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Note by the Secretary-General

1. The Secretary-General refers to his note to the Security Council of 28 March 1970 (S/9726) concerning the exercise of his good offices in a matter pertaining to Bahrain. He is happy to inform the members of the Council that the Good Offices Mission led by his Personal Representative, Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, which has been in Bahrain to ascertain the wishes of the people of Bahrain in pursuance of the request of the Governments of Iran and the United Kingdom, has completed its work and has presented its report to the Secretary-General.
2. This report, in the exact text in which it was submitted to the Secretary-General by Mr. Winspeare, is presented herewith to the Security Council, as called for by the provisions of the agreement between these two parties.
3. In this regard, members of the Council will recall that in the text of the announcement of the mission, set forth in the Secretary-General's note of 28 March 1970, it was stated that: "The Personal Representative of the Secretary-General is to submit his findings in the form of a report to the Secretary-General who will, in turn, as agreed by the parties concerned, transmit them to the Security Council for its consideration and endorsement." More specifically, the Permanent Representative of Iran in his letter to the Secretary-General of 9 March stated: "My Government is prepared to accept the results of your findings, after and subject to their endorsement by the Security Council of the United Nations." Similarly, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom in his letter of 20 March to the Secretary-General wrote: "The Government of the United Kingdom also note that the Imperial Government of Iran are prepared to accept the results of your findings in this matter, after and subject to their endorsement by the Security Council of the United Nations. I confirm that the Government of the United Kingdom are similarly prepared to accept your findings."

4. With the submission of this report, the responsibilities of the Secretary-General in the exercise of his good offices with regard to Bahrain have been fully discharged.
5. Copies of the report of the Secretary-General's Personal Representative have been given to the Permanent Representatives of Iran and the United Kingdom for their information.
6. It is appropriate in this note to express first of all to the Governments of Iran and the United Kingdom the commendation due them for the initiative they have taken and for the confidence they have thereby shown in the United Nations by seeking, as called for by the Charter, a peaceful resolution of a difference. I should also like to thank them for the unfailing co-operation and courtesy they have extended to me and to my representatives in the operation. I wish also to express my gratitude for the fine co-operation received in Bahrain by Mr. Winspeare and his mission. Finally, I would wish to record my satisfaction and appreciation for the objective, wise and efficient way in which my Personal Representative for the Good Offices Mission in Bahrain, Mr. Winspeare, has carried out this delicate responsibility.
7. It is understood from the parties that a formal approach to the Council for its consideration of this matter may be expected shortly.

REPORT OF THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
IN CHARGE OF THE GOOD OFFICES MISSION, BAHRAIN

Appointment and terms of reference

1. On 20 March 1970 you designated me as your Personal Representative in the exercise of your good offices with a view to ascertaining the wishes of the people of Bahrain regarding their status.
2. You informed me that you had agreed to exercise your good offices at the request of the Government of Iran with the concurrence of the Government of the United Kingdom.
3. The Terms of Reference as agreed by the parties were:

"Having regard to the problem created by the differing views of the parties concerned about the status of Bahrain and the need to find a solution to this problem in order to create an atmosphere of tranquillity, stability and friendliness throughout the area, the Secretary-General of the United Nations is requested by the parties concerned to send a Personal Representative to ascertain the wishes of the people of Bahrain."

According to your instructions my basic guide would be these terms of reference, bearing in mind at all times the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

4. You advised me further that the parties concerned had agreed to rely entirely on your judgement in regard to the method, or methods, to be used in carrying out the task.
5. You instructed me to proceed to Bahrain and to seek such information, make such inquiries and hold such consultations with the people of Bahrain, leaders of organizations, societies, institutions and groups, ordinary citizens and other persons as in my judgement might be useful in fulfilling my assignment. In this connexion I was given a list, made available to you, of organizations and institutions in Bahrain, from which to select those bodies providing the best and fullest cross-section of opinion among the people of Bahrain.
6. You told me that you had been given the assurance that I would have ready and full access to all persons I might wish to see and that similarly access to me would be assured for all, that I might hold consultations in private and in confidence, and that there would be no adverse consequences for anyone as a result of meeting me.

7. Finally, I was requested to prepare and submit to you for transmission to the Security Council a report setting out the results of my mission.

