Al-Fateh Youth Coalition

Translated to English

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Historical Introduction:
Bahrain’s political history has seen many popular movements demanding reforms, democratic development and political participation in managing the country’s affairs. In the beginning of the previous century, the people of Bahrain were depending on diving and agriculture for their substance before the appearance of oil. The first protesting movement took place in 1919 following the injustice and tyranny imposed on divers by some pearl traders.

Political activities ebbed and flowed up to 1923 when a civil and sectarian strife took place in conjunction with the British interference which supported the Shiaat demands by dismissing Shaikh Isa Bin Ali Al Khalifa from running the country’s affairs. Tribal heads and Sunni religious clerics reacted by forming the National Front which were represented in the national conference organized in Muharraq Town in 26th October, 1923. Twelve national personalities were elected and called the trustees of the nation or the attorneys of the nation. They were: Shaikh Abdulwahab Bin Haji Al Zayani, Shaikh Ahmed Bin Rashid Bin Lahej, Mohammed Bin Rashid Bin Hindi, Abdulltaif Bin Mahmood, Isa Bin Ahmed Al Dosary, Abdullah Bin Ebrahim, Shahin Bin Saqer Al Jalahma, Mahanna Bin Fadhel Al Noaimi, Hussain Al Mannae, Mohammed Bin Sabah Al Binali, Jaber Bin Mohammed Al Musallam and Ahmed Bin Jassim Al Jowder.

The national conference issued a statement demanding certain reforms such as: reappointing Shaikh Isa Bin Ali as a ruler of Bahrain, refusing the interference of the British Commissioner in local affairs of the county, formation of a council for people of thoughts to manage peoples affairs, establishing a legal system based on the principles of Islamic Sharia and forming a court for diving disputes. The British authority reacted by detaining the movement leaders and deported Shaikh Abdulwahab Al Zayani and Shaikh Ahmed Bin Lahej to India in November 1923.

Following the setback of the 1923 movement, a popular movement emerged again in 1932 when divers protests against the “Tesqam” system which was causing huge injustice on them. A number of divers went to the prison to release detainees and they were quashed by the Panjabi policemen. A number of victims were shot by guns while others were lashed in the Muharrq Suq under the guidance of the government advisor Mr. Belgrave.

On the heels of these events, a Shiaa dominated movement took place in 1934 protesting against the agricultural land distribution policy. The movement submitted a petition for reforms in which they demanded to provide Shiaa people a role in municipal councils, to set up an elected trader’s council and to appoint a Shiaat person as chief of police force. All these events led to the emerging of an organized national movement in 1938 which included a number of national Bahraini leaders (both from Sunni and Shiaa sects) which demanded the establishment of an elected legislative council and a workers union, to reduce foreign workers, issue a political news paper, organize government works through laws and reform the education sector. In response, the British colonial forces detained the movement leaders who truly represented the people with all their sects. The leaders include, Khalil Al Moayyed, Ahmed Alsherawi, Ali Al Fadhel, Mansoor Al Eraidh and.

After that the political polarization intensified with the early influences of pan Arab nationalism thoughts on Bahrain society and the advent of a new era which was influenced by Arab nationalism and liberation movements against the colonial powers which were dominating all over the Arab world from the ocean to the gulf. Later on, the prominent national leader Abdulrahman Al Baker started to form a national gathering from both Sunni and Shiaa people on the previously mentioned principles. As a result, the National Union Council (NUC) was established in 1954 which was the first public political party in the Gulf after gaining official recognition. The NUC comprised of 120 people who elected an eight members executive committee which included Abdulrahman Al Baker (Secretary General), Saad Al Shamlan, Ali Bin Ebrahim, Muhsin Al Tajer, Ebrahim Bin Musa, Abdulla Abudeep, Abdeali Al Elawat and Ebrahim Fakhro.

The NUC demands were formation of the legislative council, issuing new civil and criminal laws, formation of cassation court and approving the right to set up labor unions. The movement succeeded in establishing a labor union and issuing the first labor law in 1957. After the Suez Canal crises in Egypt, the NUC was terminated when an order was issued to dismiss the movement and its leaders were detained and prosecuted in
1956. Leaders such as Al Baker, Al Shamlan and Al Elawat were deported to St. Helena Island. It is worth mentioning that the NUC leaders particularly Abdulrahman Al Baker have expressed their clear and public position against the Iranian interference in the local affairs of the nation as the Iranian regime was demanding to put Bahrain under its sovereignty. Al Baker has also took clear position on the necessity of creating a union between the Gulf Emirates at that time.

