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AUSTRALIA

RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

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1. Please provide information about a 1994 petition calling for nullification of state security law, reinstatement of the 1973 constitution and the return of the dissolved elected parliament?

2. Please provide information about the arrest of political activists around 1996, in particular whether an activist would have been tried and sentenced if he was in detention for three years?

3. Please provide any information about continued harassment by the authorities today, of those who have been detained in the past?

4. Please provide information on any arrest or detention of Bahrainis returning from overseas travel on the basis of being involved in terrorist plots or training against the Sunni elite?

RESPONSE

1. Please provide information about a 1994 petition calling for nullification of state security law, reinstatement of the 1973 constitution and the return of the dissolved elected parliament?

Country information indicates that a petition was circulated in 1994 calling for the restoration of the National Assembly and the involvement of women in the democratic process. The petition was critical of the economic situation at that time and of laws which restricted the freedom of citizens and contradicted the constitution enacted in the absence of parliament. Sources reported that from late 1994 there were widespread protests and clashes between the security forces and demonstrators which appear to have peaked in 1996.

Information is provided below under the following sub-headings:

Brief background information

The 1994 petition
Aftermath

Brief background information

According to the International Crisis Group (ICG) "social and sectarian divides clearly overlap" in Bahrain, particularly for Shiites who comprise "an estimated 70 percent of the native population" (International Crisis Group 2005, *Bahrain's Sectarian Challenge*, 6 May, Middle East Report No. 40, p.1 – Attachment 1).

The 2005 ICG report provides the following information on the political situation leading up to events in the 1990s in Bahrain:

> Even prior to independence, and with British support, the ruling Al-Khalifa family played a dominant economic and political role. Between 1961 and 1999, local politics could roughly be summed up as a condominium between the Amir, Sheikh 'Isa bin Salman, and his brother, Sheikh Khalifa bin Salman, who is still prime minister. Facing an opposition displaying sharp class and ideological features in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Al-Khalifa sought to buttress their legitimacy by calling for creation of an assembly that would be tasked with drawing up a constitution pursuant to which a partially elected national assembly with limited legislative powers would come into being. The constitution was promulgated in June 1973, and national elections were held in early December.
>
> The experiment was short-lived but political activism continued across a broad front, progressive and conservative alike. Labour leaders organised numerous industrial strikes. In response, the ruling family issued a wide-ranging State Security Measures Law in 1975 granting the government summary powers to arrest and hold without trial persons suspected of acting or expressing views "which are of a nature considered to be in violation of the internal or external security of the country". The assembly's elected members, divided on many other issues, were united in opposition to these steps, insisting they ought to have been submitted for their approval. In August 1975, the Amir dissolved the assembly and, circumventing the Constitution, refused to call for new elections within two months. This remains a defining moment in the relations between regime and opposition: in the view of many, the government has been operating illegally since October 1975. In the 1990s dissatisfaction with the political system and lingering frustrations over social inequalities spilled over into action as state security forces and activists engaged in a half decade of violent conflict (International Crisis Group 2005, *Bahrain's Sectarian Challenge*, 6 May, Middle East Report No. 40, pp.1-2 – Attachment 1).

BBC sources reported that on 14 February 2002 Bahrain became a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary elections were held in October 2002. In February 2001 the 1975 State Security Law was abolished ('Timeline: Bahrain' 2009, *BBC*, 11 March http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/country_profiles/817505.stm – Accessed 22 May 2009 – Attachment 2; 'Bahrain lifts key security law' 2001, *BBC News*, 18 February http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1177690.stm – Accessed 26 May 2009 – Attachment 3).

The 1994 petition

According to Human Rights Watch the 1994 petition was a second "popular" version of a more formal one drawn up in October 1992 and presented to Amir Isa bin Salman Al Khalifa on 15 November 1992 by a six-member delegation. The 1992 petition was said to have been

“circulated privately and soon secured over 280 signatures of merchants, lawyers, writers, and other professionals, including several former elected members of parliament”. It requested that the amir issue orders for the election of the National Assembly. The 1994 petition “retained the focus of the first” petition but was more critical of the economic crisis and laws enacted in the absence of parliament. It also called for the involvement of women in the democratic process (Human Rights Watch 1997, *Bahrain – Routine Abuse, Routine Denial*, June, pp.13,24-25,29-30 http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/bahrain/ – Accessed 28 November 2007 – Attachment 4).

In respect of the 1994 petition Human Rights Watch reported that the campaign to gather signatures began with a public meeting on 26 September 1994 with 14 original signatories. The 14 original signatories were: Shaikh Abd al-Amir al Jamri, Munira Fakhro, Abd al-Latif al-Mahmud, Muhammad Jabr al-Sabah, Isa al-Jawdar, Ahmad al-Shamlan, Abd al-Wahab Hussain, Ali Qassim Rabi’a, Hisham al-Shihabi, Abd al-Aziz Hasan Ubol, Ibrahim Sayyid Ali Kamal al-Din, Sa’id al-Asboul, Abdallah al-Abbasi and Abdallah Rashid. Organisers claimed that between 20,000 and 25,000 signatures were gathered within a month. The signatories were reportedly “overwhelmingly” Shia (Human Rights Watch 1997, *Bahrain – Routine Abuse, Routine Denial*, June, pp.29-30,footnote 48 http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/bahrain/ – Accessed 28 November 2007 – Attachment 4).

Attached are English translations of the 1992 and 1994 petitions accessed from the Bahrain Freedom Movement website
(‘Translation of the Petition Submitted to the Amir of Bahrain on 15 November 1992’ in ‘Petitions calling for democracy in Bahrain’ 1995, Bahrain Freedom Movement website, 30 November http://www.vob.org/index.php?show=news&action=article&id=15&lang=english – Accessed 25 May 2009 – Attachment 5; ‘Translation of the Historic Petition being circulated in Bahrain since October 1994’ 2006, Bahrain Freedom Movement website, 8 November http://www.vob.org/index.php?show=news&action=article&id=14&lang=english – Accessed 22 May 2009 – Attachment 6).

