

Bahrain's Reforms— No Backdown on Crackdown

May 2012



Pro-democracy activists march in Bahrain on May 4, 2012, including Ayat Al-Qurmezi (left), a student arrested, tortured, and sentenced to a year imprisonment for reading a poem in February 2011 critical of the Bahrain regime, and Rula al Saffar (center), head of the Bahrain Nurses Association, one of 20 medics convicted by the military court last year after being tortured and sentenced after an unfair trial. She is currently out of prison during an appeal process. Photo credit: Nawal Photography

Summary

Human Rights First has traveled to Bahrain four times in the past year to talk with human rights defenders, Bahraini government officials, U.S. government officials, diplomats from other governments, and international experts working in Bahrain. In addition, Human Rights First maintains regular contact with several dozen defenders. These contacts enable a wide-ranging perspective throughout the life of the current conflict.

More than a year after large-scale pro-democracy rallies triggered a violent government crackdown in Bahrain, and five months since the regime-requested commission of inquiry into the abuses published its recommendations, volatility persists. Many dissidents are still being jailed or prosecuted in unfair court proceedings, and the security forces continue to use excessive force against protesters. While the government claims it is making progress on human rights reform, reports of torture in custody and deaths of civilians continue to emerge. Over the past several months, there has been a consistent rhythm of abuse that at times can seem to be at a low level, but at other times, consequentially, it erupts into full-scale violence that destabilizes the country and makes any hope of reform even more distant.

Prominent Bahraini human rights defenders Zainab Al Khawaja and Nabeel Rajab have been detained in recent weeks and remain in custody. Rajab is president of the Bahrain Center for Human Rights, winners of the 2012 Roger Baldwin Medal of Liberty, and was arrested on Saturday May 5, 2012 as he arrived at the airport in Bahrain from a human rights conference in Lebanon. According to the Bahraini authorities, he is charged with "inciting illegal rallies and marches online by using social networking websites." The judicial harassment of human rights defenders shows no sign of abating, and most observers are pessimistic about the future, at least in the short term. The United States is losing credibility with many in the pro-democracy movement. Rather than using its unique influence to apply appropriate and sufficient pressure on the regime to reform, the U.S. government is seen to be tolerating, if not enabling, a status quo that is unbearable by international standards of human rights.

Introduction

The Al Khalifa royal family has ruled Bahrain for generations. The family traditionally holds onto all strategic ministry positions and at least half of all ministerial posts. King Hamad exercises direct rule, makes all cabinet appointments through the prime minister, and has the authority to amend the constitution. The King's uncle has been the unelected prime minister since independence from the British in 1971. Mass protests against the regime began on February 14, 2011, in the context of the Arab Spring erupting throughout the region.

The government responded to calls for democratic reform with violence. Several months later—after national and international human rights organizations and media outlets had exposed the truth about the crackdown—the regime commissioned its own panel of experts to review the events and make recommendations.

The Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry (BICI), chaired by Egyptian-American human rights lawyer Cherif Bassiouni, published its report in November 2011.¹ The report corroborated what Human Rights First and other organizations had been saying for months: dozens of people had been killed, including some in custody; thousands had been detained and many tortured; thousands more had been dismissed from their jobs; and hundreds had been subjected to unfair trials, including hundreds of civilians tried in military courts.

The regime publicly promised to implement all the report's recommendations. At the ceremony where Professor Bassiouni presented the report, King Hamad declared that, "We do not want, ever again, to see civilians tried anywhere else but in the ordinary courts...nor do we want, ever again, to discover that any of our law enforcement personnel have mistreated anyone." The king also noted Bahrain's record of cooperation with United Nations' agencies and his "commitment to reform and to the rectification of errors in all transparency."

In the following months, the government set up a committee to implement the recommendations. It also issued a new police code of conduct and a new procedure for investigating allegations against the police. But human

rights violations have continued. January 2012 saw the highest rate of fatalities (nine) since March 2011. There is no evidence of real political dialogue, and many leading political figures in the opposition are being prosecuted or imprisoned for criticizing the regime. As elsewhere in the region over the last year, large numbers of new activists have emerged who do not identify with existing political parties. In the last few months, too, a more violent fringe of protestors has used petrol bombs and other missiles against the police.

In July 2011, the regime announced a 'National Dialogue' in an attempt to show it was open to negotiation, but it was so weighted towards the government that the main opposition bloc, Al Wefaq, pulled out after a week. Participants in the talks recommended minor changes to the constitution that the king accepted, but it is hard to see how it was a serious dialogue about sharing power.

