

# BAHRAIN

Issued by the "Bahrain Freedom Movement" for advancing Democracy and Human Rights in Bahrain

Twenty years of unconstitutional rule under the State Security Law

## Bahrain: Two decades of hell

On 26th August 1975, the Amir of Bahrain, Sheikh Isa bin Salman Al Khalifa, issued his infamous decree suspending certain articles of Bahrain's Constitution and dissolving the National Assembly. The action by the Amir was taken one day after his brother, the Prime Minister, had submitted the resignation of his government under the pretext that the National Assembly had been hindering its policies.

The Assembly had just refused to endorse a bill (unconstitutionally issued by the Amir as a decree in the official gazette in October 1974) on State Security proposed by Ian Henderson. The bill gave the Minister of the Interior the right to order the administrative detention of any citizen suspected of political activities against the Al Khalifa regime for up to three years without either charge or trial. The suspension of the Constitution and the dissolution of the National Assembly marked the beginning of a reign of terror unheard of anywhere in the Gulf. Twenty years have now elapsed since that unholy day when the short-lived democratic experience was abruptly put to an end. In those two decades, the Bahraini people have never ceased to demand the restoration of the full Constitution, the election of the National Assembly (or the recall of the previous one) and the respect of human rights and civil liberties. In the process, incalculable amount of suffering has befallen our people, whilst the government of the Al Khalifa have gone from bad to worse in their treatment of the people.

International human rights organisations have piled numerous reports and urgent action circulars in their endeavour to force the Bahraini government to give up the policy of arbitrary detentions, torture, extra-judicial killings, forcible banishment and exile of its own citizens. Their calls have largely gone unheeded. Human rights groups which participated in the efforts to halt human rights abuses by the Government of Bahrain include Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Article 19, Index on Censorship, Arab Organisation of Human Rights, the International Commission of Jurists, the Bar Human Rights Committee, Parliamentary Human Rights Group, FDIH, International Human Rights Committee, PEN, Kuwait Society for Human Rights, International Association Against Torture and many other human rights agencies.

In view of the insurmountable evidence against the Government of Bahrain, the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva placed Bahrain on the list of countries listed for monitoring by the UN for human rights abuses.

This was effected in February 1992. In the following 12 months, the Al Khalifa acted on advice from foreign experts and allowed the return of some 150 exiles. Some political prisoners were also released after serving their full prison sentences which had been unlawfully imposed on them. The American delegation to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva proposed the removal of Bahrain from the monitoring list, and was supported by other members. No sooner had Bahrain been cleared by the UN than did it resort to the same old policies of unrestrained abuse of human rights. This August the UN subcommittees will be presented with documented cases of arbitrary detentions, extra-judicial killing, torture, unfair trials, abuse of women and children, restriction to movement of citizens as well as forcible deportation. The latter is a unique human rights violation that even the UN has no subcommittee to look into it. When the UN was presented with the cases of forcibly exiled people, the specialists were baffled as they had never heard of a country's government that forcibly deport its citizens.

The people of Bahrain have attempted every peaceful means to effect a change in the internal policies of the Al Khalifa regime. But under the State Security Law, no citizen was immune from persecution, and thousands of people were detained, tortured, killed or exiled. Waves upon waves of citizens were taken into custody year in, year out, whilst the government's actions were encouraged by the silence of world powers, especially the United States and Britain. The Amir was petitioned, requested verbally or addressed in writing by people throughout the twenty years span, but the response has always been negative. When a group of 300 professionals petitioned the Amir in 1993 requesting him to reinstate the 1973 Constitution, he swiftly rejected their request, and reprimanded them in the harshest possible words. He moved on to appoint an illegitimate Consultative Council without either a constitutional basis or a legislative role.