The 1994 petition includes the following:

> As your highness is aware, the Consultative Council which you had appointed by an Amiri decree does not fill the existing vacuum due to the closing down of the most important and only legislative institution. The reality we now face dictates that we will fail our duty if we do not speak-out frankly to you. Your wise leadership witnesses the incorrect circumstances that our country is passing through amid the changing regional and international environment while the constitutional institution is absent. Had the banning of the National assembly been lifted, it would have enabled overcoming the negative accumulations which hinder the progress of our country. We are facing crises with dwindling opportunities and exits, the ever-worsening unemployment situation, the mounting inflation, the losses to the business sector, the problems generated by the nationality (citizenship) decrees and the prevention of many of our children from returning to their homeland. In addition, there are the laws which were enacted during the absence of the parliament which restrict the freedom of citizens and contradict the Constitution. This was accompanied by lack of freedom of expression and opinion and the total subordination of the press to the executive power. These problems, your Highness, have forced us as citizens to demand the restoration of the National Assembly, and the involvement of women in the democratic process. This could be achieved by free elections, if you decide not to recall the dissolved parliament to convene in accordance with article 65 of the Constitution…(‘Translation of the Historic Petition being circulated in Bahrain since October 1994’ 2006, Bahrain Freedom Movement website, 8 November

http://www.vob.org/index.php?show=news&action=article&id=14&lang=english – Accessed 22 May 2009 – Attachment 6).

It is of interest that the US State Department in its human rights report for 1995 stated that a Bahrain citizen may submit a petition to influence government decisions:

> Citizens do not have the right or ability peacefully to change their government or their political system, and political activity is strictly controlled by the Government. Since the dissolution of the National Assembly in 1975, there have been no formal democratic political institutions. The Government permits neither political parties nor opposition organizations. The Prime Minister, Shaykh Khalifa Bin Sulman Al-Khalifa, makes all appointments to the Cabinet. All other government positions are filled by the relevant ministries. About one-third of the cabinet ministers are Shi'a Muslim, although they do not hold security – related offices. The ordinary citizen may attempt to influence government decisions through submission of personal written petitions and informal contact with senior officials, including appeals to the Amir, the Prime Minister, and other officials at their regularly scheduled public audiences, called majlises (US Department of State 1996, 'Section 3: Respect for Political Rights: The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government' in *Country Reports on Human Rights for 1995 – Bahrain*, March – Attachment 7).

Aftermath

Sources report that widespread protests and clashes between security forces and demonstrators began from late 1994. The demonstrators sought the reinstatement of the National Assembly, the restoration of the country's 1973 constitution and the release of political prisoners. The authorities reportedly responded with mass arrests of protesters and other suspected government opponents.

According the US State Department's human rights report for the year 1995:

> A petition, written in 1994, calling on the Amir to reinstate the former National Assembly, or to allow elections for a new one, continued to circulate in 1995. The petition reportedly has more than 20,000 signatures. Despite opposition charges to the contrary, there is no evidence that the Government has arrested anyone for signing or circulating the petition (US Department of State 1996, 'Section 3: Respect for Political Rights: The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government' in *Country Reports on Human Rights for 1995 – Bahrain*, March – Attachment 7).

Nonetheless, the same US State Department report mentioned that Abdul Amir Al-Jamri, one of the original signers of the 1994 petition, had been arrested and that other individuals had lost their jobs:

> During the year, one of the original 14 signers, Sa'id Abdulla Asbool, lost his job at the Ministry of Works, Power, and Water, reportedly for circulating the petition at the Ministry during work hours. There are reports that other employees have lost their government jobs for participating in the petition drive. Ahmed Shamlan, a local newspaper columnist, was reportedly suspended from his job for signing the petition, and a doctor at Salmaniyah Hospital was stripped of his department chairmanship, but retained his job. Other signers, like Munira Fakhro, a member of the University of Bahrain faculty, were dismissed from their positions. Abdul Amir Al-Jamri, a prominent Shi'a cleric, longtime opposition activist, and one of the petition's original signers, was placed under house arrest on April 1, where he remained until his release on September 25. Al-Jamri is accused of committing a wide variety of security-related crimes (US Department of State 1996, 'Section 3: Respect for

Political Rights: The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government' in *Country Reports on Human Rights for 1995 – Bahrain*, March – Attachment 7).

In 2001 *The Economist* reported that:

> …In 1994, some 25,000 Bahrainis signed a petition demanding reforms. In the following year, 38 people died in violent clashes with the police, and up to 15,000 were arrested. Unrest had simmered ever since ('Your kingdom for our rights' 2001, *The Economist*, 22 February http://www.economist.com/world/mideast-africa/displaystory.cfm?story_id=E1_VTTSRD&source=login_payBarrier – Accessed 22 May 2009 – Attachment 8).

The 1997 Human Rights Watch report continued on events that followed the 1994 petition:

> On November 25, 1994, a confrontation occurred around a marathon relay race involving Bahrainis and Western expatriates alike that was a vehicle for raising funds for charities. On this occasion, the route of the race ran through several Shi'a villages in the vicinity of the capital. A group of Shi'a young men organized a protest, reportedly citing the participation of some Western women in running attire, which they considered to be an affront to local mores. The demonstrators held up protest signs, shouted slogans, and reportedly threw stones at the runners. According to Shaikh Ali Salman, whom the government later accused of fomenting the confrontation:
>
> About a hundred youths went out for an hour to protest. They took banners to protest the race. They were dispersed about 1:30 p.m. The government says the youths threw stones. Maybe, but not enough to keep the marathon from proceeding to the Diplomat Hotel back in Manama, where it ended around 5 p.m. (Human Rights Watch 1997, *Bahrain – Routine Abuse, Routine Denial*, June, pp.30-31 http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/bahrain/ – Accessed 28 November 2007 – Attachment 4).

