

MALTESE HISTORY

LO8 bcdefg

Constitutional and Political Developments, 1921–1987



*Malta's coat of arms as an independent state
From left to right: 1964 – 1975; 1975 – 1988; 1988 to the present day*

Year 11

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Curriculum Centre Annex

LO8 b - Features of the 1921 and 1947 Constitutions




A postcard commemorating the official proclamation of the 1921 Constitution that granted Malta the first Responsible Government.



The Tapestry Hall in the Governor's Palace, Valletta served as Malta's Parliament between 1921 and 1976.

1921 (Amery-Milner) Constitution	1947cMichael) Constitution
1. Government by diarchy	
The Secretary of State for the Colonies granted Malta self-government or as it was also known 'responsible government' in local affairs. Two governments running simultaneously: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Maltese Government for local affairs ▪ The Maltese Imperial Government for reserved matters. 	The same as the 1921 Constitution.
2. The Maltese Government	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Senate consisted of 17 elected members. ▪ The Legislative Assembly consisted of 32 elected members from 8 electoral districts. ▪ The Cabinet consisted of the Governor, the Head of Ministry and 7 other Ministers. ▪ The Ministries: Treasury; Public Instruction; Public Works; Public Health; Charitable Institutions; Agriculture, Industry and Commerce; Customs, Posts and Telegraphy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Legislative Assembly consisted of 40 elected members from 8 electoral districts. ▪ The Cabinet consisted of the Governor, the Prime Minister and 8 other Ministers. ▪ The Senate was not constituted but it could be set up after 10 years if the Legislative Assembly voted so by a simple majority. ▪ The Governor could take over the control of the Government in case of an emergency. ▪ The Ministries: Finance; Education; Health; Commerce and Industry; Public Works and Reconstruction; Employment and Social Services; Emigration.
3. General election procedure	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Election for the Legislative Assembly was held every 3 years. Voters had to be males over 21 years having a proper education and property qualification. ▪ Election for the Senate was held every 6 years: 10 Senate members were chosen by the general list of voters; 7 were chosen by the special list voters. ▪ Each of these representative bodies nominated 2 Senators each (for a total of 10): the clergy, the nobility, the University graduates, the Chamber of Commerce; the Trade Union Council. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Election for the Legislative Assembly was held every 3 years. ▪ Voting was by male universal suffrage over 21 years. Women were also given the vote for the first time. ▪ The education and property qualifications were abolished. ▪ There was to be no election for the Senate since this was not constituted.

4. The Maltese Imperial Government	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The British Governor was the head of the Imperial Government. ▪ He summoned and presided over the Nominated Council; the Privy Council and the Joint Committee to advise him on reserved matters. ▪ The Governor alone submitted questions for discussion in all three councils and accept or reject their advice. ▪ The list of Reserved Matters included: control over military and defence; the dockyard; the harbours; the airports; the communication system; land and buildings used by the Imperial Government; the issuing of money bills; passports; citizenship; censorship; revenue that was reserved to the Crown. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Head of the Imperial Governor was the British Governor. He summoned and presided and had the final say in the Executive Council and Nominated Council. ▪ The reserved matters list was set up as it had been before 1930. ▪ The appointment of judges, the Police and trade with foreign countries were removed from the previous list of reserved matters.
5. Approval of Acts and Ordinances	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Laws by the Legislative Assembly and confirmed by the Senate were called 'Acts' or 'Bills'. ▪ Laws passed by the Imperial Government were called 'Ordinances'. ▪ In both assemblies, laws were passed by simple majority (50%+1) of the members present. ▪ All laws before coming into force first had to be approved by the Governor and then by the Secretary of State. ▪ The Crown reserved the right to make laws by Order-in-Council or to annul existing laws. ▪ To amend the Constitution both assemblies had to meet in a Joint Session and obtain a two-thirds majority of all the members present. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Laws by the Legislative Assembly and confirmed by the Senate were called 'Acts' or 'Bills'. ▪ Laws passed by the Imperial Government were called 'Ordinances'. ▪ In Legislative Assembly, laws were passed by simple majority of the members present. ▪ All laws before coming into force first had to be approved by the Governor and then by the Secretary of State. ▪ The Crown reserved the right to make laws by Order-in-Council or to annul existing laws
6. Life span of the Constitution	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ This constitution functioned from 1921 to 1933. ▪ It was suspended by the Secretary of State in 1933 when the Nationalist Government tried to reintroduce the teaching of Italian in primary schools. ▪ It was revoked by the Secretary of State when Italy invaded Abyssinia (1935) and when it became an ally of Nazi Germany (1936). ▪ From 1933 onwards, the Governor took over direct control of the local administration. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ This constitution functioned from 1947 until 1958. ▪ It was suspended by the Governor when Dom Mintoff and the Cabinet resigned in protest for the rundown of British military personnel stationed in Malta and the failure of Malta's Integration with the UK. ▪ The Constitution was replaced with direct rule by the Governor.

