



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

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NOTE

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FIFTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 11 May 1970, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Jacques KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET
(France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Burundi, China, Colombia, Finland, France, Nepal, Nicaragua, Poland, Sierra Leone, Spain, Syria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1536)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Question of Bahrain:
 - (a) Letter dated 4 May 1970 from the Permanent Representative of Iran to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9779);
 - (b) Letter dated 5 May 1970 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9783);
 - (c) Note by the Secretary-General (S/9772).

Expression of thanks to retiring Presidents

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before we take up the agenda I should like to convey the Council's thanks to my two predecessors Ambassador Vallejo Arbelaez—who, as he had wished, had an active but peaceful month of March, and whose presidency did honour to his country, Colombia, and demonstrated once again his devotion to the cause of justice and peace—and the representative of Finland, who did not have occasion to convene an official meeting of the Council during the month of April, although the absence of official meetings does not signify an absence of work: indeed I would be tempted to say that the contrary is true. Ambassador Jakobson initiated many contacts and consultations with great intelligence and tact; his mediation was particularly effective, and it is right that we should be grateful to him.

2. As President of the Council I should like to ask the delegation of France to convey our great regards and sincere remembrance to Mr. Armand Bérard who, during the course of his two missions, so often sat in this Council and gave it the benefit of this remarkable personality and his invaluable experience.

3. The Council will, I am sure, allow me to excuse myself from introducing his successor. Confidentially, I believe that I can assure you of his devotion to the United Nations, of his conviction of the role that it has to play in the establishment of peace, security and justice between peoples by means of assistance to the less developed countries and, finally, of his willingness to work with every one of you to bring a little closer to realization that ideal which is our common heritage.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question of Bahrain:

- (a) Letter dated 4 May 1970 from the Permanent Representative of Iran to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9779);
- (b) Letter dated 5 May 1970 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9783);
- (c) Note by the Secretary-General (S/9772).

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In a letter dated 7 May 1970 [S/9784] the representative of Iran requested to be allowed to participate in the discussion of the question before the Council. If there is no objection, I shall assume that the Council agrees to invite the representative of Iran to participate in the debate, without the right to vote, in accordance with the rules of procedure and the practice of the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. M. Vakil (Iran) took a place at the Security Council table.

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In a letter dated 8 May 1970 [S/9788] the representative of Southern Yemen requested to be allowed to participate in the discussion of the question before the Council. If there is no objection, I shall assume that the Council agrees to invite the representative of Southern Yemen to participate in the debate, without the right to vote, in accordance with the rules of procedure and the practice of the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. I. S. Abdulla (Southern Yemen) took a place at the Security Council table.

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Council is meeting today at the request of the representatives of Iran and the United Kingdom to examine the question of Bahrain on the basis of the report of the personal representative of the Secretary-General [see S/9772].

7. Following consultations conducted over the past week, a draft resolution relating to this question has been prepared [S/9792]. Since the members of the Council have had several days to acquaint themselves with this text I propose, with their permission, to put it to the vote during this meeting.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.¹

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now give the floor to the first speaker on my list, the representative of Iran.

9. Mr. VAKIL (Iran): Mr. President, though I am here by invitation, the Council will, I feel sure, permit me first to say a word of congratulation to you on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council. My admiration and my respect for your great ability and fine qualities of character derive from a friendship begun many years ago in the service of the United Nations. It is matched by the happy relations between our two countries, which go back to the time, in the year 1295, when the Iranian ambassador was first received in the court of Philippe Le Bel. Incidentally, the letter which the ambassador brought from the Shah is preserved to this day in your Archives Nationales. Finally, let me express my confident belief that your presidency of the Council will display such wisdom and impartiality as will be a source of inspiration to all of us in the vital work of the United Nations.

10. I should like first of all to thank the Security Council for affording me this opportunity to say a few words on behalf of my Government in connexion with the decision which the Council has just taken to endorse the report of the Secretary-General's personal representative. With the taking of this decision, the long-standing dispute between Iran and the United Kingdom over Bahrain has come to an end, both sides having agreed to defer to the wishes of the inhabitants of Bahrain, as ascertained by the Secretary-General, if his findings were endorsed by the Security Council. The reduction of tension and the peaceful adjustment of an international difference thus achieved are an outcome which all who cherish the principles of the Charter must welcome.

11. The record which is being made today of this settlement of the dispute between the United Kingdom and Iran would be incomplete without some account of why we have brought it to the United Nations, inasmuch as the case itself is *sui generis*.

12. Bahrain was separated from Iran 150 years ago as a result of the colonialist policy of the British Government of those days, whose aim was the establishment of military bases in the Persian Gulf area. Now that the era of colonialism is ending, and now that the Government of the United Kingdom has decided to withdraw its forces from the regions east of Suez, it was of the utmost importance that the question of Bahrain be solved in such a manner as to contribute to creating a climate of peace, friendship and stability in the Persian Gulf. It was my Government's wish that the solution of the question should be one acceptable to the inhabitants of Bahrain and not contrary to their wishes. Much as we wished to see Bahrain reunited with us, we contemplated only a voluntary reunion, not one involving a resort to force, which was likely to foster resentment and encounter resistance.

13. It was in the light of the foregoing considerations that my Government decided to re-examine the matter of Bahrain in all its aspects and to seek a solution in a spirit of realism and good-will. As a founding Member of the United Nations animated by respect for and faith in the principles of the Charter—foremost among them the principle of non-resort to force in international relations contained in Article 2, paragraph 4—the Government of Iran was committed to seeking peaceful means of resolving the problem of Bahrain.

14. Accordingly, after obtaining the acquiescence of the United Kingdom Government, we requested the Secretary-General to use his good offices with a view to ascertaining the true wishes of the inhabitants of Bahrain concerning their future status. The Secretary-General, to whose wisdom, impartiality and skill we pay tribute, acceded to the request and named Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi as his personal representative for the purpose of proceeding to Bahrain and ascertaining the wishes of its inhabitants. Mr. Winspeare's findings are contained in the report which the Secretary-General has submitted to the Security Council.

15. Had the people of Bahrain wished to reunite with us, my Government was ready to shoulder the burdens and make the sacrifices that would doubtless have been required to make the reunion a happy one. They have expressed the wish for a separate future. The Security Council has endorsed the report of the Secretary-General's personal representative. We abide by this outcome. My Government instructs me to say that we wish the people of Bahrain well, and look forward to a future of co-operation and intimate relations with them in the region in which we are destined to live together. Given the close ties of ethnic kinship, culture and religion which bind us to the people of Bahrain, we are certain—and it is on this assurance that we have acted—that the basic human rights of persons of Iranian origin in the islands will be respected and safeguarded as fully as the rights of other inhabitants. It would be an unhappy outcome if the faith shown by my Government were to be disappointed in this respect.

¹ See resolution 278 (1970).

16. Finally, it gives me much pleasure to say that with the Council's decision, a major obstacle has been removed from the path of fruitful co-operation in the Persian Gulf.

17. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, first let me express our gratitude to the Ambassadors of Colombia and Finland—our previous Presidents—and also ask you to send to our good friend, Ambassador Bérard, our highest regards. I also wish to take this opportunity to express delight at being able to welcome the new Ambassador of France on his return to the United Nations. Those of us who knew him well realize how fitting it is that on his return he should step straight to the presidency of the Council, for he is a man who assumes and exercises authority naturally. He is destined, I am sure, to be an outstanding leader amongst us. The grasp of his intellect is matched by the incisiveness of his eloquence. He will be impatient, I have no doubt, with procrastination and contemptuous of prevarication, restless in the search for agreement and always eager to translate clear words into strong action.