And:

> **The Government's Response**
>
> December 1994 saw the outbreak of protracted social unrest that, with some lapses, is now in its third year. In the months following December 1994 there were continued street protests, further arrests, and several government announcements of prisoner releases. In late February 1995, the prime minister stated that 300 persons remained in detention in connection with the unrest, while Reuter cited local resident estimates of around 2,000. In March and April the number of incidents and arrests climbed again, and there were additional fatalities. While some of those arrested were picked up for specific offenses involving violence or vandalism, and some for nonviolent activities such as distributing leaflets, writing graffiti or publicly urging the government to negotiate with the opposition, many arrests were indiscriminate and many of those detained were never formally charged.
>
> Among those held without charges were the most politically prominent detainees, such as Shaikh Abd al-Amir al-Jamri, an elected member of the dissolved National Assembly and the informal head of the most broadly based opposition grouping, the Bahrain Islamic Freedom Movement. He was detained on April 1, 1995, along with several other Shi'a community leaders, including Abd al-Wahab Hussain, Hasan Mushaima, and Shaikh Khalil Sultan. "We were not surprised when they took us," Shaikh Khalil told Human Rights Watch. "We knew they were recording our sermons." At no point in the ensuing five months of captivity were any of the detained community leaders charged with a crime.

> Very soon, though, the authorities engaged them in jailhouse negotiations. "The negotiations started sometime in May," Shaikh Khalil told Human Rights Watch, "and later that month they agreed to put us together in the same *mukhabarat* [intelligence services] prison." According to Shaikh Khalil, between May and August there were about twenty meetings of an hour or two each with Ian Henderson, director of the government's security and investigative directorates, or one of his deputies, Adil Flaifil, and several meetings with the minister of interior. "They were very inconsistent," Shaikh Khalil told Human Rights Watch. "First they'd assert that our arrest had calmed things down, then they'd say we would have to promise to calm things down in order to get out. They kept insisting we were 'nobodies,' and so they were reluctant to acknowledge that we could calm things down." In mid-August, according to Shaikh Khalil and other opposition sources, an understanding seemed to have been reached whereby the opposition would cease street protests, and the government would take steps toward satisfying the demands to reinstate the constitution and restore the national assembly, release political prisoners, and allow exiles to return. At the government's insistence, though, according to Shaikh Khalil, nothing was committed to paper, and independent opposition figures subsequently told Human Rights Watch that the government in fact did not go beyond promising to "look into" these demands. Shaikh Khalil and Hasan Mushaima were released then on the understanding that they would travel to Damascus and London to persuade exiled regime opponents to end their activities. Abd al-Wahab Hussain was released on September 9, and Shaikh al-Jamri on September 26. There were also releases of persons rounded up in arrest sweeps at various points over the previous nine months.
>
> Street protests diminished for a time, but the regime's opponents soon charged that the government was not acting in good faith. The government denied that there had been any understanding, and the situation quickly deteriorated… (Human Rights Watch 1997, *Bahrain – Routine Abuse, Routine Denial*, June, pp.33-35 http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/bahrain/ – Accessed 28 November 2007 – Attachment 4).

Another article on the 1994 petition and the ensuing events is by Munira Ahmed Fakhro, who appears to be one of the original signatories to the 1994 petition. Fakhro writes:

> In June 1994, unemployed workers demonstrated outside the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, but they were dispersed and told that the government would come up with a solution to their problem within two months. However, nothing came of this. Demonstrations resumed during the months of September and October of that year. In October 1994, a group of prominent citizens and religious leaders from both sects presented a petition to the amir, citing the employment situation, slackness in business, forced exile, restrictions on freedom of expression and subordination of the press to the government as examples of some of the problems Bahrain was facing. Nearly 23,000 citizens signed this petition calling for the restoration of parliament. The leading signers of the petition asked for permission to meet the amir to present it but their request was turned down.
>
> Following the arrest of three of the most prominent religious Shi'i leaders (Shaikh Ali Salman and two others), there were demonstrations in many Shi'i villages in December. A large number of arrests resulted, and that in turn led to more disturbances. The outcome was more than 30 killed, a few hundred injured and 3,000 to 5,000 people arrested, among them nearly 30 women and 50 children aged 12 to 15 years. All of those arrested were Shi'i. In addition, many schools and electric power substations were set on fire and destroyed. Since then, demonstrations and arrests have continued intermittently.
>
> When we look at this situation, it is important to distinguish two different events without confusing them. The first was the petition that was signed by 23,000 citizens (men and women from both sects), the majority of which (nearly 70 percent) were Shi'i, and more than 20 percent women. This petition called for specific reforms, such as the return to democracy,

> an end to corruption , a reduction of unemployment and limitation of foreign labor. The second event was the series of street demonstrations and violence – in which only the Shi'i participated – that erupted in the capital and the villages after the arrest of the Shi'i cleric Shaikh Ali Salman.
>
> It has been observed that the authorities and their media tried to confuse and combine the two events (the petition and the street violence). They were in fact separate, though parallel, matters, the main issue being a move toward peaceful political and civic reforms in which many leading members from both sects participated. The authorities played their part intelligently by dividing the movement and giving it a sectarian complexion, thereby concentrating on the Shi'i element and ignoring the Sunni participation. Not one Sunni was detained during the first year of the uprising. The first Shi'i leader to be detained (Ali Salman) was allegedly the one who played a major role in writing the petition and calling for a large number of signatories through his preaching in the mosques. He was also accused of instigating the villagers in an incident that sparked the whole uprising, when some marathon runners were stoned by villagers objecting to what they saw as the improper and indecent exposure of men and women wearing running shorts.
>
> The authorities persisted in their accusations that there exists a Shi'i-inspired plot to overthrow the regime, and insisted that there is a Hezbollah underground organization in Bahrain. They also accused Iran of involvement in the plot by supplying the movement with arms and money. So far they have not produced the evidence to support the case.
>
> The crux of the problem was the petition calling for reforms. The authorities had no wish to discuss the matter with anyone, especially where democracy was concerned. Admittedly, they played their cards cleverly by neutralizing the Sunni position and causing alarm among the other regimes in the region by indicating that the fire might spread in their direction. Furthermore, they aroused the U.S. suspicion that the Iranian influence might extend into the area should the requests in the petition be granted (Fakhro, Munira A., 'The Uprising in Bahrain: An Assessment' in Sick, Gary G. & Potter, Lawrence G. (eds) 1997, *The Persian Gulf at the Millennium: Essays in Politics, Economy, Security, and Religion*, St. Martin's Press, New York, pp.181-182,342 – Attachment 9).

The ICG states that "clashes and unrest began in late 1994 in Shiite villages outside the capital Manama". The government's response was said to have been "brutal", detaining demonstrators and exiling opposition leaders. The ICG reported that there was escalating violence and repression over the next several years. Although the violence eventually subsided, it continued at a low level until 1999. Clashes again escalated between the government and opposition in 2004 (International Crisis Group 2005, *Bahrain's Sectarian Challenge*, 6 May, Middle East Report No. 40, pp.2-3 – Attachment 1).