 		
<p><i>Governor Viscount Herbert Plumer (1919–1924)</i> <i>Governor Sir David Campbell (1931–1936)</i></p>	<p><i>Joseph Howard UPM</i> <i>(1921 -1923)</i></p>	<p><i>Francesco Buhagiar (UPM)</i> <i>(1923–1924)</i></p>



*Enrico Mizzi (left) and Sir Ugo Mifsud (right)
Joint Leaders of the PN (1926–1942)
Sir Ugo Mifsud Head of Ministry (1926-1927; 1932-1933)*



*Sir Gerald Strickland (CP)
Head of Ministry (192–1930)*



*Paul Boffa (LP)
Prime Minister (1947–1950)*

Fact Sheet of the Maltese Administrations under the 1921 Constitution	Fact Sheet of the Maltese Administrations under the 1947 Constitution
1. General Elections	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ For the Legislative Assembly in 1921, 1924, 1927 and 1932 ▪ For the Senate in 1921 and 1927 	<p>General elections for the Legislative Assembly were held in 1947, 1950, 1951, 1953 and 1955.</p>
2. Political Parties	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Unione Politica Maltese (UPM) ▪ The Partito Democratico Nazionalista (PDN). <p>In 1926 these two parties merged to form the Nationalist Party (PN).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Constitutional Party (CP) ▪ The Labour Party (LP) <p>Prior to the 1927 general elections, these two parties agreed to cooperate if they were to form a government. For this reason, they were called as the 'Compact' parties.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The main political parties when this Constitution was in force were: ▪ The Labour Party (in 1949 this party split in two; the Malta Workers Party (MWP) led by Paul Boffa and the Malta Labour Party (MLP) led by Dom Mintoff). ▪ The Nationalist Party, led by Enrico Mizzi until his death in 1950 and then by George Borg Olivier. ▪ The Progressive Constitutional Party (PCP) renamed from the former CP in 1953 and led by Mabel Strickland, Gerald Strickland's daughter.
3. The Nationalist administrations (1921–1924 and 1924–1927)	4. Political developments under this Constitution
<p>Important Acts enacted by the first Maltese Government:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Compulsory Primary Education Act of 1924 ▪ The setting up of an Emigration Department to organize and regulate Maltese emigration. ▪ Workmen's Compensation Act for employees who get injured on the workplace. ▪ Widows and Orphans Pension Scheme for civil servant employees. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Dom Mintoff criticised Paul Boffa (LP) (PM: 1947–1950) because Malta was not given Marshall Aid which Britain received from the USA after the war. This issue caused a split in the Labour Party in 1949. ▪ In 1952, George Borg Olivier (PN) (PM: 1950–1954) asked the British to grant Malta Dominion Status (independence within the British Commonwealth), but this was rejected by the Colonial Office.

5. Administration by the 'Compact' Parties (1927–1930)

- Reforms in favour of English in the administration and education.
- Disagreement between the Legislative Assembly and the Senate over the budget estimates for 1928.
- The Father Carta Incident triggered the Church-Strickland dispute that lasted from 1928 to 1932.
- A Pastoral Letter was issued by the bishops, prior to the general elections of 1930.

The Governor suspended the general elections and left Gerald Strickland in charge of a caretaker government until a new election was held.

6. The short-lived Nationalist administration (1932–1933)

- The general election of 1932 was won by the PN by a great majority.
- Mgr. Enrico Dandria suddenly in 1932 and was replaced as Education Minister by Enrico Mizzi, a staunch Italophile.
- Mizzi's attempt to reintroduce the teaching of Italian in primary schools brought about the suspension of the Constitution, with the Governor taking control of the local government.

- Dom Mintoff (MLP) (PM: 1955–1958) proposed the Integration of Malta with the UK. But the Church came out against Integration a few days before the referendum on Integration in 1956.
- In 1957 talks between the Maltese and the UK governments on Integration broke down when the latter started the first post-war rundown of its military personnel.
- In April 1958 Mintoff's government resigned in protest and the Governor took direct control of the administration.



Two Malta stamps issued at the time of King George V (1910–1936) (left) and King George VI (1936–1952) (right).



The elected members that constituted the Legislative Assembly and the Senate in 1921.

Right: A Cabinet meeting in 1947. The figure enclosed in the circle is Prime Minister Boffa. Dom Mintoff, his Deputy Leader is seated on Boffa's right hand side.



LO8 b - Features of the 1921 and 1947 Constitutions

1. Give the official name of the two authorities that formed the diarchy under both Constitutions.

_____ (2)

2. Tick (✓) the column or column for which these statements about the 1921 and 1947 Constitutions apply. In some cases, both columns may be ticked. (8)

	Statement	1921 Constitution	1947 Constitution
a	Granted Malta self-government.		
b	Granted the vote for women.		
c	Eligible voters had to be males over 21.		
d	Government by diarchy.		
e	A Senate and a Legislative Assembly.		
f	A Cabinet formed by the Governor, the PM and the Ministers.		
i	A list of 'reserved matters' under the Governor's authority.		
j	A Legislative Assembly made up of 40 elected members.		