18. I myself count it as one of the happiest days in my experience of the United Nations that I can resume in this Council and outside it the association and friendship with you, Mr. President, which I enjoyed years ago—an association and friendship with a man I so warmly admire.

19. I might perhaps add with reference to relations between your country and mine that since we first worked together nearly ten years ago there have been occasionally some minor differences between France and Great Britain—differences in approach, differences of emphasis, some differences of presentation perhaps. I never regarded them as fundamental or permanent. And now, I am happy to say, we rejoice on both sides of the Channel to see those differences diminish and see them disappear. I prophesy that the seventies will be a period in which our two countries will advance in closer understanding and co-operation than ever before.

20. I am glad, too, that at this first meeting under your presidency we should respond to your leadership in unanimous agreement and in happy harmony. What a fortunate augury!

21. It is unnecessary to speak for long about the vote we took today. The task is completed, the object attained, success achieved. We shall not add to it or improve it by long dissertations now. Indeed what we say might possibly take away from what we have done.

22. We should not underestimate the value or the importance of the accomplishment. Our purpose here at the United Nations must always be to seek agreement. That is our aim and that is our justification. We all know very well that when we agree there is

no limit to what we can achieve. We know equally well that when we disagree, to our humiliation, we achieve nothing.

23. So in this matter with which we have dealt today in agreement, we have, I believe, a classic example of how the peaceful settlement of disputes should be won. All of us know very well that such results are not attained without long, patient, careful, indefatigable effort. I readily acknowledge our debt to all those who have made such a prolonged and persistent effort on this occasion.

24. Here we had a set of circumstances not unfamiliar to those of us who have worked in the Council in the past. We had a deeply rooted dispute. There were strongly held views. At times the prospect of agreement seemed remote. There were many halts and checks along the way. We knew that if a full and agreed settlement could be reached there opened out inviting possibilities of progress and development, and friendships which would spread widely. We knew also that failure to agree would create suspicion and mistrust and perhaps disruption to the detriment of the people directly concerned and to the despair of all those who dearly wished to see a peaceful settlement. So the stakes were high.

25. Happily there was a number of fortunate and convergent and favourable factors. I need refer to them only shortly but all of them contributed to success.

26. I might first of all, with the modesty for which my countrymen are famous, refer to the factor of British restraint. This is a quality which has made a valuable contribution in so many international settlements. And I hope to give another exhibition of that quality of restraint by refraining, if I can, from replying to any provocative statements which may be made later in this debate. Today we do not reply in discord: today we rejoice together in unity. And I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude and admiration to the Ambassador of Iran who has spoken to us today in terms of such restraint and, to use his words, realism and friendship.

27. Having said that, I wish at once to recognize how important was the statement made by His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Iran in New Delhi on 4 January 1969 when he said—I am not quoting his exact words—that Iran would accept an expression of the will of the people of Bahrain. That was an act of statesmanship for which every one of us should be duly and respectfully grateful. It was that act which opened the door to the settlement we celebrate today. Nor should I fail to pay tribute to His Imperial Majesty's trusted advisers, not least to Ambassador Mehdi Vakil himself, who have shown throughout the quick understanding and diplomatic skill of which they are masters.

28. I go on to express our admiration to the Secretary-General—and those working closely with him—for his readiness to respond to the request which came from

those directly concerned. Sometimes we are apt to take the understanding and the impartiality and the persistence of the Secretary-General for granted. His qualities are amongst the principal assets of the international world in which we live. We pay tribute to his indefatigable efforts in the cause of peace. It is well for the world that while others inflame disputes and embitter conflicts he and his small company are constantly searching for the common ground of agreement, applying the test of international advantage.

29. We also pay our respectful tributes to the Secretary-General's personal representative, whom we are happy to see with us here today, who has given us such a lucid and comprehensive report—a model, if I may say so, of what such a report should be: concise and convincing, including an admirably clear statement of the whole problem. No one can doubt the thoroughness of his inquiries, and no one can doubt the fairness of his conclusions.

30. While all have made their contribution, and while all can share in the satisfaction of achievement, perhaps most of all we should congratulate the people of Bahrain. In a matter in which they were so deeply concerned, a matter which could bring to their relations with their neighbours an end to suspicion and the disappearance of friction and a new era of fruitful and friendly co-operation, in a matter in which indeed their whole future was at risk, they have shown throughout a dignity and courtesy and steadiness and confidence which are beyond praise.

31. So the favourable factors have converged and met: British restraint, Iranian magnanimity, United Nations impartiality, Italian fairness of judgement, and Arab dignity and self-respect. An irresistible combination.

32. I am sure that every one of us here in this Council, and indeed in the wider membership of the United Nations, will join today in a universal expression of good-will towards the people of Bahrain, who have so clearly demonstrated their belief in independence and freedom—freedom not only to manage their own affairs, but freedom also to maintain and enhance their international friendships.

33. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I have just received a letter from the representative of Pakistan [S/9793] in which he requests to be invited to take part in the debate of the Council on the question now before it. If I hear no objection, I shall assume that the Council agrees to invite the representative of Pakistan to take part, without the right to vote, in the debate in the Council, in accordance with the rules of procedure and the practice of the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. Shahi (Pakistan) took a place at the Security Council table.

34. Mr. TOMEH (Syria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a great honour for my delegation to bid you welcome as the Permanent Rep-

resentative of France to the United Nations. You bring to the service of your great country diplomatic talents of the highest order, further enriched by full and varied experience, some of which has been gained in the United Nations itself and has been accompanied by superb cultural attainments. These two aspects in particular will make yours a fruitful presidency of our Council, for which we would like to pay to you sincere and respectful tribute in advance, and which we hope augurs well for the future. This has already been demonstrated by the happy outcome of the first item with which the Council has had to deal under your presidency. I should also mention here, Mr. President, your high academic distinction—*agrégation de lettres avec honneur*—and thus, at a time when the international atmosphere has been profoundly affected, by the arrogance of power and the victims that it claims, you bring to our work a profound sense of humanism and refinement, accompanied by the fruits of a long career so happily blessed by both political and cultural attainments.

35. I do not wish to let this occasion pass, Mr. President, without requesting you to convey to your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Bérard, our greatest appreciation for the fruitful contribution which he made, particularly during his term of office in the Security Council, and to wish him happiness and prosperity.

36. On the subject of the friendship between France and the Arab countries, I could perhaps go back in history and mention that in the ninth century the first embassy was sent to Charlemagne by the great Caliph of Baghdad, Harun al-Rashid.

37. In this connexion, I should like also to pay tribute to the representative of Colombia, who presided over the Council in March with competence, wisdom and tact.

38. It is my duty also to pay tribute to His Excellency Ambassador Jakobson of Finland, who was President of the Council during the month of April. The Council held no meetings during that month, but that did not prevent Ambassador Jakobson from devoting his time and efforts to the diplomatic work of the Council. Vigilant, assiduous and always on the job, he expressed ideas and began debates which will have a great influence on the future work of the Council. We should like to express to him and his delegation our best wishes.

39. Our thanks are extended also to Secretary-General U Thant, whose good offices, as well as the mission of his personal representative, have facilitated our disposal of the item on the agenda.