The crisis came when the Bahraini people moved on to sign a popular petition with essentially the same demands. A significant addition was the request to grant women the right to participate in the political process. Up to 25,000 people signed it. The result was the arrest on 5th December 1994 of some personalities linked to the petition, the most notable of whom was Sheikh Ali Salman. The uprising that followed has made the agonies of the people of Bahrain known to the whole world. It is now eight months since the uprising erupted, and there is

no sign of an end to the internal strife.

At least fourteen people were killed either under torture or by police bullets. Thousands were detained over the period. Whilst there may have been some releases the prisons have always been replenished with new intakes of young men, women and children. The forms of torture that are being used are unique in that they are intended to cause maximum pain, humiliation and even death. The last victim was a 16-year old, Saeed Al Eskafy whose mutilated and sexually-abused body was handed back to his family on 8th July 1995, only few days after he had been detained.

It is clear to the world that as long as the Constitution remains suspended, and whilst the State Security Law is the main tool of repression in Bahrain, the situation could not be expected to improve. The people are not the cause of instability, and their demands are not either extravagant or unprecedented. In fact, the thirty months of democratic experience were the quietest period in the modern history of Bahrain. Since the turn of the century, the people have been struggling to achieve a degree of freedom that may guarantee them a humane existence. In the twenties, thirties, forties, fifties, sixties, seventies and eighties, various opposition groups repeated the demand for an elected assembly. People were repressed harshly, and many were exiled. The case of the three exiled Bahrainis in St. Helena (1957-1961) is well documented in the Archives of the British Foreign Office. The upheaval is unlikely to subside as long as the government of the Al Khalifa continues its repression of the people and its refusal to reinstate the country's constitution. Twenty years of instability is long enough to convince those concerned that the absence of constitutional life and the imposition of a harsh security regime can only prolong the suffering of the people of Bahrain, and are not expected to end the movement towards a modern political environment.

People with human conscience and values are called upon to declare their support for the popular movement in Bahrain, deplore the atrocities being committed against its people, and call for the reinstatement of the Constitution, the release of political prisoners, the repeal of the notorious State Security Law and respect of human rights. Every voice counts in the struggle against tyranny and despotism. Silence could only prolong the suffering of innocent people and encourage injustice. The people of Bahrain need your support in their endeavour for a noble cause, are you ready to offer it?

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The Los Angeles Times:

## Clampdown dents Bahrain's image as stable Eden

The comprehensive article by Craig Turner (26 June) starts on page A1 and occupies a good portion of page A6. A picture of mosque with its walls filled with graffiti accompanies the report. The author argues that the government and demonstrators are "entailed in a violent power struggle..." According to the report, as of mid June, at least a dozen demonstrators and three policemen have been killed. Also, hundreds of people have been imprisoned. Despite the brutality, both Washington and London, "discreetly look the other way." The American attitude may be attributed to the fact the US Army considers Bahrain as a vital part of its military activity in the region.

The government has ignored two petitions since 1992. The primary demand of the petitions centres on the restoration of the parliament, in turn dissolved since 1975. One of the petitions has been signed by more than 22,500 and continues to be circulated. The figure is astonishing given a native population of 400,000. For his part, the ruler or emir has made it clear of his intention not to cave in to popular demands. At stake is an "effort by a repressive oligarchy to maintain power against a popular democratic uprising." The government's response to the rallies in the form of a harsh crackdown and unwillingness to compromise, suggests a likely continuation of street protests.

The author declares that the "police response has escalated from tear gas to rubber bullets to live ammunition." In a show of force and possibly anxiety, security forces at times carry machine guns on their shoulders. The person behind the harsh crackdown on the demonstrators is a Briton. Mr. Ian Henderson, now 67, reportedly desires to retire in his countryside home in England. Of all the infamous laws in the country, none is condemned more than the scheme which allows the security organisation to put behind bars anyone for up to three years without charges. Midnight raids on houses of suspected dissidents are the new marks of the security forces. The author quotes a formal government official as saying that the telephones are basically bugged.

