

BAHRAIN

Issued by the "Bahrain Freedom Movement" to promote human and constitutional rights

Positive prospects for democratic transformation in the region

The world has been standing to admire the great performance of the Bahraini people as they marked the fourth anniversary of their 14th February Revolution. Weeks of preparation to remember the gigantic events of the 2011 popular uprising have produced unprecedented performance that has surpassed the expectations of both the revolutionaries and the Western and Arab spectators. For the first time in four years, a realization is beginning to materialize among the Arab people that the Bahrainis have been wronged both by the Arab masses and the intellectual elite especially the religious scholars. Bahrainis were left to their own fate while other revolutions were viewed with support and admiration. Four years later, it is now emerging that the outside world is beginning to realize that only the Bahraini Revolution has been able to survive the onslaughts of the counter-revolution forces that aimed at eradicating the Arab and Muslim people from the political map and entrenching their dictators for longer periods. The resilience of the Bahrainis in the face of wide range of anti-democracy foes has stunned many. International media is now beginning to realize that fact but is still giving lip-service to the longest enduring Revolution in the Arab World.

For the past six months the enemies of Bahrain's Revolution have been plotting to bring it to an end and save the antiquated tribal rule. Western powers have not only ignored the ongoing systematic torture but may have been instrumental in attempts to cover the practice. Activists are now snatched daily by members of the Death Squads, taken to secret torture centres blindfolded, subjected to most severe forms of physical, mental and psychological abuse before being transferred to the "prosecution" office. The recent case of the renowned human rights activist, Hussain Jawad, has illustrated to what extent the regime is assured of impunity for administering severe torture on Bahrainis. After a week of disappearance, he was taken to the prosecutor's office to sign "confessions" drawn under torture. When he complained of the abuse he had been subjected to he was told that his complaints "would be noted" but that the "confessions" would stand. He was forced to fabricate information about other activists inside and outside the country in order

to target them. Despite many protestations from international human rights bodies, Bahrain's dictators is undeterred from his criminal activity because of the continuing support and assurance from the regional and Western allies.

Other examples also confirm that the pro-Alkhalifa Western allies have totally abandoned their rejection of torture and abuse of political prisoners. The case of Nabeel Rajab who has a six months prison sentence on his head for a tweet critical of one of the regime's departments is testimony to the sinking human rights standards in Bahrain. Also Sheikh Ali Salman, Sayed Jameel Kadhem and Mahdi Al Ekri are behind bars for legal activities such as boycotting the regime's show elections, innocent tweets or taking part in a protest calling for prisoners release. The extent to which human rights of Bahrainis have and are still being abused has never been reached before. This time the abuses are systematic, routine, comprehensive and open. The aim is to break the will of the people who continue to pay the ultimate price for their freedom. The Western governments have proven themselves capable of abandoning their international obligations of promoting democracy, the rule of law, defence of human rights and support of pro-democracy tendencies. While some economic interests may be served by supporting the most reactionary and repressive regimes in the world, these policies are also a factor in grooming extremism and terrorism which have become tools of oppression against the pro-democracy movements. Ultimately high price will be paid by the world in terms of security, peace, morality and ethical practices.

As Bahrainis entered the fifth year of their Revolution, they are heartened by several developments. The first is the total exposure of the regime to the outside world as dictatorial, reactionary, abuser of rights and financially and morally corrupt. The second is the newly expressed willingness by those affected by the regime's brutality to join the struggle and spearhead the movement of change. Of particular significance is the families of martyrs whose agonies have been aggravated by more attacks by the regime on their families and interests. They are now at the forefront of the struggle as the regime rounded up thousands of the activists. The third is the

renewed interest by international media in the Bahraini case and how it demonstrated a classic example of patriotic movement targeting most vicious tyrannical regimes. The third is the feeling among the human rights activists of the futility of their classic work in changing the sad reality in Bahrain. Despite the flood of statements, Urgent Actions and reports by those NGOs such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Human Rights First, Physicians Without Borders, the Human Rights Council and the Special Rapporteurs on Torture, Freedom of Assembly and Association and the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, the Alkhalifa regimes has proven itself incapable of reforming itself.