3. Give the other name by which these two constitutions are known.

(a) _____ (b) _____ (2)

4. Why did the British Colonial Office include a 'reserved matters' list in both Constitutions?

_____ (2)

5. List **four** items that were included in the 'reserved matters' list.

(a) _____ (c) _____

(b) _____ (d) _____ (2)

6. Identify the year and the event that triggered the suspension of the 1921 and 1947 Constitutions:

(a) _____

_____ (2)

(b) _____

_____ (2)

7. What do the two Malta stamps shown in page 4 commemorate?

_____ (1)

(Total: 20 marks)

LO8 c – The politico-religious crisis of 1930

The general elections of 1921 and 1924 were won by the UPM and the PDN, which in 1926 merged to become the Nationalist Party (PN). At that time, it was common for the clergy to take part in politics. Most of the clergy supported the Nationalist Party and a few joined that party as candidates in the elections. Gerald Strickland, leader of the Constitutional Party, complained that this was unfair on his party for this influenced the people to vote for the Nationalists. However, the general elections of 1927 were won by the Constitutional Party and the Labour Party with Strickland as the new Prime Minister.



Left: Mauro Caruana, Bishop of Malta
Right: Michael Gonzi, Bishop of Gozo

The quarrel triggered in 1928 when the clerical members in the Senate voted against the budget estimates presented by Strickland's Government. Strickland's supporters organised a demonstration against the bishops for permitting the clergy to get involved directly in politics. Then, both sides started attacking each other in the press. *Catholic Action* issued a newspaper *Lehen is-Sewwa* to defend the Church against Strickland's arguments. Strickland contacted the Vatican to try to stop priests from taking part in politics. The Governor, who during this time sympathised with Strickland, asked the Vatican to send a Papal Legate (Mgr. Robinson) to bring about a solution to the crisis.

Mgr Robinson's report on the crises concluded that Strickland's attacks in the newspapers against the Church and the clergy were the real cause for the crisis. Then, just one month before the general elections set for 1 May 1930, the bishops issued a Pastoral Letter advising people not to vote for Strickland and for the Labour Party that supported him. The Governor decided to suspend the election amidst protests from the Nationalist Party.

In 1931, the Colonial Government sent a Royal Commission of Inquiry to investigate and try to find a solution to the quarrel. For two years the Vatican refused to agree to stop priests from taking part in politics. In the end the British Government decided to abandon its support for Strickland and gave permission for the election to take place. Strickland was pressured to publish an apology to the bishops in which he accepted the blame for starting the quarrel and asked for the forgiveness.

The subsequent election was won by the PN with a great majority. The quarrel showed how powerful the Church was in Maltese politics – that it had the power to bring down the Government from power by influencing people for which party to vote.



Strickland leaving for Rome for talks with the Vatican in 1930.



Nerik Mizzi addressing a PN mass meeting in 1932.



Two newspapers issued by the Church during the quarrel with Strickland.

LO8 c – The politico-religious crisis of 1930

1. Fill in the blank space with the correct word or phrase:

(a) The general elections of 1921 and 1924 were won by the: _____ (1)

(b) In the 1921s, most of the clergy supported the: _____ (1)

(c) In 1926, the PN and the PDN merged into one party and formed the: _____ (1)

(d) In 1927, the CP and the LP became known as: _____ (1)

2. Identify the year and describe the event which triggered the quarrel between Strickland and the Church authorities in Malta.

_____ (2)

3. Briefly explain Strickland's main criticism against the Maltese Church authorities.

_____ (2)

4. Who was Mgr. Robinson and why did he visit Malta in 1929?

_____ (2)

5. How did the Church authorities combat Strickland's arguments? Mention **two** concrete examples.

_____ (2)

6. What impact did the bishop's pastoral letter of 1930 have on the course of the dispute?

_____ (2)

7. How was the quarrel solved prior to the general elections of 1932?

_____ (2)

8. Mention **two** consequences that came out from the general election result of 1932.

_____ (2)

9. Name the **three** political and ecclesiastical leaders involved in the dispute.

_____ _____ _____ (2)

(Total: 20 marks)

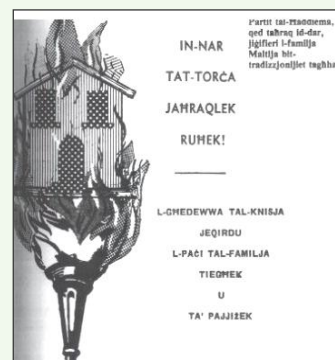
LO8 e – The politico-religious crisis of 1962

The referendum on Integration in 1956

For some time after Dom Mintoff's landslide victory in the general elections of 1955, the Church seemed satisfied with Mintoff's guarantees for the status of the Catholic Church if his Integration proposal with the UK were to succeed. However, close to the referendum on Integration in February 1956, the archbishop issued a pastoral letter in which he warned the Maltese of the dangers of Protestant influence in the form of civil marriage and divorce if Malta was integrated with the UK. This open stance against Integration resulted in a Church-MLP dispute that divided the Maltese in two camps. The Church was supported by the PN, the PCP and the lay religious organizations. On the other hand, the MLP had the support of the GWU. On his part Mintoff blamed the Church for having brought an unclear result in the integration referendum vote.