* * *

8. Prior to departure I assembled for briefing in Geneva the five secretariat members assigned to assist me in this mission.^{1/} An advance party led by the Principal Secretary left Geneva to arrive in Bahrain on 29 March in order to make the necessary preliminary arrangements. I arrived twenty-four hours later on 30 March. Having completed my mission I returned to Geneva on 18 April. Four members of my staff remained a further two days to receive communications and conclude the administrative affairs of the mission.

9. I wish to express my appreciation for the co-operation I received from all quarters during my mission. After nearly three weeks of intensive contacts with the people of Bahrain, I was particularly impressed by their dignity and courtesy at all times.

Background information

10. As expressed in the terms of reference, the mission entrusted to me arises from a difference of opinion between the Government of Iran and the Government of the United Kingdom over the status of Bahrain. Since my task was not to assess or discuss this difference, it should suffice to record briefly the positions of the two Governments.^{2/}

1/ F.T. Liu, Principal Secretary
Erik Jensen, Political Officer
G. Khouri, Public Relations Officer and Interpreter
A. Tholle, Administrative Assistant
L. Comensoli, Security Officer

2/ The position of both Governments was set out in detail on several occasions: see for instance the letters addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations by the then Persian Government on 2 August 1928 (Official Records of the League of Nations, September 1928, pp. 1360-1363) and by the British Government on 18 February 1929 (ibid., May 1929, pp. 790-793).

11. In the view of the Government of Iran, Bahrain is a part of Iran and only "the protection which Britain has asserted for more than a century over these Islands has prevented Iran from exercising her legitimate rights there". A bill to make Bahrain the fourteenth province of Iran giving Bahrain the right to return a deputy was introduced into the Majlis in November 1957. Consequently, the Government of Iran do not recognize the "authorities of Bahrain".

12. In the view of the United Kingdom, Bahrain is "a sovereign Arab state with which the Government of the United Kingdom are in special treaty relations". These "special treaty relations" relate to the formal treaties of 1820, 1847, 1856, 1861 and the Exclusive Agreements of 1880 and 1892 between H.M. Government and the Ruler of Bahrain. From 1820 the Government of the United Kingdom have acted on the assumption that Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom and have recognized the authority of its Rulers.

13. It may be of interest to mention that Bahrain was admitted as an associate member of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on 26 October 1966, of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in November 1967, and of the World Health Organization on 8 May 1968.

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14. To place the activities of the mission in perspective, it is important to note certain characteristics of the geography, population and economy of Bahrain.

15. Bahrain is an archipelago of over thirty islands - many extremely small and some little more than sandbars - lying midway in the Persian Gulf some fifteen miles at the nearest point from Saudi Arabia, about eighteen miles from the tip of the Qatar peninsula and approximately 150 miles from the coast of Iran. Only five islands are inhabited but nearly all the population lives on three.^{3/} Bahrain itself, on which the capital of Manama is situated, is by far the largest in area, approximately thirty miles long and twenty miles in width at the widest

^{3/} Of the other two, Nabi Salih island has a very small population and Jida island is used as a penal settlement.

point. The other two, Muharraq and Sitra, are linked to Bahrain by, respectively, a causeway and a bridge. Together the three form a complex covering an area of approximately 226 square miles.

16. The climate is extremely dry with the average rainfall of less than three inches a year, but there are many fresh-water springs in the northern part of Bahrain and the coastal areas of Muharraq and Sitra. It is in these parts that the population has settled and grown. The remaining areas are largely desert and virtually uninhabited. Consequently, all the important towns and centres and nearly all the outlying villages were within ten miles of the mission's offices in Manama. The most remote, the fishing village of Jau, was less than twenty miles distant. The good communications system ensured easy access to and from most populated areas and none were difficult of access. This made the work of my mission very much easier.

17. The population has increased at a remarkable rate in recent years. Between 1941 at the time of the first census and 1965 at the last census, it jumped from 89,970 to 182,203. By the middle 80s the planning authorities estimate a population of 300,000 and at this rate of increase Bahrain is understood to have approximately 200,000 inhabitants at the present time.