After the discovery of oil in 1938, the economic and industrial transformations led to the emerging of labor class following the establishment of Bahrain Petroleum Company (Bapco). Bahrainis started working in the oil sector after the economy was depending on diving, agriculture and fishing. The economic system was transformed into a productive state. In line with a popular movement in some Gulf emirates to get rid of the British colonial system and the independence of Kuwait in 1961 and the declaration of its constitution in 1962, Bapco dismissed more than 300 Bahraini workers. As a result, a strong popular uprising started in 5th of March, 1965 in Muharrq Suq after Friday prayer. National and leftist movements of the time led the confrontation against security forces which lasted for about three months and in which a number of people martyred. Muharraq town was full of flame. The government agreed to give permission to issue Al Adwa'a newspaper and Sada Al Asbooa weekly magazine under tough conditions.

The Iranian authorities occupied the UAE Islands in a provocative step that created tension in the area. In the shadow of the increased Iranian demands to take Bahrain back into its sovereignty, the people in Bahrain protests against the Iranian occupation of the UAE Islands. The Iranian permanent representative in the United Nations submitted a letter to the UN General Secretary in 9 March, 1970 requesting to solve the dispute between Iran and Britain and to find out the desires of the people of Bahrain. In response, Britain accepted the Iranian proposal in 20 March, 1970 and the UN Chief declared his approval of the proposal in 28 of March, 1970 in a letter addressed to both parties. Later on, the Fact Finding Commission started its works by visiting Bahrain to find out the desire of the people of Bahrain and finally declared the desire of the people of Bahrain is to establish an independent Arab country which is not subject to Iranian sovereignty.

After Britain decided to withdraw from Bahrain and the country declared its independence in 15 August, 1971, Bahrain joined the United Nations. This development required issuing a new constitution to determine the ruling system of the country. A foundation council was established to draft the constitution. In 1972, a workers movement started demanding pay rise and improvement of the living standards. It started by Gulf Air workers and expanded to other companies culminating into a general strike which paralyzed the commercial and industrial activities in the country. This is the first civil strike following the independence of the country. For the first time Bahrain Defense Force was used to control the situation.

In 1973, Bahrain first constitution was declared and the first parliamentary election took place. The national assembly continued its bickering with the government for two years. Oil prices hiked during October War in 1973 when oil was used for the first time as weapon in the national war. Refusing any kind of monitoring of this wealth by the people’s representatives, the government proposed the state security law which allows abrupt detention for three years without judgment. It was refused by the people’s representatives leading to rising political tension which resulted in the detainment of many popular leaders and members of parliament. The National Council was dissolved in 1975 and the constitution was terminated and the country entered into a state of constitutional vacuum.

The rise of the Iranian revolution which toppled the Shah of Iran has left its clear impact on the country. Arab Nationalistic sentiments ebbed gradually, leftist parties lost grounds and popularity and new clandestine Islamic Shiaa parties appeared in the scene some of which adopted a radical revolutionary methods and raised the motto “No east, no west Islamic state is best” in the same manner of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The most prominent Shaiat movements were the Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain and the Free Bahraini Movement. On the other side, these movements were faced by Sunni Islamic trends with the formation of the Salafi and Ashari groups and the flourishing of the Muslim Brotherhood movement.

Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait (1991-1991), which shocked the Arab world, the coalition forces entrance to Saudi territories to liber-
ate Kuwait and the return of political activities to Kuwait, the Bahraini elite was motivated to start a movement for the restoration of the defunct constitution. Shaikh Abdulatif Al Mahmood presented a paper in a symposium held in Kuwait in 1991 in which he called on Gulf States to initiate reforms, reduce the influence of ruling families and develop the experience of the Gulf Cooperation Council. He was detained on his arrival to Bahrain at that time.