The ICG continues in its 2005 report:

> What dialogue existed between opposition and regime was fruitless, as the government detained without charge or trial, and often in solitary confinement, key opposition interlocutors, such as Sheikh Abd al-Amir al-Jamri and Abd al-Wahhab Hussein. Those who signed reform petitions, whether Shiite or Sunni, faced official retribution ranging from harassment and employment blacklisting to detention and ill treatment. Considerable ill-will persists today in many Bahraini communities, particularly in the Shiite areas, where arrest, harassment and torture were commonplace. There is little satisfaction that past grievances have been resolved (International Crisis Group 2005, *Bahrain's Sectarian Challenge*, 6 May, Middle East Report No. 40, p.3 – Attachment 1).

For further information on the situation leading up to events of the 1990s in Bahrain see:

- Chapters 2 and 4 in Human Rights Watch 1997, *Bahrain – Routine Abuse, Routine Denial*, June http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/bahrain/ – Accessed 28 November 2007 – Attachment 1.

- Fakhro, Munira A., 'The Uprising in Bahrain: An Assessment' in Sick, Gary G. & Potter, Lawrence G. (eds) 1997, *The Persian Gulf at the Millennium: Essays in Politics, Economy, Security, and Religion*, St. Martin's Press, New York, pp.167-188 – Attachment 9. (note: Munira Ahmed Fakhro appears to be one of the original signatories to the 1994 petition)

- Bahry, Louay 2000, 'The Socioeconomic Foundations of the Shiite Opposition in Bahrain', *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Summer, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp.129-143 – Attachment 10.

- Lawson, Fred H., 'Repertoires of Contention in Contemporary Bahrain' in Wiktorowicz, Quintan 2003, *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, Bloomington, pp.89-111 – Attachment 11.

2. Please provide information about the arrest of political activists around 1996, in particular whether an activist would have been tried and sentenced if he was in detention for three years?

Country information indicates that protests and unrest which began in 1994 continued into 1996. Sources also indicate that under the 1974 State Security Law people may be detained without charge or trial for up to three years (the law was abolished in February 2001). In a series of amnesties from June 1999 the amir released a number of detainees and prisoners, some were said to have been held without charge or trial for up to five years. Protests and unrest have also been reported into the 2000s.

Information is provided below under the following sub-headings:

Arrests of political activists in 1996 and 1997
Release of political prisoners and detainees in 1999
Unrest into the 2000s

Arrests of political activists in 1996 and 1997

Information received from the Bahrain Center for Human Rights (BCHR) advises that 1996 "was the peak year of the wide unrest in Bahrain during 1994-1997"(Al-Khawaja, Abdulhadi, President, Bahrain Center for Human Rights 2007, Email to RRT Research & Information: 'RE: Request for information from the Refugee Review Tribunal, Sydney, Australia', 2 December – Attachment 12).

The *Amnesty International Report 1997* states that protests and unrest which began in 1994 continued into 1996. It notes that many of the arrests were carried out in the Shi'a districts of Bani Jamra, Sitra, Jidd Hafs and al-Sanabes. Many demonstrations were peaceful, however, some escalated into clashes with police and security forces. The report states that there were at least five bomb attacks on banks, business centres and restaurants (Amnesty International 1997, *Amnesty International Report 1997 – Bahrain*, London, pp.83-86 – Attachment 13).

Human Rights Watch, in its *World Report 1997*, covering the events of 1996, also reported that widespread street demonstrations and clashes with security forces resumed at the end of 1995 and the beginning of 1996. Virtually all those people detained were Shi'a. Between March and October 1996, 156 people were reportedly sentenced to prison by the State Security Court. It was estimated that, at any one time in 1996, between 1,000 and 2,000 people were held without charge (Human Rights Watch 1996, *World Report 1997 – Bahrain (Events of 1996)*, December http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/WR97/ME-02.htm#P139_53612 – Accessed 28 November 2007 – Attachment 14).

Some arrests reported in 1996 were:

- January 1996: Shaikh Abd al-Amir al-Jamri, the informal head of the main opposition grouping, the Bahrain Islamic Freedom Movement, and seven other community leaders were arrested (Human Rights Watch 1996, *World Report 1997 – Bahrain (Events of 1996)*, December http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/WR97/ME-02.htm#P139_53612 – Accessed 28 November 2007 – Attachment 14; Human Rights Watch 1997, *Bahrain – Routine Abuse, Routine Denial*, June, p.35/footnote 66 http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/bahrain/ – Accessed 28 November 2007 – Attachment 4).

- February 1996: Ahmad al-Shamlan, a lawyer and long-time leftist critic of the government, was one of few Sunni opposition activists to be detained (Human Rights Watch 1996, *World Report 1997 – Bahrain (Events of 1996)*, December http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/WR97/ME-02.htm#P139_53612 – Accessed 28 November 2007 – Attachment 14; Amnesty International 1997, *Amnesty International Report 1997 – Bahrain*, London, p.84 – Attachment 13).

- March 1996: 10 women were reportedly arrested, "apparently because of their relationship to male political prisoners and their involvement in public protests". It was also reported that over 25 women, including high school students, were arrested in connection with protests; all 25 women were later released without charge or on bail (Amnesty International 1997, *Amnesty International Report 1997 – Bahrain*, London, pp.84-85 – Attachment 13).

- June 1996: People were reportedly arrested over several weeks over an alleged *Hizbullah* Iranian-backed plot to overthrow the government (Amnesty International 1997, *Amnesty International Report 1997 – Bahrain*, London, p.84 – Attachment 13; Human Rights Watch 1997, *Bahrain – Routine Abuse, Routine Denial*, June, pp.40-41 http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/bahrain/ – Accessed 28 November 2007 – Attachment 4).

In September 1996 Dr Andrew Rathmell wrote in the *Jane's Intelligence Review* on the prosecution and conviction of dissidents:

> Since March 1996 Bahrain's State Security Court has enthusiastically prosecuted and convicted dissidents accused of a range of subversive activities. Summary sentences have ranged from three years for defendants convicted of printing and circulating illegal leaflets to the death penalty for three men convicted of an arson attack in which seven foreign workers perished.

