

# LABOUR MANIFESTO

## "FORWARD IN PEACE"

Translation from the Maltese Original

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### LABOUR MANIFESTO FOR THE GENERAL ELECTIONS 1976

#### **Our beliefs**

Man, in his struggle for survival, created civilization. Man has realised that he would lead a more secure and better life if he joined his fellow brethren so that together they would guard against all that is harsh in nature and together remove all obstacles and share happiness and grief.

In order to achieve this aim, man had, necessarily and gradually, to overcome his own instincts, the instincts of greed, power, and of destruction and inevitably had to place reason above instinct. So much so that man boasts that his reasoning powers distinguish him from animals.

Since early days, man also realised that work - both manual and mental - is the only way of improving the living conditions of himself and his descendants.

Many civilizations in several continents have been built on work and reason. In all these civilizations one finds man's continuous effort to live in peace with his neighbour. It is also observed that whenever such efforts failed, civilizations disappeared, and so to say man had to start afresh. Undoubtedly, the main cause which has destroyed peace during the past thousands of years was that someone or a group of men succeeded in gaining power which was ruthlessly used by the few as a means of suppressing the majority, rather than exercising such power to enable men live together as brethren.

It was for this reason that during the last century our Western civilization - the civilization which has been affected most by the teachings of Christ - gave birth to socialism which made the multitude of workers realise that they had a common destiny in spite of differences in race, creed, nationality and sex. They had the option of either staying divided and be subdued and dominated or, if united, create a new civilization in which every man, every worker, would realize that they have to live like brethren, that the rich should care for the poor, that the strong should care for the weak and the sick. Everyone had to realize also that in order to create such a new civilization man had to eradicate ignorance and poverty and this could be achieved if men of learning taught the ignorant and the wealthy aided the poor.

In spite of the harsh opposition made by the Emperors, the kings, the nobility, the capitalists and all those who ruled in Europe during the last century, in spite of the gallows, imprisonment and flogging in an effort to eliminate socialism at birth, socialism spread and flourished. It became harsh where opposition was harshest but became more human where it was more tolerated. That is why today socialism is divided in two the first believes in the dictatorship of the proletariat because in the history of certain countries where ignorance and cruelty prevailed, this was the only means by which the workers could rid themselves of the tyranny of a

feudal system whereby total power rested in the hands of the lords of the land who had even the power of life and death over their subjects, This is today known as communism, and those parties who believe that in order to free himself from slavery the worker must necessarily start with the proleterian dictatorship are all called Communist parties. \*

\* During the past years, it has also been noticed that the Communist parties of Mediterranean Countries, such as Italy, France, etc.. have now also abandoned their belief in the proleterian dictatorship and are stating that there should lie a pluralistic society, that is, if they were to be elected to power they would freely allow opposition from other political parties.

The other form of Socialism is Democratic Socialism. Under Democratic Socialism the workers united together declare that they are prepared to give these same rights which they had achieved after so many hardships and sacrifices, even to those who only very recently were in power and with the utmost cruelty had denied them these very same rights.

Both in belief and deeds, the Maltese Socialist Movement belongs to this second form of Socialism which is kind and human. To this movement a worker means any man who in some way or other contributes towards the social, material, intellectual and moral welfare of his fellowmen. In the eyes of Maltese Socialism a Judge in the Law Courts is •as much a worker as the blacksmith in the dockyard, the artist as much as the fishmonger. the doctor as much as the mason, etc., etc.

### **What Socialism means to the Maltese worker**

It is true that what Maltese Socialism cherished most in the past was the manual worker but this was due to the fact that this class of worker was the most enslaved and ill-treated. But today it also has in its ranks men and women from all walks of life, both in the industrial and cultural sectors of the country, and through its deeds it distributes benefits to all and sundry.

From its very inception in Malta, Socialism ensured a home for the Maltese worker by means of a rent regulation legislation. The landlord thus could not raise the rent at will and neither could he evict the tenant once the latter had paid rent.

During these same times, the Maltese workers removed the use of Italian language from the administration of the country and from the Law Courts and instead, the Maltese language was introduced so that everybody could understand what was being done. The end of the second world war found the Workers' Movement in a stronger position. The one-man one-vote system was immediately introduced in Malta, irrespective of whether one was rich or poor, man or woman. The Senate for which only the privileged classes had the right to vote, was abolished.

Income Tax was introduced so that wherever humanly possible those with high incomes would contribute more than those with lower incomes towards expenses for hospitals, roads, schools. etc.

Old age pensions, sickness benefits, assistance to widows. to orphans, and all the other social services were introduced. Compulsory education was also introduced.

Socialism in our country strengthened through legislation what the workers had won by force - the setting up of trade unions with the right to strike. For a long number of years it defied the might of the British Empire and of certain Maltese classes to whom the British Government used to hand out privileges and honours, to the great detriment of the majority of the Maltese.

Until some years ago, the motto of imperialism divide et impera - incite, divide and rule - could still be heard. It was the Workers' Movement, embracing the Labour Party and the General Workers' Union, that introduced in Malta freedom of conscience and the right of every Maltese to choose and revere the religion he desires, without fear and interference.

It was the Workers' Movement that did not allow religious disputes in our country to be used for political ends by the foreigner and by the privileged classes in order to dominate their Maltese brethren.

The Movement's efforts were crowned on the 13th December 1974, when Malta became a REPUBLIC.

The Republic removed privileges and in their stead instilled amongst us work, tolerance, education, social justice and charity. The Republic which we set up together gave the right of freedom of expression, of freedom of conscience, of peaceful co-existence, equally, to all the Maltese, even to those who in the past did their utmost so that this would not come about.

The Movement of the Maltese Workers achieved this, of its own free will, because it cherishes democratic socialism, and because it believes that it is possible that we in Malta get to live together like brothers, in other words that we become one large Socialist family.

We believe that in our country all this could be achieved without the reaction which is inevitably brought about by the removal of rights from our political opponents, without going through the sufferings and tortures which are brought about by the proletarian dictatorship.

We believe that the changeover from a capitalistic jungle society, where money breeds more money and cruelty means gold and dollars, need not be done by a revolution, that is overnight, but slowly and with the consent of all.

Together we showed the same firmness and wisdom when in 1972 we made the new agreement with the British Government.

With the foreigner's own money we have strengthened the foundations of our country so that, for the first time in the history of Malta, freedom will be really attained in 1979 without bloodshed and with minimum hardship for the Maltese people.

### **The past five years and coming live years**

Let us now review in brief our performance during the past five years and what we intend to do in the forthcoming years. Let us study the three principal sectors:-

1. The material sector;
2. The social sector; and
3. The intellectual and moral sector.

Above all, during the coming years we will have to put our heads together, work and strive together so that, without fail, we will keep our appointment with destiny in March 1979. We must make sure that destiny will find us fully prepared for freedom, so that, for the first time in the history of Malta, freedom will be really attained in 1979 without bloodshed and with minimum hardship for the Maltese people.

## **THE MATERIAL SECTOR**

### **Economic progress**

The Labour Government began the implementation of a development plan in 1971 in spite of the fact that the plan was made public in 1973.

This plan envisages Malta's development up to 1980. The principal aim is that work in industries, tourism, fisheries and agriculture will grow in such a manner that there will be no ill after-effects in 1979 when we have severed our ties with the British Services and the revenue accruing therefrom.

From 1971 onwards the overall profit of the national product rose at a considerable rate, there was increased activity in all sectors. From £M90 million for the year 1970 the Gross National Product rose to £M170 million for the year 1975. This high rate of growth was made possible as the number of gainfully occupied rose from 96,099 at the end of 1970 to 108,700 in June of 1976.

Government invested heavily but little is known of the fact that heavy investment was also made by the private sector. During the last five years 1970-75 this amounted to LM86.8 million of which LM46.8 million came from foreign private investors. During the previous five years foreign investment in Malta amounted to £M29.3 million.

