding the quick release of the Bahraini detainees in the prisons of Guantánamo. It then turned to the detainees' families and discussed with them what can be done. It took advantage of the atmosphere of the "Labbaika Ya Ali" after the U.S. on the holy sites in Najaf, Iraq, to escalate its campaign of solidarity with the detainees, so the majority of the signatories to the petition were from the Shiite community, while many groups abstained from signing the petition out of fear from being included in the ideology of "al-Qaeda." All the Salafists MPs and the deputies affiliated with the Islamic movement abstained from signing, except for the Deputy of the Islamic 'Minbar' Mohammed Khalid, who has adopted the cause.

The Society then turned to the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs on 24 \8\ 2004 to discuss the Bahraini detainees at Guantanamo, Bosnia and Saudi Arabia. Despite all this enthusiasm, it retreated and left the file to the Centre for Human Rights.

## **Human Rights Watch Society**

It was completely absent on the subject and it has not issued any statement or position regarding the file.

## **Lawyers' Association**

It processed the file as part of other national events, where it confirmed in a number of statements the need to stop U.S. violations and follow-up to its implications against the Bahraini detainees in Israeli and Iraqi prisons. It called for the implementation of the principles of international humanitarian law and the Geneva Conventions of 1949, to stop and remove the aggression and U.S. abuses in Guantanamo, Iraq and Palestine, and to address the double standards, and to counter double standards, based on international published reports, against the Bahraini detainees at Guantánamo and elsewhere. She also called for the need to follow-up the decisions of the United Nations and reports of reports on agreements regarding the treatment of detainees & prisoners and fair trials according to international standards (Document Geneva 5, London 1960, Tokyo 1970, Milan & Caracas, and finally Havana 1990).

## **Bahrain Society for Public Freedoms and Support of Democracy**

It asked to intensify the efforts in retrieving the detainees after a meeting with the American Bar Association. It explained that the government has not done enough to ensure the return of the detainees, pointing out that European countries & Australia, which have strong ties to the USA, had demanded their nationals without affecting these ties because of those claims. It said that with international pressure, the Guantánamo Bay ought to be closed and its detainees ought to be released, and it stressed the need to demand the return of detainees to Bahrain in order to end their suffering.

## **The Committee of Martyrs and Torture Victims**

The Guantanamo campaign impacted it negatively, where Ali Salim Ali Salim (Chairman of the Information Committee) resigned in mid-August 2004, protesting the issuance of a statement by the committee condemning the torture of detainees in Guantánamo. Chairman of the board Ibrahim Hassan Jassim also hinted at resigning due to what he described as:

"The bad situation that the Committee has been going through from splits and divisions in visions and orientations on many of the issues handled by it, which include the issue of financial compensation offered in the form of an initiative from the political leadership through one of the scholars to all those affected by 1990s incidents in return for dissolving the committing and refraining from demanding the cancellation of Law 56 and for trialing those responsible for the torture and human rights violations during that period."

Slim said in a telephone call from Iran to Al-Wasat (8 \ 8 \ 2004) that:

"Involving the Committee in the defense of Guantánamo detainees will lead the committee into trouble which it wouldn't be able to get out of locally and internationally, as it was formed to

defend the tortured and injured by the Bahraini state security law from the period after the dissolution of the National Council in 1973."

## **The Asala Assembly**

The MP Adel Al Muawda tried to use this issue to attack the the US-Bahraini relations (an extension of his position on the free traders), and he described the state's position described as "negative" and accused it of negligence and indifference to detainees (p. 12). It was stated in the House of Representatives (June 14, 2005):

"Where is the Khalifian Administration's answer to us! Did we write, ..Did we ask, did we protests, did we condemn, did we summon an ambassador or anything?.. Yes, we cannot afford to do so but we can do what we are able to..Unfortunately at the official level, there is no real, effective effort to release our brothers there, but why isn't the issue turned into a popular caused followed by the people, in order to know what is happening to their sons.Delegations visit this embassy and this ministry without questioning the reasons why our sons are arrested to this day..Law firms affirm that the Bahraini embassy in Wasighinton did not carry out any calls with the parents in case the office tried to contact them..And after a lot of effort, maybe they won't find an answer..Can this be, my brothers, who is this lawyer that the state has appointed to defend our sons, and when, and what, and where are the reports, and how is this the lawyer? .. There is no power but that of God .... for the children of Eisa and for the children of Mirbati, Dosari and Kamal, do you ask about them ? Who takes care of their mothers and fathers, where do they eat from, where do they drink from, who takes care of them? Do we mourn them or add on their ravages of time as well? Is it not the duty of the government to say that we, as the Prophet peace be upon him said, when he took care of the children of Ja'far after the ravages of time had left them, who will take care of these people? Those are the noblest of the nobles and they don't press people..Do we wait until they humiliate themselves on the doors? Do you know those Americans spent half a million dollars at the issue of our children, how much our government spent on our children, with the exception of embassies.

'Al Asala' condemned in an earlier statement on (8 \ 8 \ 2004):

The shameful incident which circulated on local and international newspapers on the brutal attacks and barbarism on the Bahraini detainees in Guantanamo on the citizen Jumah al-Dossari and citizen Sheikh Salman Al-Khalifa, as it poured upon all types of physical and moral torture while they were handcuffe ... that the 'Asala' Assembly calls for the wise of the American people and the elected boards to condemn the shameful actions of their government, and force it to listen to the mechanisms of justice and righteousness. The persistence in the US' injustice and preponderance will be the primary reason for the fall of its material civilization and the collapse of its state.

The statement called for:

"Officials at the highest level to move to stand with the oppressed people of Bahrain to liberate prisoners from jails and to release them as soon as possible, and to treat them as prisoners of wars, not criminals, and so it called on the government to provide fees to the attorneys of the Bahraini detainees in Guantanamo."

The statement also appealed to His Majesty the King who has dedicated himself to protect his people and defend their rights to intervene immediately for the release of his sons from the brutal torture, and to take advantage of the special relationship Bahrain has with the USA to liberate its detainees, just as Britain, France and Australia did.

## **‘Al Minbar’ Society**

It merely repeated the following questions in the statements and conferences of its officials:

Is there any Bahraini plan to deal with the issue of detainees in Guantanamo, and what is this plan, if any? What measures have been taken by the State in order to release these detainees, and whether there is an intention to file a lawsuit against the U.S. administration, especially with the lack of evidence against the Bahraini detainees?

They also declared that the House of Representatives, according to the regulations and the constitution, did not allow the establishment of a committee to defend the detainees at Guantanamo, but there is a desire to discuss with the government and to pressure it for such a possibility.

On the 1st of May 2005, it formed a popular committee to advocate for the Bahraini detainees at Guantánamo ("Loyalty to Our Six"); the Commission is preparing to organize a series of sit-ins. The number of people who joined the committee is 52.

MP Mohammed Khalid calls, from time to time, for a civil protest by the detainees' families and a number of deputies in front of the U.S. embassy and send a clear message by demanding the release of the detainees or to bring them for a fair trial, and to address the monarch to intervene more strongly to support the file. The MP Salah Ali also expression the intention of the 'Reform' block to prepare a letter on behalf of the National Council in both its branches, the "House of Representatives and the Shura Council," to be sent to the U.S. administration through the U.S. embassy in the Kingdom, to demand the release of the detainees. But it has not been done yet.

## **Independent MPs Bloc in the House of Representatives**

It announced:

"Its total rejection of the brutal methods employed by the guards of the "notorious" American Guantánamo in Cuba," where Jumah al-Dossari among a large number of detainees were exposed to in a prison which does not have any features that respect the humanity of prisoners or takes into account the international agreements in this regard.

The bloc said in a statement:

"The brutality of the guards, whether ordered by their superiors or by their savage psyche is a devastating earthquake to the conscience of humanity and a blatant infringement of human rights which the United States constantly emphasizes on protecting, meanwhile its soldiers are the first to insult those principles and do not abide by them them, ignoring the international laws that prohibit such actions and abuses while marginalizing laws that do not accept such brutality between man due to force & weaponry from one side."

## **Islamic Forum Society**

The Society called on the government on (8 \ 8 \ 2005) to call the acting U.S. ambassador and inform him of their position in rejecting the torture of prisoners in Guantanamo. According to the statement:



“The Bahraini people have been shocked after following up on the conditions and reality of arrest of the 6 honorable Bahrainis by the forces of American injustice and aggression in Afghanistan. They have not committed a single crime other than to provide humanitarian aid to their Muslim brethren in devastated Afghanistan, as they were arrested during the brutal invasion of Afghanistan under the pretext of belonging to al Qaeda. The U.S. soldiers have practiced their dominance and racism by bestowing the harshest form of torture upon them, violating all forms of laws and human rights.”

## **Public Figures**

### **Hadi Marhoun (First Deputy Chairman of the House of Representatives)**

Called on the Government of the Kingdom of Bahrain for the urgency to start a dialogue with the U.S. to promote understanding and demand the release of detainees, considering that they are Bahraini citizens required every political and legal effort to help them humanitarily, especially as there were a number of European detainees that were released after their governments had pressed for that, even though the charges against them were many in comparison to the Bahrainis.

It also called on the government to strengthen relations with international lawyers appointed to defend the Bahraini detainees and to provide all aspects of support and ways to help and facilitate their release.

### **Dr. Mansour Al Areed (Shura Council member)**

Met with defense lawyers for the Bahraini detainees on (21 \ 6 \ 05) and stressed on the importance of open dialogue between government representatives and a team of lawyers assigned to defend the Bahraini detainees, and the importance of having the government seriously and constantly seek to settle this matter in various ways possible.

## Annexes

### **Al-Maaodah to the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs:**

We did not fail with dancers and celebrities but we left the people of Bahrain to torture in Guantanamo.



During a question from Sheikh Adel Al-Maaodah to the Minister of Information and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Dr. Mohammad Abdul Ghaffar on Bahrainis detained in Guantanamo Bay has been pictures and footage on the screen of the room that show the violations and the types of torture treatment of detainees there.

Sheikh Adel Al-Maaodah has delivered a speech bursts to the Council and the Minister, denounced the weakness of the official move, and lack of cooperation with international lawyers volunteered to defend and advocate for the Bahraini detainees, although they spent large sums amounted to about half a million dollars, while the government did not pay anything, did not cooperate with this group of international lawyers. Asserting that the State of Kuwait spent about ten million dollars for its efforts for the release of its citizens in Guantanamo Bay, and if it were for celebrities that are living or dead, we would not have failed them. No power and no strength except in Allah.