40. I should like also to note with appreciation the statement of the representative of Iran, indicating his government's attitude of co-operation with the Security Council and respect for its resolution.

41. The Council has just approved unanimously the report of the personal representative of the Secretary-

General in Bahrain, a report which is striking because of its remarkable conciseness and the spirit of right, justice and equity with which it is informed. In affirming the Arab character of Bahrain in paragraph 42, which says: "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" and by translating into terms of a simple, true and just conclusion the real aspirations of the people of Bahrain in his final paragraph, the personal representative was simply stating an obvious truth, whatever its relevance.

42. In fact there is nothing to suggest a contrary conclusion: this is a cohesive and homogeneous country, as indeed is indicated by the conclusions of the personal representative. Its 200,000 inhabitants are unanimous in their aspiration to become equal citizens of a completely free and sovereign State in which they can flourish and hold out the hand of friendship and co-operation to their brothers and neighbours and play a constructive role in the development of this important region. To do this they possess natural resources, some of which are already being exploited but whose potential is even greater and sets a challenge which I am sure the people of Bahrain will be able to meet. They must play this constructive role to the full in order to ensure their happiness and that of their brothers on the basis of equality and social justice and without indulging any illegitimate appetites or the greedy urge towards the exploitation of man by man.

43. Hence the sooner the recommendations of the personal representative, which have been now approved by the Security Council and have now become obligatory decisions, are put into effect the better.

44. Indeed, the restoration of full sovereignty to Bahrain should coincide with the awakening of national consciousness which is characteristic of all parts of the region, and with the revolution of the spirit which aims at consolidating renewal, accelerating progress and promoting social justice and equity.

45. The time has now come for the people of Bahrain to take their place in the vanguard of this movement of renewal. But the lesson of Bahrain goes even further. It throws into relief the deplorable situation which exists in a neighbouring country, Muscat and Oman, where, because of the negative attitude of the United Kingdom, there reigns nothing but backwardness, stagnation and injustice. Has not the time now come for the people of Oman to throw off their chains and to become masters in their own land? Is it too much to hope that the United Kingdom will abandon its rigid attitude and engage sincerely in the implementation of the many resolutions of the General Assembly on this question and restore to this unhappy people its rights to independence, sovereignty and progress?

46. From the overall regional point of view—and by this I mean the whole region of the Middle East—as well as from the international point of view, it must

be pointed out that the happy outcome of the issue of the full sovereignty of Bahrain stands out in sharp contrast to the alarming situation which seriously threatens all international peace. It is here in the region of the Middle East as well as in Southeast Asia and in southern Africa that we find neo-colonialism rampant, driving people from their homelands, massacring them or making refugees of them and subjecting to invasion, occupation, annexation and colonizing by settlement the territories of sovereign Member States of the United Nations. Atrocities are committed against the civilian population, factories and schools are bombed, cities and villages are cleared, and there is a mortal threat to the rule of international law and to the Geneva Conventions on the conduct of States in times of war. In the midst of this darkness the resolution adopted today by the Security Council encourages our hope that right and justice will perhaps finally triumph.

47. Of all that can be said about this, nothing equals in conciseness the words uttered by the representative of Brazil, Mr. Araujo Castro, in the First Committee of the General Assembly in the debate on the strengthening of international peace and security, an item which, as we are all aware, was put on the agenda on the initiative of the Soviet delegation. I have the honour to quote in English these words from the original text:

"No nation is secure today. Power has not brought about complete security for any nation, however powerful or super-powerful. If force and power have failed to bring about the desired goal of security, there is no reason why we should not explore other paths and avenues, the avenues of justice and equality. Realism has been a failure and has made imminent the possibility of destruction. There is no reason why we should not try idealism instead, however Utopian it may seem."²

48. Let us hope that the emergence of Bahrain will be the point of departure for the primacy of force giving way to the primacy of right and justice. To the fraternal people of Bahrain we extend our most cordial congratulations and our best wishes, and we are sure that they will be in a position to contribute to the cause of justice, renewal and progress.

49. With your permission Sir, I reserve the right to speak again if I think it necessary.

50. Mr. YOST (United States of America): Mr. President, I should like first to extend to you on my own behalf and that of my government a most cordial welcome in your capacity as representative of France, the first country to recognize some years ago the newly emerged Republic of the United States. You are no stranger, Mr. President, either to the United States or to the United Nations. For five years you represented your country on the United Nations Trusteeship Council and it was during that time that I had

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, First Committee, 1653rd meeting, para. 29.*

the privilege of making your acquaintance both professionally and personally. Since leaving the United Nations you have served your country and enriched your experience in a number of capacities of great importance and distinction.

51. It is a very deep pleasure to welcome you back to our midst. We are especially pleased to see you in the office of President of the Security Council. Your high intelligence, long experience and wisdom have contributed to the auspicious circumstances under which we meet today, and we are sure they will contribute to many more such occasions in the future.

52. I should also like to pay a tribute to the representative of Finland, Ambassador Jakobson, who served as President of the Security Council during April. Although there were no meetings during his presidency, he conducted consultations on several matters of great delicacy with the outstanding ability, impartiality and tact that we have long come to associate with him.

53. The Government of the United States welcomes the unanimous and highly constructive action that this Council has taken today on the question of Bahrain. Our action marks the successful culmination of a diplomatic effort to resolve a dispute that has complicated the life of the Persian Gulf for more than a century. For this, we are indebted to the parties concerned, which have demonstrated the will and vision to act responsibly in an attempt to minimize the danger of future conflict in that important part of the world and to enhance the prospects for fruitful co-operation among the peoples of the Gulf in determining its destiny. The readiness of the parties to make the necessary accommodations and to seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, and other peaceful means should stand as an example for all nations of the successful application of Charter principles to international affairs.

54. We are also grateful for the role played in this matter by our Secretary-General. We salute his willingness to co-operate fully with the parties concerned, as well as his selection of an able and experienced diplomat as his personal representative. In so doing, he has acted in the best traditions of his office and in fulfilment of the purposes of the United Nations relating to the settlement of international disputes and the development of friendly relations among nations. We are happy to see that his efforts have resulted in a solution which has merited our unanimous endorsement.

55. We are also happy to note in Mr. Winspeare's report that all those he consulted in Bahrain wished for tranquillity, stability and friendliness in the area, as well as being virtually unanimous in wishing for recognition of their identity in a fully independent and sovereign State. This spirit augurs well for the future of Bahrain and the entire area.

56. The turmoil and turbulence that so often attend events in many parts of our fast-moving world seem

too infrequently to allow for timely recourse to the processes of peaceful accommodation. We in this Council have perhaps more reason than most to lament this unfortunate fact, and it therefore obliges us to ensure that when recourse is had to those processes, the Council is not found wanting. Our action today has served this obligation well. It has fulfilled the hopes of both the people of Bahrain and the inhabitants of the entire Gulf region. In a wider sense, it can only enhance the image of the United Nations as a force for peace and thus buoy the hopes of nations for the peaceful resolution of other disputes that continue to afflict our world.

57. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, may I congratulate your two predecessors, Ambassador Vallejo Arbelaez of Colombia and Ambassador Jakobson of Finland on their outstanding accomplishments as presidents of this important body of the United Nations. I should also like to extend my greetings to your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Bérard.