As from 1974 price increases on the international markets, the oil crisis, recession, and the uncertain monetary situation played havoc in many poor and industrialised countries alike. This wave has also slowed down our progress, but as a result of the wise measures that the Labour Government had taken and was still taking the Maltese people succeeded in overcoming the crises and was able to follow its development programme. This is borne out by the local rate of increase in prices which was one of the lowest in the world, a healthy balance of payment, and a heavy increase in foreign reserves.

Whilst states like Italy and Great Britain, not to mention developing countries, had a very unfavourable balance of payments, and had to borrow from the International Monetary Fund, our balance of payments had never been as strong as during these last years. In 1975 we also had a record balance of LM24.4 million in the current account compared to a loss of LM2.3 million in 1970.

The total revenue of foreign currency rose from LM83.5 million in 1971 to LM186.4 million in 1975.

As a result the proportion of revenue from the rent and all the other income through the British base fell from 35% in 1971 to 16% in 1975.

The same thing happened in the number of employees with the British base: this figure stood at 6,040 in December 1971 and fell to 3,600 in June 1976. This shows that we are getting closer to the principal aim of our plan to be no longer dependent on the British base.

(As in the past, the Socialist Government will come to the assistance of all those Maltese who in any way are hit adversely through the departure of the British Armed Forces from Malta. This will be done to mitigate the hardship and help them contribute their useful share in the service of the nation).

### **The monetary sector**

In order to strengthen the economy of our country we released the Malta pound from its ties with sterling and tied it to a basket of currencies of the strongest countries in the world of trade. Thus when one of these

currencies loses in value our pound is not devalued in a similar manner. But for the same reason when one of them rises sharply in value the Malta pound does not follow suit at the same rate but retains an average valuation.

During the past five years the Maltese pound neither did it fall and founder like the pound sterling or the Italian lira, and did it rise in value like the German mark or Swiss franc. To reach this position we had a harsh quarrel with the British Government who threatened us that if we chose to change out reserves from Sterling to other currencies they would withdraw the guarantee they offered at the time (up to 75 per cent) to those countries in the Sterling area.

At the time the Opposition criticised us in Parliament saying we were harming Malta through the loss of this guarantee. The British Government's threat came to naught when the same British Government unexpectedly allowed ~sterling to float and stopped the guarantee to one and all.

Today the Maltese pound is worth 25 % more than sterling, which means that for the price of a rotolo of bread in Malta a Maltese can buy a rotolo and a quarter in England.

Likewise we strengthened and increased Malta's foreign reserves. We strengthened them because only a very small part are in sterling and we increased them because while in June 1971 Malta's reserves stood at LM118 million in June of 1976 the figure reached LM259 million.

The banking sector (or rather the commercial banks in Malta) had long been rotting away; suffice it to mention the bankruptcy of the Bank of Alderney and the B.I.C.A.L. The same would have happened had Government not intervened to save the interests of Maltese depositors with the National Bank, and by injecting some LM3 million of the Maltese people and by means of urgent and beneficial legislation we not only saved all the money of the depositors, we not only saved the jobs of all the employees of the batik and of the industries which depended on it, but we also succeeded in establishing a new and stronger bank which is proving to be a source of profit to the Maltese people.

This success encouraged us to buy with public funds 60% of the British Bank in Malta Barclays - and 25% of the other British Bank - Lombard's. These two are also rendering profit to the Maltese people. So great is the trust of the people in the banks of Malta that deposits with them have grown from LM116 million in June 1971 to LM180 million in June 1976. Likewise money in circulation increased from LM52 million in June 1971 to LM108 million in June 1976. In order to further strengthen the control by the Maltese over the essential sectors of our country's economy we are now setting up an Investment Finance Bank, so that when the need arises (so far the need has not been felt) enterprises in Malta will be able to procure long term loans.

## **Government finances**

When the Labour Government was elected in June 1971 it found this situation in Government finances (Consolidated Fund): a Government debt of LM47.6 million made good for by a sinking fund of LM5.9 million and a budget for the year 1971 /72 where expenditure exceeded revenue by LM18 million.

The great progress registered in the financial sector during the past five years did not only change the then existing deficit in Malta's coffers into a surplus, but it also enabled Government to improve workers' salaries and benefits to the needy and to embark successfully on large investment projects in commercial enterprises of great beneficial value to Malta.

From the financial year 1971/72 up to 1975/76 the total revenue in Malta's coffers reached LM314 million.

During the previous five years revenue was LM157 million. While during the previous five years there was a debt of LM27 million from revenue, during the five years of the Labour Government's administration there was only a debt of £M13 million. While the LM27 million debt under the Nationalist Government was at a high rate of interest sometimes exceeding 9% the rate of interest on the £M13 million debt under the Labour Government never exceeded 3%.

In order to reduce the amount of interest which the people have to pay, the Labour Government borrowed at low interest, and with the money paid out the debt which the Nationalist Government had entered into at high interest. The burden of interest on the loans made by the Nationalist Government in June 1971 was £M2.9 million and in March 1976 it amounted to £M2.2 million. Out of this burden being shouldered by the Maltese people £M2 million are a burden of the debt incurred under the Nationalist Government and only a debt of £M204,000 incurred by the Labour Government.

On the other hand expenditure increased from LM158 million in the previous five years to £M308 million for the past five years. This financial progress enabled the Maltese people to speed up the development of the country with a capital expenditure of £M8() million, Government contributed LM20 million in subsidies (to subsidize prices of foodstuffs, fodder and kerosene), and spent about LM26 million in aid to the elderly, widows, sick and the poor. Furthermore during these five years the Maltese people had to provide the sum of LM15 million as bonus payments and wage increases to Government employees. This expenditure has been of great benefit to the country.

Substantial reforms were necessary to achieve this. First and foremost we increased efficiency in the accounts and financial administration. We took stronger measures against smuggling. We improved the collection of income tax by introducing Pay-As-You-Earn. We bought a large quantity of heavy machinery for major projects at nominal prices (practically free of charge) from the United States of America.

The Labour Government made big efforts to acquire large financial assistance from abroad in order not to increase the burden on the people. Between 1971 /72 and 1975/76 we have received about £M60.8 million as rent for the British Base. We have earned another L35.2 million from foreign currencies on the reserves of the Central Bank.

With these and other funds the Maltese people were in a position to acquire the majority shares of the MidMed Bank, Bank of Valletta, Sea Malta, Air Malta, TeleMalta and other vital services which for the first time came under the control of the Maltese.

Moreover these enterprises are now making a yearly profit and are continuing to alleviate the burden of the Maltese people. Thus in 1975 /76 the proportion of revenue to the Maltese coffers from duties, licences, and direct taxation has gone down to 43 % compared to 71 % in 1969/70. This means that the Maltese people have been able to invest for the future much more than before and to benefit even more from the Maltese coffers at a lesser burden.

We showed even more wisdom. For five whole years we fought against pressure to act as was done in the past giving ten years tax-free holidays, grants and loans at low interest rates for the setting up of factories, hotels and other enterprises for the development of our country. Now these new enterprises are already paying 32.5% company tax. Those enjoying the tax free holiday under the Nationalist Government will soon start paying taxes to the Maltese Exchequer.

From the financial assistance which the Labour Government has received during the past five years there is still a reserve of funds to be used for the further development of the country; for example we have not yet utilised any funds which we have recently acquired under the new agreement following prolonged negotiations

with the member countries of the Common Market. Furthermore the Labour Government will continue to follow the policy of using its own initiative to acquire the necessary funds from other sources instead of resorting to further taxation.

## **Government administration**

During the past five years Government employees, including the army and the police, have been reorganised to increase efficiency, flexibility and to render efficient service with a reduced complement. What is needed is a revitalised modern public service to serve the public more efficiently.

Discipline in the public service has been enforced and new disciplinary methods have been introduced with the cooperation of Government Employees' unions to ensure justice in disciplinary action without resorting to vindictive acts. However the long time being taken by the new disciplinary boards to reach decisions is causing hardships to the workers themselves and causing gross inefficiency in the public service.