The royal family is Sunni, while most of the Bahraini population is Shia. Another obstacle to democratic reform includes an overwhelmingly Sunni security sector. As the U.S. State Department noted last year², "Although there were exceptions, the Sunni Muslim citizen population enjoyed favored status. Sunni citizens often received preference for employment in sensitive government positions, in the managerial ranks of the civil service, and in the military. Only a few Shia citizens held significant posts in the defense and internal security forces, although more were in the enlisted ranks. Although the police force reported it did not record or consider religious belief when hiring employees, Shia continued to assert that they were unable to obtain government positions, especially in the security services, because of their religious affiliation. Shia were employed in some branches of the police, such as the traffic police and the fledgling community police."

In both the short- and long-term, this divide needs urgent attention. Many Shiites feel that they are not properly represented in the security forces and that the police—often Sunnis recruited from Pakistan, Yemen, Jordan, and elsewhere—are antagonistic towards them. Without urgent security sector reform, the distrust between many citizens and the police is set to deepen.

Restrictions on Access

Since the publication of the BICI report, it has been difficult for representatives of human rights organizations and other international observers to operate in Bahrain. Human Rights First was granted permission to enter Bahrain each of the three times it requested in 2011. In January 2012, however, it was denied access, as were other nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and only permitted to enter in March under the "new policy" of a five-day visa, which appears to be the new rule for NGOs requesting access. Moreover, the restrictive five-day visas require a local sponsor.

U.N. Special Rapporteur on Torture Juan Mendez was invited to visit Bahrain in March 2012, only to be told that his trip was postponed until July 2012. On April 29, 2012, Ana Gomes, a Portuguese Member of the European Parliament who sits on its Foreign Affairs and Human Rights Committees, and who carries a diplomatic passport, was turned away at Bahrain's airport and denied entry into the country.

On April 30, 2012 several NGOs were told by the government of Bahrain that they would not be allowed access to the country, reversing a decision announced on April 11, 2012 that they would be. Citing new "guidelines" that only one organization would be allowed to visit at a time, the NGOs—including representatives of the Gulf Centre for Human Rights, Index on Censorship, PEN International, the Committee to Protect Journalists, Reporters Without Borders, and Freedom House—were told they could not go to Bahrain as planned in early May.

Military Court Cases

The "National Safety Court," presided over by a military judge, convicted 502 people in 2011. It no longer convenes and the appeals process has been moved to the civilian courts. But the government is vigorously pursuing the appeals process, continuing to press cases against those who were convicted by the unfair military court.

Among the cases on appeal is the notorious case of 20 medics—arrested, detained, tortured, and given sentences of between 5 and 15 years in prison by the special military court. On March 15, 2012, Human Rights

First observed a court hearing of the medics trial where the public prosecutor introduced new evidence against the medics for the court that he claimed was evidence against the medics. Their next court date is scheduled on May 10, 2012. The government is also vigorously pursuing the case against the leaders of the Bahrain Teachers Association, Mahdi Abu Deeb and Jalila Al Salman, sentenced by the military tribunal to 10 and 3 years, respectively, after being tortured in detention. Abu Deeb has been in prison for more than a year during this legal process. They are due back in court on May 30, 2012.

On April 30, 2012 the Bahraini Court of Cassation, the highest appellate court, announced a "retrial" for the prominent 21 dissidents convicted by the military court last year and sentenced to long prison terms, including human rights defender Abdulhadi Al Khawaja, who started a hunger strike on February 8, 2012. Many cases of civilians convicted by the military court continue to be pursued or delayed by the authorities. Human Rights First holds that all those convicted by the National Safety Court should be immediately released and the charges against them dropped.

Police Behavior

There are increasing reports of attacks on police by a small segment of protestors. Attacks on police with petrol bombs or other missiles are criminal acts and cannot be excused. There are many reports of policemen being injured, some seriously, with burns and other injuries. Four policemen were reportedly injured on April 24 by a homemade bomb. Those responsible should be properly apprehended by a competent police force using appropriate legal measures, and held accountable in a legal procedure that upholds international standards.