What is next? The fifth year of the Bahraini Revolution could witness an escalation of the struggle against the hereditary dictatorship not only in Bahrain but in other parts of the Gulf. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) is fragmented from within as the Saudis continue to wreak havoc on the regional political and economic scenes. The rising tide of terrorism linked to some GCC countries could also prove to be decisive in altering the balance of power in the region. It will be proven to the world that these corrupt regime cannot sustain the Western economies or maintain security whether political or economic, neither of the West nor of the region. The destructive impact of the Saudi-inspired and possibly financed religious institutions that groom terrorism on the World's stage has been exposed all along. The Saudi policy on oil is also a source of anger in other GCC states that have started to feel the impact of the dwindling oil revenues. Internal disputes within the GCC had alarmed the Saudis and they appear to have taken some measures to contain the situation and prevent an all out rebellion within the alliance. The oil prices began to increase and are likely to follow this trend for some time. The regional developments especially in Yemen have exposed the limits of the Saudi influence and its shifting alliances. These factors are likely to lead to a new political balance against dictatorships. That will tilt the whole scene against the status quo and will undoubtedly lead to democratic transformation which is long overdue.

Martyr killed by gases, serious human rights crimes by Alkhalifa, Al Saud

A Bahraini protester has died after spending a month in coma because of the inhalation of poisonous gas used by security forces in an anti-government demonstration. Sayyed Mohammed Kadhem, 55, from Saar Town, succumbed to the lethal gases on Friday 20th February after a month in hospital. His funeral was held on that day and was attacked by regime's forces using chemical and tear gases as well as shotguns.

The Bahrain 13 (leaders of the Revolution) have continued their hunger strike for the second week in protest at the escalation of torture of the younger prisoners. Last week they were forced to declare their strike when they heard the cries of the victims as they were subjected to most horrific forms of abuse at the hands of the Alkhalifa henchmen. The victims were mostly at wing 6 of Jaw prison. They have been demanding improvement of the prison facilities, but the authorities reacted by attacking them, stopping their daily outing to the courtyard and banning family visits or medical care.

It has now been confirmed that a human rights activist has been subjected to severe torture and forced to sign "confessions" drawn under duress. Hussain Jawad who was arrested ten days ago was allowed first family visit today (Wednesday). On 24th February Amnesty International issued "Further Information" on Hussain Jawad. It confirmed that the human rights activist had been tortured and forced to "confess" to charges he has since denied. AI urged people to write to the authorities; Calling on the Bahraini authorities to order a prompt, independent and thorough investigation into Hussain Jawad's torture allegations, bring those responsible to justice and publish the results; n Urging them to

ensure he is not subjected to further torture or other ill-treatment or reprisal as a result; n Calling on them to release him immediately and unconditionally if he is being detained solely for his human rights work.

More Bahrainis have been arrested over the past week. From Kawara Town, two native Bahrainis were detained; Ali Dawood and Abdulla Abdul Nabi. From Salhiya, Taha Al Mansi has disappeared four days ago with no news or contact. Four youths were arrested from Abu Saiba and al Shakhoura; Ahmad Helal, Muntadhar Abdul Rasool and Mustafa Al Durazi. From Al Ne'aim Ali Redha Khamdan was snatched from his home when his house was raided in the early hours of Friday 20th February. No news have been received about Jaffar Islami, from Duraz, who was detained last week from Duraz. Also Ahmad Al Ghasra, from Bani Jamra has disappeared for more than a week with no information about his whereabouts. On 19th February Abdullah Al Qallaf from Al Nu'aim was detained two days before his wedding.

Meanwhile the Alkhalifa have passed heavy sentences on many native Bahrainis. Photo journalist, Jaffar Abdul Nabi Marhoun has been given life imprisonment for documenting Alkhalifa crimes against Bahrainis. Under-aged child, Mahdi Mohammad Jaffar, 11, was remanded for one week for taking part in anti-regime protest. A leading figure from Al Wefaq has been sentenced to six months. Mahdi Al Ekri was jailed for protesting peacefully against the arrest of Sheikh Ali Salman. Younus Jassim Al Awainati has been remanded in custody for seven days as punishment for protesting peacefully against the hereditary. Four youths have been sentenced to

15 years each for allegedly causing explosion at Adliya district. Salman Abbas Salman, Ibrahim Al Zaaki, Ali Hassan Al Saleh and Maitham Hassan Abba. Yasser Mohammad Jaffar was given seven more days in jail while Saeed Al Haiki was sentenced to 15 years jail and a fine of almost \$10,000. He is now sentenced to a total of 33 years. Alkhalifa occupiers also sentenced Abdulla Jaffar to two years. He is an American citizen of Bahraini origin. Saudi kangaroo court has sentenced two people from the Eastern Province to death; Ali Saeed Al Rebh and Mohammad Faisal Sheyukh were accused of anti-regime activities.