For this reason there would be the need in future to streamline the procedure of these boards on these lines to be followed by the Arbitration Tribunal as contemplated in the Industrial Relations Act. This will enable us not to waste time in legal procedure and to concentrate more on seeing that justice is done. Government sector and parastatal bodies have enabled us to remove the great disparity in salary scales prevailing in the country. We have carried out an extensive and difficult exercise so that salaries of employees of the MidMed Bank, Central Bank, Cable and Wireless and Development Corporation and others be brought into line with those of other employees in Government Departments. At the same time we made use of yearly increases and bonus to narrow the gap, meaning that the highest salary which was eight times the amount of the lowest wage of a Government worker has now been reduced to only five times as much.

This procedure will go on and the Socialist Government will retain the policy that whenever there is a rise in the cost of living everybody will get an identical wage increase. In future we shall also have to find the means how, even within the self imposed limitations as a just society of narrowing the gap, incentives will be created so that the public service will overcome existing obstacles by finding those who work with intelligence and efficiency, and also so that the country as a whole will more easily find persons experienced in new lines of activities to increase the production of the nation.

In the past five years the House of Representatives met much more often than ever before, enacted with~expediency the necessary legislation for the country, and wisely allocated time for debates on foreign affairs, economic matters, etc.

During the next five years Parliamentary business would have to be more wisely planned and although experience has proved that the system of select committees found in other countries is not applicable to Malta where as yet there is no need for specialisation, however, if Members of Parliament want to continue to be respected by the electorate they should choose of their own will the line of action most beneficial to the electorate; for example, there are Members of Parliament who, although their names rarely appear in the records of debates, are all the time in Government Departments and •Ministries looking after the interests of their constituents.

The Socialist Movement believes that in Parliament there is room for everybody, that is, for those representatives who earning their living by manual works are more aware of the problems of this section of the Maltese people, as well as for those who grasping easily the modern complications of finance and economy will give their share to the needs of the country in these sectors.

If we really want democracy and freedom to continue prevailing in our country in the same way as our people have learnt to appreciate the work carried out by the civil administration, the Maltese people should appreciate this service rendered by their representatives.

Therefore, after the elections, a Socialist Government will amend the law on pensions of Members of Parliament to bring it more into line with that of public service employees based on the number of years one has served as a member of Parliament.

## **Industry**

During 1975 and more so during the first six months of 1976 it was evident that Malta's economic development gathered momentum. That is why in future the Government and the people should concentrate more on continuing to follow the same path at an accelerated pace to achieve better results.

Since 1971, 122 new projects have been set up which, up to June 1976, employed 6,700 workers and which are expected to create 4,000 more jobs. 45 projects have been set up by Maltese private investors; 40 projects by foreigners, 13 projects by Government through the Development Corporation and 24 projects by joint Maltese and foreign capital. Foreign investors include well known firms from England, Germany, Japan, Italy, Holland and Belgium. These projects have materialised under unfavourable conditions resulting from the unstable and precarious situation prevailing in the world, including those countries which usually invest most in Malta.

During the past five years more than 60 new factories were constructed and 30 were enlarged. The Labour Government also allocated factories found empty in 1971. Industrial production increased two and a half times as much from LM39 million in 1970 to LM100 million in 1975. Exports on which depend profit and employment increased fourfold from LM16 million in 1970 to LM64 million in 1975.

The measures which we are going to mention are all intended to consolidate and improve upon what we have achieved.

Industry will remain the principal sector for the creation of work, employment and earnings for the Maltese people. Expansion in industrial production should provide an increase in jobs in factories as well as in other jobs created by a necessary increase in services such as transport, banking, insurance and other services. This is how jobs will be created for youths reaching working age and for British Services employees who will become redundant in 1979.

## **Mixed economy and joint ventures**

The new policy of the Socialist Government of a mixed economy, that is, industry partly privately owned and partly belonging to the people through its Government, has been a success. We have witnessed private industry flourish and expand; we have seen the new venture embarked upon by the Malta Development Corporation on behalf of the people of Malta introduced, flourish and grow. The industrial activities of the Malta Development Corporation not only did not hamper the private sector but the Malta Development Corporation, the Trade Unions and all the other leaders of workers had the opportunity to face the difficulties encountered by industry and thus could learn what measures should be truly taken to overcome these difficulties. This is why activity in both sectors, private and public, increased and exports made such a dramatic leap forward.



Experience has shown us that in spite of adverse propaganda against that sector of publicly owned industry this has contributed considerably to help the other sector which is privately owned.

A Socialist Government will continue with its policy of a mixed economy. The Maltese people, through their Government, will continue to work hand in hand in a friendly atmosphere with the private industrialist for their mutual benefit and that of the nation. This policy can further be developed because Malta's economy will continue to expand and prosper. There is still room for all those Maltese or foreigners who are in a position to increase productivity.

Malta should have a variety of control in industrial enterprises if we want to work for the greater benefit of the people. Mixed economy means privately-owned enterprises alongside others in the hands of a Government organization on behalf of the Maltese people. Between these two types of enterprises there is a choice of companies on a joint venture basis. A Labour Government believes that its adopted policy of setting up joint-ventures is the best for Malta in the future.

Joint ventures include enterprises set up jointly between the people through the Malta Development Corporation and the private sector be it Maltese or foreign. For example, we already have a shoe factory owned jointly with a German firm, fine tools with an English firm, printing with an Italian firm, Medserv with Americans and other Maltese in Lebanon, Air Supplies with Maltese enterprise, Bank of Valletta with the Banco di Sicilia and Mid-Med Bank with Barclays. Joint Ventures can be set up between the Malta Government and foreign Governments through their official organisations, examples of which are the precision instrument and hydraulic pumps factories set up jointly with Czechoslovakia, Air Malta with Pakistan and Sea Malta with Libya. There could also be enterprises which originate under one form and which later on change over through the transfer of property or by means of a new partnership. This varied choice of enterprises makes our economy a truly mixed one, and thus give scope to all forms of partnership for development and social control in the interest of the nation.

### **Aids and incentives to industry**

The more the economy of the country improves and the more jobs are created, the more opportunities there will be for everybody. The private sector now has a clear picture of the policy of the Government and the benefits it can reap from a sound and consistent management. Under a Socialist Government the industrialist is well aware in advance of the conditions under which we can invest his money and operate. Investors can rest assured that Government will not change its conditions or withhold its aid half way through or when their enterprise becomes viable.

Aids and incentives promised by a Socialist Government are not artificial. Government will continue to give its aid at all times. This means much more than other incentives because it creates and ensures the best climate in which productivity and commerce can increase. Regular air and sea transport, efficiency in the port, control on the rise in prices, an adequate share from industrial profits to improve living standards, improvement in working conditions and wages in the light of a clear cut and consistent policy, all these create an atmosphere of a peaceful industrial climate and provide industry, be it privately-owned or publicly-owned, with advantageous situations far superior to artificial incentives which seem so attractive but soon dissolve into nothing.

We are quite sure that the necessary measures to be taken in the future to maintain a peaceful atmosphere and avoid turmoils in the industrial sector - measures for the introduction of industrial democracy - will be undertaken by our people without scaring away the private industrialists. As time passes the private

industrialist will continue to strengthen his trust that our country is blessed with a sense of moderation and humanity. We shall elaborate more on this industrial democracy when we come to the social part of this manifesto.

### **Publicly owned industries**

The biggest and most serious difficulty which we are encountering in the setting up and operation of state-owned enterprises is not tradesmen but managers with clear ideas as to how such enterprises should be run to mass-produce at the lowest possible cost and to promote quick sales. We need a large number of managers and other experienced people from various countries able to give us the necessary know-how to set up new enterprises and run them efficiently. Towards this aim the Maltese people should be generous.

We should have a greater choice of publicly owned industries producing a wide variety of goods so that, together, these shall provide an opportunity for a greater coordination, flexibility and security. The wider the choice the better the possibility that if any particular enterprise encounters some difficulties others could make good and help it recover and prosper together.