Minister Dr. Abdel-Ghaffar has commented on the words of Deputy Al-Maaodah and said the government was moved by its diplomatic official ways, and has consulted more law firms and the law in this matter. And they pointed out that there is no point in paying large amounts of money because the issue has political dimensions, and that is not solved by the moves and diplomatic efforts between States and Governments. It also said the ministry had not received any official communications from the National Office of Volunteered Lawyers, and that he personally followed the release of detained Bahraini in all his official visits to the U.S. and that he is ready to partition the Qur'an on this matter.

Gulf News

15 \ 6 \ 2005

### Models of the Speech of Incitement Against the State's Position And Underestimating The Position.

To all who tasted the agony of exile and detention, all who lived deprived from seeing their homeland and living among their families and loved ones and have no will or power, to those who were shedding tears of separation and pain and anguish and loss of a young child or any of his loved ones behind bars , to all who tasted the agony of prison and the warden, saw the bitterness of oppression and abuse, and how it degrades human dignity, and when included in the Department of oblivion in the gloomy prison, wherever the prison is and whoever the prison warden is. Tearing apart their hearts, sorrow and grief and oppress them see or hear what is going on behind the bars of Guantanamo Prison...

How many days have passed since our sons were there, and who asked about them? Is it true that the security delegation that traveled to check on them investigated and questioned them? And what the State Department says about files confirm that all contacts as clean of terrorism charges? Who has a clear answer to the questions asked by parents and families who are eager for their safe return to the homeland? They may find some of the tenderness they have lost and missed long ago.

More than three years have passed and no news, human rights associations do not provide a satisfying answer. Official authorities are scared to apply for their return and prosecuted in Bahrain if necessity strikes. Relatives of the captive detainees are bewildered and their efforts are wasted. They go to the Ministry of the Interior which referred them to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, call the House of Representatives and the Shura Council and does not find any satisfying answer, think of the Bahraini Association for Human Rights but find it preoccupied with other issues, looking for the Bahrain Center for Human Rights but find it closed and dissolved by administrative order!

Guantánamo

Bahrainis in Guantanamo,

Between the injustice warden and the bitterness of being away from homelands

## Guantánamo: Another stigma of Shame

- Mansour Al-Jamri

The testimony given by one of the freed on what is going on in the U.S. Guantanamo prison match with the expectations of people about what is going on in those cages for humans who differ with the United States. Narrated similar stories or even worse than we have seen in the prison of Abu Ghraib, and among the victims a Bahraini languishes in a prison stranger than Abu Ghraib.

In the Abu Ghraib torture implementers who follow orders were a number of idiot soldiers who joined the U.S. Army because they have no future, no job that fit their low chances in life, but in the army. Exactly as explained by the "Michael Moore" in his film "Fahrenheit 9 / 11." The difference is that the camera does not reach to Guantanamo and torturers there have been trained on the secrecy and confidentiality ... But to a limited time, because there is nothing hidden in one of our global villages. Humanity was afflicted by extremists and greedy and charlatans who run states and movements, and killing and beating under various excuses. Number of Jews claiming that they had "orders" from God that the people of Palestine shall be expelled from their occupied houses and killed..... This talk about the true and the divine orders claimed by the State of "Israel", which claims to be the only democratic State in the Middle East, , and what supports these myths is the most powerful country in the world today, which claims to be "the leader of the free world.

Named "John Ashcroft," and he is the Attorney-General ... And part of his religion and the religion of a number of his colleagues states that "the return of Christ "p "is not to be achieved till the return of all Jews to Jerusalem. " On the basis of these myths is , the potential of a superpower country claiming to be democratic and human rights to commit heinous acts of occupation, torture, killing and destruction.

Responding to a "devout Jew" and "devout Christian" of some Muslims, and some of them described as a "devout Muslim" that also says God told him that jihad (fighting) a "Jewish usurper "of the land of Palestine and the" Crusader ", enemy of Islam."Devout Muslim" who believes in this argument is more clearly not best characterize the cloak of "democracy and human rights", as is the case of "religious Christian" and " Jewish religious.

I use the term "religious" to explain that some religious people actually believe that God commanded them to do the work they do, knowing that there are those who stand behind this thinking for their own benefit, because they have the acquisition of everything. . Samuel Huntington predicted in the early nineties that the years after the Cold War will see the clash of religions, cultures and civilizations ... It seems at first glance that the what he expected was true.

However, "the devout Muslim" who may resort to terror tactics is tended to do so because there are those who claim religious Jewish and Christian practicing terrorism, murder and destruction. If we examine it a little bit we can see that the roots of terrorism had been planted by the hands

that claim to be democratic and respect human rights more than those that grew and grew because of the vaunted democracy and human rights.

Guantánamo is a stain on the face of America first and second on the forehead of humanity. It dealt a severe blow to all who work for a safe future and far from terrorism. What is happening in Guantanamo is a support - in the medium term – to all dictators and terrorists, and tortured because they see "the leader of the free world" practicing it without deterrent

# AlWasat

9/8/2004

Point of view

Jumah al-Dossari "and letters dripping with blood"

Mohamed Othman

Puzzled one by the dim minds and rigid bodies apparently devoid of any internal self-will to be able to express and defend the detainees' citizens in Guantánamo they have struggled, from the desolation of the "animal" cage, where they are detained and the alienation from their parents and their families.

Yesterday "AlWasat" published messages of a captive brother Karim, "Jumah al-Dossari ", letters dripping with blood and pain and heartbreak about the reality of the prison and the separation of parents and relatives. And a little girl that grows away from the bosom of her father, as expressed by Dosari. Since the words come out of the heart, it enters directly into the heart, and that is what saddened me a lot, and saddened many of the brothers.

"Dossari" Did not forget his mother and father who called in one of the messages to kiss their foreheads, and also has not forgotten his only sister. Who is to the sister but the brother and who is to the brother but the sister, and such pities won't be in the heart of a man unless he possesses more than morality generous and noble, and such a mercy act does not go along with murder and terrorism that America is talking about.

Jumah al-Dossari is the son of Bahrain, so it was incumbent as Bahraini to solidarity with him and support his family, and pray for the relief, and for him and other people of Bahrain detainees to be freed from that dreadful prison, in the heart of the twenty first civilized century "America", this is from a personal view " As individuals. "

As for what needs to be done by the Islamic societies, Islam is the commitment line on this side, came in Fath al-Baari Sharh Saheeh al-Bukhaari in Hadith"... from Abu Juhayfah I said to Ali may Allah be pleased with him Do you have something of a revelation but in the Book of God?

He said, "I do not and who split the grain and create people but what I do know is an understanding that Allah gives a man of the Koran and of what in this paper "And what is in this paper", I asked. "Mind and freeing a prisoner and that a Muslim does not kill a non-Muslim", he replied.

Where are the crowds of many Islamic societies from this Hadith?! A lot of Hadiths and explanations and interpretations have been written on this aspect. Some are written by the great interpreter Qurtubi, and Shikh al-Islam Ibn Taymiyyah in the urgent need of freeing captive Christians, or the like of Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziah in the chapter of the prisoner.

The narrow-minded, extended like an arch in an institution "full of" of chairs, armchairs, accompanied by a flow of cash, these are the owners of empty bodies "blown" their bellies for several meters and no courage or will of self-motivator. No hope for them. They tied the "navel" away from the people's demands and concerns and pains. They do not citizens' pain and do not feel their suffering. There is no escape for the citizens, waiting for "the supply" from Mursi Abul Abbas which is nearer than those "O, supply Mursi Abul-Abbas ".

Al-Wasat  
20/6/2005

Point of View  
Bahraini Foreign And Political Performance

- Mohamed Othman

Minister of Information and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mohammed Abdul Ghaffar do not come out the official position of decision-making departments in the Arab countries, with the official authorities in Arab countries today turned to a trumpet that meets the wishes of the administration, "Bush" in Tooting, according to an American "notepad cowboy".

Since the barbaric campaign, led by America against the Arab and Muslim countries from Afghanistan to Iraq and pursuing a policy of stamping out the alleged terrorism, and the official authorities of the Arab and Islamic countries held a rope navel and declared its solidarity and its accession to and solidarity with lining up the chorus of "Friends" stretching from the north of the territory of the Sind countries, "Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan ... "To the warm waters in the Gulf, to the west of Iraq, to the land of the Great Nile Arab's west.

Thus completed episodes of conspiracy and genocide, has intensified the impact of prosecutions intelligence of Arab and Islamic literally committed to the American decisions of whoever says a single word, and so are prosecutions over the Arab lands are in full swing, and in full conformity with the alleged terrorism cases, all in order to secure the survival of the department chairs... "The positions do not last for one if you deny where a first. " Other hand, the systems of management followed by "American" have secured the oil flows and control the sources of oil and dry up the sources of opposition and resistance of the Alliance Alziosalibi.

"The positions do not last for one if you deny this then where is the first." Other hand, the systems of management followed by "American" have secured the oil flows and control the sources of oil and dry up the sources of opposition and resistance of the Alziosalibi Alliance. We are committed to some agreements with America, both old and new, despite the small size of Bahrain, the considerations of friendship and affection, which has long praised by officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bahrain or friends in America and vice versa. Does America consider us" an ally outside NATO? "The question is: what are the implications of this strong friendship on the people of Bahrain? Where do our prisoners fit on that friendship?

Minister Ghaffar comments last week on the prisoners of Guantanamo to be rejected, and demonstrates the failure, which fell when the Bahraini Foreign great error. That, when commenting on a question that MP Adel Al-Maaodah reported incorrect information on our prisoners in Guantanamo! So what did the Bahraini Foreign Ministry presented for our prisoners

in Guantanamo? If the case as seen by the Minister Abdul Ghaffar's view is a "political issue", the who is responsible for foreign policy in the Kingdom? ? Is Minister Abdul Ghaffar and Minister Shaikh Mohammed bin Mubarak Al Khalifa, "and the latter more of the foreign ministers of the world experience and is one of the oldest foreign ministers in the world, " responsible for foreign policy? What did they say to the Americans on the "political issue" of prisoners?! ?! If the Bahraini Foreign has offered something on the issue and failed then it's debatable, and a great disaster, but if did not offer anything then the disaster is even greater ... In both cases, the " political blame " fall on them as responsible for the Bahraini foreign ministry and not on any other one. The strange thing is, that the minister, Abdul Ghaffar exceeds the acquittal of himself and his ministry's responsibility for Guantánamo file to accuse others of trading in the case! Hallelujah... Is not silence a virtue? And that the history and attitudes attest to what the officials in their positions say... And the sons of the Bahraini detainees at Guantanamo will never forget this abandonment of their fathers. The Sheikh Adel Al-Maadah and lower house of parliament will have a very much thanks, and a great appreciation from all of our souls, for their support of principle and courage. The Minister Abdul Ghaffar - God forgive us and he - his position has saddened a lot of our prisoners, and Bahraini Foreign disappointed hope.

The effort required today is to move the fourth and fifth power in the country and members of the Bahraini society to defend our prisoners, and to demand the release of all of them. Attitudes will not be fruitful but through GPC.