Thanks in part to the uprising, a government reshuffling occurred. Yet, the change on June 25 "leaves the ruling family-the Al Khalifa dynasty-and its policies intact."

Fixing the blame on outside forces has not proven successful. The authorities indirectly accuse neighbouring Iran of instigating the civil unrest. However, an American official in Bahrain dampens the government's assertion that Iran is behind the civil unrest. According to the official who is associated with the American Embassy in Manama, Iran only provides media coverage of the events. The economic mess partly explains rioting. In the village of Sanabis, at least 40% of those eligible are with no jobs.

Bahrain is a society of contradictions. On the one hand, government forces carry out repressive acts against people demanding the return of the constitution. On the other hand, hotels are filled with tourists who are entertained by bands. Although the rioting is taking place mostly by Shiites, the goals are not sectarian in nature. Leaders of the uprising are calling

for popular demands especially running Bahrain according to the rule of law. The authorities have ousted a leading figure in the opposition. Sheikh Ali Salman currently lives in London. Mr. Salman has demonstrated a charismatic leadership.

The article ends with a story of a young person named Mohammed who was taken by the security forces in February 1995. Mohammed was told that he should consider himself as a guest of the government. However, the young man ended up in a jail. During the interrogation, Mohammed noticed that questions were being translated from English into Arabic. Before being released, Mohammed signed a paper committing himself not to participate in a rally. Since the commitment he has made was under duress, he participated in a rally calling for democracy and left the country

### EIU: The Riyadh's factor complicates matters

EIU Country Report 2nd quarter 1995, The Economist Intelligence Unit Limited, 1995.

The study addresses both political and economic issues of Bahrain. This review focuses on the political encounters. The policy of harsh crackdown on street protests is expected to continue. At the same time, failure to solve the problem in a meaningful way may adversely affect the financial community. This is attributed to the government's inability to address the root cause of the problem.

The more recent wave of protests was sparked by the arrest of Sheikh Abdel-Amir Al Jamri. One of the Sheikh's daughters was abducted by women officers while on a visit to her father. Contrary to the government's claim, "leaders of both the Sunni and the Shia communities insist that there are no problems across the sectarian divide, and that the causes of the trouble are political and economic." The most popular demand is restoration of the parliament. Bahrain may end being used as "site for a proxy war between other regional powers." On the one hand, the authorities fear strengthening Iranian influence over the country's Shia population. On the other hand, giant Saudi Arabia has made it clear of its intolerance of the revival of the parliamentary experiment. One such reason is Saudi's fear of a possible similar demand across the bridge in the Eastern Province. The Saudi "attitude will put Bahrain in a difficult position." Saudi Arabia has been providing security forces to help quell the unrest. The Bahraini government now counts on this support. For the government, Saudi support is essential for economic reasons in particular.

The American Ambassador has started taken keen interest in the pro-democracy activity. Mr. David Ransom has met numerous figures from the opposition. Conversely, former British Foreign Secretary Mr. Douglas Hard raised eyebrows when declared his support to what he termed as "old friends" in Bahrain. The ruler has apparently taken a hard line, not tolerating even innocent comments from cabinet ministers. Yousif Shirawi, Minister of Development

& Industry for a long-time, was reprimanded publicly by the ruler if only for criticising harsh police action. The report, published on 13 June, interpreted the emir's response as an indication of his dissatisfaction with a few ministers, hence the need for a cabinet reshuffle. Before the month end, a radical reshuffle took place. Several ministers, short of the Al Khalifa ones, lost their posts.

The report forecasts that the opposition "will continue to stress that it is not anti-Sunni, is not seeking closer ties with Iran, and that its chief goal is the restoration of the country's parliament, which was suspended 20 years ago."

In light of the significant domestic unrest, the government is now interested in focusing on common matters with its partners of the Gulf Co-operation Council. Qatar, which is locked with Bahrain in a dispute over the Howar islands, desires to take advantage of the situation. However, the report argues that the Qataris would be disappointed in this respect. Gulf countries are compensating the government its economic loss.