All publicly owned enterprises should have a committee responsible for their management democratically chosen by the workers in those enterprises. A central committee should also be appointed to be responsible for all the enterprises to ensure greater coordination and cooperation between them, flexibility in jobs and financial security. Towards this end, many common services such as the purchase of raw materials, sales, marketing, accounting and auditing, and other similar services could be done on a common basis and thus reduce expenses making our products more competitive.

These enterprises should also set up a common fund so that those which are well established and making profits will set aside part of their profits to help those newly established enterprises or those others facing difficulties. This could also be applied to jobs when those workers who temporarily may not be needed in a factory will be assured of an alternative job in another factory needing more workers without losing continuity in their employment.

### **Choice of industries and workers' training**

Even when we achieve full employment (and our progress indicates that this target is not far away) this does not mean that all industrialisation problems will come to an end. World-wide, industry is dynamic and products and methods of production are changed from time to time depending on raw material, scientific and technical progress and in certain cases subject to changing fashion. There are marketing realities applicable both to the public and private sectors.

Therefore all Maltese responsible in this field will have to be always on the look out to see what changes are necessary from time to time to remain competitive. First and foremost there is a continual need to ensure that the Maltese workers will possess the necessary trades and experience so that our production will be of the best quality and at the cheapest price. To this end facilities and means of retraining are required enabling a worker have more than one trade so that when jobs are lacking in one sector he will find work in another.

Up to now we have channelled our efforts so that thousands of unskilled workers could be taught at least one trade. In future we shall make further efforts to ensure that if possible workers will have three trades instead of one.

Another important aspect for the industrialization of our country was the fact that to eliminate unemployment and to solve the emigration scourge of the best of Maltese workers, we were forced to accept all openings offering jobs. We had no time to choose what type of industries might be most beneficial. So in future, instead of waiting for some industries to go bankrupt before taking action, we shall do our utmost so that gradually we shall diversify from the unprofitable to what is viable and stable.

Our aim should also be that as far as possible we should opt for industries requiring proficient trades and producing complete products instead of parts. These industries should be stronger and less liable to failure.

As far as possible we should also opt for a group of industries which jointly produce a complete product, a process comprising production from raw material to the packed product ready to be sold to the consumer. Thus we shall achieve what is known as verticalisation in industry.

Our aim is to see that as far as possible Malta produces articles that could actually be sold as Maltese products and to stop the practice that such products be sold by foreigners under their trade-mark. Our products should become known with our own brand names as Maltese products of good quality.

### **Light industries**

Light industries and handicrafts were not appreciated enough in the past. The Labour Government is well aware of the contribution made by these industries towards our economy and during the past five years has helped them in different ways.

With the assistance of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) a project has been set up whereby small firms have been given advice on how to improve the quality of their products and increase productivity. A crafts village was set up at Ta' Qali where a number of small industries were grouped together to benefit from the many facilities provided by Government in this place which in the past had been abandoned. "Dar l-Annona" in Valletta was opened for individual craftsmen and light industries to exhibit and sell their products in a centralised place. Trade and handicraft schools were also established so that youngsters could be taught artistic and creative crafts producing articles so popular with tourists.

A Labour Government will continue to encourage light industries by providing them with the necessary State organisation and facilities to help them in their production and marketing. Where necessary and where the Maltese product really deserves protection, Government also promises to withhold imports, as it has already done in the case of furniture and other products. Thus Government has established on a sound footing these branches of industry and the number of Maltese workers employed in them has now risen considerably.

### **Shipbuilding and repairing**

The bad state in which we found the Dockyard is common knowledge; this was a heavy burden on the people when the Labour Party came to power in 1971. Today the required radical change has been completed and the yard has started on the road to progress. This is a great honour both for the workers and the Government.

During the year 1970/71, the Dockyard registered a loss of about LM3 1/2 million. The total loss between 1968 and 1973 reached LM11.7 million. As soon as it was put on a truly commercial basis - in 1973 /74 - the Dockyard started to give good results. Profit rose from half a million Malta pounds in 1974/75 to about three quarters of a million Malta pounds in 1975 /76. Not only was the burden on the Maltese people

eliminated, but the Dockyard workers enjoyed better wages and for the first time it was they who started helping the Maltese people.

The Labour Government immediately felt the need for introducing the workers' participation in the management and running of the Dockyard so that this could stand on its own feet. Initially the Dockyard was run by a Board consisting of representatives of the G.W.U. and the Government. This Board remained until it became clear that the Dockyard had reached the stage where it would no longer register a loss. In April 1975 when it was set on its feet the biggest step forward was made. The workers voted for and elected a Drydocks Council and from participation by the workers we passed on to full self-management.

To raise production, investments in development projects in the Yard were embarked upon, workshops were modernized, quays extended, new cranes and modern machinery were bought and set up, and one of the small docks was developed for the building of ships up to 10,000 tons. Work on the 'Red China Dock' which will be able to handle repairs on 300,000 ton ships has progressed steadily with the financial and technical aid of the Chinese people.

Work has started on the building of a new Dockyard for shipbuilding at Marsa. For this project, the Government acquired an interest-free loan of five million dollars from Saudi Arabia and another loan of three million dollars from Libya at the low rate of interest of three per cent. Moreover, the Joint Holding Company set up between the Maltese and Libyan people will now take a 50% share in this project. In future we shall be making efforts to interest other Arab countries thereby increasing the demand for shipbuilding. When all the work at the Drydocks and at Marsa is completed the Labour Government's desire of turning Malta into one of the main shipbuilding and repair centres of the Mediterranean will materialize with great advantage to the Maltese people.

## **Agriculture and fisheries**

During the last three hundred years the world has witnessed immense changes as men created machines and perfected them to mitigate the hardships of manual work. But as a result of this, millions and millions of men who previously worked and lived on their own in the countryside and at the seashores left their fields and cramming the cities they turned to producing machines and machine-made goods (industrial revolution). During the past forty years the world has realized the immense importance it must give again to agriculture and fishing if man really wants to eradicate hunger from the world.

Although man has succeeded in walking on the moon, although man has succeeded in travelling faster than sound, half of the world's population today is still suffering from hunger.

It was this food shortage which after the second world war induced the United Nations to set up one of their biggest Organisations - The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Today all nations are making great efforts so that in every country agriculture and fisheries will have again the social importance they enjoyed in the past. Efforts are even being made at reclaiming desert lands.

In order to appreciate to what lengths intelligent people are prepared to sacrifice labour and resources so that their agriculture and fishing industries may thrive, it suffices to take a look at the billions of dollars which the European Economic Community is pouring out towards this end every year.

In Malta we must fulfil our duties in the agriculture and fishing industries. With every extra rotolo of food we produce, every basket of fruit we pick, every fish we catch from the sea, we shall not only be saving on our spending to buy these commodities from abroad but even if we were rich as rich can be it would still be our

duty to produce more food. This is our duty as human beings, our duty as Christians,, our duty as Socialists, because we know that every rotolo of food we import is being taken away from those who are still hungry.

In Malta there were thousands of Gozitans and Maltese who had to abandon agriculture and fishing to find another livelihood. In the beginning of the century they emigrated to Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt and later to America, Australia, Canada and England. Unfortunately in Malta the exodus from agriculture and fishing went on longer than it did in other countries.

## **Agriculture**

Since the end of the war a lot of arable land has been taken over for building purposes, left uncultivated or completely abandoned. From about 163,000 tomna in 1950, cultivated land fell to 119,000 tomna in 1970. The number of farmers also decreased continuously and from 11,178 in 1950 the number fell to 5,787 in 1970.

During the past five years agriculture has been given a new lease of life. Efforts have been made to make good use of arable land, to cultivate abandoned land, to increase the number of farmers and to increase the production of vegetables, fruit, meat, milk and other products. The number of farmers has also gone up by 599 despite the fact that more machinery has been added thereby expediting their work and making it possible to cultivate more land.. The value of production went up from about LM10 million in 1970 to more than LM18 million in 1975 and the profits by farmers went up from LM5 million to LM7.6 million.