The general election campaign of 1962

Relations between the Church hierarchy and the MLP remained strained even after Mintoff's resignation in 1958. The first blows in a new quarrel occurred in 1960 when the bishops declared in another pastoral letter that 'no one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true Socialist.' The MLP condemned the pastoral letter and denied that the MLP was socialist. The religious lay organizations, collectively known as the *Junta*, from their headquarters at the Catholic Institute in Floriana coordinated support. They organized mass rallies in various localities in Malta and Gozo to show their support for the bishops and the Church. The newspaper *Lehen is-Sewwa* and *Militia Christi* were used to combat the ideas of the MLP. On their part, the bishops interdicted the newspapers and the executive committee of the MLP.



Above left: A mass meeting of 1962 organised by the Junta.

Above centre: Mintoff addressing an MLP rally in 1961.

Right: A Junta poster during the election campaign of 1962.

Mass meetings became very popular on both sides, during which there were battle of words, fist fights, Church bells or prayer meetings intended to interrupt mass meetings organised by the MLP. Parish priests passed over the homes of staunch Labourites during the annual blessing and refused to give them absolution during Confession. Supporters who died during the interdict were buried in unconsecrated ground (referred to as the *Mizbla* by the MLP). These measures resulted in many Labourites losing their respect and loyalty to the Church. Some even stopped attending Church ceremonies.

In the meantime, Archbishop Gonzi tried to control the PN and the MLP from within. The President of *Catholic Action*, Herbert Ganado, was encouraged to split from the PN and found a new pro-Church party - the Democratic Nationalist Party (PDN). Likewise, Anthony Pellegrini split from the MLP and set up the Christian Workers' Party (CWP). In this way, the archbishop hoped to win over votes from both the PN and the MLP to the *Junta* parties in the coming general elections.

The general election of February 1962 had a 91% turnout which resulted in a clear victory for the PN and the *Junta* parties. When the results were known, the *Junta* published an illustrated pamphlet entitled: '*Alla maghna u rbahna*' ('God was with us, so we won'). On his part, Mintoff called the election as the most unfair in the history of the island. For many years placards decorated MLP clubs with sayings: '*51,000 unyielding soldiers*' which was the number of votes obtained by the MLP in that election.

The Independence Constitution and the Church

The Church had one other quarrel with the MLP about the text of the Independence Constitution. The MLP put forward its proposals on the chapter on Church-State relations, known as 'Mintoff's Six Points'. But these amendments were rejected by the bishops in another pastoral letter. These points were in the end left out from the Independence Constitution of 1964.

Archbishop Gonzi used to tour the parishes during the midst of the quarrel with the MLP.



The impact of Vatican Council II

The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) adapted the teachings of the Catholic Church to modern times. This meant that some of the Church's arguments against the MLP lost their validity. Catholics could now vote socialist with a free conscience. This proved the MLP right in its stand against the Maltese Church. Vatican Council II brought also a change in the mentality of the clergy. Not all priests had liked the imposition of the Interdict against the MLP.

Peace between the Church and the MLP

Some priests started working to bring peace between the Church and the MLP. The election of 1966 was also won by the PN, but the MLP increased its support by 9% even though the quarrel with the Church was not yet solved. The Church authorities started to fear that there was a great probability that the next general election could be won by the MLP.



The Truce between the Church and the MLP.

Archbishop Gonzi also wished to make peace with the MLP before he died. Meanwhile, the Vatican appointed Mgr. Emmanuel Gerada as Auxiliary Bishop in charge of talks with the MLP. As a sign of good will, in December 1968 the Archbishop removed all religious restrictions against the MLP. The Truce which ended the quarrel was reached on Good Friday, in April 1969. The Truce of 1969 was one important factor which helped the MLP win the next general elections of 1971. In that election more people voted for the MLP with a clear conscience of not being seen disloyal to the Church.

Separation between Church and State

When Mintoff became Prime Minister in 1971 he set about to bring separation between Church and State. This was done by the following measures:

- Teacher-training was taken over by the state.
- Religious Matriculation was dropped as a compulsory subject for entry at the University.
- The Corrupt Practices Act forbade the Church from interfering during general elections.
- The bishops lost the right for the *privilegium fori*. From now on they could be summoned to Court.
- The Church lost its exemption from paying income tax.
- Civil marriage became legal. For a while matters looked as if a third 'politico-religious' dispute was in the making. But then, the bishops gave in and the law on civil marriage prevailed.

The general election of 1976 returned Labour to power with a larger majority than in 1971. A few days after the election result, Archbishop Gonzi resigned. The Vatican chose Mgr. Joseph Mercieca as the new Archbishop. This event marked an end of an era and the beginning of a new one in Church-State relations in Malta.