58. Mr. President, we have known you for many years now in the work of this Organization. You are no doubt aware of the friendship which has existed between our two countries throughout history. There is certainly no need for me today to praise the cordial and excellent relations which exist between our two countries. Personally and as the representative of my country I am delighted to see you at the head of this distinguished body. May I assure you that you will enjoy the support of our delegation as you perform your various duties.

59. The Secretary-General, in accordance with the request sent to him by the Governments of Iran and the United Kingdom, has submitted a report to this Council on the question of Bahrain for consideration and approval.

60. The Secretary-General in a note contained in document S/9726 informed the Security Council that in reply to requests from those two Governments he had agreed to exercise his good offices in a matter related to the legal status of Bahrain. The situation in Bahrain differs according to whether one takes the point of view of the Government of Iran or the Government of the United Kingdom.

61. According to the former [*see S/9772, para. 11*], Bahrain is 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". The United Kingdom, for its part [*ibid., para. 12*], has asserted that "Bahrain is a sovereign Arab State with which the Government of the United Kingdom is in special treaty relations". In spite of this difference of opinion, the fact remains that Bahrain is subject to the *de facto* protection of the United Kingdom. Therefore, the situation of the United Kingdom vis-à-vis Bahrain is not that of an administering Power but that of a protective Power. This is not a case of decolonization, for Bahrain is not a Non-Self-Governing Territory. Rather we have

a problem which has arisen as a result of the termination of protective relations without prejudice to the rights which may be claimed by the parties.

62. The General Assembly, which, on a number of occasions when considering territories to be decolonized, has said that it was in favour of applying the principle of self-determination or the principle of territorial integrity, has not stated its views on Bahrain and has not done so because Bahrain has never been defined as a territory to which Chapter XI of the Charter should apply. Therefore it is not covered by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and neither the Committee of Twenty-Four, a subsidiary body of the General Assembly, nor the Fourth Committee or the General Assembly has ever considered this matter.

63. In spite of the difference of opinion between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Iran on Bahrain, by common consent they requested the Secretary-General to exercise his good offices so that as a result of a study to be carried out by him it might be determined what the future status of the territory should be. The judgement of the Secretary-General has been accepted in principle by these two Governments, provided that the conclusions be adopted by the Security Council.

64. The fact that the Secretary-General has found a formula acceptable to the Governments of Iran and the United Kingdom is a source of satisfaction, for this has doubtless prevented a conflict between the two Governments and a continuation of the tense situation caused by their differences of opinion. Action by the Secretary-General to solve problems arising between States is acceptable in our view, for this means using the good offices of a highly qualified person, the Secretary-General of the Organization.

65. This Council had the following choice before it. Had it not endorsed the report, a conflict which was in the process of being resolved would in fact not have been eliminated, for we have been told that the United Kingdom and Iran require endorsement by the Council of the conclusions contained in the report of the Secretary-General's personal representative.

66. In the opinion of my delegation, the Council should have confined itself to taking note of these conclusions. However, if all parties concerned agree and have no reservations as regards the conclusions of the Secretary-General, my delegation has no objections either. But, in view of the special nature of this case, we wish our vote to be interpreted in the light of those considerations.

67. Mr. ROMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Nicaragua is pleased to associate itself with the representatives who have taken the floor before us in expressing thanks to the outgoing Presidents, Ambassador Vallejo of Colombia and Ambassador Jakobson of Finland, for the effective way they performed their tasks. We also would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, who, with your experi-

ence and ability, will certainly do an outstanding job. You will be a credit to your great country, with which we share deep Latin bonds. We are indebted to your country for the spiritual, cultural and material contribution which France has always made to us and for which we are most grateful.

68. As regards the resolution, we voted in favour of it on instructions from our Government, which wishes the people of Bahrain, every possible success, and we will certainly welcome Bahrain, as an independent country, to our Organization.

69. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, on behalf of the Soviet delegation may I offer my cordial congratulations on your assumption of the high post of President of the Security Council and also on your joining us as the new representative of France.

70. I should like to take this opportunity to ask you to transmit our sincere congratulations and very best wishes to your predecessor, Ambassador Bérard, with whom we had such a pleasant working relationship both in the Security Council and in the course of consultations on the Middle East. During his stay we unfortunately failed to achieve much success in the consultations, but we hope that, together with you, we will be able to make progress on this question, too.

71. I had the opportunity and the pleasure of making your acquaintance long ago, in the fifties, in the coldest years of the cold war. At that time, you introduced me to your President and I introduced you to our Minister for Foreign Affairs. Our conversations were very interesting and fruitful, with a great deal of mutual understanding. Since that time, relations between our countries have undergone significant changes for the better, and it is a great pleasure for me to welcome you here as the representative of a European Power with which we are developing good relations based on co-operation and mutual understanding in the economic, cultural and political fields. In welcoming you, I should like to wish you success in your work as representative of France to the United Nations and as President of the Security Council.

72. On behalf of the Soviet delegation, I should also like to extend a welcome and offer congratulations to your predecessor and our mutual colleague, the Ambassador of Finland, a country with which we have friendly relations. During his term of office, he was active and energetic and displayed deep knowledge and understanding of international problems. Although there were no official meetings, he always kept the members of the Security Council in a state of preparedness, and this activity on his part led to some accomplishments during the time he was President.

73. Turning to the substance of the question under discussion, I should like to say the following. The Security Council is considering the question of Bahrain in connexion with the Secretary-General's note [S/9772]. As to the procedure which was employed

in the action taken by the Secretary-General with regard to the problem of Bahrain, the Soviet Union's position on the matter was, as you are aware, set forth in detail in the letter from the Permanent Mission of the USSR to the President of the Security Council [S/9737]. The Soviet delegation still adheres to the view presented in that document.

74. The substance of the question under discussion is that the people of Bahrain wish to attain full independence and sovereignty and to transform Bahrain into a State which, without foreign interference or pressure, can take its own decisions on questions concerning its relations with other States and peoples. This just, entirely understandable and historically justified aspiration appears as the main conclusion of the report now under consideration.

75. The Soviet Union has always firmly and consistently supported the application of the principles of self-determination, freedom and national independence to those countries and peoples which are or were under colonial rule or in a state of colonial or semi-colonial dependence on imperialism.

76. The great founder of the Soviet State, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the centenary of whose birth was so widely celebrated on 22 April of this year by all of progressive mankind, scientifically proved and demonstrated back in the early part of the twentieth century, when imperialism dominated the entire world, that the colonial system would inevitably perish; and he thus inspired patriots and revolutionaries in the colonial and dependent countries—or, as they were called at that time, the countries of the East—to undertake a patriotic struggle for liberation from their foreign enslavers.

77. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in our country, Lenin said the following: "If the revolutionary war being waged by the oppressed peoples can truly awaken the millions of workers and exploited people, it contains within itself such possibilities and such wonders that the liberation of the peoples of the East is now feasible in a quite practical sense."

78. The peoples of the Soviet Union, schooled in the Leninist concepts of equality and brotherhood among all peoples, have complete understanding and sympathy for the hopes and aspirations of the people of Bahrain, who are seeking to assert their national identity and to attain complete independence and sovereignty. In accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, the people of Bahrain have an inalienable and legitimate right to secure complete independence and sovereignty for their country and to free themselves for ever from the treaties imposed on them by the British Empire back in the early nineteenth century, which have limited Bahrain's sovereign rights. The vigorous demand being made by the people of Bahrain for complete independence and sovereignty is eloquent testimony to the fact that the time is gone for ever when the colonial Powers could, on various pretexts and in various ways,

secure special rights and privileges for themselves by forcible means in many countries of Asia, Africa and the Arab East and in other parts of the world at the expense of the vital interests of the peoples of those countries.