The 2015 Arthur Svensson Prize has been awarded to the Bahrain Teachers Association (BTA) by leader Mahdi Abu Dheeb and deputy Jalila al-Salman. The international prize for trade union rights was established by Industri Energi (Norway) in 2010. The awarding body praised their encouragement of strike actions among teachers despite the personal risks they faced, including imprisonment and torture. Mahdi Abu Dheeb was sentenced to five years in prison in 2011. His health condition is reportedly worsening steadily and he does not receive essential and critical medical aid. Jalila al-Salman was released after nearly six months in prison, but still suffers from a job ban and restrictions on her rights to speech. Arthur Svensson (1930-2008) was one of Norwegian Trade Union Movement's most prominent representatives who's legacy in the Norwegian society has had profound effect by creating better conditions for Norwegian workers.

Bahrain Freedom Movement (vob.org)
25th February 2015 (email: info@vob.org)

Saudis kill citizen as Alkhalifa exact revenge for anniversary activities

The Saudi regime yesterday murdered another citizen in cold blood. Daniel Mohammad Al Muslab, 16, in the Eastern Province. The victim was hit with a live bullet to the heart. There was outrage in the province as the trail of killings has continued even after the present ruler assumed power last month. Daniel was among people protesting on motorbikes four years ago whom the regime wanted to punish.

Meanwhile, the Alkhalifa regime has intensified its repression against the political movement and has taken steps to dissolve Al Wefaq Society, the largest in the country. The dictator has ordered its prosecutors to hand papers to this effect to the kangaroo courts which will declare the Alkhalifa decision against Al Wefaq. This follows the arrest three days ago of Jameel Kadhem, the head of Al Wefaq's Shura Council and the detention of its Secretary General, Sheikh Ali Salman in December. This is a serious escalation that closes the last door of any reconciliation between the ruling clan and the political societies.

On another level, native Bahrainis have marked the fourth anniversary of the Revolution in their own peaceful style. First there were major strikes on 12th, 13th and 14th February which brought the country to a virtual standstill. Then there were more than 300 local protests over the three days. This year the people have been able to stage their most comprehensive programmes of civil disobedience which has shown the world how isolated the ruling family is. The main slogans were: The people want regime change; Down with Hamad (referring to the dictator). The regime had been warned before hand by Amnesty International to "rein in the security forces ahead of the anniversary protests". But it did not heed the call.

The Alkhalifa tyrants have exacted severe revenge on the people for marking the Revolution's anniversary. More than 70 people were arrested in the past week. Among them is Hussain Jawad, Chairman of European-Bahraini Organisation for Human Rights (EBOHR). Shortly after midnight on 16th February he was snatched from his

home by masked members of the Death Squads and taken to undisclosed location. Amnesty International issued an Urgent Action; Expressing concern that Hussain Jawad may have been arrested because of his human rights work; Calling on the authorities to release him unless he is charged with an internationally recognizable criminal offence and Urging them to ensure that Hussain Jawad is not tortured or otherwise ill-treated, and is given prompt access to his lawyer, family and medical attention.

In the early hours of this morning, Jaffar Islami, from Duraz, was snatched from his home by masked members of Death Squads. He is a popular orator whose orations may have angered the rulers of the kingdom of silence. It is now nine days since Mohammad Yaqoob, the uncle of Martyr Mohammad Yaqoob, was arrested and his family is extremely worried for his safety as no news have been heard from him. On Monday 16th February Alkhalifa court ordered the detention of a child from Bilad Al Qadeem. *Continued on Page 4*

Saudis advised to release Badawi, Hammond urged to apologise to Alkhalifa victims

The Saudis came under pressure to stop persecuting one of their citizens. Prince Charles told the new king to “find a solution” to the case of blogger Ra’if Badawi after eruption of international outrage following a sentence of 1000 lashes on him. It is hoped that Charles would also tell the Saudis to pull their troops from Bahrain and grant their citizens political rights.