In the beginning of October 1992, the political arena in Bahrain was surprised with media statements on the desire of the government to establish an appointed consultative council. In light of the local and regional development, organized political activities started again during 1992. A number of national and religious personalities formed the Elite Petition Committee which was signed by 365 personalities. The petition demanded return of the Bahrain constitution and the parliamentary life to the country. This period witnessed political activities which gathered both Sunni and Shiaa elements, the two wings of the Bahraini society. The Sunnis were represented by Shaikh Abdulatif Al Mahmood while the Shiaa were represented by Shaikh Abdulamir Al Jammery in addition to other leftist and nationalistic forces. The preliminary meeting was held in Ali Rabea's house and was attended by Mohammed Jaber Subah, Advocate Ahmed Alshamlan, Engineer Hisham Al Shihabi, Shaikh Abdulatif Al Mahmood, Ahmed Mansoor, Advocate Muhsin Marhoon, Isa Al Jawder, Eng. Saeed Al Asbool and Ebrahim Kamaluddin. In this meeting Shaikh Abdulatif Al Mahmood proposed the name of Shaikh Abdulamir Al Jammery as the representative of the Shiaa sect which was approved by all attendees who appointed Shaikh Abdullatif to speak to him and they were joined by Abdulwahab Hussain.

The petition contained the reactivation of the constitution and the return of National Assembly through election and to return all constitutional power to the house of representatives as a legislative power. The petition emphasized that the formation of the new Shura council doesn't contradict with the national assembly but it can't replace it. The petition was submitted to then Amir of Bahrain. A delegation comprising of Shaikh Abdulamir Al Jamri, Mohammed Jaber Subah, Shaikh Abdulatif Al Mahmood, Isa Al Jawder and Abdulwahab Hussain went to the Amiri Palace but the petition was refused and new petition was considered. Shaikh Abdulamir Al Jamri was chosen as spokesman of the group.

In October 1994 a new petition named “the people’s petition” was promoted and received huge support from the public. It was signed by more than 23,000 citizens. It can be noted that the political movement at the end of the previous century was national in its outset as it has gathered the whole spectrum of the political movements represented in Shaikh Abdulamir Al Jammery and Shaikh Abdulatif Al Mahmood in addition to the national and leftist movements. In December 1994, The political situation exploded with the detention and deportation of some Shiaa leaders such as Shaikh Ali Salman, Shaikh Haider Al Sitri and Shaikh Hamza Al Deeri. This led to violent protests from the Shiaa opposition at that time and the protests were clamped down heavily by the security forces of the political regime. Confrontation between both sides continued for years and many victims were fallen from both sides. The political and security crises continued until 1999 following the demise of Shaikh Isa bin Salman Al Khalifa.

When HM King Hamad took over, he instigated a brave and unique political breakthrough. The state security laws were canceled, prisoners were released, exiled political figures returned back home and the National Action Charter was released which saved Bahrain from the political bottleneck. In February 2011, The National Action Charter was approved by 98.4% of the people in Bahrain in a referendum. On its basis the amended 2002 constitution of Bahrain was issued which changed Bahrain from a state to a kingdom and the Amir was named King. A two chamber legislative council was made instead of the previously one chamber council. Public political activities were allowed under the national society’s law and a call was made for the first parliamentary election in which Bahrain women were allowed to participate.

During this time, the Shiaa opposition represented by Al Wefaq Society boycotted the first legislative election in 2002 under the new constitution in protest against mechanism by which the constitution was amended by the ruler without participation by any other parties. The majority Sunni political forces participated in the political process. After 4 years, precisely in 2006, the Shiaa opposition forces realized their strategic mistake when they boycotted the 2002 election and decided to participate in the political life. This decision created an internal dis-
pute among the opposition and many prominent leaders resigned from
the society and as a result the Shiaa movement was split into two groups. 
Alwefaq and its followers decided to participate in the election in order 
to make political and economic reforms through parliament. A group of 
leaders who split from Al Wefaq established a radical movement named “Haq” or right which took extreme measures against the authority and sponsored street confrontations with the security forces. Both sides suffered casualties during 5 years of confrontation.

The political reform allowed the Shiaa opposition to regain its health and continued pushing its demands thorough its radical movement. Al Wefaq participated in 2006 and provided political cover for the continuous violence in the streets. These developments and the continuous violence upset the Sunnis in Bahrain. Citizens felt the inability of parliament to make the government accountable, combat the rising corruption and limit the monopoly of wealth. The Shiaa and Sunni parliamentary blocks were engaged in endless bickering at the interest of citizens and their welfare until 2010 election which resulted in a parliament dominated by Al Wefaq with some independent Sunnis after the Sunni Islamic blocks lost their popularity among the mass and lost the support of the government.