79. The just demand of the people of Bahrain for national liberation is without any doubt a direct result and an integral part of a great historical process, the national liberation movement and the struggle of peoples, whose foundations were laid by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and whose victorious development accelerated at such an unprecedented rate after the Second World War and the destruction of the forces of fascism and aggression, which threatened to enslave the peoples of the entire world for thousands of years. Before our very eyes, in the course of a single generation V. I. Lenin's scientifically founded prediction concerning the revolutionary awakening of the peoples of the East and the inevitable downfall of the colonial system has come true. A worldwide system of socialism has emerged, the colonial empires have collapsed and the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and colonialism has become truly universal in character and scope. It is now obvious to everyone that imperialism, as a political and socio-economic system, has no future and cannot have one. There is no longer any question that this system of enslavement and oppression, which is so detested by all peoples, is doomed by history to inevitable destruction. More than seventy independent sovereign States have emerged from the ruins of the colonial empires. This great historical process of the revolutionary awakening of peoples is graphically reflected in the very composition of the United Nations. Of the 126 States Members of the Organization, more than half are former colonies and semi-colonies which have now become independent and sovereign States.

80. The demand being made by the people of Bahrain is yet another vivid demonstration of the success of the just and courageous struggle of the peoples of the Arab East for their national freedom and human dignity and for the consolidation of their independence against the policies and designs of the imperialists and their agents in the Middle East and other parts of the world, who are seeking by every possible means, including armed aggression and intervention, to stop the clock of history, to keep various peoples under imperialist rule, to force the yoke of neo-colonialism upon them and to continue the predatory exploitation of their wealth.

81. Retreating under the pressure of the national liberation struggle of the peoples, the imperialist Powers and their monopolies are engaging in various manoeuvres in an effort to maintain their positions as long as possible and prolong their exploitation of the wealth of the peoples of the Arab East so that the monopolies can earn super-profits. In this connexion, the Security Council cannot but turn its attention to the well-known plans of the imperialist monopolies to perpetuate their privileges and their presence in the Persian Gulf area after the United Kingdom's announced withdrawal

from the region "East of Suez". The plans of the American monopolies to intensify their expansion in the Arab East are also common knowledge. It is a secret to no one that these political manoeuvres are aimed at merely changing labels, as the saying goes, while at the same time preserving colonial positions and privileges in this region, enabling the colonialists to maintain their strategic positions and to remain, as before, in possession of the wealth which belongs to the Arab peoples. Therefore, in the consideration of such questions as that of Bahrain in the United Nations, the peoples must be given a special warning: "Be vigilant against the intrigues of imperialism, neo-colonialism and their agents".

82. The Soviet Union firmly supports the just demand of the people of Bahrain for complete independence and sovereignty. In order to implement this demand without delay of any kind, the Security Council has given clear and explicit support to the unanimous desire of the people of Bahrain that their country, as is stated in the conclusions of the report under discussion in the Council, should become "a fully independent and sovereign State free to decide for itself its relations with other States" [S/9772, para.57]. By its decision, the Council has confirmed this finding, which is incontestable and fully in keeping with the spirit of our times.

83. A decision on the question of complete independence and sovereignty for Bahrain should therefore not be confined to a mere renunciation of any rights or claims to the latter. It should be regarded as completely terminating Bahrain's dependence on all treaties which limit the sovereign rights of that country and its people.

84. It is in the light of these considerations that the Soviet delegation defined its attitude towards the draft resolution adopted by the Council on the question under consideration.

85. In conclusion, my delegation would like to express its very best wishes to the people of Bahrain for the emergence and development of Bahrain as a fully independent and sovereign State.

86. Mr. MORALES SUAREZ (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, on behalf of Ambassador Vallejo Arbelaez, I should like to express my thanks for the cordial references made to the President of the Council for the month of March.

87. Mr. President, my delegation is particularly pleased to see you assume the presidency of the Security Council, not only because of your very considerable experience and ability but also because of the friendship between our two countries which is based *inter alia* on the decisive influence that French thinking has had on the structure of the legal institutions of many countries in the New World.

88. Your predecessor, Ambassador Jakobson of Finland, demonstrated his great competence and ability in guiding the Council, which was in many senses active

although during that period there were no formal meetings. My delegation is pleased to pay tribute to the outstanding manner in which he carried out his tasks.

89. Without analysing the legal aspects of the question at present before the Council, my delegation wishes to point to the essential fact that the solution agreed upon was in accordance with the dictates of justice and the right of peoples of self-determination and represented the constructive and cordial will of the parties concerned. That is why my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution.

90. Mr. NICOL (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, the delegation of Sierra Leone would like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of this Council and to welcome you back to the United Nations. Your country has a notable record in matters of decolonization over the past decade, to which your eloquent predecessor, Mr. Bérard—to whom we send greetings—made significant contributions. You yourself also played an active and praiseworthy part in that process.

91. Mr. President, you bear a name and ancestry indelibly associated with freedom in many continents. We wish you a happy and productive period during your term of office as President of the Council and as your country's Permanent Representative.

92. Last month, although we did not have a formal meeting, we were all witnesses of the wise and intensive work that the Ambassador of Finland carried out as President of the Security Council. We congratulate him most warmly.

93. We wish to recall with much praise the skill and sincerity shown by the Ambassador of Colombia during his period of office as President, during the difficult month of March, when results were obtained which are still being explored. We thank him for work.

94. The delegation of Sierra Leone has followed with considerable interest the interventions of the representatives of Iran and the United Kingdom. We have also noted the considerable amount of Iranian understanding and British restraint expressed by those representatives. My delegation notes also the intention of the Governments of both Iran and the United Kingdom to abide by the findings of the Secretary-General as endorsed by this Council.

95. My delegation praises the Secretary-General's efforts at bringing the parties together to work in the interests of peace and tranquillity in the region.

96. My delegation is satisfied with the thoroughness of the conclusions and the findings of the Secretary-General's personal representative, and we are glad he is here with us on this auspicious day. His findings—the virtual unanimity of the citizens of Bahrain in wanting a fully independent sovereign State—as endorsed by this Council a few minutes ago will help to promote peace and harmony in this area.

97. We should like, finally, and indeed as our most important task, to congratulate the people of Bahrain on gaining their independence. In so doing we should like at the same time to express our best wishes for their development and especially for their racial harmony and the progress of their youth. The mineral resources of Bahrain and its neighbours are great in comparison with their populations and with those of many other countries. Great wealth has great meaning when used with responsibility for great purposes. If it is used as an investment in the education and training of many of the citizens of Bahrain, it will bear returns which will be as long-lasting as, and perhaps more precious than, all the jewels of Arabia.

98. Mr. KUZAGA (Poland) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, this meeting of the Security Council gives me the opportunity to welcome you as the representative of France and to congratulate you on becoming President of the Council. I do so with the greatest pleasure, in view of the traditional friendship of Poland and France, which has recently been confirmed once again by the visit of our Foreign Minister to Paris, by our awareness of the important role France is playing in the international arena, and through our knowledge of your distinguished diplomatic talents and your attachment to the cause of the United Nations and international understanding, an attachment which you have been good enough to confirm to us confidentially.