> The transfer of the prosecution of 85 offences away from the civil courts to the State Security Court was an indication of the increasing determination of the Bahraini authorities to stamp out persistent civil unrest by force. Since unrest broke out in late 1994 the authorities have intensified policing and rounded up hundreds of suspects in an attempt to quell the disturbances. Until this spring, however, they tried to downplay the importance of the troubles, imposing a virtual news blackout both at home and abroad.
>
> Although the main strand of policy was repression, an attempt was made not to escalate the situation. A death sentence was only imposed reluctantly, on the insistence of a murdered policeman's family, while limited attempts were made to cajole opposition leaders into restraining their followers.
>
> The application of the State Security Law indicated, however, that advocates of a security-led approach had won the argument within the government… (Rathmell, Andrew 1996, 'Middle East, Manama Cracks Down', *Jane's Intelligence Review*, 1 September – Attachment 15).

According to Human Rights Watch the government expanded the security court in early 1996 to cope with an increase in the number of arrests. During the next ten months over 180 people were convicted under the state security process, compared to one estimate of less than 50 in 1995. This period also reportedly saw the increased detention of women and children (Human Rights Watch 1997, *Bahrain – Routine Abuse, Routine Denial*, June, p.38 http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/bahrain/ – Accessed 28 November 2007 – Attachment 4).

Also, in the *Amnesty International Report 1997 – Bahrain* it was reported that:

> By the end of the year [1996], over a thousand political detainees were believed to remain in prison. Most were administratively detained under a law which permits the Minister of the Interior to detain individuals for renewable periods of up to three years. The law allows for a petition challenging the detention every six months, but many people were held without official orders and were detained for several months without judicial review (Amnesty International 1997, *Amnesty International Report 1997 – Bahrain*, London, p.84 – Attachment 13).

According to both Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch protests and clashes between security forces and demonstrators continued into 1997 (Amnesty International 1998, *Amnesty International Report 1998 – Bahrain*, London, pp.94-97 – Attachment 16; Human Rights Watch 1997, *World Report 1998 – Bahrain (Events of 1997)*, December – Attachment 17).

The *Amnesty International Report 1998 – Bahrain* report covering the year 1997 states:

> Widespread anti-government protests, which erupted in December 1994, continued during the year [1997]…As in previous years, protesters demanded the reinstatement of the National Assembly, which was dissolved by the Amir, Shaikh 'Issa bin Salman Al Khalifa, in 1975; the restoration of the country's 1973 constitution; and the released of political prisoners. The authorities responded with mass arrests of protesters and other suspected government opponents, especially in the Shi'a Muslim districts of Jidd Hafs, Sitra and al-Sanabis. Several arson attacks targeted restaurants, hotels and shops resulting in the deaths of seven foreign nationals…(Amnesty International 1998, *Amnesty International Report 1998 – Bahrain*, London, p.95 – Attachment 16).

Release of political prisoners and detainees in 1999

Country information indicates that under the 1974 State Security Law people may be detained without charge or trial for up to three years. The law was abolished in February 2001. In series on amnesties from June 1999 the amir released a number of detainees and prisoners, some were said to have been detained without charge or trial for months or years.

Sources report that under the 1974 State Security Law people may have been detained without charge or trial for up to three years. The law was abolished in February 2001 (Amnesty International 2001, *Bahrain: Amnesty International hails recent positive human rights developments*, 20 February, AI Index MDE 11/003/2001, News Service Nr. 31 http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE11/003/2001/en/8eea1093-dc33-11dd-9f41-2fdde0484b9c/mde110032001en.html – Accessed 22 May 2009 – Attachment 18; Sakr, Naomi 2001, 'Reflections on the Manama Spring: Research Questions Arising from the Promise of Political Liberalization in Bahrain', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 28, No.2, p.230 – Attachment 19; 'Bahrain lifts key security law' 2001, *BBC News*, 18 February http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1177690.stm – Accessed 26 May 2009 – Attachment 3).

On the release of prisoners in 1999 Amnesty International reported:

> The Amir of Bahrain, Shaikh Hamad bin 'Issa Al Khalifa, acceded to power in March 1999 following the death of his father. Since then the Government of Bahrain has introduced a number of positive changes in the promotion and protection of human rights, including the release of hundreds of political prisoners. The Amir has publicly stated his commitment to the respect of human rights. These and other positive human rights development are highlighted in Section 1 of this report, and Amnesty International has publicly welcomed them. However, the organization remains concerned that human rights violations continue to take place and that some of the legislation, in force in the country since 1974, which in the past was a major contributing factor to the perpetration of gross human rights violations, has not been amended and continues to be used. In addition, the Bahraini Government continues to use the policy of forcible exile as a punitive measure against Bahraini dissidents and their families…
>
> Since his accession to power in March 1999 the Amir, Shaikh Hamad bin 'Issa Al Khalifa, has ordered the release of more than 800 political prisoners and detainees, including prisoners of conscience. The first amnesty was issued on 6 June 1999 when the Amir ordered the release of 320 people held without charge or trial in connection with anti-government protests and 41 political prisoners serving prison terms. On 17 November 1999 he ordered the release of another 200 political prisoners and detainees. On the occasion of Bahrain's national day, 16 December, 195 political detainees and prisoners were released following a pardon from the Amir. Another 37 prisoners and detainees were released during the second half of March 2000 following an amnesty by the Amir to mark the religious Islamic holiday of 'Id al-Adhha (feast of the sacrifice). To mark the Islamic new year on 5 April 2000 the Amir also ordered the release of 43 detainees held for involvement in anti-government protests. **Most of those released were held without charge or trial, some for up to five years**. Others had already served their sentences and were held beyond the expiry of their sentences. These releases, however, were conditional: prisoners and detainees had first to sign statements undertaking not to be involved in any anti-government activities. Following their release they were reportedly pressurized to give interviews to Bahraini newspapers in which they deplored their past actions and promised good behaviour in the future (Amnesty International 2000, *Bahrain: Human rights developments and Amnesty International's continuing concerns*, 21 November – Attachment 20).