Right: During private meetings held after 1971, Archbishop Gonzi and Dom Mintoff tried to heal the trauma which the Interdict had on both the MLP and the Church.



LO8 e – The politico-religious crisis of 1962

1. How did the Integration issue affect the relations between Dom Mintoff and Archbishop Gonzi?

(2)

2. Why did the Church declare itself against Integration?

(2)

3. Briefly explain why MLP–Church relations became strained again in 1960.

(2)

4. How did the *Junta* support the Church's cause during the election campaign of 1962?

(2)

5. (a) How did Archbishop Gonzi try to weaken the two main political parties?

(2)

(b) Was he successful or not in this regard? Give **one** reason for your answer.

(2)

6. In what way did the Archbishop and the MLP disagree on the Independence Constitution?

(2)

7. What impact did Vatican Council II have on this dispute?

(2)

8. When and how did this politico-religious dispute come to an end?

(2)

9. Identify two changes in Church-State relations when Dom Mintoff was returned to power in 1971.

(2)

(Total 20 marks)

LO8 d - Integration versus Dominion Status

Dom Mintoff's objectives for Integration with the UK

During the 1955 general election campaign Mintoff proposal for Integration drew significant attention with the following as its basis for a new constitution and for integration with the UK:

1. Parity for Maltese and UK citizens in salaries, social services and taxation.
2. No wage discrimination for the Maltese.
3. The UK Government to extend its economic planning and employment measures to Malta.
4. The UK Government to have exclusive in direct taxation, foreign relations, and defence.
5. Malta to be represented by an agreed number of elected Maltese MPs in the House of Commons.
6. Malta would become a shopwindow for British democracy in the Mediterranean.
7. Unlimited local autonomy in all other matters.
8. Malta would remain a British defence base.

Mintoff stressed that if integration was rejected, then his government would resort to self-determination, very similar to what the PN was already aiming at, but under a different name, *i.e.* 'Dominion Status'.

The PN's objections to Integration

As for the PN, Integration meant an end to 'Dominion Status, which had been the party's goal since 1932. Borg Oliver had the following objections to Integration.

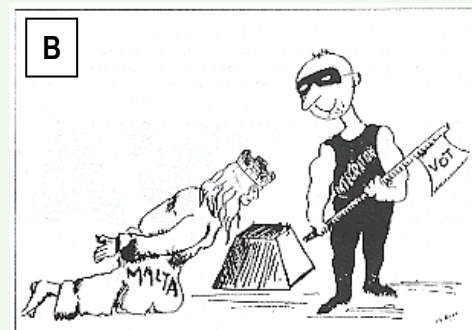
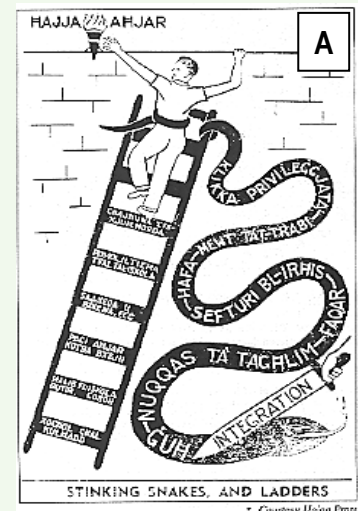
1. Integration meant the absorption of Malta in Britain.
2. The PN had polled 40% of the vote in the 1955 general elections, when the PN had already declared itself against integration and in favour of self-determination (*i.e.* independence). He made it clear that if the electorate voted for Integration, once in power, he would hold another referendum.
3. Most MLP supporters had accepted Integration because it brought material and financial benefits. But since the UK Government had already agreed to grant financial aid, there was no need for Malta to surrender its sovereignty.

The PN's proposals for Dominion Status

1. The Maltese Parliament was to legislate on all matters except on defence and foreign affairs.
2. No Bill could be reserved by the Governor or by the Crown.
3. Foreign affairs were to be handled jointly. In case of disagreement, the final decision was to lie with the UK Government based on the principle of 'good will towards Malta.'
4. The Governor would have a status of a Governor-General and would act on the advice of the Maltese Cabinet.

The PCP half-way between Integration and Dominion Status.

The PCP was totally against both Integration and Dominion Status. It proposed that Malta retains its national identity and establish a closer administrative association with the UK which would bring an end to Malta's colonial status. There would be a Malta Office in London, headed by a Minister for Maltese affairs. A Maltese Council based in London would enable the Maltese Prime Minister direct contact at cabinet level in London. The number of reserved matters would be decreased although defense and foreign affairs would remain so.



Two cartoon caricatures issued during the Integration referendum campaign: one pro-Integration and one anti-Integration..

Deadlock on Integration

The referendum on Integration was held in February 1956. The 'Yes' votes obtained 75%, the 'No' votes were 16% and the invalid votes amounted to 9%. But since 41% of the voters did not turn up to vote, the total 'Yes' votes were reduced to 44%. This made the UK Government consider the referendum result as inconclusive. As time passed matters about which was the underlying disagreement sometimes became quite prominent. The Maltese Government's urgency and by the British Government's caution contributed to the worsening of relations between the two sides and raised serious doubts about integration.