Events in February and March 2011

At the end of 2010 a protest movement started in Tunisia when a jobless university graduate named “Mohammed Buazizi” burned himself for being mistreated by the security forces. The Tunisian revolution toppled the rule of president “Zainulabidin Ali” and its impact shifted to Egypt when a revolution broke in 25 January 2011 leading to the removal of president Hosni Mubarak from power. The whole Arab world faced a political upheaval and the Arab spring started.

In Bahrain, a new protesting movement started under the name of the 14 February youth movement demanding political and economic reforms in Bahrain. It organized a protest movement in the streets in 2011 announcing that it is a peaceful movement aimed to achieve political objectives. The Shiaa political forces and some elite political groups joined the movement which gained momentum especially with the prevailing situation in the Arab world and the vivid Arab and international media coverage at that time.

In order to tackle the looming crises facing the country a number of Sunni religious and national personalities met during 17-18 February and after deliberations they announced the creation of a national movement under the name of “The National Unity Gathering” NUG in 19 February 2011. An 18 members committee was formed to lead the movement under the leadership of Shaikh Abdulatif Al Mahmood. In February 21, 2011 a call was made for group prayer and gathering at Al Fateh Islamic Center in which 300,000 citizens participated in addition to religious minorities. NUG sent a public message to the people of Bahrain emphasizing national unity and calling for political reforms, improving the living standard and rejecting foreign intervention in local affairs. At this time, the Shiaa opposition was calling for the dismissal of the government led by Prince Khalifa Bin Salman Al Khalifa as a precondition to enter the dialogue process which was launched by the Crown Prince. Al Wefaq parliamentary block have frozen their membership in parliament. In March 2, 2011 the NUG organized a big rally under the motto “We have demands” reiterating its demands in the first message and its readiness to enter in the dialogue immediately. The rally called on the government to initiate social, political and economic reforms.

The new track followed by the Shiaa opposition movement was not in harmony with the history of the national movement particularly after the police and military forces were withdrawn from the Pearl roundabout, the center point of protests and permission to protest was given. They raised hostile slogans against Al Khalifa family, the peaceful protests shifted into violence when the Bahrain Financial Harbor road was blocked, the workers union announced a general strike (including teachers) in order to achieve civil disobedience which will achieve their objective to topple the regime and the Sulmania Medical Complex fell under their control and become a center of protests and political rhetoric. Realizing the division created in the Bahraini society, the Sunni street opted to face the strike by volunteering in order to run the county and manage the state facilities.

In light of the call made by radical Shiaa group to establish “coalition for the republic” similar to the Iranian style, the sectarian polarization in society increased particularly in the incident of “Busaiteen girl”
which was confronted by Shiaa protesters near the Bahrain Financial Harbor in March 7, 2011 and the Sunni responded to protect her by about ten thousands persons who stationed around her house and at a time the security forces and state were partially paralyzed for two weeks and people formed popular committees to protect themselves and their houses, a daring step which proved that the people Bahrain are able to protect themselves, combat any rebellion or monopoly of the national decision and face any foreign interference in its affairs, the NUG called on the Shiaa political forces to enter the dialogue initiated by the Crown Prince HRH Prince Salman Bin Hamad Al Khalifa on the basis of the seven points which were announced by him in 13 March 2011: a house of representative with full powers - fighting financial and administrative corruption - a government representing the will of the people - equitable electoral circles - citizenship - state properties - solving sectarian polarization and etc. But the call was rejected stubbornly by Al Wefaq and its associates and who refused to enter into common solution between the components of the society and the regime. They were of the believe that the regime is on the brink of collapse and the Shaia will take over. As a result, the Al Jazira Shield forces entered Bahrain in 14 March, 2011, a national safety was announced in 15 March, 2011 and the Bahrain Defense forces were mobilized in the streets to maintain security. A number of protestors were tortured to death in prisons, large number of workers were dismissed and many violation took place which was cited in details in the famous report know as “ Basyooni Report”.

The beginning and the launch

Al Fateh Youth Coalition was established during very critical historical conditions in Bahrain. After the regime regained power, one wing of it tried to manipulate the National Unity Gathering to control the new national movement which emerged as a major political and popular power. This was done by forging a movement from the traditional Sunni youth streams under the name of “Al Fateh Awakening” (21 February 2012).