Meanwhile the policy of genocide has taken new forms. A Bahraini man has been refused permission to enter the country upon his return from abroad. Farhad Khorshid had his citizenship revoked in his absence and was deported to Qatar when he returned home. He is one of 72 Bahrainis whose citizenship was revoked last week. The dictator sought to attract “Legitimacy” to his illegal action by mixing peaceful protesters with members of ISIS, a policy that has been deplored by Amnesty International. On 6th February Amnesty International condemned the forcible exile of Farhad Khorshid and said: Stripping citizens of their nationality on the basis of vague allegations without due process protections is arbitrary and in violation of Bahrain’s international human rights obligations.

Targeting the natives has continued at an alarming rate especially as the Fourth anniversary of the Revolution approaches. Last night seven people were snatched from Sitra; Mohammad Abdul Wasi, his two sons; Hassan, 27 and Sadiq, 25, Mohammad Ali Yaqoob, 39, Mohammad Salman

Al Asfoor, 36 and Hussain Ali Al Asfoor. Two women have been detained for their anti-regime protests. Maryam Sahwan has been remanded in custody for seven days for taking part in a peaceful protest on 16th January in Demstan town. Jalila Sayed Amin from Southern Sehla has been arrested after raiding her home last night. She has been taken to unknown destination. On 8th February Sayed Ahmad Sayed Majed from Bilad Al Qadeem was arrested and taken to secret torture houses. The mother of Abdul Hakim Al Aradi was detained while visiting her jailed son, and taken to Al Rafa’ torture centre. She was subsequently released. Muradha Abd Ali Al Saffar was detained in a raid at his house in Barhama town. He was taken to the notorious CID torture centre. From Sanabis three young men were snatched by members of the Death Squads as they left the town of Bilad Al Qadeem: Mohammad Abdulla, Ahmad Ibrahim and Ali Imran.

On Saturday 7th February, regime’s forces raided a house in Demstan town and arrested Qasim Abdulla from Sanabis. No news have been heard about him which indicates that he had been taken to the secret houses where torture is routinely administered on detainees. Meanwhile the world is still awaiting the fate of the youngest political prisoner in the world. Hussain Habib is only eight months old but he is sharing his mother’s cell. Zahra Al Sheikh is languishing behind bars for her anti-regime’s activities.

On 3rd February Index on Censorship issued a statement in connection with the continued policy of revoking citizenship of Bahraini natives. “Bahrain is using citizenship, the most basic of human rights, as a weapon to intimidate and silence critical voices,” said Index CEO Jodie Ginsberg. The statement named two activists among Alkhalifa victims; Ali Abdul Emam and Sayed Ahmad Al Wada’ei. It said: Index on Censorship joins Americans for Democracy and Human Rights in Bahrain (ADHRB), the Bahrain Centre for Human Rights (BCHR) and the Bahrain Institute for Rights and Democracy (BIRD) in condemning the continued use of citizenship revocation by the Government of Bahrain as a reprisal against human rights activists, journalists and pro-democracy campaigners, and calls on international governments to ensure Bahrain meets its human rights obligations.

On 4th February Amnesty International issued a statement on the issue titled: Stop arbitrarily rendering citizens stateless. Amnesty International is seriously concerned about the Bahraini authorities’ increasing resort to revocation of nationality as a means to punish critical voices, as the authorities stripped 72 individuals of their Bahraini nationality, rendering many of them stateless. The organization urges the authorities to rescind this decision and stop targeting dissidents.

Bahrain Freedom Movement
11th February 2015

On the fourth anniversary of protests aimed at reforming Bahrain’s au-

On the fourth anniversary of protests aimed at reforming Bahrain’s autocratic monarchy, recent events—including 72 people being stripped of citizenship for “harming the interests of the Kingdom”—underscore a worrisome trend: The rights of people in the Middle East are shrinking rather than expanding.

