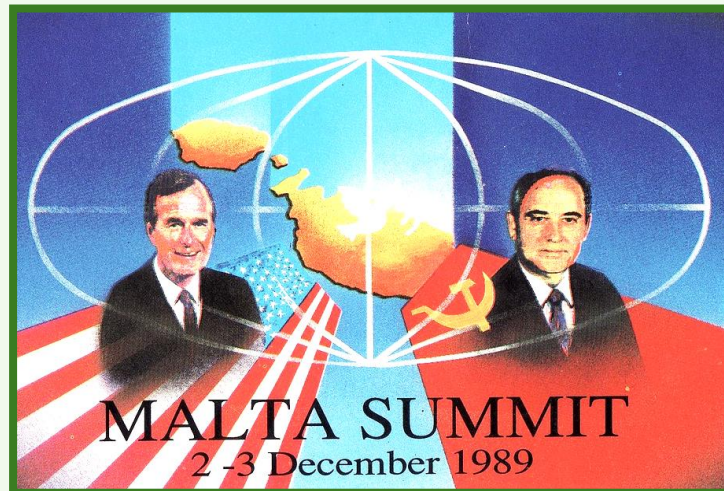


# MALTESE HISTORY

## LO8 hijkl

### Malta's foreign policy since 1964 and membership in the European Union



## Year 11

Third Edition – 2024  
for History SEC 2025



Curriculum Centre Annex



## LO8 h - The Defence and Financial Agreements of 1964 and 1972

In a nutshell, the Defence and Financial Agreements of 1964 contained the following clauses:

- Joint consultation between the armed forces of both countries.
- Only forces of the UK and Malta were to be stationed in Malta.
- Such forces were permitted to use the harbour, dockyard, airfield, communication facilities. However, NATO forces were excluded to use these facilities.
- The treaty was to remain in force for 10 years and could be renewed by a new agreement.
- The UK Government would assist Malta's budget and emigration up to a total of £50 million spread over 10 years. 75% of that sum were to be given as grants and 25% were to be given as soft loans.
- Another £1 million were to be given for the restoration of historical buildings which until independence were used by the British forces stationed in the islands.

The UK Government considered the agreement as generous. However, Dom Mintoff declared that both agreements gave to while at too little financial aid to Malta while the UK Government continued to hold exclusive control over certain parts of the islands. He also declared that once in power, he would negotiate with the British a revision of both agreements to Malta's advantage.



*Above left: One of the meetings held in London between Mintoff and Lord Carrington between the negotiations on the Defence and Financial Agreements between June 1971 and March 1972.*

*Above right: Dom Mintoff and Lord Carrington signing of the revised Defence and Financial Agreements in London, in March 1972.*

In January 1972, negotiations were initiated in Rome on the terms of a new defence agreement. Talks were held alternating between London and Rome. Meanwhile the deadline set by Mintoff for the departure of British troops was extended from 15 January to 31 March 1972. Finally, on 26 March 1972, a revised 7-year Defence and Financial Agreement was signed, five days short of the deadline. With this agreement Britain was to grant Malta £5,250,000 a year for its military base and another £8,750,000 a year from NATO countries until 31 March 1979. The signing of this new agreement saw to the return of service families. By December 1972, there were in Malta 2,880 service men and civil servants and 4,500 dependents.

*On 26 March 1972, Dom Mintoff was given a hero's welcome on his arrival from London after having just signed a revised Defence and Financial Agreement with the UK Government.*



## LO8 ij – Malta’s foreign policy as an independent state after 1964

### Malta’s foreign policy under Borg Olivier’s government



*Above left: The Maltese flag being hoisted in front of the Council of Europe building when it became its 18<sup>th</sup> member on 29 April 1965.  
Above right: Queen Elizabeth II with Prince Philip on right and Prime Minister George Borg Olivier on left during an official reception at a palace during its first royal visit in Malta as an independent state in November 1967.*



### Relations with NATO

Independence paved the way for Malta’s membership in international organizations in 1965: the United Nations, the British Commonwealth and the Council of Europe. Borg Olivier kept the Ministry of Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs as part of his ministerial responsibilities. His aim was to increase the involvement of NATO more in Malta.