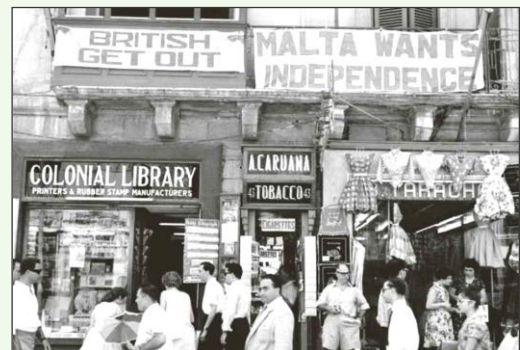
Official meetings on Integration were held in London.

For that year Britain contributed £4.25 million in financial aid and the UK Government assumed that future aid to Malta would remain close to this figure. When the Maltese Government asked for £8.2 million, an impasse swiftly developed. Mintoff stressed that integration should have to mean also 'economic equivalence' for Malta. But Secretary of State Lennox-Boyd was unmoved and remarked that 'to yield to Mintoff now would ...merely postpone the final showdown.'

Mintoff wanted guarantees of equivalent standards of living. His main thesis in support of economic equivalence, was simple: Britain wanted to use Malta as a fortress and for that purpose she must be prepared to pay. On their part, British officials also feared that with Integration they would have to continue to subsidise Malta's economy indefinitely.

The Defence White Paper of 1957

In 1957, British forces withdrew from the Egyptian Canal Zone. PM Anthony Eden reminded that 'in these hard-pressed financial days we cannot afford anything that is not essential.' In March, Secretary of State Duncan Sandys stated that 'the revised defence programme would involve a significant reduction of Services expenditure in Malta for the possible adjustment of our strategic interests in Malta. The contents of this White paper seriously alarmed the Maltese Government with extensive Service rundown resulting in an economic catastrophe. Services rundown took place in April and in August 1957.



After the Break with Britain Resolution, both the MLP and the PN wanted Malta to become an independent state.

Another event that further soured the prospect on Integration was uncertainty over the future of the Dockyard. Both the MLP and the PN, alarmed at the magnitude of the crisis if the dockyard were to close down, agreed to vote unanimously the *Break with Britain Resolution* on 30 December 1957. In March 1958, Mintoff visited London, but this time he insisted on self-determination not Integration. Lennox-Boyd said that with self-determination, Britain would abandon Malta to its own devices. Mintoff promptly walked out at the head of the Maltese delegation and returned to Malta.

With a general election very close, Mintoff started preparing Maltese public opinion in favour of self-determination. He decided to resign and to create administrative chaos and destabilise the security of the fortress. Mintoff and 23 other Labour MPs resigned on 21 April 1958. Governor Laycock declared a state of emergency and took over the administration until a new general election was held.



Above left: Prime Minister Dom Mintoff in his office a few days before he resigned on 21 April 1958.

Above right: The GWU ordered a general strike while MLP supporters took to the streets in support of Mintoff's resignation.

LO8 d - Integration versus Dominion Status

1. State **two** of Dom Mintoff's objectives for pursuing 'Integration' with Britain.

(2)

2. State **two** reasons by Borg Olivier and the PN opposed Integration.

(2)

3. (a) What was the PN's alternative plan to 'Integration' called? _____ (1)

(b) How would this plan change Malta's relationship with Britain?

(1)

4. Why did the UK Government conclude that referendum on Integration showed an inconclusive result?

(2)

5. What cause a deadlock in the negotiations on Integration?

(2)

6. What did Dom Mintoff mean by the term 'economic equivalence' for Malta?

(2)

7. (a) Why did the UK Government issue a Defence White Paper in 1957?

(1)

(b) Identify **two** effects this White Paper had on Malta.

(2)

8. What was the 'Break with Britain Resolution'?

(1)

9. Why did Mintoff's Government resign in April 1958 and what was the direct result of his resignation?

(2)

10. Explain the bias of the authors of the cartoon caricatures labelled A and B in page 11.

(2)

(Total: 20 marks)

LO8 f – Independence in 1964 and the Republic in 1974

The 1962 general elections were won by the Nationalist Party and George Borge Olivier became Prime Minister. In August 1962 he visited London for talks with the Secretary of State Duncan Sandys to try to convince the UK Government to increase its financial assistance for Malta. But since the aid promised by Britain was far below his expectations, before leaving London, Borg Olivier informed Duncan Sandys that: 'On behalf of the Government and People of the Island of Malta and its dependencies, I have the honour to invoke for my country the right to be an independent state. I request you therefore to fix as a matter of urgency a date for the Maltese Islands' independence within the Commonwealth.'



Left: The Roundtable Conference at Marlborough House in London between the Secretary of State Duncan Sandys (in the centre) and representatives of the Maltese political party. Prime Minister George Borge Olivier can be seen seated on the right-hand side of Sandys and the Leader of the Opposition Dom Mintoff is seated on his left-hand side respectively.