On Jan. 31, Bahrain published a list of Sunni and Shiite Muslims accused of misdeeds against the state and announced it had revoked their citizenship to “preserve security and stability and fight the danger of terrorist threats.” A legislative decree in 2013 granted the state authority to render people stateless for violations of the country’s 2006 Anti-Terrorism Act.

The Middle East is not the only place where citizenship is suspended as punishment. Britain passed legislation last year that allows the government to revoke the citizenship of convicted or even suspected terrorists. But in Arab states such laws are being written and applied broadly to all

kinds of dissidents, even those who simply disagree with a government’s policies.

Human Rights Watch sounded alarms last summer when Bahrain authorized its Interior Ministry to abrogate citizenship from individuals who “cause harm to the interests of the Kingdom.” Such a catch-all provision is ripe for abuse, especially in a country that imprisons activists for tweets. (The kingdom also suspended a news channel this month that had hosted an opposition figure criticizing the citizenship suspensions.)

Those whose citizenship was nullified last month include people with links to Islamic State but also exiled democratic activists, including one who caused offense by protesting against the king of Bahrain at the Royal Windsor Horse Show and a blogger who escaped Bahrain in a shipping container in 2013.

The Other Powerful Threat to Iraq’s Future Will Philadelphia in 2016 Be Another Memorable Democratic Convention?

Similar actions are taking place around the region. Last year Kuwait stripped at least 33 citizens of their nationality, among them a fundraiser for ISIS but also the owner of a television station and newspapers that allowed opposition activists to speak out. The government of Egypt voided the citizenship of senior Hamas official Mahmoud al-Zahar last year and recently offered Al Jazeera journalist Mohamed Fahmy the option of renouncing his Egyptian nationali-

ty in exchange for being granted bail after 400 days in prison on trumped-up charges related to terrorism. Following the example of its neighbors, Oman passed a law in August authorizing the withdrawal of citizenship from those belonging to “a group, party or organization professing principles and beliefs harmful to Oman.” With the sultan ailing, members of the opposition could become fair game should they speak out.

These practices violate customary international law, as groups such as Human Rights Watch have documented. Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that “Everyone has the right to a nationality” and that “No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.” Article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights holds that “No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country.” Bahrain, Kuwait, and Egypt are parties to these covenants.

Yet, as the Economist reported in November, “Courts in Bahrain and Kuwait have ruled that they have no jurisdiction over decisions on nationality. Oman’s law stipulates that a government committee should deal with the matter outside the judicial system.” In short, the euphoria of the Arab Spring is turning into a winter of misery.

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Project: Middle East and North Africa Programme, Future Trends in the GCC

Jane Kinninmont, 19 February 2015
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The Gulf monarchies – the six member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC – Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE)) – are undergoing dramatic change. The last decade has seen rapid growth in their populations, economies and education systems, coupled with deep changes in the flow of information, the make-up of the population and the economic expectations of the younger generation. The Gulf states are increasingly important foreign policy players and investors, which means that a growing range of countries have a direct interest in their wealth and stability.

This report makes a number of recommendations for GCC governments and international allies. Key points are summarized below. In short, it argues that the Gulf countries should seize the opportunity to carry out meaningful reforms towards more constitutional forms of monarchy. Failing that, the various dynamics of change – economic, demographic, social and political – will add to pressures on the states of the Gulf, and increase the risks of future conflict in a region of vital strategic importance to the rest of the world.

Recommendations

For GCC governments

The Gulf countries should seize the enviable opportunities that they have to carry out gradual and consensual political and social reforms towards more constitutional forms of monarchy.

Long-term economic diversification plans should be accompanied by serious plans for long-term political development to manage the impact of shifts in the economic role of the state.

Decriminalize peaceful opposition activities, from calling for constitutional monarchy or parliamentary elections to criticizing rulers for their policies.

Stronger, more transparent institutional mechanisms – parliaments, judiciaries and ministries – should be developed to manage the competing interests that naturally arise in any society.

Transparency and openness in governance should be accorded a higher priority, in line with the expectations of the younger generation.

Ensure social and economic inclusion are prioritized, as a valuable counterweight to the pull of sectarian or ethnic identities.

Meaningful and sustainable reforms will require changes not only to formal laws and institutions, but to informal institutions and ways of thinking.

The ruling families need to prepare their own younger generation to have a different role, with less power over the political system and the economy.