### PEN: Shaikh Al-Jamri detained and government resigns

PEN, the international committee for defending writers in prison wrote the following article in its July issue: On 1 April 1995 security forces cordoned off the residential area of Bani Jamra where Shaikh al-Jamri lives. His neighbours were forcibly evacuated from their homes and he and 18 members of his family were placed under incommunicado house arrest. Protest demonstrations against these actions were put down by security forces who fired live ammunition into the crowd—two civilians were killed, and several others gravely wounded. On 15 April Shaikh al-Jamri, who is a poet, member of the former National assembly and Shi'a scholar, was taken to an undisclosed location and his family was freed. After weeks of incommunicado detention, his daughter 'Afaf was brought to visit him in al-Qal'a prison in Manama on 9 May 1995. She was then beaten and kept in custody without charge or trial until 5 June 1995. Both father and daughter have been badly treated in detention and there are serious concerns for Shaikh al-Jamri's health as he has a chronic heart condition. The human rights situation in Bahrain has worsened steadily since December 1994, when the first of a series of petitions called on the Amir to reinstate parliament (suspended in 1975) and to respect the 1973 constitution. Shaikh al-Jamri was arrested for initiating the petition. At least seven people have been killed, many others injured and several thousand arrested as security forces used live ammunition, tear gas and rubber bullets to quell numerous peaceful demonstrations. Women have been active in the pro-democracy movement and have been targeted by security forces for assault and abuse in raids and detention. On 26 June 1995 Prime Minister Al Khalifa, brother of the Amir, submitted the resignation of his government. Shaikh al-Jamri remains detained.



# Show trials presided by Al-Khalifa family

## Unlawful courts sentence innocent youth of Bahrain

The eruption of events on 5 December 1994 was a result of the Bahraini security forces miscalculations of the outcome of their actions. Then, they started arrested pro-democracy activists who were collecting signatures for supporting the popular petition calling for the restoration of the parliament. The response of the public was instantaneous when Sheikh Ali Salman was arrested. The security forces responded to the gathering of people in mosques demanding the release of Sheikh Ali Salman by arresting more people. Clashes between security forces and the youth started when the former adopted an iron fist policy. They miscalculated the strength of feeling amongst the general public. Victims started falling, thousands arrested, hundreds injured and many were forcibly deported.

The ruling family started attacking the feeling of the people by accusing the general public of sabotage, agitated by foreigners, and other stereo-type accusations. Many people were rushed to courts presided by members of the ruling family, for they are the judge, the jury and the executioners. The following people suffered the injustices of Al-Khalifa:

A. Hussain Abbas Abdulla Marhoon: Sentenced on 25 April 1995 for ten years and payment of 58 thousands dinars (\$153,000). He was falsely accused of setting Sanabis Club on fire despite the fact that he was arrested on 28 February an hour before start of fire.

B. Ten people were sentenced to terms of imprisonment on 1 May 1995. Some of them were accused of participating in riots despite the fact that they were arrested last November (No. 1 and 2) and that one of them was in Kuwait when events took place (No. 3). The sentence people were: (1) Hussain Ali Mohsin Al-Tattan, 7 years; (2) Salman Abdulla Al-Nashabah, 5 years; (3) Nazar Mohammed Ali al-Qare'a, 3 years; (4) Raed Salman Al-Khawajah, 3 years; (5) Ahmad Seyed Nema Hashim, 3 years; (6) Jafer Ahmad Hassan Al-Seyyah, 3 years; (7) Abbas Ahmad Al-Arabi, 3 years; (8) Majid Milad al-Jazeeri, 3 years; (9) Jafer Salman Abdulla Hussain, 3 years; (10) Abdul Jabbar Ibrahim Al-Asfoor, acquitted (however he stayed in jail until early July).