In order to establish an independent movement aimed at protecting the independence of Al Fateh movement as a national and popular movement, a number of sincere young people gathered to set up a new group under the name of “Al Fateh Youth Coalition” inspired by the old national history which started in 1923 under the leadership of struggler Abdulwahab Al Zayani, Shaikh Ahmed bin Rashid bin Lahej and the historical national struggler Abdulrahman Al Bakir and up to the national leadership of the National Unity Gathering in the beginning of 2011.

Out of necessity to establish a cultural and political awareness among the people of our nation based on its history and peaceful methods while refuting the notion which says that Bahrain is comprised of majority Shia’a ruled by a minority Sunni group while the fact is that Bahrain is formed of triangle made up of the political system led by Al Khalifa family, the Sunni component and the Shia’at component and each party of this formula has its deep social and historical roots.

Due to the failure of the Bahrain National Assembly, during a decade, to make the government accountable for the wasting the national wealth and public money, in the shade of traditional currents which manipulat-ed religion to achieve worldly and personal gains, it became imperative to create a national youth movement which clings to the national and Islamic values and defends the political, social and economic interests of the people.

In the shade of the current regional situation as the country’s sovereignty, identity and security is threatened by the Iranian interference in the internal affairs of the nation, the speedy trend towards activating the constitutional principle “people are the source of power”, the wide spread of human rights culture and democracy within the Arab nations and the major changes taking place in a number of political systems in the Arab world which has its impact on the Gulf particularly on the political system in Bahrain, it was imperative to see changes in the way the country is ruled in order to allow more participation by the people. Thus, the Shia’at political forces called for an elected government and demanded changes on electoral circles in order to control and dominate the political system by a sectarian power, repeating the Iraqi experiment in which the regime followed political policies against the Sunnis by marginalizing them in the name of eradicating the Ba’ath party.

For all above reasons, it was imperative to establish a political and national movement based on the values which protect the sovereignty and
independence of the country, consolidate its Arabic and Islamic identity and its strong relation with neighboring Gulf nations which have common history and destination. This movement aims at achieving certain clear objectives for the betterment of Bahrain and its people, the stability of the political system, deterring any foreign threat and improving development and political, economic and social reforms.

In light of the internal organizational situation which stormed the National Unity Gathering, the political changes which affected its independent political line as a result of interference by some corners of the regime, Al Fateh Youth Coalition has become the political incubator that achieves independent political decision for the whole Alfateh movement and fulfils its political and economic demands within a free atmosphere away from marginalization. Thus, a number of young people, who believe in the facts and values mentioned in this document, unanimously decided to create a movement which is capable of becoming an active part in the political arena.

The vision

Building a civic society based on citizenship and values of equity to achieve social justice and sustainable development and protect human rights within a stable democratic political system which fulfils national peace and rejects the culture of marginalization.

Principles and values:

• Bahrain is an independent Arab and Islamic country protected by its people with all its sects, components and national powers.
• Rejection of external interference which compromise with national sovereignty by any regional or international power.
• Gulf unity is based on popular will and in a democratic progress context leading to all Arab nations unity.
• National unity among the components of the people with all their sects and races is a strong platform to achieve social peace and avoid sectarian fighting and division;
• Rejection of unilateral decision making, exclusion and marginalization.
• Human dignity, equity and justice are the foundation of a democratic society.
• People are the source of powers.
• Power separation is the foundation of institutional state which preserves the rule of law and independent judiciary.
• National wealth and resources are the ownership of the people. The state guarantees equal distribution according to the law.
• Rejection of all types of violence.

Objectives:

• To achieve social justice and a dignified live for citizens within a civic state which respects rights and freedoms.
• To push up sustainable development in all aspects such as social, political and economic levels.
• To create an equilibrium among all components of the nation in order to achieve stable political and social conditions.
• To combat financial and administrative corruption in all its forms and types, to spread the culture of accountability and the sanctity of public money and to legalize the mechanism of disposing with national resources and wealth.
• To spread political and legal awareness among the people and to revive and strength the values and culture of rights and avoid the culture of gifts and benevolence.
• To support the sovereignty of law and independence of judiciary.
• To defend rights of citizens in occupying public jobs according to merits and to combat nepotism, sectarianism and tribalism.
• To fight against all laws which hinder public and private freedom.
To enhance the values of citizenships and wise rule and to support political pluralism in society.

To push the reform process within the framework of agreement between the political and popular forces in order to achieve dignified living and social security as well as to maintain human rights.

To form coalitions with various political and social forces with which we have common objectives and principles.

To support a productive economy with multiple income sources.