For several years after independence in 1964, Malta followed a policy of close co-operation with the United Kingdom and other NATO countries. The Lascaris War Rooms were also taken over by NATO in 1967 and used as a strategic communication centre for the surveillance of Soviet submarines in the Mediterranean.

*NATO’s headquarters at the Granaries, Floriana.*



*Between 16 and 21 April 1961, NATO forces anchored at Marsamxett Harbour. 50 US, British, Italian, French, Greek and Turkish warships took part in this large-scale joint military exercise in the Mediterranean.*

A change in government in 1971 saw Dom Mintoff becoming Prime Minister of Malta. He immediately adopted a non-alignment and neutrality foreign policy and opposed to the presence of NATO in Malta. This policy was enshrined in the Constitution of 1974 as an amendment to Article 1:



*‘Malta is a neutral state actively pursuing peace, security and social progress among all nations by adhering to a policy of non-alignment and refusing to participate in any military alliance.’*

NATO’s building and the communication centre were both closed in 1977 at the request of the government. In 1979, Malta joined the Non-Aligned Movement, in the same when the British Royal Navy closed its base in Malta.

Borg Olivier also aimed at an Association Agreement with the EEC which in time would lead to a customs union with full membership as its ultimate objective. This Association Agreement was signed in December 1970 (photo above), only six months before the general elections of June 1971 which were won by Dom Mintoff and the MLP.

## LO8 h - The Defence and Financial Agreements of 1964 and 1972

Carefully read the following sources and then answer all the questions.

'The details of the Financial Agreement, as of the Defence Agreement, would be announced in parliament and laid on the table of the House of Commons on 21 July [1964]. The terms of the Financial Agreement became well known and, on the whole, were considered generous – if not over-generous – in Britain, for a departing colony. More than one British MP made this point. Behind the scenes, the Colonial Office, in support of the Borg Olivier stance, had been lobbying the Treasury and the Ministry of Defence...to increase the monies originally intended for Malta.'

**Source A.** Adapted from: *The Origins of Maltese Statehood*, Henry Frenco, 1999. P.626-627.

'News of the agreement spread like wildfire and there were demonstrations of joy all over the Island. After months of uncertainty and anxiety, and even moments of extreme tension, it was a great relief for everyone in Malta – no matter what his political convictions were – to learn that agreement had been reached, that the British forces would stay on for a further period and that this would happen with the blessing of the Government of Malta. For the next seven years Malta was assured of substantial financial and economic benefits which, if wisely utilised, could lead to a much more balanced and less dependent economy, and a higher standard of living for the entire population...My country was not only an independent state but was also soon to rid itself of the last vestige of foreign domination.'

**Source B.** Adapted from: *Malta in the Making, 1962–1987, An Eyewitness Account*, Edgar Mizzi, 1995. P.131-132.

1. What is the subject matter of Source A and Source B? (2)
2. (a) Why Source A is a secondary source? (1)  
(b) Why Source B is a primary source? (1)
3. (a) Who, in your opinion, was in favour of the arguments presented in Source A? Give **two** examples. (2)  
(b) Who, in your opinion, was in favour of the arguments presented in Source B? Give **two** examples. (2)
4. Why was the agreement mentioned in Source A considered 'over-generous' by the British? (4)
5. Mention **three** benefits which Malta derived from the agreements described in Source B. (3)
6. Calculate the total in financial aid which Malta was to receive by the Financial Agreements of 1964 and 1972? (4)
7. Describe how relations between Malta and NATO changed between the 1950s and the 1970s. (4)

**(Total: 20 marks)**

## Malta's foreign policy under Mintoff's government

### Establishment of new diplomatic relations

Prime Minister Dom Mintoff toured countries in Eastern Europe, Communist China, North Korea and Arab states in North Africa and the Middle East. The aim of these visits was to conclude bilateral economic agreements, establish diplomatic relations and inform these countries about Malta's new international role as a neutral and non-aligned state.