C. A group of six people were accused of setting electricity sub-stations on fire and clashing with security forces in February 1995. No sentences are yet known. The six are: (1) Ali Abdul Aziz Hussain Ali; (2) Akbar Mohsin Hassan Al-Aali; (3) Ibrahim Mohammed Ahmad Al-Ghais; (4) Majeed Abdul Nabi Radhi Abd Ali; (5) Ammar Mohammed Hussain Al-Shara'; (6) Jafer Mohammed Al-Haddad.

D. Four people were accused of setting a video shop on fire in Tobli on 2 April 1995. No sentences known. They are: (1) Kamil Abdul Nabi Baqir, 19 years old; (2) Maitam Bader Jasim Al-Sheikh, 19 years old; (3) Fathi Ahmad Salman Al-Nashabah, 17 years old; (4) Ali Abdul Hussain Ibrahim, 17 years old.

E. A group of five people were accused of clashing with police and receiving orders from a religious scholar (who is in detention) Sheikh Abdul Hadi Abdulla Mahdi Hassan al-

Mukhoder. No sentences are known against the religious scholar or the five persons. The five are: (1) Mahmood Ali Mahmood Al-Sabea, 28 years old; (2) Hassan Yousif Ahmad Al-Saffar, 26 years old; (3) Jafer Mahmood Kadhem Nasser, 21 years old; (4) Hamza Abdul Rasool Ali Ahmad, 25 years old; (5) Hassan Ali Habib Mohammed Mubarak, 21 years old.

F. Seven person were detained in January and accused of setting electricity sub-station in Abo Saiba'a. They are: (1) Seyed Amin Hashim Al-Qallaf; (2) Fadhel Jaiil Ali Abdul Hussain; (3) Hani Mansoor Habib; (4) Ali Khalil Ibrahim; (5) Ahmad Khalil Ibrahim; (6) Marseel Hussain Salman; (7) Hassan Al-Jamri.

G. Three person were detained on 27 March accused of setting Bahrain Islamic Bank in Jedhafs. They are: (1) Abdul Hussain Hassan Mohammed Ali Al-Madeh, 29 years old; (2) Seyed Hussain Ali Mosa Hashim, 18 years old; (3) Nader Ibrahim Abdulla Ali, 22 years.

H. Six people were charged with setting fire to a video shop in Jedhafs (25 March). A Pakistani person died during the clashes (Mohammed Ghoweir) who was believed to be working for the intelligence department. The six are: (1) Abbas Yaqoub Yousif Mohammed, 29 years old; (2) Abdul Amir Ahmad Mahdi Abdulla Al-Gaz, 25 years old; (3) Saeed Isa Ali Hassan Al-Hammar, 24 years old; (4) Aqel Yehya Ali Al-Qallaf, 21 years old; (5) Abbas Isa Ali Hassan Al-Hammar, 25 years old; (6) Adnan Majid Al-Saffar, 27 years old.

I. Three persons from Sitra were arrested in March accused of damaging the high electricity cable running under Sitra Bridge on 16 March. They are: (1) Ahmad Kadhem Al-Mahdi, 28 years old; (2) Ali Ibrahim Ali Ahmad, 25 years old; (3) Samir Ahmad Ali Hussain, 26 years old.

J. On 2 May 1995, six people were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment. (1) Abdul Razzaq Mansoor Makki, 5 years jail; (2) Ali Saleh Abd Ali I-Jallawi, 3 years jail; (3) Sami Habib Nasser, 3 years jail; (4) Taher Ahmad Salman, 3 years jail; (5) Hassan Ali Hussain Bu Khalaf, 3 years jail; (6) Hamza Eid Ahmad Besera, 1 year.