Al-Wasat

16/6/2005

## In The Heart Guantánamo ... Last words

Riffa - Salman Bin Saqr Al Khalifa

I ask the mothers of prisoners in Guantánamo to read this article until the end and understand what I mean because I'm tired from writing on this subject more than that and my nerves are no longer bear more.

We write and draw the people toward our oppressed prisoners at Guantánamo to the right path in order to ensure rapid exit from the terrible prison, "the people " do not exist or if they have a any sense of what their children are suffering there and the blatant violation of basic human rights .. We are destroying our nerves and following the most accurate detailed information about the way their families got arrested in Pakistan and how they transferred and tortured and injected with infectious and deadly diseases and their parents do not know and understand anything and doing nothing .. A mother of a prisoner at Guantánamo unjustly says that the Kuwaiti government paid millions of dollars to the U.S. government for the release of Kuwaiti detainees there, and the Bahraini government refuses to pay any amount for the release of my son... Is that a speech?.. Madam, O virtuous mother of a prisoner, for your knowledge that the Kuwaiti government paid these amounts to the Office of U.S. Attorneys for the defense of oppressed Kuwaitis mixing them without guilt in the animal-like cages of Guantánamo. This in itself is a tacit admission by the government and the family of detainees, their guilt is possible when conducting trials for them to govern to death... Can you understand this? They say that more people know about the quality of disease is the patient and for that you, Madam, O virtuous mother of the prisoner you should educate yourself in all things and the circumstances surrounding the detention of your son then you should go out of your house to attract all women's associations in your side to give seminars, lectures and work gatherings and sit-ins to put pressure on Decision-makers so that your son back to you as soon as possible and without any trial because he is innocent and oppressed .. . If you are convinced that your son is innocent then you can convince all people in any possible way... The most important to you is to be convinced that you do not give up hope and be the fighter and on all fronts in order to save your unjustly imprisoned son there... this is the role that is supposed to be played by a prisoner's mother... Not to sit at home and cry and to rely on his father that is dependent on another person, which depends on another, which depends on a ringing person, which relies on Kofi Annan, which in turn depends on the dairy gum. Unfortunately, this knowledge only a witch can understand... Means explicitly and colloquially "Don't even dream of getting your child out of prison even after a hundred years."

I hope that everyone knows in Bahrain that the lawyers for the defense of our children kidnapped and imprisoned unjustly in the darkness of Guantanamo prisons, is a tacit admission that our children are guilty and any provision made for them then we have to accept, even though the penalty was burned to death... And we must all ask and insist on being released immediately and

without any delay or conditions... On this basis, United States of America will earn our friendship and sympathy with their positions... Apart from that, it will not be a friend. It does not even recognize our feelings... As I ask the brother and friend, Dr. Muhammad Abdul Ghaffar, Minister of Information and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, to review his comments a bit before announcing them in a way that could be traced back to him because his duty job requires him to pressure the U.S. government friendly to the release of our prisoners without any trial as soon as possible so avoid the popular hatred against it... If the government through his ministry does not appoint lawyers to defend the oppressed Bahraini over political issue then this is good and acceptable... And now he has a file, a veteran politician like him is asked to kindly, God bless him, and tries to politically and without recourse to the courts to persuade them to free the families of our children and their children... I doubt it very much.

# PRO BONO BULLETIN

Dorsey & Whitney LLP is a fully integrated, multi-practice law firm with offices in the United States, Canada, Europe and Asia.

شركة المحاماة الأمريكية  
وفريق المحامين المسؤولين  
عن ملف معتقلي غوانتانامو

corpus on their behalf in August 2004. We have visited our clients in Guantanamo Bay on two occasions. During these visits, our clients described serious physical and psychological abuses from which they have suffered while in U.S. custody in Afghanistan and Cuba; FBI agents and military personnel who worked at Guantanamo have written accounts of similar abuses that they witnessed. Our role as counsel has recently been referenced in the *American Lawyer* and the *New York Times*.

In January 2005, the U.S. District Court in Washington, DC denied the motion to dismiss that had been filed by the government in our case (and 10 other cases brought by detainees). The Court rejected the government's argument that the Guantanamo Bay detainees have no cognizable rights, finding that the detainees have rights under the Fifth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and the Geneva Conventions. The Court also found that administrative hearings held by the U.S. military in Guantanamo Bay violated the detainees' rights. The government has filed an interlocutory appeal and briefs are being filed with the Court of Appeals for the DC Circuit.

We have been working to bring the public's attention to the conditions under which our clients have been detained through the media in the U.S. and Bahrain. We also have encouraged the government of Bahrain to reach a diplomatic agreement with the U.S. for the repatriation of its citizens, similar to those agreements that have been reached by the U.S. and the governments of the United Kingdom,

Australia and France. Toward that end, two of us intend to travel to Bahrain shortly to meet with family members, the media and government officials. The Team includes **Mark Sullivan, Christopher Karagheuzoff, Kevin Bedell, Joshua Colangelo-Bryan, Lauren Rasmus, Aimee Allen, and Sammi Malek**.



Mark Sullivan



Christopher  
Karagheuzoff



Kevin Bedell



Joshua  
Colangelo-Bryan



Lauren Rasmus



Sammi Malek

## New York:

We represent six citizens of Bahrain who are being held at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, having filed a petition for habeas

## **Chapter 8: Forum for the Future**

Since 2004, the “Future Forum” has become the national expression that emphasized the necessity to respond to the demands for reform and democratic transformation.

Conducting the second session for the “Future Forum” in Bahrain is:

- 1) An expression of respect that the Kingdom of Bahrain enjoys
- 2) An appreciation of His Royal Highness’ reform project as a model for regional countries.

What does the opposition want?

- The Opposition has been active since June 2005 in preparing for the upcoming forum through “The Secretariat for the Constitutional Conference”, and it seeks to employ this occasion and take advantage of the sensitivity of the Bahraini state towards the international opinion, and towards preserving its relationship with the West, in order to:

- 1) Create a distance between the stances of the G8 and the Kingdom of Bahrain, and urge it to cut off aid or connecting it to investigating the changes for the benefit of the opposition’s plans.
- 2) To pressure the G8 to stop recommending the experience of reform and democratic transformation as a “model” for the region.
- 3) To employ the mechanisms of the Future Forum to move its battle over the “Constitutional situation” to the outside, and to reveal the points of weakness in the reform project to implement the decisions of the 2nd constitutional conference.
- 4) Taking advantage of its media campaigns for the election battles in 2006.

What does Bahrain want from the forum?

- 1) Emphasizing the role of Bahrain’s political and economic reforms in the region.
- 2) Boosting its choices as a model for reform and democratic transformation (tools and mechanisms) which neighboring countries would look up to.
- 3) Supporting Bahrain’s role in contributing to the new democratic events, preserving them and spreading awareness about the reform.
- 4) Obtaining the necessary international support to consolidate the success and develop the democratic experience of Bahrain.
- 5) Looking into the executive role to follow up on the approval to set up a regional center for job training and projects to support the youth in the labor force.
- 6) And from the practical aspect, to get a guarantee that Bahrain will be a center for:

- “Permanent Secretariat” of the Future Forum

- Convincing Britain that Bahrain is a regional center for empowering women and guaranteeing her participating in public life.

- The 2nd Parallel Conference for the Future Forum (7-8 November, 2005).

There has been full control over the conference's activities by the Shiite elements.

The Preparatory Committee:

- Abdul Nabi Al 'Akari, the coordinator of the preparatory committee.

- Ibtisam Ali Khamis, manager of the conference's documents.

- Moussa al Mousawwi, manager of the reception and organization.

- Farida Ghulam left the committee for health reasons.

- And there was a contract with Gold Mark for Public Relations (Al 'Aradi), to conduct the organization of the conference ([www.goldmarkonline.com](http://www.goldmarkonline.com)).

Gold Mark is considered to be one of the commercial investments for the organization of the Popular Front (Democratic Action Society).

## **Chapter 9: Strategic Corps**

At the meeting of His Majesty King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa with the Supreme Defense Council (2/26/2005) he pointed out that the circumstances require utmost vigilance and integration of the work of the security and political institutions. He stressed that the tasks of protecting the homeland are in the unified, joint plans to address the challenges through comprehensive security in its social, economic, political and intellectual dimensions.

The reform initiative is entering its second phase (2005-2010) exemplified in the building of institutions capable of activating the "National Action Charter" through civil action mechanisms within the society (the fifth power).

The circumstances to which His Majesty pointed are overlapping, complex national, regional and international challenges and the "battlefield" of these challenges is the Bahraini civil society (the fifth power).

The new phase of developing the democratic transition initiative carries within it new threats and challenges most of which are threats to national security and the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Bahrain and its political, economic and social stability.

The sources of clear penetration of the homeland security and the citizens of Bahrain, all the distortion mechanisms of the democratization process, the abuse of sovereignty symbols, economic sabotage, the sowing of division, striking at the social fabric and undermining national security are currently concentrated in the circle of "civil society."

The increasing role of the fifth authority is further highlighted through the knowledge that the principal allies (the European Union and America) are preparing a number of legal and political actions to convert the weight of its relationship with the Kingdom of Bahrain (as in all parts of the world) from the state to civil society.

The limited, weak presence of reliable, loyal, civil, field leaderships at the moment in addition to the reluctance of a large number of loyal sectors to be pro-active in political life opens a loophole, exploited by the opposition, to gain full control over civil society.

According to the outcome of monitoring conducted by the security services, the opposition, with all its spectrum (religious and secular), manages operations through a dedicated cadre of political activists not exceeding 150 persons at the most.

In the first period of supporting the ability of the "political initiative" of His Majesty the King, may God protect him, there is an urgent, necessary requirement to have individuals with absolute loyalty, trustworthiness, high moral & ethical discipline and the ability to rapidly integrate into political life.

The proposed source of human resources for this "Strategic Corps" is the Ministry of Defense and National Guard which is aligned with the project's strategy at, both, the direct and long-term range (securing the home front).

Required standards are readily available in the defense employees who have been tested and developed morally and intellectually and have been prepared for the appropriate time and for use in protection of national security and defense of the Kingdom's sovereignty and symbols.



The current infiltration of civil society by the Bahraini opposition and its suspicious international relations and regional linkages poses the most serious threat to the country.

The most suitable way to protect the "internal front" and to ensure its safety is to urgently affect the opposition through the creation of "civil" mechanisms and by building parallel organizations capable of responding to the opposition and defeating its conspiracy against the stability of the country.

#### What is Required

Selecting 75-100 individuals from the military (from those in active service or who wish to retire for the specific purpose or by decision of Defense Ministry) characterized by social maturity and good conduct to prepare them for the implementation of political tasks in the next 5 years.