*Right: Dom Mintoff's first official visit to Communist China in 1973 aimed at established diplomatic relations between the two countries.*



### Relations with the Arab World

Mintoff's major thrust in foreign policy was directed at the Arab world. A brotherly friendship was established between Mintoff and Libya's President Gaddafi. In international meetings, Mintoff supported the Palestinian cause. As a result, relations with Israel became very cool and by time became nearly non-existent.



Mintoff's friendship with the Arab world grew stronger and brought economic benefits to Malta. Libya and Saudi Arabia provided Malta with petroleum at a lower price. This helped Malta's fragile economy during the Oil Crisis of 1973. Libya had a barter agreement by which Malta paid its oil in kind in the form of local products.

*Mintoff with Libyan President Colonel Ghaddafi during one of his frequent visits to Malta during the 1970s.*

### Relations with the EEC

Mintoff realized that Malta's major trading partner was the EEC. Mintoff aimed for a financial protocol by which the EEC would open its large market to Maltese products – in other words to enjoy the advantages of membership without any of its disadvantages. It took years until a new financial protocol was agreed with the EEC (in 1976) in the form of loans and grants and it took the Parliaments of the member states up to 1978 to ratify the agreement with Malta. The funds were to cover a period of five years from 1978 to 1983.

### Relations with the superpowers

US-Maltese relations at government level deteriorated when Mintoff closed NATO's headquarters and when he moved closer to Libya and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). Relations with the USA improved when the latter agreed to increase its trade with Malta and recognise Malta's neutrality. Chinese-Maltese relations reached a climax with the building of the Red China Dock, financed by the Chinese Government.

The main objective of the CSCE Conference held in Helsinki between 1973 and 1975 was to have the post-war frontiers frozen for the future. The USA and its allies in Western Europe hoped to persuade the Soviets to grant more human rights and freedoms in the Eastern European states behind the Iron Curtain. On his part, Mintoff demanded that Arab states in the Mediterranean should be invited to the Conference. Since the Conference took decisions only by consensus, Mintoff chose to withhold Malta's consent on this issue for two years.

### Malta's neutrality

The most crucial date in the Malta's foreign policy was 31 March 1979 with the closure of the British base. The last British military forces left Malta on that day. After that date, Malta's foreign policy objectives was to have its neutrality status recognised by the international community of nations.



*The last farewell to HMS Brason, the last British warship exiting the Grand Harbour on 31 March 1979 symbolising the end of Malta as a foreign military base.*

*Below left: Dom Mintoff on the lighting the torch on Freedom Monument in Vittoriosa during official celebrations marking the end of the British base, on 31 March 1979.*

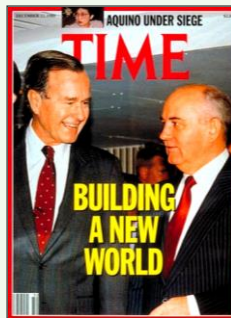
*Below right: Dom Mintoff negotiating neutrality guarantees with the Italian government in Rome in 1980.*



In 1980, Malta and Italy signed an agreement that guaranteed Malta's neutrality. Both countries agreed to work for peace and progress in the Mediterranean. Malta affirmed its refusal to join any military alliance and to follow a policy of non-alignment. Once Malta's neutrality has been secured, Mintoff announced that he would be resigning as Prime Minister in December 1984.

### **The Malta Summit on 2–3 December 1989**

Although in 1987 there was a change of government in Malta, the new Prime Minister Eddie Fenech Adami continued to follow a neutral and non-aligned foreign policy. For this reason, US President George Bush Sr. and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev agreed to hold their next summit in Malta, just a few weeks after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The choice of venue was also highly symbolic because Malta had declared its neutrality between the two superpowers. The meetings took place during stormy weather on board the *Maksim Gorky*, a Soviet cruise ship anchored at Marsaxlokk Harbour.