Likewise, police behavior must be governed by law and procedures, and comport to basic international standards of conduct. There is a significant gap between the government's rhetoric and the reality of people's experience. The government has hired former senior police officers John Timoney from the United States and John Yates of the United Kingdom to advise on police reform. A new police code of conduct declares "a zero tolerance policy on torture and any other type of

mistreatment," and that "force shall be not be used except when absolutely necessary or when it is used in self-defense in accordance with the law."³

Despite this, we met more than a dozen people who reported being severely beaten by police in February and March this year.

Beatings and Torture by the Police

Local human rights activists say hundreds of young men have been taken to secret torture centers over the last few months. These locations include an equestrian center in Budayia, a youth hostel in Sanabis, a municipal building in Dimis, and a checkpoint near the Safriya Palace. These young men explained that instead of being formally arrested, booked into a police station, and mistreated, they are more likely to be grabbed by a group of riot police and taken to one of these sites, or to a nearby house to be beaten for several hours. The police take their phones and money, and, after beating them, abandon them in a remote location.

A group of a dozen young men told Human Rights First in mid-March that, two days after taking part in a peaceful protest, they were chased by policemen and corralled into a house. For the next 90 minutes, about 25 policemen, three at a time, took turns beating them, "They hit us with rifle butts, broke kitchen plates on our heads, said things about our moms and sisters," said one of them. Several displayed severe bruises on their backs and arms that they said were a result of the beatings.



Some of the young men we met in mid-March showed marks they said were made by policemen beating them with sticks.

A 14-year-old boy said that during a daytime protest in his village in February he was hit in the back with a sound bomb canister fired by police. He lost consciousness and woke up in a police car. "They kept me with them for a bit less than two hours as they drove around—they beat me, said sexual stuff about my female relatives, took my Blackberry. Then they took me to the Safriya checkpoint and told me to tell the officer that they hadn't hit me."

While many of the beatings take place at these secret locations, reports of abuse at police stations continue to surface in 2012. In mid-March, Human Rights First met a well-educated, articulate, 16-year-old boy who was released from prison a few days before. His mother now worries every time he leaves the house:

I was arrested with a few of my friends when we arrived at a protest in Manama in the middle of February. We were immediately arrested by riot police as we got out of the car, sprayed with pepper spray, and shoved into the back seat of a police car with nine other boys. They took us all to the police station, and let those of us who were 15 or younger to go. The rest of us they beat with sticks. They made us sing the national anthem and shout slogans in praise of the King of Bahrain. They were obsessed with the idea that we were part of a huge conspiracy of protestors. First, they told me I'd be taken to the Dry Dock Prison, but then the plan changed at 4am—they took me to the juvenile prison, but it was full, so I just went back to Naim Police Station. We were intimidated and threatened when we were praying—they only let us [do] it very quietly, and when they let me call my mum one police officer just kept interrupting me and hitting me, so I had to hang up. I was released after three weeks.

Mohammed Hasan Habib, 27, told Human Rights First that on April 20, at around 9 p.m., in the village of Bilad al Qadim, a couple of miles south of the capital Manama, he was with a television crew from the British media company Independent Television News (ITN), when they were attacked by police and arrested. Witnesses tweeted about



it and, within hours, news of his arrest and beating was prominent on Bahraini social media sites. According to Mohammed Hasan:

"There was a small protest, men and women, some elderly people, about 100 people or more. They were chanting and the guys I was with were filming. Then the police ambushed us from behind—as usual they went straight for the guy with the camera. He ran away but they got me. Six or seven riot police dressed in uniform grabbed me and pulled me to the ground. One kicked me in the face, others hit me with batons from behind and I was hit with a gun butt. They kept kicking me in the face, they broke my glasses, broke one of my teeth, kicked me in the groin. They said things about my religious beliefs, about Iran. It went on for about 5 or 10 minutes in all.

I stood up and put my hands on my head—they somehow took this as a signal that I was being filmed by someone at long range. They pushed me into a quieter place, and a guy with the police but wearing civilian clothes and holding a camera told me to say on film that the injuries to my face had been caused by protestors. I refused, I said the police had done it. He turned off the camera and warned me to say my injuries had been caused by protestors, and again I refused.

They got another guy in the street and hit him in the face with a baton, and he was bleeding and unconscious—an ambulance came to take him to hospital and so I got in it too, with a policeman. We went to Salmaniya Hospital. We were told to stand in the corridor facing the wall. After a while one of the medics passing by complained about that and we were taken to a room to be examined—I was given an X-ray and a scan.