18. The 1965 census figure showed the average age of Bahraini citizens to be 25.7 years; 69.4 per cent of the total population was under 30 years of age. The present population over 21 is estimated to number approximately 33,000 men and 32,000 women (Bahraini citizens). It is worth observing that both primary and secondary education throughout Bahrain are free and, according to the latest census, school attendance by 1965 was 87 per cent for boys and 57 per cent for girls in the age bracket 7-15 years and has increased in the subsequent period. This is likely to be a factor of some significance in the development of a Bahraini culture and national identity.

19. Of the 1965 population of 182,203, 143,814 (79 per cent) were classed as Bahrainis. The remainder (aliens) were Omanis and Muscatis (12,628 or 6.9 per cent), Iranians (7,223 or 4 per cent), Indians (5,383 or 3 per cent), Pakistanis (3,932 or 2.2 per cent) and various other nationalities (9,223 or 5 per cent).

20. A number of races have contributed to the making of the Bahraini people. It is generally recognized that the majority of Bahrainis are of Arab stock, but many

descendants of non-Arab transients (Iranians, Indians, Pakistanis, Africans and others) who chose to settle have been assimilated. Virtually all the Bahrainis are Muslims: about half belong to the Shia sect; the remainder, with a few exceptions, are Sunni.

21. As a trading and entrepôt centre Bahrain has long had and continues to have a significant number of transients. There has long been a trend to integration between these and the local people, including intermarriage, which was made easy in the case of Bahrainis of Iranian extraction by the common faith in Islam. It is consequently very difficult to define precisely Bahrainis of Iranian origin or to estimate their number. Those sources which are likely to be best informed give estimates varying from a minimum of 7,000 persons to a maximum of 15,000, whose cultural leanings - notably the use of the Persian language at home - indicate their Iranian background.

22. Bahrain has always had a large number of trading partners. This remains the case as the official import and export figures show.^{4/}

23. The economy of Bahrain was greatly influenced by the discovery of oil in the early 1930s. The deposits are of nothing like the magnitude known to exist in some neighbouring Gulf States - production in 1969 was estimated at 3.8 million tons - but a large refinery built just before the Second World War, with a capacity of 250,000 barrels per day, also processes crude oil piped undersea from Saudi Arabia. Among recent developments is an aluminium factory at present under construction. When this is complete it is expected to produce 90,000 tons of aluminium annually and will make possible the exploitation of a major natural gas deposit.

4/ In 1969 total imports amounted to 57,939,000 Bahrain Dinars (1 Bahrain Dinar = \$US2.10). Those came from the United Kingdom (24.6 per cent), Japan (14.3 per cent), the United States of America (10.7 per cent), China (6.6 per cent), India (4.9 per cent), Germany (Federal Republic of) (4.1 per cent), Pakistan (3.9 per cent), Hong Kong (3.9 per cent), Holland (2.9 per cent), Italy (2.2 per cent), France (1.6 per cent), Iran (1.6 per cent), Iraq (1.1 per cent), other countries (17.7 per cent).

Exports and re-exports (excluding oil) totalling 19,874,000 Bahrain Dinars went to Saudi Arabia (49.9 per cent), Qatar (11.6 per cent), Kuwait (8.7 per cent), Dubai (6.3 per cent), Abu Dhabi (4.9 per cent), Iran (3.3 per cent), Japan (2.4 per cent), the United States of America (1.7 per cent), Muscat (1.7 per cent), Ships' Stores (6.1 per cent), others (3.2 per cent).

Activities of the mission

24. On arrival at the airport I made a statement, explaining the nature and scope of the mission. I drew attention to the terms of reference by which I was to be guided at all times, and made it known that I would meet and consult with the people of Bahrain: organizations, societies, institutions and groups as well as citizens and others, as required.
25. I added that all concerned would have "ready and free access to my mission" and would be able "to express their views on the question at issue freely, in private and in confidence". I announced that an office was being set up in Manama and arrangements would be made by my staff to ensure ready and free access by all to the mission in an orderly manner.
26. Finally, I said that in order to perform my task to the fullest extent I would take every opportunity to meet the people of Bahrain in outlying centres also and concluded with an assurance that my mission was concerned only with the wishes of the people of Bahrain on the question at issue.
27. This statement was broadcast in full and in summary the same day and published in the local press in full the next morning. A week later, I repeated through the local news media my assurance of ready and free access and stated again that any persons wishing to see me could do so in private and in confidence.