*Above left: The US and Soviet Presidents at a press conference at the Malta Summit.*

*Above centre: An issue of the Time magazine featuring the Malta Summit.*

*Above right: The Maxim Gorky anchored at Marsaxlokk Bay on 2-3 December 1989.*

However, no formal agreements were signed at the Malta Summit. Its main purpose was to provide the two superpowers an opportunity to discuss the rapid changes that were taking place in Europe with end the Iron Curtain. Some observers viewed the summit as the official end of the Cold War.

## LO8 ij – Malta’s foreign policy since 1964

1. Tick (✓) the column for which these statements about Malta’s foreign policy apply. (10)

	Statement	Foreign policy under George Borg Olivier	Foreign policy under Dom Mintoff
(a)	Support for the PLO		
(b)	Closure of the British base in Malta		
(c)	Association Agreement with the EEC		
(d)	Malta as a NATO base		
(e)	Diplomatic relations with Communist China		
(f)	Close relations with Libya and other Arab states		
(g)	Malta joined the Council of Europe		
(h)	Closure of the Malta NATO headquarters		
(i)	Neutrality and non-alignment		
(j)	Financial protocols with the EEC		

2. What benefit did Malta obtain with the following:

(a) Close relations with Communist China?

\_\_\_\_\_ (2)

(b) Close relations with Libya?

\_\_\_\_\_ (2)

(c) Close relations with the EEC?

\_\_\_\_\_ (2)

3. (a) Why was Malta chosen to hold the summit between the superpowers in December 1989?

\_\_\_\_\_ (2)

(b) Why was this summit a significant international event?

\_\_\_\_\_ (2)

**(Total: 20 marks)**

## LO8 ij – Malta’s foreign policy after 1964

### Source Question

Carefully read the following sources and then answer all the questions.

*‘In June 1971 as soon as we were returned to office, we sought an agreement with Britain, to phase out its military base and to provide Malta with financial means and with the necessary funds to allow its economy to be geared to new ways of peace. It was stipulated that only British forces could make use of the base but under no circumstances against any Arab state. For the past few years, the people of Malta have devoted their entire strength to build a new economy. With all their might they have tried to destroy the old image of an island fortress. The Malta Government has striven to convince Western Europe and North African States that it is in their best interest of the Mediterranean that Malta should choose a status of guaranteed neutrality after March 1979. It is indeed in the interest of peace – and therefore not least in the interest of the superpowers themselves – that Malta should become a centre of peace in this troubled region. For this aspiration to become a reality we need balanced military and economic guarantees from our Mediterranean neighbours in the North and in the South.’*

**Source A.** Adapted from Dom Mintoff’s address to the Council of Europe in September 1978 in which he summed up his government’s foreign policy since 1971.

*‘The British Queen as the Head of State, the British Governor as head of the Government, a British base a NATO headquarters enjoying equal rights with the British base, the English Pound Sterling (£) as Malta’s only official currency and a Maltese Central Bank following regulations laid down by the Bank of England, a small badly trained, badly-equipped Maltese army under the command of a British Brigadier and integrated into the British Army, commercial banking in British hands, ship-repair yards run by British firms, a developing corporation under a British manager, a broadcasting system owned and run by the British Rediffusion Company, the airport run and controlled by the British Air Force and the Maltese harbours by a British admiral, a University controlled by the Church and the British University Grants Commission, and a vote at the UN which was never at variance with that cast by the British Government.’*

**Source B.** Adapted from Dom Mintoff’s speech during an official visit to the USSR in December 1983, commenting on developments in Malta’s foreign policy since Independence.

1. In a sentence describe what does Source A and Source B are about.

Source A: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ (1)

Source B: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ (1)

2. Why does Mintoff says ‘when we were returned to office’ in line 1 of Source A?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1)

3. Why does Mintoff links Malta's neutrality with its economic development? (Read through Source A to help you answer).

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(2)

4. List **three** objections which Mintoff mentions about the state of Malta's independence as achieved in 1964. (Read through Source B to help you answer).