Between the ages of 25 and 45 years. Secondary education as a minimum. To be quickly integrated into civilian life according to an approved rehabilitation plan to employ them in support of the political initiative's implementation mechanisms.

Safeguarding the principles and objectives of the reform initiative will remain to be the firm approach of the regular forces (Defense, Interior, National Guard, Homeland Security) in the Kingdom of Bahrain who are able to perform any duty assigned to them at home and abroad, thus, contributing to security and stability enjoyed by the Kingdom of Bahrain.

## **Chapter 10: Mechanisms of Shi'a Media & Propaganda**

It is not possible to separate the Shi'a of Bahrain from those in Iran, Iraq, Lebanon or anywhere in the world; because they have a common agenda through which they all move as declared by their elders and think tanks. It is important to offer this introduction before delving into the details in order to know who we are dealing with, how they work and the mechanisms they follow in their work.

### The concept of disinformation

In order for media misinformation to be more effective, evidence of its existence must be hidden; that is, misinformation is successful when the misguided feel that things are natural and inevitable. In a nutshell, we say: "misinformation requires a false reality which continuously denies its existence altogether). If we seriously reflect on the concept of Shi'a media disinformation, we'll find that it is based primarily on a psychological idea which primarily derives its practical applications from the use of two mechanisms: "denial" and "justification." These are two defensive mechanisms pursued by the individual when in need to regain his psychological and personal balance. This idea has been transformed and widely used in media and disinformation because it is used for the purpose of "distorting" and "falsifying" reality through mixing ideas, motivations, and conflicts that pose a threat to it.

The principle of denial is based on the idea of refusing to acknowledge the existence of a charge even if it were fact. This is a common strategy in humans which we frequently see in children when they insist on doing some undesirable action, but fear the punishment of their parents. The principle of "justification" is based on the idea of giving acceptable reasons to socially unacceptable behavior in order to hide the truth. For example, people deceive themselves by pretending that a bad situation is, in fact, a good one or vice-versa. When Shi'a media engages in disinformation, it resorts to psychological mechanisms to influence the minds of people and to twist the facts. This is similar to the process of changing attitudes, but in the opposite direction.

### Propaganda Media

Media has been successful in shaking-up ad valorem the behavior of communities with relatively fixed values. Therefore, you'll find that media changes the importance of the social and political meanings of traditional descriptions and some of the key symbols in society, as well as the media's ability to direct people's minds and divert attention towards a hot issue for the purpose of reducing the importance of an issue or a public opinion matter. Studies have shown that the media succeeded in doing so when it used the strategy of propaganda media; an art form that is difficult to put within a framework due to its continuous development in an effort to keep pace with the public mood. This art is void of any consensus on what can be considered proper or improper behavior or effective or ineffective tactics.

The impact of media and propaganda addresses people's minds and attitudes towards a specific opinion view or issue of interest to them and is determined through the use of the many ways and means to influence. Some of the methods employed by those in media are:

Exploit human weaknesses

Exploit weak personalities to accept propaganda

Harness popular personas, such as, a preacher, teacher or a reporter

Influence the community through writers

Screening groups to disseminate their propaganda, especially if they have shining names

Investigating the half rights; mention of some facts while ignoring others

Interpretation right as wrong and vice-versa

Mixing wrong with right to deceive the listener, reader and viewer by the correct things and mislead them to believe all is true.

Method of Shi'a Media

In this way we can identify the work of Shi'a media in Bahrain and in other places with the following points:

Denial and justification: the Shi'ite approach in media handling in their media channels presents the matter for justification as an a twofold issue either loyalty to the homeland and reconciliation with the public (what the Shi'a adopt in their rhetoric) or loyalty to the tribe (the government's and, hence, Sunni stand). They slam the other party (Sunnis) with accusations and reject all of the hidden purposes behind their own actions and even justify these actions with the declared objectives.

Media siege (intellectual terrorism): a counter propaganda and defamation campaign. If anyone stands against their views and opinions they unite against them with a stream of articles, studies and analysis and it may reach a point of mud-slinging against the person to weaken them and their credibility and undermine their resolve and, eventually, to drive them to stop their activities.

Opponent slander: used with any undesirable personality (President / Director / Minister). They fabricate - through assistants within the ministerial staff - a particular problem and then begin to focus the spotlight on it while amplifying any omissions or errors and the damages to the country as a whole.

Inverted or missing facts: the question of Bahrain's Shi'a origin is a good example which is a subject that has been corroborated by the author of the Encyclopedia of Bahrain's History and his Shi'a team. They have even attributed much of the ancient Sunni scholars, scientists and poets to their sect, which they often repeat in their places of commemoration (ma'tams), forums and their writings to the point where it has become engraved in their minds and even in the minds of many Sunnis now.

Propitiation: using the advantage of all the preceding elements, they try to represent themselves as the victim in all its dimensions and they face the international forums and human rights organizations with that face and even as a minority in some of their countries.

Seizing opportunities: there is a clear sequence for each event at the local, regional, Arab and international levels; where they lecture and speak in the manners and mechanisms previously mentioned.

The adoption of popular issues: perhaps they would adopt some of the issues affecting the whole people of Bahrain - Sunni and Shi'a - in order to win people to their ranks and bring some credibility to their work, such as issues of unemployment, poverty and low income, etc.

Veneration and polishing: they underscore certain persons and create an aura of wisdom and knowledge then act accordingly (note that if a religious authority, even if novice, walks into the room, he will be surrounded by the community who will interact with him to show his importance

and so on). That's why they focus on the gains and polish them, such as their saying that Hezbollah (a small party) was able to do what a group of several countries failed to do to Israel.

Represent all: a clear favor in their media: they speak for everyone and tend to generalize. The statements of the opposition in the site "Voice of Bahrain" does not speak for themselves, but use the term "the people" and use in opposite circles the term the "Al Khalifa family" which means that all those in the opposition are the people and those who agree with the ruling family in any case, no matter how small it is, are with that family and carry the same verdict as long as they oppose their convictions.

Repetition: they repeat their messages whenever the opportunity may arise. Many repetitions make the recipient believe that it's the truth and, thus, the circle expands.

#### Success factors of the Shi'a media discourse

You should know the reasons that led to the success of the Shi'a media discourse and the failure of the government, Sunni alike. We summarize the reasons in the following points: (we will strike an example of Al-Manar and the Bahraini newspaper, Al Wasat):

Informed coverage of world issues from their perspective: this is evident in the Al-Manar, as Shi'a rhetoric is noticeable in all international issues. There is harmony in the analysis provided through Al-Manar on the Bahraini opposition, demonstrations and events of the US embassy with that of opposition and its opinion.

Unifying Shi'a discourse with clear targets: what Al-Manar says is the same as what Al-Sistani, Iran, or Nasrallah say and the same is propagated through Al Wasat or through Iran Radio which broadcasts in Arabic and has a great vogue among the Shi'a within our country.

Seminaries & commemoration halls: the Shi'a mind is subordinate in its composition and the subordination starts at the commemoration halls and seminaries while the "turbaned" men do not deviate a single bit from their senior mentors in Najaf and Qom. This helps to unify the guiding sources, in the sense that we are dealing with a unification of the sources, their local, "turbaned" agents and their media channels to guide the Shi'a man on the street.

Objective unity: Shi'a ideology is based on the question of political oppression, necessity of resistance and the need to exploit opportunities; All of this appears in the form of objective unity in the Shi'a media discourse, which helps to focus and avoids dispersion.

Seizing opportunities: they have the international information network providing them with all the important occasions through which they try to propagate their message and clarify their positions using methods mentioned above.

Visible and hidden means: this makes targeting the guiding source very difficult. They rely on visible means and draw attention to it, while the guiding, think tank moves freely.

Element selection and display: they choose elements that may be developed and they work on developing them. For example, 90% of those employed at Al Wasat newspaper are Shi'a and were mostly not known within the Shi'a circles as writers (Diya al-Musawi, Abbas Bu Safwan, for example), but has the ability to self-develop and is subjected to a process of intensive training and then is presented through the media (through columns and seminars) to shortly become a significant reference.

The government's or Sunni's loss of each of these elements: and, of course, the end result will be what we are today. For the government has taken the approach of *fait accompli* (the upper hand) and ignored the directing media discourse, which turned official state media into a paralyzed tool. And with the absence of a policy of investment in elements, the tool turned into a device to fill the void.

## **Chapter 11: Parliamentary Bills (not added)**

**NOT COMPLETED YET**

## **Chapter 12: Civil Society in Bahrain**



The biggest threat facing the rationalization and regulation of the opposition excesses lies in the creation of a mechanism to support and empower the Department of the "Development of Local Communities" at the Ministry of Social Affairs. This department must harmoniously with the project priorities to fully protect and ensure the internal front from any infiltrations or exploitation by the opposition.

"The development of local communities," has been considered since 2002, to be one of the most important pillars of the development and rehabilitation of civil society in Bahrain. This is due to being the party responsible for registration of and follow-up on the performances of all political associations, charities as well as the social & cultural societies in the Kingdom of Bahrain. The political responsibilities of the "development of local communities" shall be transferred to the Ministry of Justice upon the approval of the political Societies & Associations Act.

Several failures were noted; notably represented in the inability of the current leadership to absorb the variables and consequences associated with the opposition excesses (leniency towards "Bahrain Centre for human rights", transparency issues,...etc)

The functions of the department since 1992 are varied. In the forefront of which is the preparation of plans for social development in various fields, according to the State political directions and objectives. This is done through implementing plans to propagate social development programs and projects aimed at the development of skills, plans and policies that support human resources.

The management did not absorb yet the challenges imposed by the first stage (1999-2004), and it appears to lack the vision, hence incapable of dealing with challenges that will be imposed by the new stage of the reforms projects (2005-2010).

The objectives of the Department of associations

One of the most important objectives of the Department of Civil societies (political, cultural and cooperative) is to direct charitable associations to comply with the laws and regulations. In addition, develop volunteer leadership in order to improve the conditions of voluntary and cooperative associations and to strengthen the role of political, cultural associations, charities and foreign clubs to contribute to the service of society and to provide technical and administrative support to these voluntary institutions.

Terms of reference of the Department of associations

The functions of this department are numerous and diverse, enforced by the department's objectives, which are directed towards all components of civil society in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Below is a summary for the most important functions in terms of reference:

Examine and evaluate requests of political, cultural associations, foreign clubs, charities for projects and activities, follow-up licensing procedures, supervision of the General Directorate of clubs and civil societies, granting licenses to raise money (as per Resolution No. (19) for the year 1994) and organize seminars and training courses for civil and cooperative associations and publicity of new applications for the establishment of charitable associations, clubs and funds.