Human Rights Watch also commented on the prisoner release:

> On June 6 the amir announced the phased release of three hundred and twenty untried detainees and forty-one convicted prisoners, and the pardon of twelve individuals living in exile. Days later he also announced that those released would receive assistance finding jobs; previous security detainees had reported that Ministry of Interior policies made it nearly impossible to find employment in public or private sectors after their release. As of this writing the government had not responded to requests by Human Rights Watch and other international human rights organizations for the names of those released, or for information about their convictions, making it impossible to evaluate the true extent and terms of the pardon. **Bahraini press accounts and reports by opposition groups suggested that many if not most of those amnestied were youths who had been held for months or years without trial, including Ahmed 'Ali Ahmad Hussain, an intermediate school student held for one year and four months, and Jaffar 'Ali Hassan, a seventeen-year-old who had been held for two years and nine months** (Human Rights Watch 1999, *World Report 2000 – Bahrain*, December – Attachment 21).

Of some interest on imprisonment without trial is a February 2000 *BBC News* article which reported the case of Abdul Wahab Hussain, a Bahraini dissident, who was being brought to trial in 2000 after being arrested in 1996 "after signing a petition calling for the restoration of democracy" (Gardner, Frank 2000, 'Bahraini dissident goes on trial', *BBC News*, 29 February http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/660773.stm – Accessed 22 May 2009 – Attachment 22).

Further information on the prisoners, detainees and exiles released in 1999 is in:

- Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2000, *BHR35193.E – Bahrain: Treatment of Shia (Shi'i; Shiite), particularly in the town of al-Duraz (1995-2000)*, 13 September – Attachment 23).

Unrest into the 2000s

Reported clashes and incidents into the 2000s include:

- On 15 December 2008 the authorities staged a number of arrests to later announce uncovering an alleged "Terror Plot". On 28 December 2008 state-controlled television showed a programme in which the detainees "confessed" to violence at a Haq rally before national holidays on 16 and 17 December. The next day daily news papers reportedly published these confessions, including names and pictures of 13 of the youths shown in the television broadcast. Human Rights Watch also reported that 13 were believed to be abroad and were tried in absentia (World Organisation Against Torture 2009, 'Bahrain Judicial harassment and slander campaign orchestrated against several human rights defenders', 24 February http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/49acf9183.html – Accessed 4 March 2009 – Attachment 24; Human Rights Watch 2009, 'Charges Against 35 Political Opponents Also Marred by Lack of Evidence, Overbroad Laws, Trials in Absentia', 23 March http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2009/03/23/bahr ain-coerced-testimony-taints-trial – Accessed 26 March 2009 – Attachment 25).

- 2007: Demonstrations were carried out in 2007, including some timed to coincide with the Formula One Grand Prix in April (Law, Bill 2007, 'Riots reinforce Bahrain rulers' fears', *Sunday Telegraph*, 23 July http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/07/22/wbahrain122.xml – Accessed 28 November 2007 – Attachment 26; 'Authorities used excessive force to prevent a rights march called upon by activists' 2007, Bahrain Center for Human Rights website, 15 April, source: Committee of Solidarity with Activists and Detainees of Conscience in Bahrain, 14 April http://www.bahrainrights.org/en/node/1171 – Accessed 23 November 2007 – Attachment 27; 'Bahraini police, protesters clash' 2007, Bahrain Center for Human Rights website, 15 April, source: SuperSport Zone website, 14 April http://www.bahrainrights.org/en/node/1172 – Accessed 23 November 2007 – Attachment 28).

- 2004-2005: Clashes between the government and its critics rose in 2004. The opposition was reportedly becoming more assertive, including writing petitions, holding conferences and organising public demonstrations. In March 2005, a week before Bahrain hosted the Formula One Grand Prix a "massive demonstration" was carried out by the main Shiite political association, al-Wifaq (International Crisis Group 2005, *Bahrain's Sectarian Challenge*, 6 May, Middle East Report No. 40, pp.3-5 – Attachment 1; Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2005, *BHR100629.E – Bahrain: Demonstrations held in Manama on 29 and 30 October 2004; numbers and treatment of those arrested and detained; whether those detained have been released; any court or legal action taken against those who participated in these demonstrations or whether they currently face any related charges (September 2004 – October 2005)*, 31 October – Attachment 29).

3. Please provide any information about continued harassment by the authorities today, of those who have been detained in the past?

Sources report that there have been tensions in Bahrain often along sectarian lines which have set off regular protests, arrests and clashes between police and demonstrators. Country information indicates that some people who have been detained in the past continue to be detained. It has also been reported that authorities harass human rights defenders and have prevented seminars being held on released prisoners.

Recent sources report that that there have been tensions in Bahrain often along sectarian lines which have set off regular protests, arrests and clashes between police and demonstrators ('Lawmaker warns of deep rifts if society fails to commit to dialogue' 2009, *Gulf News*, 8 May – Attachment 30; Slackman, Michael 2009, 'Sectarian Tension Takes Volatile Form in Bahrain', *The New York Times*, 27 May http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/28/world/middleeast/28bahrain.html?pagewanted=all – Accessed 26 May 2009 – Attachment 31).

According to a 10 January 2009 *Associated Press* news article Abdul Hadi al-Khawaja, a leading Shiite human rights activist, had been sentenced in 2004 but released early. He was again detained in 2007 and released after popular protests. In both instances he was charged with inciting against the kingdom. In January 2009 he was reportedly summoned by "Bahrain's state prosecutors on suspicion of inciting against the kingdom's Sunni rulers". The article states that "he was interrogated for four hours". The interrogation came after an

earlier speech by al-Khawaja in which he called "Bahrain's rulers a 'gang' that should be ousted" ('Bahraini prosecutors interrogate activist' 2009, *Associated Press*, 10 January http://www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/ALeqM5h6iJy8tbD8tgzcC_VZ4Ym1XLJOegD95JRO4O0 – Accessed 12 January 2009 – Attachment 32).