After a while a senior security officer came and asked me if I was the guy they're all talking about [on Twitter]—I said I didn't know. They took me to the Nabih Saleh police station near Sitra—they took my statement there; I told them what happened to me. From there they took me to the Dry Dock prison and said I'd have to wait there for a day before being brought before the public prosecutor. I spent the day there and at night an official came to ask me about my political views. I told him I wasn't in the protest, had been wearing a shirt and tie, and that these were now covered in blood from the beating. Soon after that they let me go.

Disproportionate Use of Force by the Police

Human Rights First saw repeated evidence that the police are using tear gas canisters to attack civilians. There are nightly reports of tear gas being used against peaceful protests and shot directly into people's houses. It is unclear how the police account for the number of canisters they take per shift or how they report the number they use and why. The government justifies its use of tear gas by pointing to a fringe group of protestors who throw steel rods, petrol bombs, and other missiles at the police. The police, however, appear to be using as much force as they want, whenever they want—not only against protestors, but also randomly against civilians.

The U.N. Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials and the U.N. Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials defines acceptable use of force by the police. These international standards prohibit it unless strictly necessary and require that firearms be used only when proportional and unavoidable in order to protect life.

Over the weekend of April 20-21, 2012, protestor Salah Abbas Habib, 36, was found dead on a rooftop. His family says he was hit by birdshot fired by police.

In March, we met medical professionals as they received calls from different parts of Bahrain asking for advice or treatment. Within a few hours, they received calls about

three serious head injuries caused by police-fired tear gas canisters. "It's shoot to kill," observed one doctor.

There is mounting concern over the excessive use of tear gas by the police. The Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights noted on March 20, 2012⁴:

We have been receiving worrying reports of the disproportionate use of force by Bahraini security forces, including the excessive use of tear gas, the use of birdshot pellets and rubber bullets. The use of tear gas in particular has reportedly resulted in a number of deaths of protestors and bystanders, and that number has reportedly risen in recent months. Reliable sources indicate that the civilians who died from tear gas suffered complications from gas inhalation, and that security forces have been firing metal tear gas canisters from grenade launchers into crowds. We call on the Government of Bahrain to investigate the alleged use of such excessive force.

Underground Medical Treatment

The Salmaniya Medical Complex is the main hospital, but it is regarded as an unsafe place to go for treatment because the police have arrested injured protestors there. As a result, a series of underground first aid centers are treating people as best they can.

A 21-year-old said that in March 2012, he was hit with birdshot fired by two policemen, both about 10 yards away. "I woke up in a secret first aid place, and someone treated me. Not really a doctor, I think a nurse who was volunteering there. There were three other guys there who had been shot with tear gas canisters. They took the pellets out of my body and stitched me up. I couldn't go the Salmaniya [Hospital] because of the military there."

A memo dated January 31, 2012 from the Ministry of Health sent to all private clinics instructed them to "inform the police authorities when they receive cases that might have resulted from accidental events or that might have a criminal suspicion, regardless of the causes of injury."

Mistrust in the Public Prosecutor

The new unit supposed to investigate allegations of torture and mistreatment by the police is housed in the Public Prosecutor's Office, raising serious questions about its impartiality and ability to deliver accountability.

On March 21, 2012 in the village of Sanabis, 16-year-old Ali al Singace was taken by three men in civilian clothes who he said were policemen. He was reportedly beaten, sexually assaulted, cut with a razor on various parts of his body, and dumped on a road with his hands tied behind his back. His family formally complained to the al-Hurra police station, but the following day the Public Prosecutor's Office issued a statement accusing him of inflicting his injuries upon himself and making a false claim against the police. The dismissal of this case undermined confidence in the police, partly because paramedics who saw Ali said the wounds could not have been self-inflicted.

One family told us that, when they discovered an intruder in their house in March, they decided not to call the police, "Because we can't trust them." They explained this would not have been the case if the same incident had happened in 2010.

Integration of Security Forces

Many analysts, policymakers, and activists conclude that integration of the security forces is key to progress and reconciliation in Bahrain, and it is a sensitive, complicated, and long-term proposition. The Bahrain police force is overwhelmingly made up of Sunnis. The U.S. State Department Report on International Religious Freedom published on September 13, 2011⁵ stated:

Only a few Shia citizens held significant posts in the defense and internal security forces, although more were in the enlisted ranks. Although the police force reported it did not record or consider religious belief when hiring employees, Shia continued to assert that they were unable to obtain government positions, especially in the security services, because of their religious affiliation. Shia were employed in some branches of the police, such as the traffic police and the fledgling community police.