The management works to develop and enforce laws and regulations concerning private voluntary social work of social institutions and foreign civil according to Law No. (21) for the year 1989. This is done through follow-up activities on social, cultural, recreational, foreign civil associations and clubs and through providing counseling, technical and financial support to

develop and follow-up on the associations' activities according to the requirements of Act No. (8) on cooperation for the year 1972.

The biggest threat facing the rationalization and regulation of the opposition excesses lies in the mechanism of support and empowerment for the Department of the "Development of Local Communities" at the Ministry of Social Affairs. This department must harmoniously with the project priorities to fully protect and ensure the internal front from any infiltrations or exploitation by the opposition

"The development of local communities," has been considered since 2002, to be one of the most important pillars of the development and rehabilitation of civil society in Bahrain. It is also responsible for the registration and follow-up on the performances of all political associations, charities as well as the social & cultural societies in the Kingdom of Bahrain. The political responsibilities of the "development of local communities" shall be transferred to the Ministry of Justice upon the approval of the political Societies & Associations Act.

Several failures were noted; notably represented in the inability of the current leadership to absorb the variables and consequences associated with the opposition excesses (leniency towards "Bahrain Centre for human rights", transparency issues,...etc)

Since 1992, the functions of this department are many and varied. Comes in the forefront of which is the preparation of plans of social development in various fields, according to the orientations of policy and the State through the implementation of the plans for the dissemination of social development programs and projects aimed at the development of skills and the development of plans and policies that support human resources.

The management did not absorb yet the challenges imposed by the first stage (1999-2004), and it appears to lack the vision, hence incapable of dealing with challenges that will be imposed by the new stage of the reforms projects (2005-2010).

Moreover, the Department works to support the development of Bahraini women capabilities through developing programs in areas addressed especially to women using modern technology. It also licenses private and public nurseries and provides supervision for social and technical aspects according to law decree No. (12) for the year 1999 to examine and evaluate requests for the establishment of nurseries.

## Challenges

His Majesty King Hamad Bin Isa Al Khalifa in a meeting with the Supreme Defense Council (26\2\2005) pointed out that the current circumstances require the utmost vigilance, and integrated collaboration between security and political institutions. The King stressed that the tasks of protecting the homeland require the work under a common and joint schemes in order to face security challenges by eliminating all social, economic, political and intellectual aspects.

The Civil Society (fifth authority) is the battlefield, where the opposition may continue its conspiracy to sabotage the democratic transition and threaten the stability of Kingdom of Bahrain, its political regime and sovereignty.

Any attempt to rationalize the work of civil society organizations (political, cultural and charitable) drying funding resources and limiting the social influence of the opposition, and the restructuring the political life will begin from this department and through this administration.

Upon the approval of the political organizations law, the Ministry of Justice will be the second body, where greatest attention must be given from the outset to secure its leadership and its commitment to the approach proposed from the management of "Development of local communities" by the Ministry of Social Affairs.

In the long term, all attempts to address any infiltrations and/or threats to national security, social fabric, conspiracies to disrupt the process of reform project or to destabilize Bahrain will begin with these the two departments (ministry of social affairs & Ministry of Justice).

The growing size, influence and effectiveness of the role of political, social and cultural associations (national & foreign) mandated that activities must be in-line with the strategic policy. It is also vital to have a committed management with absolute loyalty to determine the civil societies itinerary and head its activities in integration with the National Security Strategy, with its political, social, economical and intellectual dimensions.

Names of department`s staff (current)

Badriya AlHabib	Head of civil and cooperative societies
Hameed Alsh`aaer	1st Social Activities Specialist
Saeed Fadhel	1st Social Activities Specialist
Mohammed AlShibani	Social Activities Specialist
Nawal Al Thawadi	Secretary

Requirements

Change the leadership of this department urgently, and appoint a leading figure fully committed to the goals and plans of the political project of His Majesty the King. This is vital in order to be the central task of this department is the re-establishment of this instrument positively and to participate effectively in the plan of restructuring the civil society in Bahrain.

Conditions are right now, where the Minister is working on the implementation of its plan to reorganize the new ministry, which will facilitate the recruitment of Maha Al-Khalifa from the Ministry of Information easily.

His Highness, King Hamad Speech to the Prime Minister

It is our pleasure to send your highness greetings and sincere wishes of continuing good health and prosperity. We take this opportunity to express our great appreciation for your efforts in raising the rates of economic growth, and to strive towards the development of services, which will contribute to the achieving the well-being and decent life for citizens.

Our reformist project is now entering the stage of support and development for the democratic transition institutes. This requires our stances to be based on the National Charter and the Constitution as the pillars of reference, which provide the General Framework for the Government's strategies and policies. The distinction between terms of reference of the Government and the state fundamentals will surpass the state of confusion and roles bartering done by the opposition to distort our democratic experience which is aimed to confuse the public and global opinion. This will ease our dealings with recurrent issues in various sectors of Bahrain society.

Our goal of this discrimination is to assert and guarantee that the past shall be never returned to, and that the parameters of the kingdom (which gained national census), can never be subject to discussion or review unless as was determined by means of those principles, constitutional and legal frameworks, while the government's policies are subject to appropriate, and the extent of its success and assimilation of variables

Our dedication to this discrimination would leave the government the freedom (to deal in clear principle) towards various issues. This will lead to strengthen the government's confidence in its capacity to achieve its goals of development and stability in a solid transparent manner.

Topics such as the Constitution and demands for its modifications, political naturalization, legislation and the mechanism of the laws governing public life, external relations and political issues of defense and national security are considered initial State sovereignty issues as identified by the National Charter. Other topics such as unemployment, improvement of living, education, educational curricula, health services, housing, and other policies are governed by the Governments framework and by the Constitution within the state means and according to the variables imposed by local and regional circumstances of the development of these policies.

The freedoms to ensure that our reformist project was confirmed by the constitution to protect the people in the framework of law and respect for sovereignty and, of which formulated the positions of the Government on all issues related to freedoms, and demonstrations, discrimination and inciting sectarianism and coexistence between doctrines and skepticism in national affiliation, freedom of expression and abuses and to others. There can be commitment to law and regulations are subject to the question of the selectivity and double standards and leniency.

Accordingly, we believe that the Government must take official stance on all these general issues raised on the arena, and to standardize impressions and attitudes of all official circles in the kingdom regarding these issues. All official circles shall abide by the Governments' stances, as the Government is responsible for solidarity with the reiteration and the declaration of those stances in appropriate manners to be always in conscience in the eyes of local society and public opinion. Please accept our sincere gratitude and appreciations. God bless you.

You are aware that our reformist project is now entering its second phase, which is concerned in building the institutions of democratic transition. This requires our devotion to ensure that our positions are based on the National Charter and the Constitution to be the pillars of the general framework of reference for the state strategies and Government's policies.

This distinction between the states' terms of reference and the Government's fundamentals will facilitate our dealings with recurrent issues in various sectors of Bahrain civil society. Our goal is to ensure that this distinction is clarity's the fundamentals of the Kingdom of Bahrain cannot be

subjected for general discussions as much as the possible extent for explanation and assimilation. However, the Government's policies are subject to the appropriate and the extent of its success and the absorption of the challenges of changing the reality of Bahrain.

Our commitment to this distinction would also give you the freedom to deal confidently in principle without retreating or becoming an echo of the Ministers' or political leaders' stances and will contribute to the stability in the kingdom of Bahrain boys.

National strategies, with its different political, economical, social and cultural sectors are subject to Government's policies and specifications periodically and we are working together within the state fundamentals to be renewed, as per required by the circumstances development along with its regional and international intersections.

#### Youth Parliament

Aimed at strengthening the leadership spirit, communications skills and creation of positive impact in the community. Its objectives:

National forum for youth

Awareness program in citizenship

Develop leadership skills.

Why leave it then to the opposition to exploit and utilize it to train its associates?

Sponsored by British Embassy in Bahrain, with total cost reaching BD50,000

The parliament will be inaugurated in July 2005 and membership selection procedures will start on 2nd of May 2004. Whilst the membership election will be held on 14th of June 2005.

In spite of the "Youth Parliament" mechanism of expressing and discussing national issues whereby the opinions reflect the views of individuals and not of any political societies. However, the atmosphere which accompanied the parliament's formation of the parliament proves the opposition negative insistence on:

infiltrating the program

Utilize the program to polarize and to reflect the spirit of Division in young people.

One of the committee's active members is Nawaf Al Maskati (a leader in Islamic Action Society) was sent to the United Kingdom for training (cf. article annex).

All activities of the "Youth Parliament" will be held under the atmosphere of 2006 elections. Therefore, we recommend postponing the parliament until after the elections and to make sure that all mechanisms are set to guarantee the eliminate youth candidates who are aligned with the opposition.

The parliament's action team selection and membership must be under full control of the State, and any person linked to the opposition must be removed, hence, hinder the opposition efforts to push its supporters to the youth parliament and exploit it.

Restructuring the parliament to conform fully with the Council Chamber & deputies (Shura and Nuwab), so to reflect the reality of Bahrain parliament as per His Majesty the King orders.

Amending the number of departments to be consistent with the experience in Bahrain and the number of electorate Chambers.

Governance	Parliament (Deputies)	Youth Parliament
Southern	6	6
Central	9	8
Muharraq	8	8
Capital	8	8
Northern	9	10

## **Chapter 13: National Youth Strategy (not added)**

**NOT COMPLETED YET**

## **Chapter 14: U.S. Embassy in Bahrain**



The campaign against the opposition activities required knowledge of the rolling mechanisms work of the U.S. embassy and style. Despite the sensitivities in our follow-up to its negative role in the last period, but it is important and necessary to a certain visualization to gain position to the side of the reform project and trapping break the current mechanisms of its work by the opposition. This scenario is to provide a framework that can be applied in our dealings with other embassies.

#### The current situation

The position of the U.S. embassy, in general, is to support the reform project of His Majesty the King since 2002. , But do not continue to emphasize in their international problems in the human rights issue. Is considered the Centre for Human Rights, led by Khawaja Association "pioneer and leader" to improve human rights; and that the immunity of State officials continuing and no retreat from the independence of the judiciary and the persistence of discrimination against the Shia and women, foreigners and do not respect the privacy of citizens and limit freedoms and the right of demonstration and assembly.

The priority of the embassy is to concentrate in strengthening the Bahrain democratic movement's through Partnership Eastern Initiative [MEPI] on 4 pillars (political + economic + education + women's empowerment) key in addition to promoting the benefits of establishing free trade between America and the region with the end of 2015 + training in the field of citizenship + Freedom of Information + religious freedoms + reform of the judiciary + foreign workers (you can review the details of its work in the attached report).