In March 2009 Human Rights Watch stated that al-Khawaja's speech came at a mosque during the Shia religious holiday of Ashura:

> In his speech, al-Khawaja referred to the government as an "oppressive regime" that had "plundered public lands, degraded the people, and used mercenaries against them," and called for "removal of the ruling gang" by "peaceful means and the readiness to sacrifice oneself." Bahrain's public prosecutor charged him with, among other things, violating Article 160 of the Penal Code for "promoting or encouraging in any way the overthrow or change of the political system by force or any other illegitimate method." Conviction under Article 160 carries a prison sentence of up to 10 years (Human Rights Watch 2009, 'Bahrain: Drop Charges Against Rights Defender', 11 March http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2009/03/11/bahrain-drop-charges-against-rights-defender – Accessed 28 May 2009 – Attachment 33).

In addition, Human Rights Watch noted that a travel ban was placed on al-Khawaja:

> The first session of al-Khawaja's trial, on February 8, was adjourned until March 11. The day after the first hearing, al-Khawaja was preparing to board a flight to join a human rights delegation in Iraq when he was informed that a travel ban has been issued against him until further notice (Human Rights Watch 2009, 'Bahrain: Drop Charges Against Rights Defender', 11 March http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2009/03/11/bahrain-drop-charges-against-rights-defender – Accessed 28 May 2009 – Attachment 33).

Another human rights activist, Ja'far Kadhim Ibrahim, was reportedly abducted and severely beaten in May 2009 by men "whom Ibrahim believed were working for a Bahraini security agency". He had been contacting political activists recently released from detention concerning allegations of torture and abuse in detention. Ibrahim himself had only been released from detention on 2 March 2009 after being detained for a month (Human Rights Watch 2009, 'Bahrain: Investigate Abduction, Beating of Rights Activist', 12 May http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2009/05/12/bahrain-investigate-abduction-beating-rights-activist – Accessed 27 May 2009 – Attachment 34).

Hassan Ali Mushaima was arrested in January 2009. He is the leader of the unauthorised al-Haq political association. His arrest, together with another prominent leader sparked off large protests in many Shia villages. Mushaima has reportedly been campaigning for democratic reforms and human rights for over 15 years and detained many times. In April 2009 he was one of 178 political prisoners pardoned by the King of Bahrain. He was said to have been trial on charges which included incitement to overthrow the regime as well as the membership of on illegal organisation (Bahrain Center for Human Rights 2009, 'Joint Statement by BCHR, BHRS and BYSHR: Alarming deterioration in human rights situation, detaining two prominent activists', 28 January http://www.bahrainrights.org/en/node/2711 – Accessed 29 January 2009 – Attachment 35; 'Riots erupt in Bahrain over activist arrests' 2009, *Associated Press*, 26 January http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2009/01/26/news/ML -Bahrain-Arrests.php – Accessed 27 January 2009 – Attachment 36; Amnesty International 2009, 'Bahrain: Concerns about recent arrests and allegations of torture', 30 January

http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE11/001/2009/en/299a4618-eef4-11dd-b1bd-6368f1b61c3f/mde110012009en.html – Accessed 28 May 2009 – Attachment 37; Amnesty International 2009, 'Bahrain King orders release of political prisoners', 14 April http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/good-news/bahrain-king-orders-release-political-prisoners-20090414 – Accessed 22 May 2009 – Attachment 38).

The BCHR noted in respect of arrests in December 2008 concerning an alleged "Terror Plot" that many of the detainees were arrested as teenagers in the nineties:

> Many of the detainees, who participated in the "confessions" replay, were arrested as teenagers during the nineties unrests. It is to be mentioned that they all come from the three neighbouring villages which showed relentless protests in the past period (Bahrain Center for Human Rights 2009, 'A new wave of arrests justified by the uncovering a "terror plot"', 2 January http://www.bahrainrights.org/en/node/2641 – Accessed 6 January 2009 – Attachment 39).

There are reports of human rights activists being harassed.

In 2008 Amnesty International reported that human rights activists were being harassed:

> In Bahrain, human rights activists have been harassed at times with anonymous and threatening telephone calls, and insulting letters, phone calls and text messages. For example, Nabeel Rajab, the director of the banned Bahrain Centre for Human Rights, has been harassed and followed by plain clothes security officials in unmarked cars. On 19 July 2005 he was physically attacked by policemen during a peaceful demonstration in solidarity with unemployed people. His wife Somaya was in 2005 and 2006 made the target of a smear campaign and she has reportedly been denied promotion at work, in the Ministry of Transportation, apparently because of the activities of her husband.
>
> Mohammad al-Jeshi, a lawyer and human rights activist, was about to travel to Geneva to attend a training course when he was stopped by plain clothes security men on 3 November 2008. They confiscated his mobile phone and laptop for more than an hour. He was asked about the purpose of his trip and the nature of his work. He was eventually allowed to board the plane.
>
> On 6 November 2008 Bahraini newspapers published statements attributed to the Interior Minister saying that any Bahraini national, whether a member of a political association, parliament or NGO, would have to obtain government authorization before participating in conferences, seminars or meetings abroad with a view to discussing Bahrain's internal affairs, including the economic, political and human rights situation, and before making any statements at such forums. He added that anyone not conforming would face imprisonment and a fine (Amnesty International 2008, *Challenging Repression: Human Rights Defenders in the Middle East and North Africa*, London, pp.38-39 – Attachment 40).

On the airport departure of Mohammad al-Jeshi mentioned above the BCHR stated:

> After the interrogation, Mr Aljishi was given back his mobile and laptop, and was allowed to continue his trip. He noticed that reports in his laptop related to the BCHR were opened as well as a video film presented as evidence to the court case of five Human rights defenders, appealing against their prison sentence.
>
> Mohammed told the BCHR that he had been under surveillance in the last few months and was once prevented from attending a court session, an incident strongly protested against by

> the Bahrain Bar Society. Mr Aljishi was never stopped or searched when leaving or coming back to the country (Bahrain Center for Human Rights 2008, 'BCHR Lawyer subjected to search and interrogation at the Airport', 25 November http://www.bahrainrights.org/en/node/2521 – Accessed 26 November 2008 – Attachment 41).

Also, according to the BCHR, authorities would not approve a seminar on the latest release of prisoners presented by the National Democratic Action Society (*Waad*), a political society, being held on its premises. To hold the seminar the organisation would have needed to apply to the Ministry of Interior (MOI) three days beforehand. It was also stated that the organisers of another public seminar to be held in a Shia community centre were approached by the MOI and threatened with force if the seminar was held on those premises. "At the last minute" the venue was "swiftly" changed to a location nearby (Bahrain Center for Human Rights 2009, 'Authorities prevent public seminars from being held', 28 April http://www.ifex.org/en/content/view/full/102671/ – Accessed 29 April 2009 – Attachment 42).