* * *

28. Consultations with groups began on the afternoon of my arrival. The original list of organizations and institutions was expanded to include a number of additional "clubs" and professional groups. To the best of my knowledge the final list included all associations and organized groups in Bahrain (see annex). I had decided not to select but to receive representatives of all the organizations listed since the representatives themselves, as well as the organizations they represented, appeared to offer a good cross-section in age, activity, status and geographical distribution.

29. These groups and organizations can usefully be divided into the following categories: religious leaders, municipal councils and other administrative committees, welfare societies, clubs and other community centres as well as professional groups, sports and recreational associations.

30. There are six municipal councils in Bahrain (Manama, Muharraq, Hidd, Rafaa, Jidhafs and Sitra) the members of which are partially elected and partially nominated. Associated with these are a number of councils and committees responsible for specific sectors (agriculture and water, education, health, water supply, rural affairs and minors' estates), whose membership is drawn from the various municipalities.

31. The overwhelming majority of Bahrain's population is Muslim and the religious leaders interviewed represented both the Sunni and Shia sects. The Sunni and Shia Waqf Committees are properly welfare bodies with a pronounced religious slant.

32. Apart from these there are several organizations whose principal objective is social welfare. They include the Red Crescent Society and Womens' Associations.

33. Of particular interest in the Bahraini context are the many "clubs" which are found throughout the islands, in both urban and rural areas. The great majority draw their membership from persons of all backgrounds and function as focal points in community activities.

34. The emphasis is generally on youth and most clubs encourage sport; however, the cultural and social aspects are considered as important and these include a lively concern to eliminate illiteracy and stimulate community action in the improvement of social conditions. In this capacity the club commonly becomes the centre for community initiative and its representatives the spokesmen for the village in dealings with the authorities.

35. There are also, especially in the towns, clubs and associations which cater more specifically to special interest groups: for example, sports, musical, cultural and professional societies.

36. Representatives, at least three from each organization, came not only from the principal towns of Manama and Muharraq, but also from outlying villages and

centres throughout the islands.^{5/} In almost every case they assured me that they had had meetings, consulted with and received briefs from the full membership of their organizations.

37. In order to fill the few gaps remaining in the coverage of the inhabited parts of Bahrain, I visited the villages of Askar, Jau and Jasrah. In each village I met with the mukhtar (village head), or his representative, and assembled members of the community.

38. I also decided to visit certain organizations, whose representatives had already been to see me, to establish to my own satisfaction that the views presented were in fact those of the membership as a whole. These included the Municipal Councils of Manama and Sitra, the Bahrain Chamber of Commerce and Industry and important clubs. I was also invited to speak at the Bahrain Rotary Club and thus had the opportunity to meet a large number of Bahrainis from many walks of life.

39. As announced on my arrival and subsequently repeated in all local communications media, individuals were advised of their right to free and ready access to my mission. Although some were seen by appointment during the first few days, the majority came after publication of the reminder when nearly a week was set aside to receive them. In doubtful cases they were required to show proof of Bahraini nationality. Names, however, were recorded only when voluntarily offered. All were asked to give their age, profession and place of residence. They came from different backgrounds and areas and many claimed to speak not only on their own behalf but for their families, friends and colleagues as well.

^{5/} In addition to the large number of districts and populated areas which fall within Manama and Muharraq municipalities, people came from the following other villages and centres:

Aali	Jazeeraat	Nuwaidrat
Bani Jamra	Jidhafs	Qalali
Barbar	Jufair	Rafaa
Budayya	Karzakkan	Samaheej
Daih	Khamees	Sanabes
Dair	Ma'ameer	Shhrakkan
Daraz	Malkeyya	Sitra
Dar Kulaib	Manama	Toobli
Hidd	Muharraq	Zallaq
Isa Town		

40. In the course of every interview the terms of reference were read or paraphrased and fully explained when necessary. The questions put were based exclusively on the terms of reference and ample time was given for the replies.