To support training and rehabilitation policies for citizens in order to help them lead the public and private sector.

To develop the political role of the youth and students so that they become active and influential members in the political life and to defend students’ rights by developing the students’ movement, guaranteeing free political activities and forming a national students union for Bahraini students.

To support the reform and development of education in all its levels.

To support housing policies which provide dignified living for citizens.

The Three Powers

Firstly: the Executive Power:

The role of the executive power (the government) is based on serving citizens not the opposite when people serve the government. This requires a government which represents the popular will and which is accountable through parliament. This is manifested through the following principles:

- After every election, His Majesty the King is to appoint (through a royal order) the prime minister and ministries of sovereignty such as the defense, the interior and foreign affairs ministries following consultation with parliamentary blocks in the beginning of each parliamentary session.

- Except the prime minister and ministers of sovereignty who are appointed by special powers of His Majesty the King, all other ministers must be approved by the absolute majority of the members of parliament.

- His Majesty the King to issue a royal order to form the government.

- The government will not be formed according to sectarian quotas but on merit and competency standards.

- The house of representatives (parliament) shall approve the working program of the government within a certain period to be agreed upon.

- The tenure of the prime minister shall not exceed two legislative terms.

- A minister shall not remain in the government more than two legislative terms.

- The government shall continue its functions for one legislative term.

- Ministers shall be personally responsible about the work of their respective ministries.

- The government represented by its chief shall be jointly responsible before the house of representative.

- The prime minister and all ministers shall be subject to parliamentary questioning for their works.

Secondly: The Legislative Power:

The legislative power (the national council) is made of two chambers; the elected council of representatives which shall have complete powers of legislation and monitoring and the Shura council which will include persons of thoughts and experience according to the following principles.

1- A council of representatives with full powers which shall be formed and have powers as follows:

- It shall have all legislation and monitoring powers. It
shall have the right to propose laws, amend them, and question ministers individually or collectively.

- The council of representatives shall have the right of giving vote of confidence to government or withdraw it. It shall also have the right to approve the work program of the government upon its formation.

- The bureau of financial and administrative auditing shall be under the House of Representatives and the head of the bureau shall be elected by a secret vote by the council of representatives in a public session. The head of the bureau shall not be removed except by the approval of the absolute majority.

- The electoral circles are to be reconsidered in order to achieve more justice in peoples’ representation according to expansion of the population and economic development standards.

- To amend the electoral system (the two councils’ law and the law of practicing political rights in order to legalize the following:
  - freedom of free votes for all citizens (civilians and military personnel) to elect their representatives in the council of representatives. To criminalize any directives ordering military persons (staff and ranks) and their families to elect certain candidates.
  - To give freedom to military personnel to attend election gathering and forums organized by candidates in all areas without any kind of restriction and to provide them the right to debate and express their views.
  - To ban election centers inside or around military establishments.
  - To set up a high commission for election comprising of seven commissioners to be nominated by the higher judiciary council and to be appointed by a royal order for certain period during which they will not be removed from office.

2- An appointed Shura council which expresses people’s interests and all political and civic forces and to include people of competency, thoughts and experience. It must be formed as follows:

- To be comprised of number of members equaling half the number of members of the council of representatives who will be nominated by a royal order following consultation with the government, political forces and public figures.

- The shura council will perform its legislation powers in collaboration with the council of representatives where the shura council will have the right to propose and amend laws. In the event of disagreement for two times the national council will be convened.

Thirdly: the Judiciary

The judiciary is the secured fort of rights and freedoms given to the nation. It must be impartial and immune from political polarization and influences in order to maintain its independence based on the following pillars:

1- The judiciary will be led by the Higher Council of Judiciary which is formed as follows:

- The head of the constitutional court will preside over the higher council of judiciary.
- The head of the cassation court will be the deputy president of the higher council of judiciary.
- The higher council of judiciary will be formed of (11) members to be selected through direct secret ballot according to the judiciary power law.
- The council will have its own budget and will enjoy financial and administrative independency. It shall have the power to appoint and dismiss judges according to the judiciary power law.

2- The Judiciary Power Law: a new law has to be enacted to organize the judiciary power including selection of judges and public
prosecutors in order to maintain their financial, administrative and technical independency, determine their entitlements and enhance the values of their duties, form an effective judiciary inspection body, accountability and questioning, disciplinary system, dismissal by a special court for judges and to create a new lawsuit against judges.