In his reply, Sandys informed the Maltese Government that the UK Government would not exclude granting Malta independence. All Maltese political parties were invited to attend a Roundtable Conference on Independence at Marlborough House in London in July 1963. During the conference, the other political parties were invited to submit amendments to the draft constitution prepared by the Borg Olivier's Government. Overall, the parties went along with most provisions set out in the draft constitution. There were some sticky points, the stickiest of all concerning the role of the Roman Catholic Church in public affairs. Mintoff referred to 'Six Points' which he wanted to be included in the Constitution, points to which the Curia objected:

1. Separation between Church and State.
2. The State should be secularist and treat all religions equally.
3. The acceptance of civil marriage.
4. The *privilegium fori* should be limited.
5. Censorship should be carried out by the Government.
6. In certain cases, violence was to be morally admissible.

The Conference closed with an address by Sandys on 1 August 1963. Sandys decided that the outstanding issues could be taken either by the people of Malta (*i.e.* by a referendum, like that held on Integration) or by the UK Government.' The referendum question would simply ask whether the voters approved of the Independence constitution being proposed by the Malta Government or not.

The referendum on Independence of May 1964 reflected the strength of the parties as at the 1962 general election. Taken together, the PN and the MLP, both of which advocated immediate independence, obtained 77% of the valid votes cast. The referendum showed also that 23% of the Maltese were against independence. The main questions that remained to be tackled concerned defence, finance and a solution to the religious clauses in the draft constitution which were deemed inadmissible to the UK Government and to the MLP. Another hurdle was to get the Malta Independence Bill through the House of Commons.



A cartoon caricature issued during the Independence referendum campaign by the anti-Independence political parties.



Left: PM Borg Olivier waving the Independence Constitution which granted Malta 'Dominion Status' on 21 September 1964.
 Above: The lowering of the UK flag and the hoisting of the Maltese flag on midnight of 20 September 1964 marked the end of British colonial rule over Malta.
 Above right: Badge given to students who attended the official Independence celebrations at the Floriana Arena on 21 September 1964.

This 1964 Independence Constitution was based upon the principles of the European Convention on Human Rights of 1950. Malta became a sovereign state and a monarchy within the British Commonwealth. The Queen of the UK was Malta's Head of State, represented in Malta by a Governor-General. The Chamber of Deputies consisted of 55 members elected every four years. The Governor appointed the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition. The Prime Minister chose the Ministers to form the Cabinet and kept the right to call for new general elections.



Above left: PM Borg Oliver waving to the people who attended the Independence celebrations in Floriana on 21 September 1964.
 Above right: A newspaper article commenting on the official ceremonies and festivities to commemorate that day.

The general elections of 1971 were won by the MLP and Dom Mintoff became Prime Minister. On 13 December 1974, Parliament declared Malta a Republic by amending some of the clauses of the 1964 Constitution. The former Governor-General became the President of the Republic. Subsequent Presidents were to be chosen by the Chamber of Deputies for one five-year term. The 1974 Constitution brought also separation between Church and State, although the Catholic Church was recognized as the religion of the majority of the Maltese.



The general elections of 1981 gave the PN 51% of the votes but with 31 seats in Parliament while the MP obtained 49% of the votes and 34 seats. This brought about a constitutional crisis which lingered on until 1987. A few months before the 1987 general election, the Government and the Opposition agreed that the party obtaining 50%+1 of the votes would be the party in government. Both sides also agreed to entrench by a two-thirds majority the clause that declared Malta a neutral and non-aligned state.

From left to right: Anthony Buttigieg (Malta's 2nd President); Sir Anthony Mamo (Malta's last Governor-General and first President of the Republic) (centre) and Dom Mintoff (right) from the balcony of the Palace on the evening of 13 December 1974 when Parliament declared Malta a Republic.

LO8 f – Independence and the Republic

1. (a) What prompted Prime Minister Borg Olivier to go to London in August 1962?
_____ (1)
- (b) What was the final outcome of this visit?
_____ (1)
2. (a) Name the exact place where the roundtable conference on Malta's independence was held.
_____ (1)
- (b) What was Dom Mintoff's position during this conference?

_____ (1)
- (c) Identify **two** important results that came out from this conference.

_____ (2)
3. What conclusion came out from the referendum on independence?
_____ (1)
4. Explain briefly the opinion of the caricaturist in the cartoon in page 14.

_____ (2)
5. Identify **three** features of the Malta Independence Constitution of 1964.

_____ (3)
6. Why do you think 21 September 1964 must have been the happiest day in Borg Olivier's career?

_____ (2)
7. Briefly explain how Malta from a monarchy became a republic.

_____ (2)
8. (a) Briefly explain why there was a constitutional crisis in Malta between 1981 and 1987.

_____ (2)
- (b) How was this crisis solved in 1987?

_____ (2)

(Total: 20 marks)

LO8 – bcdefg Constitutional and Political Developments, 1921–2004

Source Question

'The Independence Bill was presented to the House of Commons together with two other very important documents, a 10-year Defence Agreement that was to ensure a smooth and absolute continuity of the actual military arrangements on the Island, and a 10-year Financial Agreement that provided for £50 million in aid through grants and loans to Malta over the same period.