The Labour Government made big efforts to give a drive to agriculture. Farmers were given all sorts of useful aid to increase production to meet the demand of local consumers, tourists and as far as possible foreign markets. The Government has exported onions and potatoes on behalf of farmers. In this way the farmer fetched the highest prices for his products and enjoyed far greater profits than ever before as middlemen were eliminated.

To enhance export opportunities prolonged discussions were held with the European Economic Community, and the Socialist Government succeeded in winning for farmers a reduction in tariffs and a greater opportunity to sell agricultural products to the Common Market. Farmers were also given financial and technical aid for the purchase of machinery, tools and for building water reservoirs. Government has imported and distributed to farmers at a low price, fertilizers, potato seed and fodder.

Government projects of great value to agriculture were the building in Malta and Gozo of modern abattoirs and centralized vegetable centres furnished with a1~ amenities. Modern equipment is also being installed at the Milk Marketing Undertaking at Hamrun to meet the demand for pasteurized milk and for fresh milk which has gone up by one million gallons during the past five years.

Apart from direct aid to farmers, the Labour Government carried out several other projects to further agriculture. Water dams and reservoirs were built to increase the supply of water for irrigation purposes.

More than one million fruit and ornamental trees were planted in public gardens, in ditches, in streets and in other places which were previously abandoned. Large stretches of barren land were covered with soil which previously used to be wasted. In this manner up to 1975 more than 600 tomna of arable land have been added and is now under cultivation. Government itself has stepped up production of vegetables and fruit as well as the breeding of animals at Ghammieri and other Government farms to meet the requirements of hospitals, to reduce expenditure and to have more products available for the market.

## **Fisheries**

Despite the importance of fishing, this industry has made little progress. Taking into consideration that we still import about half a million pounds worth of frozen and tinned fish a year, it becomes abundantly clear what a lot of ground remains to be covered in this field.

Moreover, although the demand by the Maltese and tourists for fresh fish is continuously on the increase, local consumption per head of this nutritious commodity is still very low compared to that of many other countries in Europe.

The Labour Government strongly encouraged the fishermen. It helped them to build and repair their fishing boats, replace engines, buy bait and tackle at a low price and gave them a reduction on fuel prices. Cold stores were built and a refrigeration plant was installed in Gozo for the storage of fish.

Despite this aid, it is evident that the traditional fishermen cannot on their own meet fully the demand for fresh fish. Therefore, through the aid of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and with the cooperation of Libya, the Government has set up a fleet of trawlers capable of all-year round fishing in waters which the traditional fishermen cannot reach. Experts were brought over to train Maltese on these trawlers. Catches increased and the importation of fresh fish which had previously been around LM16,000 annually decreased strongly in 1974. This year the importation of fresh fish has stopped completely.

## **The development of agriculture and fisheries on a partnership basis**

In the coming years, we should do our utmost to increase production in agriculture and in fishing with the aim of decreasing the need to import foodstuffs, and if possible produce enough to be able to sell to other countries. Our aims are twofold: first to increase production and ensure a decent living for farmers and fishermen; and secondly to provide food for the people at the cheapest prices.

In future, Government will continue to encourage and safeguard farmers and fishermen and make an intensive effort to promote agriculture and fishing on a partnership basis (to continue, within the limits of the nation's resources, to provide adequate aid to the Agriculture and Fishing Co-operatives).

We will act in other sectors as we did in the industrial field, the new should link with the old which by itself cannot succeed. The requirements of local consumers for agricultural products and fish, together with opportunities in foreign markets are so vast and ever increasing that no matter how hard traditional farmers and fishermen work, on their own they will never succeed in meeting the market demands by their sole production.

The "Izra' u Rabbi" and the trawlers projects initiated production on a partnership basis. These new methods which the Maltese people are creating, even with the help of foreigners, are giving the necessary impetus to link the individual efforts of those farmers and fishermen who have opted to continue making use of old methods. A Labour Government encourages and helps in every way possible farmers and fishermen to appreciate their own importance to society and to be proud of the usefulness of their work for the benefit of the nation and humanity.

## **Tourism**

Tourism offers several advantages to our Islands and consequently we should promote it as much as possible. Tourism provides employment for a great number of workers as well as foreign currency with which we pay for many of our imports. Our efforts to embellish our country and improve our way of life, apart from being directly beneficial to us, may also serve to attract to Malta a larger number of tourists. In this way, while the Maltese people make a profit, visitors may share with us not only our climate but also the conditions of our way of life. Therefore by improving our way of life we cannot but promote tourism.

Every type of development planned solely for tourists is rather artificial and very often short lived because the likes and dislikes of tourists are changeable like fashions. It is wiser for us to improve as much as possible all those facilities which contribute towards a more comfortable and happier way of life. In this way those tourists who visit our country consider themselves to be truly our guests and to share with us our entertainments, good food, the sea, clean beaches and the striking good manners of our people. In this natural way, tourism should continue to make further progress.

In 1967 tourism began to take root in Malta and a number of hotels were completed, but between 1969 and 1972 this industry experienced a set-back. Therefore the Labour Government based its policy that, before building new hotels, it would do its utmost to utilise fully the number of beds in existing hotels, and the flats and unoccupied villas which had been built for sale to foreigners. This policy was successful because by making good use of capital, which due to inadequate number of tourists was idle for most of the year, we could maintain cheap prices and compete with other countries.

After reaching full occupancy of the existing number of beds, a large new hotel was built at Cirkewwa by private initiative and several other smaller hotels were opened. Thus the number of beds in hotels alone increased from 7,170 in 1971 to 10,024 in June 1976. Apart from this, at present there are a further 800 beds in guest houses and 12,000 beds in holiday flats.

During the past five years, the number of tourists increased from 170,800 in 1970 to 334,500 in 1975. During the same period, the annual income from tourism rose from approximately LM10 million to £M28 million and employment in hotels increased from about 3,000 in December 1970 to 3,833 in June 1976. This shows that what we aimed at in the Seven Year Development Plan for the year 1978 was reached three years before - in 1975.

Now the time is ripe for Malta to aim at a higher yearly number of tourists throughout the year. To reach this aim we must build tourist complexes and new hotels in Malta, Gozo and Comino.

Approval has already been granted and work taken in hand for the construction of hotels at Marsascala and a Tourist Complex undertaken by the Danish Trade Unions and the General Workers' Union at Mellieha. Work on the conversion of the Barracks at Ghajn Tuffieha into a tourist village will soon be completed and Air Malta are also undertaking tourist projects at Tigné and Selmun.

As it is more difficult to set up industrial enterprises in Gozo than in Malta - this has been evident from the fact that during the past two years, industrialists, even though anxious to start production, preferred to wait for new factories to be built in Malta rather than occupy those available in Gozo - a Socialist Government would further strive so that Gozo will get a bigger share from tourism as it should do likewise in agriculture and fishing.

This does not mean that we shall abandon our present efforts to find industries for the unoccupied factories, and to build new ones when these efforts have been successful.

One must keep in view the lands and buildings to be released by the British Government in 1979 and those

which are already in our hands. By making proper use of some of these properties for tourism we can carry our projects with reduced capital costs and in this way greatly reduce expenditure and be competitive. As in industry, in the tourist sector there is a vast field where public enterprises should link with private initiative. Naturally the private sector will also be invited to participate in companies and tourist projects where the public has a majority holding.

In future we will continue to improve roads leading to the sea and to embellish our beaches. It is necessary for the Maltese people to take more interest in cultural activities and in sport both on land and in the water. With this aim in view, we will convert Marsa into a sports centre by increasing and improving the facilities by means of which the Maltese people could enjoy themselves. We should improve catering standards and all branches of entertainment such as musical concerts, the theatre and folkloristic representations. In this way every Maltese may enjoy a better and more interesting way of life while tourists may share with us genuine entertainment.