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(3)

5. Identify **three** of Borg Olivier's main foreign policy aims after independence.

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(3)

6. Identify from Source B **four** points which Dom Mintoff criticised the agreement of 1964 on Malta's independence.

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(4)

2.4 List **three** changes in Malta's relations with Britain when Dom Mintoff was Prime Minister?

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(3)

4. Identify the **two** instances in Source B that define Malta's foreign policy after 1979?

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(2)

**(Total 20 marks)**

## LO8 k - Malta's road towards EU membership, 1970–2004

### Phase 1. Malta's first application for membership, 1990-1996

Eddie Fenech Adami took over as Prime Minister in May 1987. His main drive in foreign policy was to achieve Malta's membership in the EC. In May 1988, he summed up the reasons why his government intended to seek membership in the EC:

*'Malta's membership of the EC will be beneficial to Malta. It will also benefit the EC. Economically my country is already well integrated in the Community. 70% of our trade and 80% of our tourism are with the Community countries. But our motivation to seek closer ties is political...Today we are determined to share the collective sovereignty of a United Europe. We shall share the benefits and the burdens...Our common task is to see Europe unite.'*

*Eddie Fenech Adami during a pro-EU mass rally held during the referendum campaign of 2003.*



In July 1990, the Maltese Government applied to join the EC. The EC commissioned a report on Malta called the *avis*. Before joining, Malta was to receive a set of financial protocols to bring its laws in line with the EC's laws and principles known as the *acquis communautaire*. In 1991, the European Commission set up its diplomatic delegation at Ta' Xbiex. Its role was to keep the institutions of the EC in Brussels informed of the political and economic developments in Malta and to act as an information and documentation centre on the EC. During an EU summit held in 1994, the member states concluded that the enlargement was to include Cyprus and Malta. In 1995 Malta joined the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.

### Changes under the Labour Government of 1996-1998

In the general elections of October 1996, there was a change of government when the MLP won the elections and Alfred Sant became Prime Minister. Malta's application for EU membership was immediately shelved and a new relationship with the EU called 'partnership' was to be negotiated. However, within a year, a series of developments crippled Alfred Sant's Government, resulting in another general election in September 1998. Fenech Adami returned to power as prime minister. Guido de Marco was appointed as Foreign Minister immediately re-activated Malta's application for EU membership.

### The final road towards EU membership, 1999–2004

Early in 1999, the Maltese Government set up the MiC (Malta-EU Information Centre) with Simon Busuttill as its Chairman. Its task was to provide information about how the EU works and how EU membership would affect the everyday life of the Maltese. Between 1999–2000 the EU started screening Malta's laws which were divided into 21 chapters.



By the Treaty of Nice of 2000, upon joining the EU, Malta would have three votes in the Council of Ministers, five seats in the European Parliament and one EU Commissioner. By the time of the Copenhagen Summit held in December 2002 Malta all its chapters had been screened and closed. The last ones to be agreed were those on agriculture, taxation, customs, financial and budgetary aid. Malta was to be granted LM81 million in EU funds for the years 2004–2006. The next EU enlargement was fixed for 1 May 2004. Each new applicant had to hold a referendum on EU membership. The Maltese Government was the first country which held its referendum on 8 March 2003. The question for the referendum was: *'Do you agree that Malta should become a member of the EU in the next enlargement on 1 May 2004?'* The voter turnout was 91%. The 'Yes' votes amounted to 53.6% and the 'No' votes amounted to 45.4% The 'Yes' obtained around 20,000 more votes than the 'No'.