In addition, the U.S. Congressional Research Service report from November 2011 on Bahrain Reform, Security, and U.S. Policy noted⁶: "Shiites have also been highly underrepresented in the security forces, serving mainly in administrative tasks." The BICI report further highlighted the issue of underlying sectarian bias:

Sectarian relations in Bahrain are not solely affected by questions of theology. Socio-economic factors exert an influence as well. For example, many Shia claim to be victims of systematic discrimination on religious grounds. This, they argue, is evident in the limited numbers of Shia who serve in important government agencies, such as the [Bahrain Defence Force], the [National Security Agency] and the police. Discontent among Shia is further heightened by the large number of expatriates who are employed by these agencies, which generates the impression among many that this policy reflects governmental mistrust of Shia, who believe that, as Bahraini citizens, they ought to staff these positions.

A significant portion of the police force refused to join last year's government crackdown, and many were arrested and detained. Human Rights First estimates that around 160 members of the police force were convicted in the regular military courts or in the National Safety Court for refusing to join in the crackdown. Most have been released and are awaiting an appeal date, but according to families of some of the policemen, several dozen remain in detention. While the BICI report urged the government of Bahrain to implement a program for the integration of security forces of personnel from all communities in Bahrain, it has yet to be institutionalized.

We spoke to members of the police force who said they were arrested in March or April 2011, after refusing to join the crackdown. In detention, according to consistent and credible accounts, they faced mistreatment that fits the pattern of widespread detainee abuse in Bahrain documented by Human Rights First and other human rights groups. They said they were blindfolded, handcuffed, tortured, and not given adequate access to

lawyers. Some say they were also leg-cuffed. Several said they were made to stand for long periods and told that their female relatives would be sexually assaulted unless they signed a confession.

Hassan Hameed Hassan, 26, served in the police force for five years but decided to leave when he witnessed attacks on protestors in March. His boss called him when he did not show up for work and told him that if he did not turn himself in, they would come and take his female relatives—his wife, his sister, and mother. He says on April 26, 2011 they attacked his house, took him in for interrogation, and beat him. "I was forced to stand for two days and to confess I'd been at the Pearl Roundabout. They said if I didn't confess they would bring my wife and rape her."

Hussain Ali Ahmad, 40, was in the Bahrain police force for 20 years, and played the bugle in the police band. He says he was arrested after he mentioned in conversations at work that he was sympathetic to the protestors. He was sentenced to four years imprisonment.

Ali Jasim Al Ghanmi, 26, joined the police in 2004. On February 17, 2011, after hearing that protestors were shot by security forces, he went to the hospital and helped the medics treat the wounded. He was arrested on May 4, 2011. He says he was subjected to torture: doused with water while naked in a room with the air conditioning on high, beaten with hands and sticks while blindfolded, and denied food, water, and access to the toilet for more than two days. He was sentenced to 12 years and 3 months imprisonment on January 9, 2012.

While these police cases continue to be prosecuted, a Ministry of Interior website that features the implementation of the BICI recommendations⁷ announced the following on December 22, 2011:

The ministry is entrusted to urgently employ 500 men and women in the police forces from all components of society, and from the five provinces. A committee was established; and it began interviewing the candidates. Once the candidates are employed, they will be trained for

six months and briefed on the police forces. Then, the process of employing another 500 personnel will start again. . . . It was noted that the acceptance of this group comes as an initial step to the employment of other groups when conditions and requirements are met in accordance with the regulations.

However, this recruiting announcement has had little impact on how Bahrainis view the police. We asked a group of 14 young Shia men if they would consider joining the police. Laughing in response, they said:

The police are killing people, not protecting them.

Before people dreamt of a job in the police—not now. If you are Shia you won't get promoted.

Shia policemen will be given impossible orders—look what happened to those policemen who refused [to join the crackdown and were prosecuted].

The Views of Human Rights and Democracy Activists on U.S. Policy

Human Rights First maintains relationships with a range of activists from diverse backgrounds, and who are engaged in different forms of activism, and it is impossible to present a single, unified perspective from the movement. The democracy movement spans a wide spectrum, from those pushing for moderate reforms to the monarchy's power to those calling for an end to royal rule and the establishment of a republic.