In Gozo we will take care of the national monuments as we have already started doing in Malta. In Gozo we must also do our best to continue to increase at an accelerated pace the facilities for sports and recreation.

For the same reason an effort must be made to improve transport between Malta and Gozo in order to improve not only our way of life but also for tourists to travel to and from Gozo in comfort.

## **Trade**

While doing its best to ensure free trade in Malta itself, the Government is also in duty bound to ensure, above all, that trade should as much as possible remain in Maltese hands. Those activities and services, which the Maltese are capable of managing on their own, should be reserved solely for Maltese. In other services, such as restaurants and activities where participation by foreigners is useful, the Maltese should have a majority shareholding.

Those engaged in business or in an industry which offers a service should make an adequate profit and have an incentive to develop their business and provide an efficient service to the people while at the same time refraining from abuse by not overcharging the consumers or customers. It is the duty of the Government to ensure this, not only for the sake of social justice but also because if this policy is not followed, we would be opening the doors to inflation: in other words, everyone overcharges as much as he likes until the Malta pound loses its value bringing about unemployment and other setbacks.

One of the systems advantageous to our country, introduced by the Labour Government during the past five years, was "bulk buying" of consumer commodities like milk, sugar and butter. This was done to curb the ever increasing prices, because when these commodities are bought in bulk a cheaper price would result. At the same time, in this way we ensure that Malta will have its food and other essential commodities which from time to time may be in short supply in other countries. When these commodities are bought before they are required we are assured of their availability when they are needed. A Labour Government will continue following this policy and increase or decrease the commodities according to market requirements. The Labour Government is prepared to use the services and stores of those importers who may have been adversely affected by these measures and let them act as wholesalers.

In order to further help trade and businessmen all those acting as accountants must possess a warrant which attests to their ability to do this duty towards their employers and the people. Therefore, it is essential that this new profession be regulated by law like other professions, i.e. doctors, dentists, lawyers, etc.



To create an atmosphere of trust between the Maltese people and the commercial sector, an effort will be made to form a consumers' association which will be granted the right to inform the people on television and other broadcasting media about the quality and prices of Malta-made and foreign goods. Although this association will be formed on a voluntary basis its rights will be recognised officially and the Government will also aid it financially.

So that trade may meet the requirements of modern way of life, commercial laws must be up-dated.

A Labour Government has always helped those Maltese who had the initiative to invest their money in Malta. In order to increase this aid and so that more Maltese take an active part in the industrialization of our country, a Labour Government will create a service by which, in an efficient and honest way, a citizen may transfer his shares to third parties at the best prices.

To further improve trade, a Socialist Government will reform the structure of the Office of Foreign Affairs in such a way that in offices which represent us in other countries, more importance will be given to the need of Maltese products to find proper markets and to enable Malta to import the best products at the cheapest prices.

A Maltese Socialist Government is not against foreigners investing their money in offshore companies. Today Malta has become one of the few countries where incoming foreign capital (provided that this capital belongs to foreigners) may be taken out just as easily as it is allowed to be brought in. Likewise even though no part of Malta is called a "free port", those products which come to Malta to be re-exported are duty free. Thus we already have -besides new laws already enacted by Us as the registration of ships the most essential means of encouragement to make Malta a centre for those activities.

A Socialist Government will always continue as much as possible to ensure that social justice will not be lacking among the Maltese and to increase these facilities and give them publicity.

## **The foundations of development**

During the past five years the Labour Government carried out a vast programme of investment on services without which the economic and social development could not have been achieved. Without telephones, harbour, airport, air and sea transport, roads, drainage, electricity and water, no work could be created and no social and educational activity could result. That is why these services are the foundations of the economy.

In the past the programme of work on services vital for development lagged behind for many years. Now, with the work that has been done not only have present day needs been met but in many cases the services carried out can cope with the economic and social development expected in the coming years. This heavy investment was not implemented in the same manner as in the past from debts with a high rate of interest. Most of this investment was made through funds raised from abroad and from local sources and not by means of debts.

## **Telephones and telecommunications**

Telephone and telecommunications facilities in 1971 were most inadequate. There were thousands of applications for telephone installations and these had been pending for many years. With regard to overseas communications Malta relied on the NATO cable and on the British owned company, Cable and Wireless Ltd. These facilities could not even meet half the demand of industry and trade.

The Labour Government decided to launch a vast programme costing £M12 million. This project not only meets present needs but can also cope with future demands if these were to increase as envisaged in the coming decade. After making these arrangements and after finding the sources for the necessary funds, the Labour Government set up TeleMalta in 1975 to operate communications by means of telephones and telegraph.

The programme for telephones and telecommunications is in an advanced stage. £M5.3 million have already been spent and Government has the necessary funds to continue this programme. Apart from meeting the needs of industrial and commercial development this most essential programme will also be of help to other sectors. Without means of overseas and local telecommunications Malta would not have been chosen as a location for the setting up of a Mediterranean anti-pollution centre and still less could Malta be considered for the setting up of Headquarters for the Sea Bed Authority.

Under a Labour Government the telephones and telecommunications programme will continue at the same fast pace. Just as we found the necessary funds for the setting up of the services, so must we do to keep it in operation without loss.

### **Air and sea transport**

For air and sea transport, Malta was always dependant on the services of foreign companies which naturally operated these services in their interests. So that the needs of local industries and tourism could be better met and in order that these sectors could continue to develop the Labour Government set up Air Malta and Sea Malta on joint venture basis - Air Malta with Pakistan and Sea •Malta jointly with Libya. More than LM2 million were spent by Government for the setting up of these two companies.

These national lines operated successfully and met the requirements of industry and tourism by taking a major part in the carriage of merchandise and the transport of passengers, and operated on new routes. At the same time money formerly paid to foreign companies was saved. Air Malta and Sea Malta created hundreds of jobs and new employment opportunities for the Maltese as pilots, engineers, captains, etc. At present there are Maltese youths undergoing training in Italy and Spain to become sea captains and in Pakistan to become pilots and aircraft engineers.

A new school has also been opened with the help of the Commonwealth Secretariat for the training of Maltese in all types of trades connected with shipping.

The services operated by these companies must continue to expand in order to meet the increasing demand by the industrial sector for raw materials, for the export of products and for the promotions of tourism. Sea Malta has already acquired transshipment work from China. There is a growing possibility that this transshipment work will increase further and Sea Malta will have to expand in order to attract more work of this kind, to the Island.

### **Port**

Many are those who remember the problems which existed in the port sector. After 1971, with the cooperation of the workers, port work has been organised and is now functioning smoothly without strike stoppages. Thus the workers have acquired better conditions for their livelihood.

Much useful work has been done in the port and equipment has been bought for better efficiency. We have

extended the wharves because of the need for better handling, unloading and loading of merchandise. Work on Laboratory Wharf will soon be completed for the use of containers and "roll on roll off".

To improve transport facilities between Malta and Gozo we completed the work on the Mgarr Harbour and we built new wharves at Cirkewwa. In order that food commodities and other products are transported to Malta in a quicker way, a Labour Government will do its utmost to improve this service.

By 1979 the British will have gradually left the Grand Harbour and many of the wharves will be developed so that with the least possible expense the loading and Unloading facilities will be increased. Many stores which are still in the hands of the British Government will become the property of the Maltese people and after the necessary alterations are effected storage facilities in this harbour will increase. Port traffic lanes, where berthing is prohibited, will be clearly marked for the first time so that the movement of ships to or from wharves will be unobstructed and take place with the least possible delay.

The Menqa, which up to now has served for the unloading of barges, will be developed into new wharves and thus it will be possible that the transshipment already being handled for the Chinese and for Oil Companies can be increased without necessitating the building of a new port.

Even if we succeed in having a fully active Grand Harbour efforts are already being made to build a harbour at Marsaxlokk. The Saudi Arabian Government has just informed the Maltese Government that it is prepared to lend 10 million dollars for this purpose after having more details regarding this project.