#### Opposition goals

The main objective of the opposition is to persuade the embassies in Bahrain in general and American and British in particular that:

- The reform project has filed and the Kingdom back to the first box (The tyranny of standardized)
- Intended first box in opposition circles is the repression and the confiscation of freedoms.
- Conflict between exhibitions in Bahrain, raising the slogan of constitutional reform and the forces of tyranny.
- Mechanisms of the reform project (civil society + the legislative + judicial) have no role.
- Campaign on the Alwefaq Society and the opposition forces do not generally unwarranted and are reflected a retreat in the ceiling of public freedoms.

#### The U.S. embassy tools

In addition to special means are deliberately Embassy mainly on the Bahraini staff to monitor and follow up developments of the situation in Bahrain.

Primary tool: Jinan Mohammed Saleh Al Sheikh Abdullah studied international relations in Britain and is the daughter of a judge was a member of the Shura Council before his death. Was a member of the Bahrain Center for Human Rights and she have a special relationship with Nabeel Rajab and has her work application was supported by a letter from Alkhuwaja. Seek all means to

influence Zahra is not married, so you must monitor the national security of its special relationship in the break. They are primarily responsible in the media department. Jenan Alsheikh plays a key role in summarizing the contents of the Bahraini information and monitoring trends in public opinion and provide detailed information on official figures and civil society leaders.

Second means: Hadia Mohamed Fathallah (Sunni) studied political science in America and her father works at Bapco. Her importance in the affairs specialty in the embassy policy and oversees the relationship with the National Council and leaders of civil society in Bahrain. Security services succeeded in recruiting her, but she will leave soon to study in Britain. And it's a must by all means to secure a suitable alternative to her.

The third tool: Fawzi Ahmed Guled, Director of NDI programs in Bahrain. He is a Somalis but holding a U.S. citizenship. He was working in the humanitarian relief organization in Somalia, and then he worked in a tourism agency in Kuwait and moved to Afghanistan then he moved to Bahrain in March 2002. He is the most active source of information about conditions at the U.S. Embassy and to be considered as a (field source), while Jinan and Hadia Library Resources ((desk source. A decision should be taken to terminate him at the earliest opportunity and stop the activities of his organization immediately.

Any attempt to improve the image of the reform project and the process of democratic development in Bahrain does not benefit them (especially at the direct level), but in the adoption of a clear vision to win these three elements to our side or get rid of them and to devise them. First, it is important to collect detailed information about these characters to adopt a plan to win them over (physically + political + through a network of social relations ..... etc).

Why this simple movement is necessary and very urgent?

Introduced a bill to Congress in the first week of March 2005 codifies for a radical change in U.S. foreign policy and establish a new mechanism to monitor the case of democracy around the world. And its considered that the previous steps such as the control of religious freedoms, and the Committee to monitor anti-semitism, and the Commission on Human Rights Watch, although they constitute an integrated system designed to implement the projects on both sides (military and peaceful) in response to the policy of the U.S. administration and its commitment to spread democracy and fighting tyranny in the world and isolate the tyrants. Mechanisms for the implementation of this project enhance the future role of the American Embassy in Bahrain and thus will increase their competence in the follow democratization transform in the country, and the role of sources of information on the political and economic, social and in the greatest impact on the U.S. administration's position from the situation in Bahrain.

Bring our best influencing the source of this information the embassy can influence on the overall picture conveyed by the head of the Department of State.

Law of the spread of democracy in 2005

Act 2005 provides the spread of democracy the legal scope of long-term strategy of the Bush administration to strengthen and promote the concept of democratic governance around the world. Considers that the lack of democracy threatens the security of the United States, its interests and its allies and help the spread of terrorist extremism. Confirming the backbone of U.S. foreign policy is to strive to achieve democracy and freedom around the world. And the importance and seriousness of this law lies in that he plans to establish a special office to follow up the issues of democratization reports directly to Assistant Secretary of State and the establishment of a special department within the U.S. embassy to follow-up and monitoring and arrange direct contacts with the opposition and civil society organizations, and the allocation of additional \$ 100 million to support opposition around the world.

What concerns us here is that the law requires an annual report on the status of democracy in Bahrain could be the classification of the conditions of the kingdom as according to the criterion of a certain "democratic completely (fully) or democratic part (partly) or non-democratic (non-democratic). And it imposes on the Ambassador, according to the classification, to take steps codified unprecedented in custom Aldmpelomase to deal with the public and open support for the opposition according to the strategy approved by the U.S. State and accurately monitor and periodically by Congress. Axes of this new policy are:

- Full coordination with them and intensify the field visits and participation in activities.
- Regular meetings with them to discuss issues of democratization and the conditions of freedom.
- Publicly declare and issue statements about freedoms and the conditions of the opposition in Bahrain with a particular focus on the issues of religious freedom and political repression measures.
- Intensification of field visits to universities and centers of higher education and attention to youth and media.

U.S. administration will work in cooperation with intelligence agencies in monitoring the assets of undemocratic States and determine the network services and their interests and social relations within their own country and abroad to ban and confiscation them.

Urgent duty is to create conditions from now to block the opposition that enjoys the sympathy and support of the U.S. embassy in Bahrain.

### Our Strategy

Reports issued by the U.S. State Department now is not binding on the State Department, but rather are indicative of the documents Reload and members of Congress in the event of priority to formulate a specific policy, or change it to this country. But the new law, "the spread of democracy 2005" changed all that. It converts it a priority and policy binding. And had to Elliott Abrams, Bush's adviser on national security a top official for publishing and promoting democracy in the world is a clear indication of the intentions of the new administration in the White House.

The current classification in most of the documents concerned with human rights or democratic transition is that the Kingdom of Bahrain enjoys the "freedom of partial", and it's getting better appreciation of the other Arab Gulf countries, followed by Kuwait, where Saudi Arabia and the UAE, Qatar and Oman are classified as "no freedom."

And with it the challenge of the law of the spread of democracy in 2005 puts on our campaign and promotional draft reform of Bahrain and duty double for effort an extra in order to explain to the American Embassy and the international community in general that the opposition represented by the Hezbollah-Bahrani (and faced public Wefaq) does not correspond with the text adopted by Project Democracy Act, which states that the opposition will be:

committed to democratic principles and values.

How can we show this difference?

By focusing the spotlight on the memorial and the difference between its stated opposition of the laws of the game's commitment to democracy and at the same time continue in the

implementation of regional plans is hostile to democracy and supports the concepts of terrorism and seeking to destabilize U.S. allies.

#### Example

Accord tradition of Hezbollah's tactics raise the flag of Bahrain in the march jacket March 25, 2005 Igaya even give the impression that loyalty to Bahrain.

Our campaign must show loyalty to the real and not false to the nation requires respect for constitutional law and abide by the laws of the country and the application of the law and maintain the prestige of the country and its symbols and its vital interests and national security. That loyalty to the homeland requires a commitment to national principles and do not scorn the legislative branch or judicial ..... etc.

And it is necessary to put this in historical framework linking all security issues, the former state, considering that Hezbollah Bahrani (Alwefaq) is the interface of public and legal opportunism revised edition of the former secret organizations. They exploit the roof of the freedoms provided by the reform project to a national security threat and sabotage its achievements.

There should be based primarily on this effort to take care of creating the credibility of these information campaigns so that there would be independent sources (printed and electronic) the distribution of numbers and specific information can then be recycled in the loyal media channel.

## Attachments

### Report on the activity of the U.S. embassy 2004-2005

#### Supporting human rights and democracy in Bahrain the USA record 2004-2005

In 2002, Bahrain became a monarchy , adopting a constitution which reinstated a bicameral legislature with in upper house of parliament (shura council) appointed by the king and an elected lower house (council of representatives ). Parliament has the authority to present and review legislation , but the king as a head of legislative ,executive and judicial branches of government ,holds most of legislative authority .all citizens over 21 have the right to vote ,and the 2002 legislative elections, the first is nearly three decades , were perceived as generally free a fair despite a boycott by several political groups. Both shi'a and sunnis are well represented in the government, although the minority sunni population plays a dominant role in both politics and the economy . women ran unsuccessfully for office in 2002; however , 16percent of the app of the government ministers ,are women.

The government took initial steps to improve the judiciary process, increase human rights training for police and fight corruption. problems, however, remained in the governments respect for human rights. the government dissolved the country's leading human rights organization ;impunity of government officials continued ; the judiciary lacked full independence ;and discrimination continued against the shi'a population , women and third country nationals . the government also infringed on citizens privacy rights and in some cases restricted freedom of speech , the press, the assembly and association.

Advancing human rights and democracy in Bahrain is a priority of the united states . united states policy supported the rule of law ,political participation ,freedom of press, judicial reform ,civil society development , labor rights and the protection of foreign workers. President bush met with king hamad in November 2004 and reiterated U.S support for Bahrain's political and economic reforms. This policy was advanced through diplomatic engagement and practical programming. United states officials regularly met with the government, advocating respect for human rights and a proactive approach to democratization , and frequently engaged civil society activists and encouraged their participation in the political process.

One of the embassy's main priorities was the strengthen Bahrain's democratic movement and increase civil society's confidence in the system with the approach of 2006 municipal and parliamentary elections . working through the middle east partnership initiative (MEPI) , the united states sponsored efforts to help Bahrain's political societies (in the absence of political parties) strengthen their institutional capacity and transparency and better respond to citizen's needs. This program frequently hosted workshops to increase the participation of youth and women political process and facilitated discussions between civil society and members of parliament on legislation and other matters of national interest.

the embassy focused of civic education as a key to democratic process in Bahrain . in 2004, the MEPI civic education program provided several opportunities for ministry of educations officials and teachers to participate in teacher training and curriculum development programs . A project to translate American children's books into Arabic for the purpose of promoting critical thinking skills was also approved by the ministry of education during the year, for 2005 implementation.

The micro scholarships program enabled 50 bahraini high school students to attend classes to improve their English language abilities; this program emphasize skills that students need in

democracy , such as critical thinking, and encouraged targeted discussions about American studies topics such as the U.S constitution . during 2004, the embassy also sent two senior specialists from the ministry of education on international visitors programs (IVP) on civic education and curriculum reform.

freedom of\_ expression and press liberties were priorities for the united states .using MEPI-sponsored programs, the united states trained dozens of Bahraini journalists during the year and helped launch the university of Bahrain's first student-run radio station. During the past two years , the embassy sent several journalists on IVPs on the role of the media in a democracy and responsibilities of an investigative journalist.

judicial reform, another priority for the united states , was supported through an American bar association project to assist reform efforts within the Bahraini ministry of justice. The project facilitated training for judges and persecutors; the establishment of an alternative dispute resolution system; improved case management to speed up the court process through software installation and training; and more transparent recruitment and selection of new judges. In a welcome development , the minister of justice dismissed five shari'a court judges in march, suspending a sixth for corruption and disreputable behavior. In addition to improvements to judiciary process noted above , the government also provided increased human rights training to law enforcement officers.

also supported by the U.S funding, the commercial law development program worked with the Bahraini government to develop sound commercial law practices. The embassy facilitated the visit of a delegation of parliamentarians, government officials and business leaders to a rule of law forum organized by the southern Methodist university.