99. I should like also to take this opportunity to thank the Presidents of the Security Council for March and April—the representatives of Colombia and Finland—for the work they did and the mastery they exhibited in their handling of the presidency, both in the Council and in the course of the many consultations that were held outside it.

100. Permit me further associate myself with the feelings of friendship and respect for your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Bérard, which have already been expressed by many representatives in the Security Council.

101. On our agenda, we have the item of Bahrain. The Polish delegation has noted with interest the Secretary-General's note and also the report of his personal representative concerning the question of Bahrain [S/9772]. We have also listened attentively to the important statements made during the present debate. In our view, the report of the Secretary-General's personal representative confirms the age-old feelings of the people of Bahrain with regard to their independence and full freedom. It shows the strength and unanimity of these feelings. Permit me to remind you once again of paragraph 42 of the report, which says that the people of Bahrain were "virtually unanimous in wanting a fully independent sovereign State. The great majority added that this should be an Arab State."

102. The historic process of the liberation of the peoples of the world from colonialism and their attainment of the right to full self-determination, which we

have observed in the past and will continue to observe, cannot fail to include the Arab peninsula. For decades now, imperialism has tried to entrench itself in this region by all possible means, from direct domination to the so-called protectorate treaties. Regardless of the forms used, the purpose of this domination has always been economic exploitation, the use of the territory of the region for military and strategic purposes and, consequently, opposition to the aspiration of the people of this region to freedom and independence.

103. The difficult but victorious struggle of the Arab peoples for their independence and their determination to ensure the defence and consolidation of this independence could not fail to influence this part of the Arab world. The people of Southern Yemen acquired their independence after a long and arduous struggle. For many years now, the people of Oman have been waging an active struggle for their liberty.

104. A new element enters the picture today with regard to the situation in a region which has for so long been subjected to the interests of imperialism and the effects of the classic motto "divide and rule", a region which no longer wishes to be the subject of such a policy but wishes to exercise fully its right to self-determination—not as a result of what some would like to call an act of altruism, but as a result of rights which have always belonged to it. The elimination of domination and imperialistic control in this region cannot be guaranteed except by the fulfilment of the trend towards liberty and independence of the peoples of territories which have so far been dependent, and only by the co-operation of the people of this region based on these principles. Such relations also serve the cause of international peace and security.

105. This position of principle which we adopt determines our attitude towards the problem of Bahrain. We support the aspiration of the people of Bahrain to gain "recognition of their identity in a fully independent and sovereign State free to decide for itself its relations with other States" [*ibid.*, para. 57], a conclusion which has been brought out in the report of the personal representative of the Secretary-General.

106. We are in favour of the speediest possible implementation of the aspirations of the people of Bahrain, to whom we should like to express our most sincere and cordial best wishes. We express the hope that this will constitute an important step forward on the road to liberty, progress and peaceful co-operation among the peoples of this region, in an atmosphere totally free from the nefarious influences of colonialist interests, and, consequently, in an atmosphere propitious to international and security peace.

107. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): Mr. President, I join those representatives who preceded me in fittingly congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. Since this is also the first time we have been privileged to sit around this table with you in your capacity as Ambassador of France, I extend to you a very warm

welcome. May I offer my co-operation and that of my delegation in the performance of your difficult task.

108. It is a matter for deep regret that we were not able to benefit from your wide experience at the time when you represented your country in the Trusteeship Council because our country was then represented by none other than our distinguished friend and colleague Lord Caradon. We are, however, glad to be able to share this experience with you this time.

109. I wish also to express our deep appreciation to the Permanent Representatives of Colombia and Finland for the able manner in which they conducted the affairs of our Council during the months of March and April respectively.

110. We have voted in favour of the resolution for very simple and straightforward reasons.

111. First, on the basis of information available to us—and unlike those of most delegations our sources are rather limited—the report of the Secretary-General's representative, Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi, is representative of the views of the people of Bahrain.

112. Secondly, we are reasonably satisfied that, under the circumstances, the Secretary-General acted honourably by so promptly responding to the requests of the Governments of the United Kingdom and Iran to use his good offices to find a solution to this problem in order to create an atmosphere of tranquillity, friendship and stability.

113. Thirdly, and perhaps most important, Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi's report, in our view, reflects the desire of the people of Bahrain to become an independent and sovereign State. We have always supported the right of all peoples to decide their own destinies, and it is in this spirit that we have supported the resolution just adopted. Further, it is in this same spirit that we shall continue to support all other peoples who are fighting to determine their own destinies.

114. We look forward to the day when the Security Council will be able to escape the threat of the veto, which is constantly hanging over our heads, thus enabling the peoples of Rhodesia, Namibia, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and all non-independent territories to decide their own destinies.

115. Lastly, allow me to place on record our gratitude to the Secretary-General, U Thant, and to his representative, Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi, for having produced the report which we have just endorsed and which we hope will bring about more peaceful relations between the countries directly involved.

116. My statement would be incomplete without paying tribute to the Governments directly involved in this delicate problem for the conciliatory and accommodating spirit that they have so amply displayed throughout our consideration of this problem.

117. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): Mr. President, let me first of all welcome you as your country's new representative to the Security Council, and extend my delegation's warm congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We salute you as a man of high intellectual and diplomatic distinction and a representative of a major Power—a country deeply committed to the ideal of world peace and having great cultural and democratic traditions. My country enjoys the most cordial and friendly relations with yours. It is indeed a pleasure for me to pledge to you my whole-hearted co-operation.

118. I should like also to express our deep appreciation to Ambassador Vallejo Arbelaez of Colombia and Ambassador Jakobson of Finland for the manner in which they discharged their responsibilities as President of the Council for the months of March and April respectively.

119. May I request the French delegation to convey our highest regards to Ambassador Bérard.

120. With regard to the matter under consideration, may I say at the outset that my delegation has given its full support to the resolution which has just been adopted. Having stated this, it is only appropriate for me to express, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, our most profound appreciation to the Imperial Government of Iran and Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom for the statesmanship displayed by them in seeking a peaceful resolution of a difference in respect of Bahrain. By submitting the matter to the good offices of the Secretary-General and agreeing in advance to accept the result of the findings of his good offices mission subject to endorsement by the Security Council, both Iran and the United Kingdom have shown their abiding faith in the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes in the true spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. The Secretary-General has paid high commendation to Iran and the United Kingdom; my delegation joins him in that tribute.

121. By promptly agreeing to exercise his good offices as requested by the Governments of Iran and the United Kingdom, the Secretary-General has acted in the best tradition of the United Nations. The office of the Secretary-General should always remain a valuable means of relieving and preventing tension. Secretary-General U Thant deserves our highest praise in this matter. We hope not only that the office of the Secretary-General as an instrument for the peaceful solution of disputes will be further strengthened, but also that Member Governments of the Organization will increasingly resort to that instrument in order to settle their differences peacefully.

122. As personal representative for the Secretary-General's good offices mission in Bahrain, Mr. Winspeare has carried out his responsibility with dispatch, objectivity and wisdom. The findings of the good offices mission are clear and unequivocal. They are to the effect 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. Nepal respects the wish of the people of Bahrain, and we wish them peace, prosperity and happiness.

123. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As President of the Security Council I call on the representative of China.