The agreements were hammered out during separate negotiations which ran parallel to the Independence debate but on which the people of Malta were told absolutely nothing.

On the Defence Agreement, Duncan Sandys stated: 'The Defence Agreement enables British forces to remain in Malta for a period of ten years after independence and accords to them by the large the same military facilities which they enjoy at present. Changes in the world situation and the redeployment of our forces have reduced our military requirements in Malta.'

Source. D. Sammut, *Too Early for Freedom*, 1984, p. 50.

1. Underline the correct answer. The above source is:
(a) a primary source; (b) a secondary source; (c) partly primary and partly secondary source. (1)
2. Trace and explain the bias in Source A.

_____ (2)
3. Why do you think a 'Defence Agreement' was beneficial for Malta in 1964?

_____ (2)
4. Give the year when this Defence Agreement was expected to expire. _____ (1)
5. What led Malta to demand Independence from the UK when a few years back it had asked for Integration?

_____ (2)
6. Who was Duncan Sandys mention in the extract? _____ (1)
7. Quote **two** clauses from the text about the Independence agreements:
(a) _____ (1)
(b) _____ (1)
8. Give another word for 'reduction in military requirements' (line 10). _____ (1)
9. What happened to the Defence Agreements in 1972?

_____ (2)
10. Mention **two** clauses from the Defence Agreements of 1972.
(a) _____ (1)
(b) _____ (4)
11. How did relations between Malta and Britain change after 31st March 1979?
_____ (2)

(Total: 20 marks)

LO8 g – The main political leaders of the period



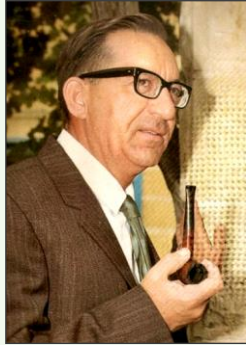


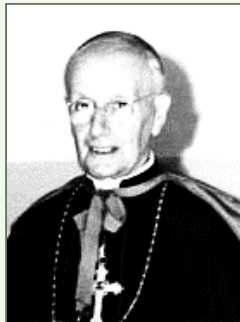
1. Under each photograph, the name of these Maltese leaders of the time. (2)

George Borg Olivier
Mabel Strickland

Paul Boffa
Dom Mintoff

Michael Gonzi
Nerik Mizzi

2. Write **three** facts about the life or career of each of these personalities. (18)

(Total: 20 marks)

LO8 bcdefg – Political and Constitutional Developments, 1921–1987

Read carefully these essay titles and then choose one to answer.

PAPER Level 2–3

1. (a) Give two reasons for the granting of the 1921 Constitution and two reasons for its suspension and then revocation. (8)
(b) Describe the way government by diarchy functioned in Malta during the 1921 Constitution. (12)
2. (a) Explain two causes and two consequences of the politico-religious conflict of 1930 between Strickland and the Church authorities. (8)
(b) Discuss the main events and the leading personalities that characterised this conflict. (12)
3. (a) Explain two causes and two consequences of the politico-religious conflict of 1961–1962 between the MLP and the Maltese Church authorities. (8)
(b) Discuss the main events and the leading personalities that characterised this conflict. (12)
4. (a) Define the terms 'Integration' and 'Dominion Status' in the context of Malta's political and constitutional developments in the 1950s and early 1960s (8)
(b) Discuss the main arguments in favour and against 'Integration' and 'Dominion Status'. (12)

PAPER Level 1–2

1. (a) List four facts about the 1921 Constitution. (8)
(b) Explain how the two sides of the Maltese Government were formed under this Constitution. (12)
2. (a) List four facts that were common to both the 1921 and 1947 Constitution. (8)
(b) Briefly explain two reasons why the 1921 Constitution was suspended in 1933 and then revoked in 1936. (6)
(b) Briefly explain two reasons why the 1947 Constitution was suspended in 1958. (6)
3. (a) Give the name of four Maltese leaders involved in the politico-religious conflict of 1930–1932. (4)
(b) Briefly describe the stance taken by these leaders in the conflict. (4)
(c) Briefly trace the main events that unfolded during this same conflict. (12)
4. (a) Give the name of four Maltese leaders involved in the politico-religious conflict of 1961–1962. (4)
(b) Briefly describe the stance taken by these leaders in the conflict. (4)
(c) Explain two causes and two consequences of this conflict. (12)
5. (a) Briefly explain why 'Integration' and 'Dominion Status' opposed each other in the context of Malta's history in the 1950s and early 1960s (8)
(b) Explain how and why Integration failed to materialize by 1958. (6)
(c) Explain why 'Dominion Status' for Malta was achieved in 1964. (6)