There was both progress and new concern in human rights. The king publicly for the creation of a personal status law to ensure greater protection of women's legal rights, and the government approved the registration of several new human rights groups and an organization to protect foreign workers in crisis. An active member of Bahrain's civil society went to united states on an IVP to study human rights advocacy and awareness . the government dissolved a leading human rights organization in September and arrested a member who had publicly criticized the royal family and government policies. The state department expressed concern that these actions could represent a step backward, both publicly and in meetings with government. On November 21, the detained activist was sentenced to one year in prison ,but the king ordered his release the same day.

The U.S government monitored religious freedom, regularly met with representatives of different religious groups and facilitated meetings to address the concerns of members of minority faiths.

More than half on Bahrain's work force is foreign , and there were cases of expatriate workers being subject to trafficking and abuse . the state department's 2004 trafficking in persons report states that the government of Bahrain doesn't fully comply with the minimum standards for elimination of trafficking ; however, it made significant efforts to do so . it developed a national plan of action to combat trafficking and shut down several employment agencies the exploited workers. Foreign workers were not protected under Bahrain's domestic labor laws , and anti-trafficking legislation was introduced. United states officials consistently underscored the importance of combating worker exploitation and trafficking in persons during meetings with the government. A U.S-sponsored non-governmental organization trained government officials in responding to the needs of abuse victims . the united states also funded an international organization for migration project to mitigate Bahrain's trafficking problems, scheduled to begin implementation in 2005.

Model for the opposition's attempts to provide signals to the U.S. embassy

## U.S. advice for Bahrain to develop the reform project

Confirmed Informed political sources in Manama's "Eilaf", said the Bahraini authorities has been subjected for quite some time to come under strong pressure from Washington, which has expressed concern about the decline in the case of confidence, which had witnessed a big leap when the king, Sheikh Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa his reformist successor before nearly four years ago according to these sources, and Washington that the state of discontent and resentment spread among the people are the same that prevailed in Bahrain such as the Movement December (December) in 1994.

Sources said, who preferred not to be named, said U.S. negotiator were taken to the major figures in the family (the royal) and their point of view in the totality of the conditions experienced by the Kingdom of Bahrain, which took the form of serious tension in the recent times.

Sources declare that the situation in Bahrain sensitive for the American is invited them to exercise such pressure, especially in light of what they have heard from many on the Bahraini arena, recommends to start thinking about the demands of legitimate opposition, to avoid what might happen as a result of to the date of the elections, and is the command which would shake the confidence of the American Administration in the reform project as a whole.

He was Deputy Assistant U.S. Secretary of State for the Near East Scott Kartnr had met last May (May), with political figures Bahraini opposition and pro-government and has heard of them are preferred to their vision of reform and change and is something which was seen by many analysts are beginning to move the openly serious by the Americans did to put pressure on power.

Also the sources pointed out that these pressures have proved useful when the power began to ease restrictions imposed in previous marches and movements and activities of the opposition, everyone note the deal of power is different with marches through the streets of Bahrain after pleasure jacket on the fifth and twentieth of March (March) last year.

It is worth mentioning that the main opposition in Bahrain of associations coalition four, and the Islamic National Reconciliation, and the Islamic Action, and the National Democratic Action, and assembly of national democratic, demanding constitutional amendments required to the real participation in political life and the Constitution of the contract regulating the relationship between the ruler and sentenced on similar constitutional ancient kingdoms.

Also its confirmed the same sources said Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs and Coordinator of the Broader Middle East and North Africa, who visited Bahrain recently to prepare (for the future) on the development of the reform movement in the Middle East, which will be held in Manama in November (November) next she met some of the other opposition figures and listened to their point of view in the overall political and economic conditions experienced by the Kingdom of Bahrain, as well as the quality of their vision for reform and who wish to aspire.

And sources pointed out that the U.S. Administration, as a result of the reports she received from various parties become convinced that the political reforms taking place in the Kingdom of Bahrain, fragile and shy and not in line with the outlook of Americans did to repair the area and spreading democracy, especially when the American officials who are holding meetings with the symbols of Bahrain different to draft a point of view identical between the loyalists and opponents to the effect that the reforms in the Kingdom of Bahrain is incomplete and they need to be developed.

The difference between opposition and pro-government forces are not in the idea of reforms as far as what the methods and tactics, and how to deal. While the opposition believes that the

pressure on the power comes through the street, you see the loyalty that this pressure may come from institutions created by the reform project (Parliament), and there was no need to engage the street as long as other means available.

Democrat, a newsletter

Issue - 25 National Democratic Action Society



# foreign policy *in focus*

السياسة الأمريكية في الشرق الأوسط

## U.S. Strategic Reach in the Middle East

Since World War II, U.S. priorities in the Middle East have focused on assuring access to oil and, after 1948, the defense of Israel. With the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of the 1980s, the U.S. emerged as the unchallenged superpower in the region. Since then, Washington has also pushed efforts to create a stable, growing market economy open to U.S. and allied investment. The U.S. seeks region-wide stability and a lowering of the levels of political and military conflicts that have plagued the Middle East.

U.S. strategy revolves around the defense of Israel (see *In Focus: the U.S. and Israel*). Israel depends on continuing U.S. economic aid and unwavering political support even in periods of Israel's regional or international isolation. In turn, the U.S. counts on Israel to act as a reliable collaborator in strategic political and economic goals both within and beyond the Middle East. The two countries also cooperate on military research and development and share certain high-technology advances.

Middle East oil imports, though only 9% of U.S. needs, remain crucial for the United States. Given its role as guarantor of Middle East oil for Japan and Europe, Washington maintains

its dominant world position. The U.S., Saudi Arabia, and other Gulf kingdoms have negotiated an agreement that links oil supplies with strategic protection. Since the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979, U.S. strategy to protect oil sources and Israel has relied on dual containment—preventing both Iran and Iraq from emerging as independent regional power centers.

The U.S. initiated the 1990-91 Gulf War in response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, both to demonstrate that it would not tolerate challenges to its power in the region and to reaffirm the sanctity of oil supplies. Since that war, U.S.-led moves to punish Iraq

through economic sanctions have left Iraq devastated. The U.S. opposes lifting the military and economic embargoes against Iraq, even though its threat to the region has been removed. The U.S. continues to provide military support to the oil-rich Gulf monarchies that repress growing domestic opposition resulting from government corruption, Islamist rejection of rapprochement with Israel, and serious human rights violations. The U.S. also provides military and economic support both to pro-Western governments facing similar challenges in Jordan and Egypt, as well as to several Arab states of North Africa.

After the Gulf War the U.S. launched a major set of diplomatic initiatives in the region; it is the main sponsor of the Israeli-Palestinian (and other Israeli-Arab) negotiations known as the Oslo peace process. Yet Washington's political and economic promises to the Palestinians remain largely unfulfilled; Israel has realized Oslo's major gains by normalizing relations with Turkey and most Arab countries and gaining an end to the Arab boycott. The U.S. remains actively engaged in attempting to keep the often-faltering Palestinian peace process alive.

U.S. economic aid in the region—a key instrument of U.S. influence—goes primarily to Israel, Egypt, Turkey, and Jordan. The first three also account for most U.S. military assistance, while Israel and Egypt alone receive 43% of the total 1996 U.S. foreign aid budget.

While encouraging Turkey's recent expansion of economic and military ties with Israel, the U.S. has expressed its unease with historically secular Turkey's new Islamist-led coalition government. Since taking office in mid-1996 the Turkish government has improved ties with Iran and Libya; it refused to back the Clinton administration's September 1996 bombing of Iraq and has continued to mobilize other nations for an end to the oil embargo against Iraq, which has cost Turkey billions of dollars in trade since the Gulf War.

### Key Points

- Washington's goals in the Middle East involve support for Israel, assuring oil flow, and ensuring political stability for economic growth.
- Ensuring reliable U.S. military access for intervention in the region and beyond means increasing military aid and arms sales, and supporting military solutions to regional instabilities.
- U.S. is guarantor/sponsor of troubled Israeli-Arab peace process.

## Problems With Current U.S. Policy 2

By limiting its political efforts in this strategically important and volatile region to a narrowly defined quest for stability, the U.S. has largely abandoned crucial issues of fundamental justice. The current neglect of important issues, such as the illegal occupation of territory by force and the need to prevent human rights and national rights abuses committed by allies as well as opponents, sets the stage for continued instability and a long-term reduction of U.S. influence in the region.

Recent U.S. strategy in the Middle East has centered on promoting the Oslo peace process. In fact, while Oslo was ostensibly based on UN resolution 242 and its call for an exchange of land for peace, the U.S. abandoned that formula, instead accepting Israel's view of a "peace for peace" exchange that does not require Israel to relinquish land it occupied in 1967. Although Israel, Jordan, and Palestine have signed treaties under Oslo, the actual process has failed to set the economic or political conditions for a durable peace in the region.

The U.S. claims only an interest in insuring that the Oslo process continues, stating that results are "up to the parties." It has refused to pressure Israel to make serious concessions—or even to implement agreements already signed. As a result, the U.S. has lost some credibility on the Arab street, while opposition forces simultaneously challenge pro-U.S. governments throughout the region.

On the pivotal Israeli-Palestinian front, the immediate problem lies with the refusal of Israel's rightwing Netanyahu government, elected in May 1996, to implement key agreements signed by the former Labor government, including pulling most Israeli troops out of Hebron and releasing Palestinian prisoners. Instead, Israel has opted for a program of 1) settlement expansion, 2) closing the Palestinian territories, and 3) ending all Palestinian rights in Arab East Jerusalem.

As a result, many Palestinians and some Israelis dismiss the Oslo accords themselves as insufficient to meet even a minimum level of Palestinian rights. U.S. acquiescence to these Israeli provocations appears to demonstrate a double standard in regional power struggles. It calls into question U.S. claims to act as an honest broker between Israel and the Palestinians.

Serious human rights violations continue throughout the region. Many governments routinely ignore democratic norms, including elections, free speech, and freedom of religion. Corruption and rich/poor disparities are on the rise. Israeli military personnel, and occasionally Palestinian authorities, imprison Palestinians, often torture them, and hold them without trial.

In Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states, monarchies maintain absolute control, and women are especially victimized. While the U.S. appropriately excoriates abuses in Syria, Iran, and Iraq, it has refused to use its leverage in the region to stop or even call attention to similar abuses perpetuated by allied governments.