K. On 20 June, nineteen people were sentenced accused clashing with security forces in Sitra on 30 March, which led to the death of a Pakistani policeman, Daryar Mohammed. The sentences were as follows: (1) Hassan Ahmad Marzooq, 29 years old, life imprisonment; (2) Jafer Salman Hussain Taqi, 37 years old, 7 years jail; (3) Mohammed Hassan Ahmad Abdulla Abbas, 22 years old, 7 years; (4) Hussain Mansoor Ahmad Khudair, 22 years old, 7 years; (5) Jafer Ahmad Hassan Al-Aal, 22 years old, 3 years; (6) Qassim Ali Hassan, 19 years old, 3 years; (7) Abbas Abd Ali Ahmad Khudair, 21 years old, 3 years; (8) Abdul Khaliq Isa Hassan Abdulla, 21 years old, 3 years; (9) Abbas Abd Ali al-Amar, 23 years, 3 years; (10) Abdul Shaheed Abd Ali Mohammed Hassan, 22 years old, 3 years; (11) Jafer Salamm Al-Toug, 26 years old, 3 years; (12) Ali Mohammed Ali Marhoon, 18

years old, 1 year; (13) Ahmad Redha Ahmad Ali Khudair, 18 years old, 1 year; (14) Habib Ali Hassan, 15 years, 1 year; (15) Mohammed Ibrahim ali Abdul Mohsin, 25 years, acquitted; (16) Mohammed Abdulla Hassan Sabah, 26 years old, acquitted; (17) Ahmad Omran Abdulla Al-Toug, 28 years old, acquitted; (18) Mohammed Salman Mohammed Al-Toug, 29 years old, acquitted; (19) Mohammed Redha Nasser Al-Tough, 23 years old, acquitted.

L. Nine people were sentenced on 4 July accused of clashing with security forces resulting in the death of a police sergeant, Ibrahim Rashid Abdul Karim Al-Saidi. The nine are: (1) Issa Ahmad Hassan Qambar, 27 years old, death sentence; (2) Mohammed Ali Hassan Khatam, 20 years old, life imprisonment; (3) Mansoor Salah Makki, 25 years old, life imprisonment; (4) Yonis Salah Mousa Al-Sanini, 22 years old, 10 years jail; (5) Eshaq Hassan Yousif Marhoon, 20 years old, 10 years jail; (6) Hussain Salah Mosa Al-Sanini, 20 years old, 5 years jail; (7) Ahmad Mosa Al-Sanini, 27 years old, 5 years jail; (8) Hamza Majid Habib Al-Sheikh, 24 years old, 5 years jail; (9) Hussain Mohammed Abdul Wahab Hassan, 22 years old, 5 years jail.

M. Two boys, aged 14, were sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment around the 9th of July 1995 accused of clashing with security forces. They are: (1) Mohammed Ali Mohammed Ali al-Ekri, 14 years old, 10 years jail (his grand father Sheikh Mohammed Ali Al-Ekri is in detention and his father spent seven years in jail between 1984 and 1991); (2) Seyed Husein Al-Alawi, 14 years old, 10 years jail.

One of the leading lawyers, Mr. Ahmad Al-Shamlan, wrote an important article in Al-Quds (25-27 April 1995) stating that the people arrested and accused of acts of sabotage have nothing to with these acts. Instead members of the security forces were known to be behind many of the blazes, such as that of Sanabis Club. The latter was set on fire in 1982 and many political activists ended up in jail. Few months later, the lawyers proved that it members of the intelligence department who set it on fire.

## Motion in the House of Commons

Twenty eight members of the British parliament submitted a notice of motion (No. 1313) on 28 June stating the following:

That This House expresses its disgust at the latest crime against women in Bahrain committed by the British mercenary-led Security and Intelligence Services of the royal dictatorship of Bahrain; notes that high school teacher and mother of three children Fatema Abdulla Abu Edrees, was gassed by storm-troopers of the SIS who smashed into the Isa Town High School, shooting at teargassing schoolgirls staging a democracy demonstration, and that eight women teachers were arrested after being beaten and having their clothes ripped from them by the thugs, since when they have been systematically abused in prison and dismissed from their positions at the school; calls upon Her Majesty's Government to place concern for human and democratic rights above financial considerations, and side with the democratic people of Bahrain against the royal despots who oppress them.