124. Mr. CHANG (China): I wish first of all to associate my delegation with the words of welcome and congratulations extended to you, Mr. President, by previous speakers on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I wish also to express our appreciation of the services rendered by your two predecessors in the Chair, the representatives of Colombia and Finland who presided over the work of the Council during the months of March and April.

125. My delegation voted for the resolution. In our view the findings of the Secretary-General's personal representative, based as they are on the expressed wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people of Bahrain, deserve the unanimous support and endorsement of the Security Council. It is gratifying to note that the Governments of both Iran and the United Kingdom, parties directly interested in the results of the findings, are prepared to accept the conclusions as binding. The spirit of conciliation and good-will manifested by them should be emulated by all.

126. The obligation to promote the advancement of colonial peoples towards self-government and independence has been one of the major commitments of the United Nations. It is hoped that with the adoption of the present resolution the people of Bahrain will be enabled to proceed without delay towards the goals that they have set for themselves in an orderly and peaceful manner. I wish to extend to the people of Bahrain the good wishes of my Government and people.

127. My delegation would like also to thank the Secretary-General for the readiness with which he extended his good offices and to thank his personal representative for the able and skilful way in which he has carried out his task.

128. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): Mr. President, may I first of all thank you and all our other colleagues who have spoken for the kind words that have been said about my activities as President of the Council in April. I also recall with great respect and admiration the manner in which the Ambassador of Colombia conducted the affairs of the Council in the month of March.

129. I wish to take this opportunity, Mr. President, to join in welcoming you as the representative of France to the Security Council and as President for the month of May. I do so with all the more pleasure in view of the close affinity of views on fundamental issues existing between Finland and France. We in Finland are greatly encouraged and supported by the policy of France—a policy aiming at reconciliation, co-

operation and unity in Europe and a peaceful world order based on respect for the independence of every nation. My delegation looks forward very much to working with you in the months ahead.

130. Now I should like to state the position of my delegation on the question before the Security Council, and I am able to do so in very few words.

131. This meeting of the Security Council is exceptional, in that we are not meeting this time to deal with a complaint or a dispute; we are not responding to violent events. Instead we have the agreeable, yet none the less important, task of endorsing a peaceful solution negotiated between the parties, utilizing the good offices of the Secretary-General and his personal representative. In our view, this is an encouraging example of the constructive role of the United Nations in contributing to a process of peaceful change in international relations.

132. I am therefore happy to join in congratulating the Governments of Iran and the United Kingdom, as well as the Secretary-General and his personal representative, for their joint efforts in achieving this agreement, thus removing a source of potential friction and danger, and enabling the people of Bahrain to gain independence in a peaceful way.

133. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Southern Yemen.

134. Mr. ABDULLA (Southern Yemen): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to thank you and the other members of the Council for giving me this opportunity of participating in the deliberations of the Security Council on the present agenda.

135. My delegation wishes to congratulate you as President of the Council for this month. We are assured that you will guide the discussions of the Council to a successful end.

136. The Security Council has convened today to consider the report of the Secretary-General's personal representative on Bahrain [*see S/9772*]. It is only logical, therefore, that my delegation should reiterate once again our firm conviction that Bahrain, as an integral part of the Arabian Gulf, was and is and will continue to be an Arab country. Nevertheless, we are gratified to learn that the Secretary-General has confirmed our conviction as regards the Arab character and identity of Bahrain. On this occasion the People's Republic of Southern Yemen salutes the great people of Bahrain.

137. My delegation is of the opinion that the fundamental issue in this discussion is the just struggle of the indigenous peoples of the Arabian Gulf against imperialism and neo-colonialism. We hardly need to mention the enormous oil and strategic interests of the capitalist States in the region. It is well understood by us that the capitalist States and their local agents will continue to draw up numerous designs in order

to protect and preserve their inhuman exploitation of the Arab masses of the Gulf. On the other hand, we have no doubt that the progressive forces in the area are bound to prevail.

138. Recent history has taught us that the toiling masses are capable, in the final analysis, of breaking free of their shackles. The poor peoples of the Arabian Gulf have decided to take arms against British colonial rule and its puppet régime in Muscat and Oman. This popular revolution, which started from Dhofar, under the leadership of the popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf, has already dealt many blows against the British military bases in Al Masirah and Salalah. We are convinced that this liberation movement, by closing ranks and stepping up its revolutionary activities, will defeat the enemy and join the peace-loving forces of the world.

139. My delegation feels that the time has come for the United Nations to implement its resolutions concerning the question of Muscat and Oman. Furthermore, we feel that the announced British intention to withdraw from the Gulf will be incomplete if it does not include Oman and Muscat.

140. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to state that colonial domination in all forms and manifestations in the Arabian Gulf is one in nature, and therefore inseparable. The imperialist States and their henchmen should not lose sight of an essential fact: that all their attempts to undermine the just struggle of the Arab masses in the Gulf are bound to fail; they are only temporarily delaying the final victory of the people's revolution.

141. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Pakistan.

142. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): Mr. President, the Pakistan delegation is grateful to you and to the other members of the Security Council for according us permission to make a statement on the subject under discussion. I requested this permission under instructions from my government because of three special factors. The first is Pakistan's close relationship with the people of the islands of Bahrain, which are located in geographical proximity to Pakistan. The second is our friendship with our immediate neighbour, Iran—a friendship to which we attach the highest value. Though each of these factors was sufficient reason for us to request permission for participating in this debate, without a vote, there is also a third factor of particular significance to us. It is that the parties concerned should have decided to have recourse to the procedures of pacific settlement to end a situation that would have led to tension and conflict.

143. The method adopted—that of requesting the good offices of the Secretary-General on a confidential basis with a view to fact-finding—led to a mission that has been carried out in so objective and impartial a manner by his personal representative that it has turned out to have been both appropriate and felicitous. His

report and the pledges made in advance by the Governments of Iran and the United Kingdom to accept the results have enabled the Security Council to register the peaceful settlement of an international problem.

144. My Government believes that the present occasion is one of those which, unfortunately, are all too rare in contemporary international experience. We have witnessed today statesmanship of the highest order being brought to bear on a situation which otherwise would have led to bitterness and friction. In agreeing to abide by the wishes of the population of Bahrain to become a fully independent, sovereign State, and in signifying their willingness to forsake a long-standing claim to this territory if it was not confirmed by the free opinion of the people, His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran and his Government have demonstrated moral courage, far-sightedness and vision of a kind which is sorely needed in situations involving the principle of self-determination of peoples.

145. The Shahinshah has shown how a high-minded fidelity to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter can dispel tension and overcome discord. We have no doubt that His Imperial Majesty is entitled to tribute from the international community.

146. We should also like to extend our felicitations to the Government of the United Kingdom for the manner in which it arranged for this affair to be settled in the democratic spirit of the Charter and through the instrumentality of the United Nations.

147. Pakistan, as is well known, has always upheld the principle that where an agreement calls for ascertaining the wishes of a population, the process must be carried out in a fair and impartial manner, free from pressure or intimidation from any quarter. As long as the ascertainment is conducted impartially under the aegis of the United Nations, the precise method of consulting popular opinion will of course depend on the circumstances of each case. In the present instance we note the following statements in the report of the Secretary-General's personal representative in charge of the good offices mission in Bahrain: first, that he ascertained the opinion of a comprehensive cross-section of the people of Bahrain—in fact he consulted as he reports, "all associations and organized groups in Bahrain" [*ibid.*, para. 28]; secondly, that he had ready and full access to all persons whom he wished to see or who wished to see him and that there was no intimidation or influence interfering with such access.