Immediately after the result, Alfred Sant who had advocated for a 'No' vote declared that Partnership had won by pointing out that 52% had voted against or abstained on that referendum. This reaction prompted the Prime Minister to announce a general election, which was won by the PN, with 51.8% of the votes. With this result in hand, Fenech Adami announced that Malta had, at last, arrived safely in Europe's harbour. On 16 April he and the Foreign Minister Joe Borg signed Athens Accession Treaty, together with the nine other new member states. In March 2004 Eddie Fenech Adami resigned he resigned as Prime Minister and was succeeded by Lawrence Gonzi who represented Malta during the EU enlargement celebrations on 1 May 2004.

After the referendum and election result, the MLP leadership was faced with the task of convincing its supporters to forget its anti-EU membership stance. It was no easy task and at times it seemed as if Alfred Sant would lose the leadership of his party. He managed to pass the storm and even went as far as being elected a Labour MEP in the European Parliamentary elections of 2014.



*PM Fenech Adami and Joe Borg (Foreign Minister) signing the Athens Accession Treaty on 16 April 2004.*

Ironically, in the first European Parliament elections in June 2004, MLP elected three seats (Joseph Muscat, John Attard Montalto, Louis Grech.) while the PN elected 2 seats (Simon Busuttil, David Casa).

Financial Protocols between Malta and the EEC		
First Protocol (1978-1983)	26 million ECU	Upgrade of St Luke's X-Ray department; train Maltese in civil aviation and sea navigation; provide equipment for the University.
Second Protocol (1983-1987)	29.5 million ECU	Upgrade the sewage infrastructure; build a new airport terminal; introduce ICT resources in secondary schools; extend the University Library; undertake restoration works at St John's Co-Cathedral; upgrade the Fellenberg Centre and the ITS.
Third Protocol (1988-1993)	38 million ECU	Install a reverse osmosis plant at Pembroke; provide a radiotherapy unit at Boffa Hospital; upgrade the telecommunications sector.
Fourth Protocol (1995-1998)	45 million ECU	Offer technical assistance and training to facilitate the transition phase prior to EU membership.

By July 2007 the Maltese economy had become firmly integrated in the EU. In that year the European Commission concluded that Malta had met the necessary criteria which enabled it to join the Eurozone by adopting the euro as its currency:

- ✓ The inflation rate was 2.2% (less than the 3% set by the EU).
- ✓ The value of the Maltese Lira with the euro had remained stable.
- ✓ In 2006, the Government debt amounted to 66.5% of the GDP.



*Above right: Prime Minister Lawrence Gonzi and Finance Minister Tonio Borg withdrawing the first euro bank notes from an ATM to mark the official introduction of the euro currency on 1 January 2008.*

*Left: The three national symbols chosen by the Maltese on the euro coins.*



## LO8 I - Arguments for and against EU membership

Since independence Malta's economy has been closely linked to the EU. A very large percentage of imports and exports are from and to EU countries. Most foreign firms operating in Malta are European.

During the 1990s the issue that dominated the political debate in Malta was whether Malta was to join the EU or not. The PN had made it its goal since re-election in 1987. The MLP followed a more cautious position: first from an out-right 'No' under Karmenu Mifsud Bonnici, then from a 'wait and see' approach under Alfred Sant and finally a close relationship but not full membership termed as 'Partnership'.