4. Please provide information on any arrest or detention of Bahrainis returning from overseas travel on the basis of being involved in terrorist plots or training against the Sunni elite?

No information was found in the sources consulted on the arrest or detention of returning Bahrainis on the basis of being involved in terrorist plots or training against the Sunni elite. Although sources have reported that Bahrainis were arrested or detained on return to the country, the specific reasons for those arrests or detentions were not always clear. Also, according to Human Rights Watch, individuals abroad have been tried in absentia and activists abroad have been threatened with prosecution for meeting with foreign officials.

According to the BCHR Hasan Mushaima Mushaima (see question 3 above) "was subjected to physical assault by the Special Forces at Bahrain Airport upon his arrival from the UK after participating in a seminar at the British House of Lords focusing on reforms in Bahrain" (Bahrain Center for Human Rights 2009, 'Joint Statement by BCHR, BHRS and BYSHR: Alarming deterioration in human rights situation, detaining two prominent activists', 28 January http://www.bahrainrights.org/en/node/2711 – Accessed 29 January 2009 – Attachment 35).

The BCHR reported the arrival of from the United Kingdom on 1 January 2009:

> On the evening Friday January 1, 2009, the authorities used the Security Special Force to attack tens of citizens who went to Bahrain Airport to meet Mr Hasan Mushaima – the Secretary General of HAQ Movement of Civil Liberties and Democracy – on arrival from the United Kingdom following a participation in an annual activity in the House of Lords concerned with the political and human rights situation in Bahrain.
>
> In this regard, Mr. Rajab said: "I was monitoring the event at the airport at that instance. There was no reason what so ever to justify the attack of Special Forces on the innocent people and those around Mr. Mushaima on their way towards the car park." He continued: "It was a horrible and terrifying sight when those forces used utmost ferocity and brutality on those present at that time, without distinction between a young or elderly of men and women".
>
> The Bahrain Center for Human Rights (BCHR) is gravely alarmed over the escalation of the use of excessive force in dealing with popular gatherings and fears that the persistent policy

> of suppressing religious freedoms and detaining and torturing Shiite citizens, under the context of "uncovering a terror plot", could spark a popular anger, with unaccounted consequences…(Bahrain Center for Human Rights 2009, 'Deploying foreign mercenaries to hinder religious practices, close a Shiite mosque, and prevent prayers', 3 January http://www.bahrainrights.org/en/node/2643 – Accessed 6 January 2009 – Attachment 43).

The Voice of Bahrain website (dated 8 February 2006) and *Gulf News* (dated 29 December 2005) has reported the detention of a Qom-based cleric, Ayatollah Shaykh Muhammad Sanad, on arrival at the Bahrain airport in December 2005. The arrest "came two months after he had called upon the United Nations to intervene in support the right of the people of Bahrain to determine their destiny" ('Bahraini opposition criticizes sentencing for peaceful protests' 2006, *BBC Monitoring Alert*, source: Voice of Bahrain website, 8 February – Attachment 44; Toumi, Habib 2005, 'Statement of cleric fails to appease societies', *Gulf News*, 29 December http://www.gulfnews.com/region/Bahrain/10007979.html – Accessed 29 December 2005 – Attachment 45).

The 2006 Voice of Bahrain website information noted above reported the case of demonstrators arrested demanding the release of Sanad:

> The case relates to a demonstration on 25 December 2005 when hundreds of people demonstrated peacefully at the airport demanding the release of Ayatollah Shaykh Muhammad Sanad, who had been detained upon his arrival from abroad. The arrest of the senior cleric came two months after he had called upon the United Nations to intervene in support the right of the people of Bahrain to determine their destiny ('Bahraini opposition criticizes sentencing for peaceful protests' 2006, *BBC Monitoring Alert*, source: Voice of Bahrain website, 8 February – Attachment 44).

It is of interest that, according to Human Rights Watch, in respect of some 35 defendants who were arrested after the Haq-sponsored rally in Bahrain in December 2008, 13 were believed to be abroad. These 13 people were reportedly tried in absentia (Human Rights Watch 2009, 'Charges Against 35 Political Opponents Also Marred by Lack of Evidence, Overbroad Laws, Trials in Absentia', 23 March http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2009/03/23/bahr ain-coerced-testimony-taints-trial – Accessed 26 March,2009 – Attachment 25).

Also, Bahrain's interior minister in November 2008 reportedly threatened activists abroad with prosecution for meeting with foreign officials and discussing internal affairs of the country. Human Rights Watch stated:

> In a statement published by Bahrain's official news agency on November 5, 2008, the interior minister, Sheikh Rashid bin Abdullah Al Khalifa, threatened Bahraini activists with prosecution for having meetings abroad "for the purpose of discussing internal affairs of the Kingdom of Bahrain in violation of the law," citing article 134 of Bahrain's penal code.
>
> …The November 5 statement did not specify what individuals or groups were involved. But it followed a briefing by members of Bahraini rights groups in Washington, DC, on October 15 to the US Congressional Task Force on International Religious Freedom. Participants, some of whom are also affiliated with opposition political groups, alleged that the country's Sunni Muslim ruling family systematically discriminates against Bahrain's Shia majority.
>
> A section of Article 134 of Bahrain's penal code stipulates that citizens who fail to obtain government permission to attend any meeting abroad or to meet representatives of foreign states, "with the goal of discussing political social and economic conditions in the State of

Bahrain or any other state, which could weaken financial confidence in the State of Bahrain or diminish its stature," may be subject to jail terms of at least three months, fines, or both.

In his statement, the interior minister warned participants in such events against "disseminating information, statements, or rumors that are false or based on an agenda regarding conditions in Bahrain." He added: "Continued violation of the law with this conduct...will lead to taking the necessary legal measures to confront these events and the referral of those involved in them for prosecution" (Human Rights Watch 2008, 'Bahrain: End threats to rights activists', 12 November http://hrw.org/english/docs/2008/11/12/bahrai20194.htm – Accessed 14 November 2008 – Attachment 46).

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