41. When replies strayed to other aspects of interest to Bahrainis or to internal and personal affairs, there was never any difficulty in bringing the question at issue back into focus. The natural courtesy and politeness of the people made interviews and meetings easy and orderly. I conducted all consultations personally assisted by the mission's interpreter and my other colleagues.

Findings

42. Almost all the replies received by every method of inquiry had these common denominators:

- First, they gave credit to the Governments concerned for asking the Secretary-General to use his good offices and were explicit in hoping that the cloud of the Iranian claim would be removed once and for all. This was never accompanied by the slightest bitterness or hostility towards Iran. On the contrary the wording of the terms of reference was used spontaneously to express the wish of all for tranquillity, stability and friendliness in the area. Once the question of the claim had been settled closer relations with other States in the Gulf, including of course Iran, were expected to follow.

- Secondly, the Bahrainis I met were virtually unanimous in wanting a fully independent sovereign State. The great majority added that this should be an Arab State.

43. Marginal to these common characteristics a variety of viewpoints were expressed, primarily though not exclusively in interviews with individuals. None could be said to constitute a trend. Some voices were heard in favour of a special relationship with Iran - failing acceptance of the Iranian claim - as a means of guaranteeing the independence of Bahrain and for its protection. Others wished for the same reason that the present special relationship with the United Kingdom should continue. Isolated individuals expressed support for union or association with Iran and among the few written communications received there were instances of similar opinions.

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44. In assessing these findings I tried to examine specifically those factors to which differences of opinion might be ascribed.
45. There were no sectarian differences on the point at issue. Even the religious leaders of the Sunni and Shia sects made a point of being received together. The representatives of the religious Waqf welfare committees, which are organized along sectarian lines, were heard separately but expressed no difference of opinion even in detail.
46. There was no significant distinction between the views of people from urban and rural areas, although there was a slight difference of emphasis. The urban population seemed more keenly aware of the Iranian claim and consequently more explicit in wishing a settlement. Representatives of rural communities on the other hand concentrated almost exclusively on their own Arab identity and the "Arabism" of Bahrain. These factors were not the object of my questions, but to many villagers they seemed nevertheless a sufficient expression of their wish for independence as part of the Arab nation.
47. A more pronounced awareness of a distinctively Bahraini identity was found among the higher educated. In other respects there were no noticeable differences between the better educated and those with little formal schooling.
48. Among the professions, the important trading community showed particular interest in the removal of the obstacle represented by the Iranian claim as a means of improving external relations, not least with Iran.
49. Age was evidently of no significance, although the young were perhaps more vocal in their views on the status of Bahrain. Most of them conceived this in the wider context of other Arab States, particularly those of the area.
50. Women for the most part have a retiring role and rarely participate in public life. Only a few were interviewed, but these were well informed and very articulate. Their opinions coincided with those of the men.
51. More marked differences were noticeable between Bahrainis of different ethnic extraction. The few who could be recognized as originally from Africa, India and Pakistan had apparently been more fully assimilated and their views could not be distinguished. Among those of Iranian descent were a number whose wish for an "independent, sovereign state" was qualified by the deliberate omission of "Arab". But almost all Bahraini citizens of Iranian cultural backgrounds made it clear that

they expected to benefit from independence, assuming that their own position would be consolidated as citizens of a sovereign State. The already extensive degree of integration was thought likely to increase following independence. Finally, they expressed the hope that independence would lead to closer co-operation with other States in the Gulf, Iran among them.

Conclusion

52. I am confident that in the circumstances of Bahrain the methods followed were appropriate and fully sufficient to ascertain the wishes of the people of Bahrain on the question at issue.

53. I believe that the total number of persons whose views were presented to me either collectively or by individuals was itself adequate.

54. The larger organizations afforded a comprehensive cross-section of Bahraini society. The information they supplied was effectively supplemented by the representatives of smaller organizations whose interests were sectoral and limited.

55. Outside visits and interviews with individuals provided me with both a check and random sample of opinion valuable in verifying my conclusions. Although all had ample time and opportunity to come to see me, I also accepted written communications from those unable to meet me.