	Those <b>in favour</b> of membership presented the following arguments:	Those <b>against</b> membership presented the following arguments:
1	It would be a great disadvantage for Malta to remain outside when most European countries were seeking to join the EU.	There were countries which refused membership, such as Norway, Iceland and Norway and Malta can do the same.
2	Malta would be entrenched in a democratic Europe where democracy and human rights will be guaranteed by all future Maltese Governments.	There was no danger for Malta's democracy since the time it acquired independence.
3	Malta would have a greater share in debates and decisions taken at European level, thus enhancing Malta's collective sovereignty within a united Europe.	Malta's influence would be next to nil in a union dominated by the larger European states. Malta would have to change most of its laws to adopt EU ones, which reduces Malta's sovereignty as an independent state.
4	Being a member, Malta can still follow a neutral foreign policy as other neutral members like Ireland, Sweden and Austria.	With membership, Malta will lose its neutrality which is entrenched in the Constitution.
5	Maltese citizens will gain European citizenship and enjoy the same rights and duties as EU citizens.	Acquiring European citizenship is not in itself a strong reason for joining the EU.
6	Reducing import controls, would make the local manufacturing industry more efficient.	Abolishing the system of import duties would result in less revenue for the Government.
7	Malta would be able to increase its export to the EU's Single Market.	Maltese consumers would start buying foreign goods because local products in a small market like that in Malta could not compete the vast European Single Market.
8	Farmers would receive financial assistance to modernise their farms and improve their products.	Local farmers would have to compete with better organised European farmers.
9	VAT reduces high custom duties, thus increasing the spending power of consumers. Most food items and medicines will be exempted from VAT. VAT, being a tax on consumption, would increase government revenue on the principle of 'who consumes more contributes more'.	With VAT there would be a price increase in most goods and services there previously were not taxed.
10		Malta would be invaded by foreigners, namely Sicilians resulting in higher unemployment, rent and property.
11	Malta would be entitled to EU funds that would help improve the infrastructure and the environment.	

## LO8 k - Malta's road towards EU membership, 1970–2008

1. (a) What was the main objective of Prime Minister Fenech Adami's foreign policy after 1987?  
\_\_\_\_\_ (1)
- (b) Which aspect of foreign policy remained unchanged after 1987? \_\_\_\_\_ (1)
2. Mention **two** reasons mentioned by Fenech Adami for Malta's application for membership in the EU in 1990.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ (2)
3. Give the meaning of the following terms as used in Malta-EU relations:
- (a) *acquis communautaire*: \_\_\_\_\_ (1)
- (b) *avis*: \_\_\_\_\_ (1)
- (b) MiC : \_\_\_\_\_ (1)
4. (b) What kind of relationship with the EU did Alfred Sant's government seek between 1996-1998?  
\_\_\_\_\_ (1)
- (c) Give **two** reasons why this relationship was abandoned by the MLP by 2004?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ (2)
5. What did Malta gain from the EU by:
- (a) The Treaty of Nice in 2000: \_\_\_\_\_ (1)
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1)
- (b) The Copenhagen Summit in 2002: \_\_\_\_\_ (1)
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1)
6. Why did Fenech Adami call for a general election immediately after the EU referendum in 2003?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ (2)
7. Explain the headline article of the newspaper on the right in the context of the EU referendum result in March 2003.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ (3)
7. Give **three** words that refer briefly to the three criteria necessary for a country to adopt the euro.  
\_\_\_\_\_ (3)



## LO8 hijki – Malta’s foreign policy since 1964 and membership in the EU

### Essay Questions

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

#### PAPER Level 2-3

1. (a) Explain why Malta needed a defence and financial agreement with Britain in 1964 and 1972? (8)  
(b) Compare and contrast the Malta Defence and Financial Agreements of 1964 and 1972. (12)
2. (a) Describe Malta’s foreign policy under Prime Minister George Borg Olivier. (8)  
(b) Discuss changes in Malta’s foreign policy under Prime Minister Dom Mintoff. (12)
3. (a) Explain **four** arguments in favour and against Malta joining the EU. (8)  
(b) Trace the main events related to Malta’s application and final membership in the EU between 1990 and 2004. (12)

#### PAPER Level 1-2

1. (a) List **four** facts about the Malta Defence and Financial Agreement of 1964 with Britain. (8)  
(b) Explain why and how Dom Mintoff managed to bring about a revised Defence and Financial Agreement with Britain in 1972. (12)
2. (a) List **four** facts about Malta’s foreign policy when George Borg Olivier was Prime Minister between 1964 and 1971. (8)  
(b) Explain **four** features of Malta’s foreign policy when Dom Mintoff was Prime Minister between 1971 and 1984. (12)
3. (a) List **two** arguments for and **two** arguments against Malta joining the EU. (8)  
(b) Describe the political developments on Malta’s drive to EU membership from 1996 to 2004. (12)