148. We note also that neither of the two parties who requested the Secretary-General's good offices, Iran and the United Kingdom, exercised any direct administrative control over Bahrain. If either had been doing so, the avoidance of the method of plebiscite for consulting the popular will could have been open to challenge by the other.

149. In the present case there is obviously no room for doubt that the conclusions reached by the good

offices Mission are the same that would have been reached by a plebiscite. May I therefore pay my delegation's tribute to the Secretary-General and to his personal representative, Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi. The Secretary-General's action, we believe, did not militate against any principle of the distribution of powers embodied in the United Nations Charter and greatly facilitated a peaceful settlement in accordance with its purposes and principles.

150. The personal representative has discharged his delicate responsibility with tact and wisdom. For the harmonious conclusion of this good offices Mission, it is again the Governments of Iran and the United Kingdom—and I should also like to add the Governments of the neighbouring Arab States—which deserve the gratitude of the United Nations. We look forward to the emergence of Bahrain as a fully sovereign Arab entity, in the full confidence that it will symbolize the beginning of a new era of tranquillity in a sensitive part of the Middle East.

151. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like, my dear colleagues, to tell you how very much I appreciate the expressions of friendship addressed to my country. I believe that the bilateral relations which France has with all the countries represented here may prove extremely valuable in the search for multilateral solutions to world-wide problems.

152. As for the excessive praise which greeted my arrival, my impression was really not so much that I was arriving, but that I was leaving. Perhaps what was said was somewhat premature, but you may rest assured that I will endeavour not to disappoint you and will do my utmost in working with all of you in an effort to find solutions to all our problems.

153. Speaking as the representative of FRANCE, I should like now to make known to the Council the views of my Government.

154. What was at issue? There had been a long-standing dispute the continuation of which might very well have led to complications in international relations. The Governments of both Iran and the United Kingdom, whose views differed, reached agreement on the need for a peaceful settlement in the United Nations, for which they are to be commended. They then asked the Secretary-General to exercise his good office.

155. The results are before us in this report and resolution. Let me say straight away that what was accomplished was within the spirit of the United Nations Charter, which requires that Member States seek a peaceful solution to their disputes and provides under Article 33, paragraph 1, that they may use any peaceful means of their choice. That is what matters. Peace has been consolidated in an area of the world which was, as I need not stress, particularly vulnerable.

156. As far as the actual procedure is concerned, there was no rule against going off the beaten track,

and demonstrating some imagination provided the Council had the last word in considering and approving the conclusions of the inquiry, although we and others in the Council would have wished the Council to be associated earlier with this action. This is, however, as should be stressed, a special case which cannot be considered as having established a precedent.

157. We wish to express similar views on the substance of the matter before us. The conclusions of the report are reasonable. The inquiry conscientiously carried out by Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi and his collaborators seems to cover all the representative elements of the population, who spoke out freely. The fact remains, however, that sounding out public opinion cannot have the legal value of a democratic consultation, and it is justified in this particular case only by the objective to be attained. The intention was not to determine the future status of Bahrain, but to ascertain the general feelings of the people with a view to facilitating the settlement of the dispute. The conclusions of the report are quite in line with the terms of reference which were agreed upon by the common consent of the two countries which are at the origin of this mission.

158. In the circumstances we welcome the agreement reached and we cast our vote in favour of the resolution.

159. Now, as PRESIDENT of the Council, the explanations of vote being concluded, I give the floor to two speakers who have asked to exercise their right of reply. I shall first call on the representative of Iran.

160. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): This is not exactly a matter of exercising my right of reply but rather of giving some indications to our colleague from Southern Yemen.

161. The first thing I want to say is that all geographers and historians of the Arab world call the Gulf where the Bahrain Islands are situated "the Persian Gulf". If necessary, he could ask me and I would inform him of the sources for this.

162. Secondly, he said that the Bahrain Islands were an integral part of the Persian Gulf. I do not deny this. They are there and everyone knows it.

163. Thirdly, he said that the situation in Bahrain has always been the same as now under international law. I regret to have to refer you on this to a letter which the Sheikh of Bahrain addressed to His Majesty the King of Iran on 12 April 1860. I would venture to quote a single sentence from that letter. I have the text in Arabic available and I could give it to him. I shall read out the English translation of a single sentence, as follows: "It is more self-evident than the sun that the islands of Bahrain, from the days of preceding sovereigns until this moment, have been of the land of the dominions of the Exalted State," which, as our colleagues will see from the Arab translation in question, is the Kingdom of Iran.

164. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of the United Kingdom, Lord Caradon.

165. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I promised previously to exercise restraint and I have only two points to make very shortly in reply. First, I do not think it will be a surprise to anyone in this Council if I repeat that the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman is a sovereign and independent State. Secondly, there were a few references in this debate—which I respectfully say has been maintained at a high level—to which I might take objection, but in the interests of harmony I think I will leave them, regarding them as irrelevant.

166. Now, Sir, although the hour is beginning to be late, I wonder if you would be kind enough, with the indulgence of the Council, to allow me to communicate to you a few lines which I should like to dedicate to Bahrain.

Rejoice, again I say, rejoice.
We spoke with a united voice,
The play is over. Witness now
The actors come to make their bow.

Praise first the Shah; what joy to see
Imperial magnanimity.

Cheer next U Thant who never tires
In harmonizing our desires.

Thank God that Bunche is with us still
And his indomitable will.

Next the Italian wins applause,
For Roman justice is his cause.
His findings rightly earn him fame
(We're proud he has an English name).
In gratitude we cry Long Live
The Special Representative.

All these endeavours were not vain.
The people made their wishes plain,
Their independence they retain.
So let us all repeat again
Good luck, God speed to Bahrain.

167. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Southern Yemen wishes to make a few additional comments, and I now call on him.

168. Mr. ABDULLA (Southern Yemen): I wish to reply to the representative of Iran. In his explanation of vote, or rather in his clarification of vote, he chose to differ with me as regards the naming of the Gulf. I hope that he would not find it necessary for the United Nations to send a mission to determine the exact name used by the people of the area.

169. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I believe that Lord Caradon will not hold it against me if I too in conclusion come out on stage to take a curtain call. As President of the Council, I welcome this happy outcome. Though limited, this question of Bahrain was delicate and difficult, and it is always very dangerous to allow disputes to drag on and grow bitter. The resolution of this affair is a credit to the United Nations. Our warmest wishes and congratulations go first of all to the people of Bahrain, to their leaders and to their youth. We wish them prosperity to match their wisdom and foresight.

170. One cannot overstress the role played by two Member States, Iran, which worked hard for conciliation, and the United Kingdom, both of which have acted as loyal Members of the Organization, abiding by the tenets of the Charter.

171. The Secretary-General once again was active in facilitating a settlement. I should like to thank him for that and I would ask him to transmit our thanks to Mr. Winspeare and the members of his team.

172. I should like to pay a tribute to all the members of the Council, and especially those who were spokesmen of larger groups, for their cooperation and understanding. Thanks to them, in the few days preceding this meeting an agreement was reached on a resolution that has now been approved unanimously. May this result, which is a credit to our Council, set an example and guide us in other matters which are a serious threat to the security of nations and peoples.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.

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