3- Formation of courts shall be as follows:

- The constitutional court will be formed from (9) judges. The head of the court and his deputy shall be appointed by His Majesty the King while the other members will be nominated by the higher council of judiciary provided that they possess legal and constitutional competency and experience.

- Cassation Court: the head and deputy of the cassation court is to be appointed by a royal order and the court will include a number of circles (penal, civil and commercial). It will have a general assembly which will be convened to approve major judicial principles in line with comparative legal systems.

- Penal and civil courts: the higher council of judiciary will have the power to appoint judges in all penal and civil courts provided that the head of these courts shall be appointed on the basis of competency and merit.

4- The public prosecution: the higher council of judiciary will nominate three candidates for the post of public prosecutor or general attorney provided that all nominees shall receive the confidence of the council of representatives. The nomination will be submitted to the King to select one of them. The tenure of the public prosecutor will be for (8) years not renewable.

5- The administrative law: an administrative law will be enacted including the following:

- To create a new independent judiciary apparatus (administrative judiciary) under the name of state council which will settle all administrative disputes in which the government is party according to the comparative legal systems.

- The law will determine the special criteria for appointing judges, rehabilitating them and guarantee their independency.

- lawsuits which appeal against government orders will be free of charges.

Rights, duties and public freedom

Human dignity and citizens' rights can only be achieved through a state of institutions and law where all rights and public and private freedoms are protected by the law and the constitution. The view of Al Fateh Youth Coalition in this respect is as follows:

- The right of public gathering: the right to conduct gatherings and processions for individuals and groups without any conditions or limitation.

- State properties: state lands and properties are part of the public money and national wealth. The state has to protect them through complete revision of the public properties file and return back stolen lands and lands given unlawfully.

- Bahraini citizenship: to be given and withdrawn according to standards set out by the law provided that it will not be granted for political reasons which cause harm to the society's fabric.

- The right of people to carry out economic activities: to guarantee the right of people to establish small enterprises, commercial shops and the state has the duty to encourage the culture of free business according to just and easy standards.

- The right of individuals to work and combat unemployment: this can be manifested in solving the unemployment dossier, providing government support to new Bahraini workers in the labor market, creating mechanisms to guarantee job security for them, improving their living standards, providing social insurance for them in line with government workers and revising expatriate employment policies.

- Transparency of state contracts and financial transactions: this can be achieved through an effective monitoring to ensure integrity and transparency in government tenders and to link that with the financial and administrative audit bureau.
• **The national economy**: to revise the national economy’s systems and mechanisms in order to provide support to the middle class and to avoid the existence of a huge gap between an upper rich class and a lower class which suffers from poverty. We will reexamine the level of income and create a tax system on big institutions and factories (semi government and private) according to economic and legal criteria.

• **Freedom of the media**: through:
  - Providing guarantees for national press (paper and electronic), a new law for press and publication which guarantee more freedom for journalists, writers and the civic society and less restrictions and punishments.
  - Enacting a new law which organizes the social media in a way that protects public freedom of publication and information exchange and protects privacy according to international legal criteria.

  **Freedom of political activities and parties**: to transform organized political activities from the stage of political societies to the stage of political parties in order to synchronize with a government formed by popular will which was proposed earlier in this project. Moreover, serious guarantees will be provided to political parties’ media. Civil employees working in the ministries and military and security apparatus will be given the right to join any political party of their choice.

**Freedom to form civic society institutions**: the development of society and the democratic process in a civic state depend, in one way or another, on the freedom enjoyed by civic societies in all levels and forms. In this regard, freedom must be provided to individuals and groups to organize themselves and practice independent activities with less government restrictions in this respect. This can be made by enacting a new law which organizes the activities of civic, social and sports societies of all types.

**Freedom of unions**: rights of multiple labor and profession unions will be guaranteed for all unions. A law will be proposed which guarantee government workers to form unions which protect their professional and job interests.

This manifesto adopted by Al Fateh Youth Coalition comes at a time when Bahrain is passing through a critical stage and aftermath the unfortunate political events which happened since February 2011. Al Fateh Youth Coalition believes that this project will lead to the development and progress of the political process, taking into consideration the special nature of Bahrain and the surrounding regional situation. It is a project which can be developed and updated according to the political events as each stage has its own local, regional and international conditions.

May God protect the nation from all evil and harm
Long live the free and proud people of Bahrain