For international allies

Develop and implement a more people-centred strategy.

Diversify the base of relations with the Gulf beyond the existing elite. This will be critical to developing long-term, sustainable strategic partnerships of clear value to both sides. Defence cooperation with the Gulf needs to be placed in a wider political context, where respect for human rights is not seen as being at odds with security imperatives, but as part of ensuring sustainable security.

It is not up to Western countries to bring participatory government to the Gulf. But they should at least ensure that their engagement is not seen as holding it back.

External actors should be culturally sensitive before making judgments about different political systems. Diplomats also need to be aware that the complex nature of Gulf political culture is hotly debated inside the region. They should not see local governments as the only people entitled to speak for particular cultures.

Orientate economic engagement towards education and diversification.

Economic cooperation can potentially be a win-win situation.

But the Gulf's key international trading partners need also to listen to local critiques of aspects of economic engagement with the West, especially the cynicism about spending on big-ticket defence imports.

Cooperation on health care, education, affordable housing, resource sustainability and cultural industries will have wider public appeal than defence, finance and energy, which create few local jobs.

International businesses seeking a long-term presence in the Gulf need to find ways to obtain public buy-in by adding value to the local economy and skills base, and by employing locals as well as the expatriates who make up most of the workforce.

Reshape security cooperation.

In partnering with Gulf countries against extremism, international allies need to broach sensitive issues such as sectarianism, religious intolerance and political repression.

Western governments need to avoid being drawn in to assisting governments in uncovering 'crimes' that in their countries would be seen as rights – as evidenced in the lengthy prison sentences meted out to young bloggers for 'insulting' rulers.

A fresh discourse on Gulf security should take account of the need for people to feel secure vis-à-vis their own governments, for instance by having the police held account-

able by independent judiciaries, and ending lengthy detention without trial.

It is essential that Western policy-makers listen to local public opinion, which is not always conveyed to them by the Gulf governments. Gulf populations want more weight to be given to protecting people in their region – especially Iraqis, Syrians and Palestinians – from state violence and refugeehood as well as terrorist groups.

The Gulf countries need to be seen in perspective as an essential part of the Middle East region, but not representing its critical mass.

Saudis kill citizen: Cont from P 2

Ahmad Abbas will be held for seven days as punishment for joining anti-regime protest. Also Ali Mahdi Khamis from Duraz and Mohammad Adel Omran, from Bahama, have been detained for one week.

The regime continued to revenge from Hassan Mushaima by confirming one year sentence on his son, Ahmad. Amnesty International issued an Urgent Action; Urging the authorities to quash the sentence imposed on Ahmad Mshaima' and release him immediately and unconditionally, as he is a prisoner of conscience, jailed solely for exercising his right to freedom of expression; Urging them to drop any pending charges against him, if he has been charged solely for exercising his right to freedom of assembly; and Urging them to uphold the right to freedom of expression and repeal laws that criminalize the peaceful exercise of the rights to freedom of expression, association and assembly including Article 214 of the Penal Code.

A woman from Bani Jamra was detained and abused before she was released. Maryam Marzooq was snatched by regime's Death Squads on Monday for taking part in anti-regime protest. Another detained woman, Jalila Sayed Amin, has been transferred from her torture cells to the hospital due to extreme forms of torture. On Monday 16th February Hussain Faisal Al Shehabi from Duraz and Sayed Hassan Al Alawi from Sanabis, were detained and taken to unknown destination. From Bani Jamra two youths were detained; Salah Jaffar Kadhem, 21, and Ahmad Mohammad Al Ghasra, 17. From Sanabis three people were arrested on Monday; Maitham Saeed Mushaima, Murtadha Al Haidari and Mohammad Jawad. Two photo journalists were arrested in the past few days; Hameed Al Qadami and Sayed Baqir Al Kahmil.

Hats off to British artist Jane Frere who cancelled trip to Bahrain after reading about violations there. She was invited by the regime's spin officials as part of the multi-million public relations efforts to whitewash Alkhalifa crimes. Instead Jane decided to side with the victim, not the criminals. On 4th anniversary of Bahrain's revolution, she was painting for the people's cause. The artist later tweeted: "All of us in creative industries must use whatever media to hand to support democracy"

Bahrain Freedom Movement
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