Largely because of massive arms sales to Washington's closest allies, the Middle East region receives the largest proportion of all U.S. arms transfers. Throughout the 1980s Washington sold arms to both sides of the Iran-Iraq War. From 1992-96, the Middle East accounted for 64% of U.S. arms sales. The U.S. also maintains six military bases in the region, with more than 37,000 U.S. troops stationed there, and in the fall of 1996 at least 33 U.S. ships were patrolling in the area.

This is especially dangerous as internal tensions in the already overarmed region heat up. The unacknowledged 200 plus nuclear bombs in Israel's Dimona plant constitute another threat to regional stability. The Israeli nuclear arsenal provides Arab governments with justification for their massive diversion of revenues to fund conventional arms build-ups. But Washington's willingness to ignore the Israeli threat in the Middle East strengthens the prevalent Arab view that the U.S. practices a dangerous double standard.

### Key Problems

- Washington's narrow definition of regional stability ignores violations of fundamental justice, which spurs further instability.
- The U.S.-sponsored peace process has frozen because of U.S. double standards.
- The U.S.-backed impunity of Israel's regional aggression, hegemonic ambition, and nuclear arsenal reduces Washington's credibility with other regional players and leaves it vulnerable to attacks by those who see the U.S. as pro-Israel and anti-Arab.
- U.S. response to serious human rights violations throughout the region is inadequate and discriminatory.
- Massive U.S. arms sales in an already over-armed region further distorts local economies and fuels popular opposition in the pro-U.S. Arab countries.

### أهداف السياسة الأمريكية

- دعم إسرائيل
- ضمان تدفق البترول وضمان الاستقرار السياسي
- ضمان استمرار قدرتها العسكرية للتدخل لحماية مصالحها
- رعاية مباحثات السلام العربية-الإسرائيلية

The US policy goals

Support Israel.

Ensure the flow of oil and ensure political stability

Ensure the continuation of its military capacity to intervene to protect its interests.

The auspices of the Arab peace talks – Israeli.

## Toward a New Foreign Policy

Beyond defending Israel and containing Iran and Iraq, U.S. strategy in the Middle East should include plans that address the needs of the region's poor. Military responses to every challenge to U.S. dominance, such as the periodic air strikes against Iraq, do little to solve the underlying conflicts and serve to isolate the U.S. within and outside of the region. And the U.S. efforts to open a region-wide market economy must include efforts to mitigate some of the exploding gaps between have and have-not countries and peoples.

### Key Recommendations

- The U.S. should insist that signatories implement the regional pacts they have accepted; the failing Oslo process should be replaced or amended to include a serious commitment to the formula of land for peace.
- Human rights violations should not be tolerated; U.S. economic and military aid should be conditioned on adherence to signed agreements and acceptance of basic human rights standards.
- Double standards should be ended, and the U.S.-Israel special relationship should not lead to U.S. endorsement of Tel Aviv's violations of international law

The U.S. has staked its prestige and international influence on its sponsorship of the Oslo peace process. Only the U.S. has the power to insist that all signatories implement the terms of the agreements without delay. Specifically, this means ignoring domestic political pressures and doing whatever is required to assure Israel's compliance with all aspects of the agreements signed by its previous government, including those involving Hebron and Palestinian prisoners. The U.S. should also ensure that deliberate provocations by any signatory—such as Israel's recent opening of a tunnel alongside Islamic shrines and its rampant settlement expansion programs—are unequivocally and

evenhandedly condemned, and that steps are taken to reverse such actions.

In the longer term, the U.S. must take the lead in shaping a new framework for regional peace based directly on UN resolution 242's call for the exchange of land for peace. The U.S. must also ensure that the exchange really is land for peace, not merely an Israeli grant of municipal authority for peace.

Concretely this means the U.S. should:

- Support the creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza, alongside a secure Israel.
- Insist on the end of Israel's occupations of southern Lebanon and the Golan Heights in return for full peace.
- Ensure equitable access to regional water resources.
- Help to create a reasonably level economic playing field for the poorer countries in the region (Egypt, Yemen, Jordan, and others) long excluded from international economic advances.

The U.S. should include the Europeans as full partners in this new effort. They are closer to the region geographically and economically and have broad credibility with all sides. The U.S. should also end its exclusion

of UN involvement in Middle East negotiations. Since Washington has taken primary responsibility for bringing peace and stability to the Middle East, its policy must go beyond mere continuation of talks to implementation of comprehensive solutions.

The U.S. should respond to human rights abuses committed by allies such as Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Jordan, Egypt, Israel, and the Palestinian Authority, with exactly the same resolute condemnation it heaps on opponents such as Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Libya. Future U.S. aid should be made explicitly contingent on implementation of human rights norms without allowing the excuse of special circumstance exceptions. By taking a strong stand against human rights abuses committed by its allies, the U.S. will go far in winning popular support among local populations, and the sometimes violent opposition to a U.S. presence in the region will be undermined.

The U.S. should reassess policies designed to undermine Iraq and isolate Iran. It should maintain the arms embargo against Iraq but lift the drastic economic/oil sanctions, which have punished the Iraqi people far more than the regime. It should engage Iran economically and exploit political openings.

The Middle East is already over-armed. The U.S. should discourage poor countries like Egypt and Jordan from expending scarce resources on expensive weapons, and U.S. aid should be diverted from military assistance to developmental uses. The U.S. should no longer allow wealthy, repressive states—such as Saudi Arabia—to have unlimited access to advanced weapons systems, when such access is based on unsubstantiated fear of future Iraqi aggression. Military aid to Israel, a major arms developer itself, should be drastically decreased.

This is the time to question the special relationship between the U.S. and Israel. Although the U.S. should not ignore the decades of a close political/military alliance and Israel's place in U.S. domestic politics, the time has come to face the fact that the strategic bond is derived from U.S. underwriting of Israel's now robust economy. The fledgling Israel of yesteryear has become a powerful Israel—in economy and defense. Israel no longer needs or merits automatic support regardless of how provocative, aggressive, or violative of international norms Israeli actions may be.

Nor can that partnership legitimize U.S.-backed Israeli impunity in the regional context. Just as Israel normalizes its relations with once-enemy Arab states, the U.S. must normalize its relations with an Israel once deemed immune to any criticism. An equitable and unbiased policy in the Middle East is incompatible with Washington's continued protection of and uncritical support for Israel.

## National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

Institute (NDI) Institution of civil leftist (Washington) based tracking the Democratic Party. Which It's has been active in Bahrain since April 2002.

The Institute controls by Jewish leaders, known as Zionist extremist and absolute support of the mechanics of elections and policy configuration tools for monitoring the performance of the state security service.

The institute programs are to support political parties and elections and good governance and use of information technology in political action and participation of women.

Latin and Angola, Guinea, after the Institute to implement this project in 2006 in Bahrain.

### Hidden objectives

- To support the opposition organizations and the training of cadres, internally and externally.
- Establish funding mechanisms indirectly to political organizations by sponsoring events and helping to obtain funding indirectly to work (for example Transparency Association, to fund the U.S. government for a workshop on the right of access to information, in 05/19/2005, and help them now to apply for funding campaign to monitor the year 2006.
- Provide the tools and resources from the documents and advisory services and training courses on the mechanisms for organizing electoral campaigns of the opposition (broadening the base of support + Support organizational structures + finance)
- Draw up a detailed map of the reality of the regime and of the characters and the active mechanisms for the opposition in Bahrain and provided to interested politicians, journalists and researchers when they visit to Bahrain.
- To help the opposition to establish a network of international contacts and arranging contacts and relations of cooperation and activities for them in America and Western Europe.

Director of the Institute's work in Bahrain, Fawzi A. Guleid

U.S. citizen of Somali origin does not provide any information or address of place of residence in Bahrain. All the cards bear the address provided by Washington. Was working in the humanitarian relief organization in Somalia, after the work of the Agency for Tourism in Kuwait, then served in Afghanistan and moved to Bahrain in March 2002.

The Institute is a legal civil institution does not carry any diplomatic status. But the director Gouled is always leaked information that resides limit care and protection of the U.S. Embassy.

Supervised and overseen by them and through any formal or informal channel!! Provision is also 200 thousand dinars to activate it during the next election season in Bahrain.

NDI practiced since 2002, its activities in Bahrain through the Resident Manager.

What is the legal status of this institution?

And what is the mechanism of supervision or control over its financial resources, or how it was spent?

And what is the legal status of a director?

And whether he had Diplomatic immunity or has the facilities inside the U.S. embassy for activities?

Order an intense media campaign through the "Al Watan" in close cooperation with selected members of the Parliament Representatives and the Shura Council and public figures; then Fawzi Gouled will be expelled before the next election.



### أعضاء مجلس الإدارة والهيئة الاستشارية

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يهود أو ذوي ارتباطات صهيونية واضحة

From : Amal Al-Dossari

Sent: 21 May 2005 23:36

To: Raed Shams

Cc: goys1@hotmail.com

Subject: Re: Change to youth strategy draft

Dear Raed, Thank you for your visit of last week, and thank you for all your support and encouragement you've given to me.

As I mentioned during your visit, the intention and the objective of the youth parliament is to train young people on the Bahraini democracy through a replica system of that of the national parliament ... meaning that we want to have similar distribution of consistencies in the governorates, which will automatically mean similar number of members of two houses .that is double and will not affect the process dramatically.

My concern and the worry is the timing of the election. To be very frank with you, when I thought about everything said during the meeting, I felt that may be the "postponement" is forever!! if it is the case , I would like to know it now better than spending anymore valuable time on it. If the postponement is for 18months, then I have the following concerns:

1- it will be a big disappointment for everybody, and the project will lose its credibility and momentum.

2- my fear is that the longer we postpone it, the more chance others will have to sabotage it!

3- it is very difficult to put any justification to the steering committee members and to enthusiastic youth in general.

4- if the training is the only concern, I cannot see the justification of the postponement! by Oct. 2006, the next national elections, it will be the second election by the BYP... time to have another batch of youth, whom we can train as long as we want starting from now.

5- it is not fair after having gone through very difficult time of preparation for almost two years to be asked to put the project on hold.

The formulation process and the planning of the project has been going on for almost two years now and it was in the newspapers almost every other day. Postponing it now with only 6 weeks to go before the election may put the whole project on stake! A delay of 18 months may not only jeopardize the professionalism of the planners, but will definitely allow legitimate room this time for serious attacks from 'other' bodies.

However, it is vey much plausible to postpone the election until after the summer holidays, and that time can be used for training!

Thank you for your patience and looking forward to hearing your views.

Amal

On 16/05/2005,Raed Shams wrote:

Dear Amal,

Find attached the necessary changes to the strategy document. I would stress that the changes evolve around three issues:

The distribution of constituencies among the governorates.

The number of seats (80) in the two chamber parliament.

The postponement of the election.

Please don't hesitate to contact me for any clarifications, and looking forward to see amendments before publishing.

Best regards,

Ra'ed