56. Ready and free access was assured at all times. All consultations took place in private and in confidence. To the best of my knowledge no one was intimidated, influenced or prevented from communicating with my mission. There were no disturbances and no demonstrations. The inquiry was conducted throughout in a peaceful and orderly manner

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57. My consultations have convinced me that the overwhelming majority of the people of Bahrain wish to gain recognition of their identity in a fully independent and sovereign State free to decide for itself its relations with other States.

Annex

List of councils, committees, associations and other
recognized organizations and groups in Bahrain

Municipal councils

Manama Municipal Council
Muharraq Municipal Council
Hidd Municipal Council
Rafaa Municipal Council
Jidhafs Municipal Council
Sitra Municipal Council

Central councils and committees

Education Council
Health Council
Agriculture and Water Committee
Rural Affairs Committee
Water Supply Committee
Minors' Estates Department Council

Welfare organizations

Sunni Waqf Committee
Shia Waqf Committee
Child Welfare and Motherhood Society
Bahrain Young Ladies Association
Bahrain Red Crescent Society

Other central organizations and professional groups

Bahrain Chamber of Commerce and Industry
Association of Bahrain National Clubs
Bahrain Sports Association
Bahrain Writers' Society

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Other central organizations and professional groups
(continued)

Co-operative Compensation Society
Bahrain Artists' Society
Religious leaders
Lawyers
Pharmacists

Clubs

Urouba Club, Manama
Alumni Club, Manama
Ahli Club, Manama
Bahrain Club, Manama
Eslah Club, Manama
Nusoor Club, Manama
Jaza'er Club, Manama
Ettefaq Club, Manama
Sho'aa Club, Manama
Shurooq Club, Manama
Wel'ah Club, Manama
Ferdousi Club, Manama
Yarmouk Club, Manama
Tersana Club, Manama
Aasifa Club, Manama
Neil Club, Manama
Om-al-Hasam Club, Manama
Taj Club, Manama
Qodhabia Club, Manama
Na'aim Club, Manama
Busaiteen Club, Muharraq
Ettehad Club, Manama
Nasr Club, Muharraq
KhaLeej Club, Muharraq

Clubs (continued)

Nahj Club, Muharraq
Sho'alat Al-Shabab Club, Muharraq
Shat Al Arab Club, Muharraq
Muharraq Cultural Club, Muharraq
Taqaddom Club, Muharraq
Zallaq Club, Zallaq
Aali Club, Aali
West Rafaa Club, Rafaa
Isa Town Club, Isa Town
Daih Club, Daih
Khamees Club, Khamees
Safaa Club, Daih
Jidhafs Club, Jidhafs
Barbar Club, Barbar
Sanabes Club, Sanabes
Daraz Club, Daraz
Shabab Al Daraz Club, Daraz
Daraz Sa'eqa Club, Daraz
Budayya Club, Buyayya
Ershad Club, Bani Jamra
Toobli Club, Toobli
Nabeeh Saleh Club, Jazeerat
Dar Kulaib Club, Dar Kulaib
Nuwaidrat Club, Nuwaidrat
Ma'ameer Club, Ma'ameer
East Rafaa Club, Rafaa
Malkeyya Club, Malkeyya
Sitra Club, Sitra
Karzakkan Club, Karzakkan
Halah Club, Muharraq
Ta'aarof Club, Muharraq

Clubs (continued)

Jeel Club, Muharraq
Jazeera Club, Muharraq
Murreekh Club, Muharraq
Hidd Nahdha Club, Hidd
Dair Club, Dair, Muharraq
Samaheej Club, Samaheej
Hedaya Club, Samaheej
Qalali Club, Qalali, Muharraq
Lulu Club, Manama
Watani Club, Manama
Yaqadha Club, Manama
Jufair Club, Jufair, Manama
Arabi Club, Manama
Ettehad Al-Reef Club, Shahrakkan

Sports teams and others

Nujoom Musical Band, Muharraq
Khulood Sports Team, Manama
Nahdha Sports Team, Muharraq
Hilal Sports Team, Muharraq
Wehda Sports Team, Muharraq
Kawkab Al-Rafaa Sports Team, Rafaa
Shabab Al Budayya Sports Team, Budayya
Nuwaidrat Sports Team, Nuwaidrat
Muharraq Sports Team, Muharraq
Arad Sports Team, Muharraq
Anwar Musical Band, Manama