## **Airport**

The development of industry and tourism have necessitated the runway extension and the enlargement of the present terminal. Work on the runway and the roads leading to the airport has been accelerated and will soon be completed.

To cope with the increase in the number of passengers and the ever increasing air cargo requirements, the present terminal will be used only for passenger departures. Plans have been completed and work will soon be taken in hand on the building of a new terminal for incoming passenger and freight.

In 1979 the British Air Force will leave the airport and its management will be wholly undertaken by the Maltese. The Labour Government has already taken steps to train the required number of workers and this training is proceeding smoothly. The R.A.F. will relinquish workshops and a number of other buildings to the Maltese Government and a Labour Government will want to make use of them in the best interest of the nation.

## **Roads**

After the recent great effort so that traffic will have better connections with the Grand Harbour, the airport, Ricasoli and other places, the traffic flow improved.

A Labour Government will strive to continue improving the roads leading to Marfa.

In Malta as well as in Gozo the roads leading to the beaches and the sea will be improved so that both the Maltese and the tourists will have places of recreation. For the further development of agriculture, first preference will be given to those roads serving agricultural areas.

## **Water**

The Labour Government has carried out a vast programme to increase the water supply. A number of reservoirs were built and dams were constructed so that water previously lost at sea could now be pumped into high-level cisterns and used for irrigation without resorting to bowsers. The increase in water storage has served immensely for the irrigation of a great number of trees. These trees now serve to stop rain water from flowing into the sea, to produce fruit, to embellish our country and, gradually, to change the weather.

With the boreholes programme the supply of water from natural resources has increased by two million gallons per day. The Socialist Government stopped spending millions of pounds on desalinators - those set up during the Nationalist Administration LM3.5 million - not through spite but because by means of boreholes the cost of water is far less.

At present even though the fuel used at the Power Station is doubly subsidised (in the first instance because it is bought from Libya at a reduced price, and secondly because it is again subsidised through the profits made on the sale of petrol), water production by means of desalinators costs more than that produced by means of boreholes by LM1 per two thousand gallons. This means that £M100 per day are being saved by means of boreholes water production. Apart from this, one must bear in mind that the life span of a desalinator is ten years whereas a borehole lasts indefinitely. The borehole programme will continue at a faster pace. Meanwhile, more water geologists will be invited to study carefully how the storage of water from natural resources could be increased.

## **Drainage**

Until a few years ago many vilages in Malta and Gozo were without sewers. Although the sewer systems in other countries consist of drainage, septic tanks and other purification plants, where no drainage exists in Malta use is made of cesspits with great risks of pollution and other health hazards.

The Labour Government tackled this problem seriously and has extended the drainage system to almost every part of Malta and Gozo. Drainage has been extended to Marsaxlokk, Marsascala, Xghajra, St Paul's Bay, Burmarrad and many other vilages in Malta and to Marsalforn, Xaghra, Xlendi and other places in Gozo. To prevent coastal pollution which destroys marine life and is also a health hazard, work has been started so that the discharge points of sewage in Malta and Gozo will be about a mile away from the coast. A Socialist Government will complete the necessary work so that the hazard of drainage contamination will disappear from Malta and Gozo once and for all.

## **Oil, gas and electricity**

During the world oil crisis, the first step taken by Government was to reach agreement with Libya to ensure that we shall have the necessary supply of oil. Government also made arrangements to obtain this oil under the best conditions and at the cheapest price possible and thus fuel, kerosene, gas and electricity reach homes and industries at a low price. Agreement was also reached so that crude oil would be refined under the most advantageous conditions in Italy. In agreement with the British Government and the Shell Company Government acquired for the first time large oil storage facilities on the Island.

The Labour Government made a determined drive towards oil exploration. Licences were granted to three

companies Texaco, Joc Oil and Aquitaine to start exploration. Through these concessions from the financial year 1972/73 until June 1976 the Maltese nation earned more than LM5 million.

Moreover, those companies to whom licences were granted undertook to set up industries in Malta.

As Town Gas had been run at a loss for a long time and it was evident that at no time would it recover, Government felt that it was not fair for the Maltese people to continue carrying this burden. Therefore the Labour Government decided to discontinue this service and to increase considerably the consumption of bottled gas. The Labour Government helped so much in this sector that at present the price of bottled gas has been reduced to such an extent that it is almost the same price as Malta enjoyed before the oil crisis.

For the coming years the electricity plant should be enlarged so that production will keep abreast with the country's development. The Maltese Government has already announced in Parliament that ENEL (the Energy Organisation of the Republic of Italy) had offered free of charge two 30 Megawatt turbines to the people of Malta. At present the power station has a capacity of producing 115.7 MW; this means that when these turbines and their respective boilers are installed, electricity power would be increased by more than 50% at a minimum price for the Maltese people. To appreciate what is being done now to produce cheap electricity for the Maltese people, one must compare the present efforts vis-a-vis the debts incurred by Malta in this sector in the past.

Through its efforts the Labour Government has succeeded in keeping the price of diesel for industries, the power station and transport services at a much cheaper price than that prevailing in other European countries. This was possible mainly because the Government of Libya, to help Malta stand on its own feet and no longer serve as a fortress for the foreigner, is selling diesel oil to us at reduced rates. We are further selling this type of oil at more reduced prices by utilising the profits on the sale of petrol to help us sell diesel and kerosene at cheap prices. In fact, even during the crisis, the price of kerosene for the housewife remained unchanged and has been kept at the same price to the present day. The housewife and industries were also helped as the oil sold to the power station, at a special price from Libya and also subsidised by the profit made from the sale of petrol, is cheaper than that of other countries. Thus we were able to reduce electricity rates after these had been increased due to the energy crisis.

We are aware that there are individuals who do not agree that Government should continue to follow the same policy, but we are also aware that in Malta petrol is sold at the cheapest price in Europe. Therefore, a Labour Government will carry on with its policy of social prices for oil, that is to reduce prices where the need is felt.

To have greater efficiency and lower costs, greater coordination will be kept between the corporations and the responsible departments so that jointly they will share the common services for the production and sale of electricity, gas and oil.

## **The social sector**

Without improvement in the social sector no material benefit will lead to progress. Prosperity and welfare cannot be enjoyed unless there are peace, happiness and friendship within the society of which one forms part.

To achieve this, society must provide for the most needy, children, the poor, widows and widowers, the sick and the aged.

It is in such cases that the principle that the State exists for the individual is applied; in their case the State should provide for them. A Socialist Government ensures that this duty by the State is carried out.

It is the duty of the State to create social conditions so that every individual could develop his personality to the highest level possible. Thus society succeeds in having individuals strong enough in the material, intellectual and moral way of life not only for their own benefit, but also to impart a share of this welfare to others (children, the sick, the aged, etc). It is in this sense that the strong must give more rather than take from the State.

The State is also in duty bound to assist all healthy persons by means of education, machinery and other means so that the production of essential and desirable services is further increased.

If all these duties are carried out properly by the State, the rational benefits will increase and will be distributed according to social justice; and welfare as happiness prevails will generate further welfare. Unless there is a fair distribution of wealth once again there will be quarrels among men, among classes, among nations and among races. This will lead once again to poverty and ignorance.

No government who wants to be just in the distribution of benefits to society can eliminate Income Tax because this tax is the most just. Those who have a large income pay more, those with a smaller income pay less so that these funds collected by the State are distributed to those in need (the children, the aged, the unemployed etc.).

We know that many complain that the State is not always successful in making high income earners pay their full share. Many complain and in many cases this is true that the State knows the exact income of those on fixed wages and salaries and that they pay Income Tax to the last cent, whilst the State does not know the exact income of the self-employed and these could evade part of the tax.

A Socialist Government will ensure that, as far as possible, this will no longer happen so that everyone will be justly taxed and the burden will be fairly shared. It was for this purpose that the Socialist Government introduced the system whereby every citizen should declare his capital assets every year. This is one of the means by which a citizen is obliged to honour his obligations.