## Saeed's father writes to the interior ministry:

# "You have sexually abused and tortured my son to death"

The father of Saeed Abdul Rasool Al-Eskafy sent the following letter to the Interior Ministry:

His Excellency the Undersecretary of the Interior Ministry; Greetings

I am sending this letter to your Excellency demanding that you look into the case of my son Saeed Abdul Rasool Al-Eskafy who died under torture.

Your Excellency: The police stormed our house, located in Sanabis area, on Wednesday evening 28 June 1995, in order to arrest my son. It so happened that he was not around, but in the morning I ordered him to surrender himself to the nearest police station.

He did what I wanted from him on Thursday 29 June when he surrendered himself to Al-Khamis police station. On 8 July, we received a phone call from the interior ministry stating that my son's health condition had deteriorated and that we ought to visit the military hospital. Accordingly, we visited him in the hospital but witnessed a dead body. This is despite the fact that he had been in a perfect condition without illness or defect before his arrest.

In the funeral house, and while washing him before burial, we witnessed the marks of savage torture as well as signs of sexual abuse.

Your Excellency: My son, Saeed, was a 16 years old boy and had been known for his calm and balanced personality. On the assumption that he committed a mistake, it would have been natural for your organisation to interrogate him and apply the relevant disciplinary actions, in accordance with legal procedures. However, what happened to my son in the form of torture causing ultimately his death could not be regarded as just given that he was

a citizen with dignity and rights.

Finally, my son should have been treated like your son, but he was murdered at your hands. I trust that you will be investigating his case in a compassionate manner and interrogate those who carried out the notorious crime and put them before a martial court, so that peace and tranquillity can be realised our homeland. May you continue in the service of the country and people.

Signed by: Abdul Rassol Hassan Al-Eskafy (father of the tortured victim)

## A teenager tortured to death!

Saeed Al-Eskafy, a 16 years old boy from Sanabis was tortured to death at the hands of Adel Flaifel and his band. The funeral processions that took place on 9 and 12 July proved that people's will is as strong as ever. Ian Henderson (the British officer in charge of Bahrain security) unleashed his atrocities on thousands of people who crowded the streets of Al-Nuaim for the funeral. Rubber bullets, steel pallets (used for hunting tigers and other jungle animals) and tear gas were fired in random. More victims fell to the ground, many with eye injuries as the tiny steel pallets filled the air. Any person with human feeling will see tears coming out of his/her eyes when viewing the photographs of the tortured body. The marks of torture remind the person with what the Nazis did to their enemies in World War II, they remind the person with the Bosnians in the Serbs camps.

Saeed: what did Adel Flaifel and his gangsters do to you? I look at your neck and back but I can't believe my self. Your flesh is splintered with lashes, electric shocks and the use of ironing. Have they no heart? What could

you have done to these ruthless people to deserve what they did to you? How can the Western democracies supply personnel and equipment for torturing you and then turn a blind eye to what is going on? How could they claim that they are not responsible for your death? What did Adel Falifel want from you to torture you as he did? What message did the ruling family want to pass to the innocent and peace-loving people of Bahrain? How many other boys are being tortured and sexually abused in the same way inside the jails of Al-Khalifa? Do they (the torturers and their British officers as well as the ruling family), do they believe that the people of Bahrain will be silenced by what they did to you? Does Adel Flaifel really believe, as he stated, that he can wipe out the Bahraini youth like wiping insects? Does the prime minister think by calling you and the Bahraini people inappropriate names and authorising your killing that he will enjoy his authoritarian rule?