The activists broadly share the feeling that the U.S. government is operating on a double standard with Bahrain—that its rhetoric toward other countries in the region has been much sharper and more critical of dictatorships. One activist told us in early February 2012: "I don't want to ask the U.S. government to do anything for my people; all I ask them is to express some honesty and decency when making any statement. President Obama's statement on Syria (February 4) is accessible to the Bahraini people, you know—reading lines like this: '. . . any government that brutalizes and massacres its people does not deserve to govern' makes me sick and frustrated.

So does: 'We will help because we stand for principles that include universal rights for all people and just political and economic reform,' because it seems to apply only to Syria, not to us."

Ahlam Oun, 30, is a prominent activist and blogger. She told us, "If the U.S. State Department is so concerned about human rights violations against the people of Bahrain, they should concentrate on the crackdown in the same way they are doing for other countries going through the same transformation."

The United States is juggling multiple interests in Bahrain and the Gulf region more broadly, including nuclear non-proliferation, oil flow, open waters, and regional stability, and, indeed, many Bahraini defenders share these same concerns. This is why they turn to the United States for support, but are increasingly disappointed when they see U.S. actions that either separate human rights out of these other concerns, or minimize the abuses that are disrupting life in the country.

There is a common sentiment that the United States has an increasingly poor reputation with younger Bahraini democracy protestors. Many young activists have complained to us about what they see as U.S. complicity with the regime, citing tear gas manufactured in and exported from the United States, which is used to attack protestors, and the U.S. government's sale of military weapons and supplies to the regime. Dr. Nada Dhaif is one of the medics who was arrested, tortured, and sentenced by the military regime in a military court.



She was given a 15 year jail term, and is currently out of prison, pending an appeal. She said: "The U.S. government is indirectly responsible for the crimes taking place in Bahrain by being silent and lenient and directly

by their arms sales. A smarter, younger, Internet generation is getting more radicalized and frustrated due to the U.S. government neglecting their fair demands and universal, legal human rights." In May 2012, Dr. Dhaif wrote in the *Christian Science Monitor*⁸, "... I've admired America for its diversity and vibrancy, and for how it respects the freedom of speech. But Washington's response to the Bahraini regime's crackdown on nonviolent protestors has forced me to question what America really stands for. A new Middle East is emerging: If you lose the faith of people like me, America, you will lose the entire region."

Another common sentiment is that the U.S. government is concerned only with its relationship with those in the Bahrain government, not the Bahraini people. Matar Matar was the youngest member of parliament for Al Wefaq until he resigned earlier last year. He was arrested in May, tortured, and released in August. "The [U.S.] Department of State should take a brave decision and decide who is it with strategically in Bahrain," he says. "Is it the regime or the Bahrainis?"

Endnotes

¹ The Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry, *Report of the Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry* (Nov. 23, 2011), <http://www.bici.org.bh>.

² United States Department of State, *July-December, 2010 International Religious Freedom Report: Bahrain* (Sept. 13, 2011) accessed May 7, 2012, http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2010_5/168261.htm.

³ The National Commission, Kingdom of Bahrain, *Code of Conduct for Police Officers*, (Jan. 30, 2012) http://www.biciactions.bh/wps/themes/html/BICI/pdf/1717/code_of_conduct_en.pdf.

⁴ UN News Centre, "Bahrain: UN calls for probe into alleged excessive use of force against protesters," news release, March 20, 2012, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=41586&Cr=Bahrain&Cr1>.

⁵ United States Department of State, *July-December, 2010 International Religious Freedom Report: Bahrain* (Sept. 13, 2011) accessed May 7, 2012, http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2010_5/168261.htm.

⁶ Kenneth Katzman, *Bahrain: Reform, Security, and U.S. Policy* (United States Congressional Research Service, Nov. 29, 2011) accessed May 7, 2012, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4f1ea8082.html>.

⁷ The National Commission: The assigned committee to follow-up recommendations of the Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry, Kingdom of Bahrain, accessed on May 7, 2012, http://www.biciactions.bh/wps/portal/BICI!/ut/p/c4/04_SB8K8xLLM9MSSzPy8xBz9CP0os3h_Rw9Pd3d3A3d_F0tLA8-AAGN3F28T14NQU_2CbEdFAD3sWDc!/?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/wps/wcm/connect/egov+english+library/bici/progress+and+actions+taken/action1722e.

⁸ Nada Dhaif, "Bahrain doctor: If US loses the faith of people like me, it loses the Mideast," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 1, 2012, <http://www.csmonitor.com/Commentary/Opinion/2012/0501/Bahrain-doctor-If-US-loses-the-faith-of-people-like-me-it-loses-the-Mideast>.