Thousand of questions can be raised as I look at the photographs of your tortured body. One answer always comes back: the path to freedom and liberty is not free of charge. The oppressors will use all their resources to kill and torture attempting to suppress free people. Despite all this, freedom-lovers would rather die under the hands of Ian Henderson and Adel Falifel than accept to live under the dictatorship of a feudal regime that has no respect to a constitution signed by the head of the ruling family and representatives of the people. How far could they go on torturing and killing does not change the norms of history which tell us that the oppressors' days start their count down when t people's resolve is fully established for attaining their natural rights and liberty. Those dictators who persisted with their despotism were swept away.

## Death under torture enflames the situation

\* The death under torture of a 15 years old person in Bahrain has enflamed the situation. The killing in detention of Saeed Al-Eskafy on 8 July came four days after the sentencing of another person to death by an unfair court presided by a member of the ruling Al-Khalifa family. Mr. Al-Eskafy body was delivered on 8 July (see details above).

Consequently, many places erupted with anger. Sitra, Nuaim, Sanabis, Daih, Abo Saibaa, Karzakan, Adhari and other places witnessed mass demonstrations. The riot police was deployed and live ammunitions were used in Sanabis. As a result several people were injured, amongst them Nazha Seyed Abdulla and Ali Abdulla Nasser.

\* On the evening of 9 July, columns of fire were witnessed in several key areas such the Diplomatic Area and Adleya district of Manama. Next morning, police with machine guns were patrolling the strategic districts of Manama. However, pro-democracy activists have considered the threatening message of the prime minister two weeks ago (after cosmetic changes in the cabinet) as a clear sign that the ruling family is intending to continue its violent policies against the pro-democracy movement.

\* The evening of 12 July witnessed an escalation in the popular uprising against the despotic tribal rule and its oppressive British-officered security forces. The youth in Sanabis, Nuaim, Sitra, Karzakan, Dair, Daih and Bilad-al-Qadeem clashed with the security forces when the later attacked the general public during ceremonies commemorating the martyrdom of Saeed Al-Eskafy.

\* On 12 July, The security forces attacked houses and ransacked many of them. An elderly person from Jidhafs, Haji Khalil Ibrahim (63 years old) was beaten in front of his family. Later he was arrested together with three of his sons. One of the sons was released later. It is worth noting that one of the sons of Haji Khalil Ibrahim, Abdul Jalil, is in jail since 1988.

\* Also on 12 July, the security forces have re-imposed a paramilitary siege on Dair, Sanabis, Daih and Sitra. The residents of these places are not allowed to move freely in their areas between 7.30 pm till the morning of every day. More than 40 people were arrested in Sanabis last night. Those known to be arrested include: Haji Abbas Mansoor Traif (60 years old), his son Fathi Abbas Traif (20 years), Ali Abdul Hussain Al-Mout (20 years), Fadhel Ali Ahmad Al-Salatneh, Hussain Ahmad Ali (23 years),

Taha Abdulla Radhi (23 years), Ali Mansoor Ashor, Ali Al-Mulla, Hussain Abdulla, Abdulla Ibrahim Al-Jabal (26 years), Abdulla Isa Traif, Hussain Ahmad Al-Mokhoder (20 years), Fadhel Abdul Hasan Al-Shawoosh (15 years), Hassan Hamid Al-Sheikh (20 years).

\* A lady from Dair was injured on 11 July by a rubber bullet. Fatheya Seyed Saeed is pregnant and the bullet could threaten the baby she is carrying. A few days ago, another lady in her twenties (Nazha Seyed Abdulla) was hit by a bullet in the shoulder.

\* Miss Hayat Al-Qamar, 17 years old, from Duraz, was arrested around 15 May and has been held in solitary confinement in the juvenile prison of Isa Town. No member of her family has ever been allowed to visit her and no charges are known to have been levelled against her.

\* The month of August will be commemorated by the people of Bahrain marking the twentieth anniversary of the dissolution of the parliament and suspension of constitutional framework. In the past few months the Al Khalifa government attempted to divert the direction of the pro-democracy movement by attacking leading activists and sections of the society. They have failed to stop the movement for modernisation and reform of the political system.