Let us now see how in the social sector a Labour Government will strive to achieve its objective of raising the standard of living and of improving the way of life of all Maltese through assistance according to one's needs and one's age.

## **Children and youths**

Children are the citizens of tomorrow on whom rests the future of our country; and in this sense they belong to society, that is to every one. Naturally the first duty towards children rests on the parents but the state has also the duty and at the same time the interest to ensure the good up-bringing, the health and the happiness of children.

The Children's Allowance was given by the Socialist Government to help parents in the good up-bringing of their children. A Socialist Government will continue to better the facilities already provided by the people for education for all; facilities for sports and other activities in order to help parents raise their children as happy citizens protected from evil and violence.

A Socialist Government will accept every cooperation forthcoming from voluntary organisations, lay or

religious, in order to intensify further the physical and moral education of children and youths. In this way only can the country have honest citizens in the future who will fulfil their duty towards their fellow citizens.

## **The sick**

The measures taken by a wise Government against disease are twofold: there are the preventive measures and those to cure disease which unfortunately takes hold of us.

The more important are the preventive measures. For this reason the Socialist Government has extended the drainage system to almost all the villages; for this reason Government did not and will not allow the setting up in Malta of those industries which pollute our air and sea; for this reason Government is undertaking the necessary works for the drainage outlets to be placed away from our shores as far as possible.

For those citizens who despite everything become sick, a Socialist Government has already planned a better and more extensive medical service and prevention against disease. In the next five years, besides the completion of the children's hospital and another hospital for old people which together will provide 280 beds more, a Socialist Government will introduce a new insurance system against sickness, accidents and death while at work.

This insurance will be granted free to those who are unable to pay and against weekly contributions to those who can afford to pay. This insurance will cover:-

- (a) a full free medical service particularly hospitalization; home nursing service, domestic service to the sick and the aged;
- (b) benefits similar to those of the National Insurance for the self-employed earning more than one thousand pounds a year and therefore not eligible to receive such benefits under that law; and
- (c) compensation for damages to workers in productive industries who have a rightful claim against their employers in case of injuries or death while at work. For this type of insurance the contribution will be paid by the employer.

A Socialist Government will through instruction, advice and direct action help the mentally handicapped. Through these measures it will also help to curb delinquency and to keep the family united. Certain philanthropic and voluntary organizations are already working in this field. Their work is extended towards the handicapped, the aged, the sick, the orphans, etc. A Socialist Government will continue to aid these organizations so that together with them it will fulfill its duty towards the people.

## **The aged**

A Socialist Government considers the aged and those citizens who worked to make the nation what it is today. These people have already given their share and the patrimony of every civilized nation is their heritage and that of their ancestors. Therefore that which they receive is their's by right and not charity.

A Socialist Government will do its utmost so that the aged will spend the last years of their lives in peace and in an atmosphere of respect from the nation and of love from their own families. It is desirable that these old people will continue to live with their own families. Through the pensions paid by a Socialist Government the

aged will be able to contribute towards their own livelihood. If they live on their own, a Socialist Government will see, that, as far as possible, they will live in almost familiar environment by setting up for them villages with shops, etc. When they become helpless, a Socialist Government will provide for them hospitals and homes for the aged.

Above all a Socialist Government promises to make every effort, no matter the economic conditions of the country, to raise the pensions and the benefits which the nation grants to the aged, the widows and the children, every time there is a rise in wages and salaries caused by the high cost of living. Whenever the Government distributes the people's funds because of a rise in the cost of living the method of distribution will follow the same principles of the past five years.

Besides this, gradually, a Socialist Government will effect changes in pensions so that: -

- (a) it will raise those small pensions which even the poorest Maltese citizen receives;
- (b) with the betterment of the country's economy (and this can be brought about by more work and greater diligence by all) gradually we will raise the pensions so much that finally each and everyone of us will be entitled to two-thirds of his salary on retirement. Naturally no-one should expect more than this from the nation;
- (c) according to the strength that our country's economy will have reached, an effort will be made so that the value of these pensions will not be reduced through currency erosion, that is because of the fact that eventually with the same amount of money one will be able to buy a lesser quantity of commodities. Therefore, always subject to the country's state of the economy, these pensions will need adjustment from time to time to meet the rise in prices.

## **Workers**

A Socialist Government will do everything in its power so that, as soon as possible, the Maltese worker will become more efficient and more productive. At the same time it will see that this increase in efficiency and productivity will not only be beneficial to the community but also to the individual himself, in so far that he will work less hours with less hardship.

Now that through the Socialist Government, the men and the women of Malta and Gozo have obtained the right to vote at the age of eighteen, it is proper that the minimum wage starts at eighteen and not at nineteen.

At the same time it is proper that now that the working hours have been reduced considerably, now that manual work has been made easier through machinery, now that everybody has realised how necessary it is that the nation's earnings are increased for a greater distribution of benefits, it is now befitting that those enjoying good health may be in a position to opt to put in more years of work in the service of the nation. This is also proper because experience has taught us that when a woman or a man retires from work they are cut off from the community and more or less lose interest in life.

## **Work**

The first need of man in order to fend for himself is work. Thus alone can he stand on his feet and in turn be able to form another family. The aim of the Maltese people is to reach full employment and that as far as possible employment be in productive work thus earning foreign money which will need to purchase from



abroad those commodities we do not possess.

In order to be able to create this productive work, the necessary infrastructure will have to be completed, for example, the airport, the harbour wharves for the berthing of ships, the electricity and water supplies for industry, roads, and telephones for communications. The Maltese workers will have to carry out even these projects before the greater number of them can be shifted to the production of goods for export.

It was because of these shortcomings in the infrastructure and because of other reasons - such as the shortage of Maltese managers in our country, etc. - that the Maltese Socialist Government employed thousands of Maltese workers in the labour corps. Besides keeping these workers in the country, besides training them also in trades for future work, they have given the greatest share towards the preparation of this infrastructure in order that a large number of them may be employed in factories which it is now possible to set up.

Even in the future there will still be scope for the work carried out by these labour corps under foreign supervision in order that Malta will make further progress.

## **Housing**

The second need is the setting up of a house. As far as housing is concerned the Socialist Government's record is the highest in the history of our country. It was only the Socialist Government that in the past started the slum clearance and built modern flats in their place and it is only now under yet again a Socialist Government that we may say that the greater part of the slums, which in the past put us to shame, has been cleared. Moreover, during the past five years 4,300 houses and flats have been built.

Now the time has come for us to try to plan our actions according to our needs. One of these is that for a family to have its own house, there is no need for one to save all the necessary money to build the house when the children have grown up and are almost ready for marriage. A Labour Government will help the Maltese citizen to pay for his house in instalments whilst already occupying it.

In order that this may come about, and also in order that anyone expecting to be given a house by the Maltese people does so in all justice, the citizen will have to get used to the idea that he will have to pay according to his means for this social service, that is in proportion to the salary or income which the family received from time to time.

Government buildings, which up to now are only rented will be offered for sale to the occupants either cash down or by instalments, and thus the number of homeowners will increase. A Labour Government will also continue to aid those who wish to build their own house by buying a plot of land at the lowest price.

The need for more houses still exists and a Socialist Government will make sure that more houses are built. One must keep in mind that in 1979 many buildings now occupied by the Services will be handed back to the Maltese Government and it will be possible to allot a great number of these to Maltese families. In this way we shall be able to accommodate many more families at less expense. The Labour Government has already started to do this as in the case of Verdala Barracks in Cospicua.

## **Social order**

None of the aims we mentioned so far can be fully achieved unless there is social order in our country. By social order we understand a clean society which we will have only if we have an administration, an army

and a police force to guard the rights of the individual and at the same time to protect the wealth and the property of the community with the direct cooperation of the people; social justice between the various classes of the population, in the education field, in the financial field and above all in the field of work.

### **(A) New laws**

The laws, especially those concerning trade, will be brought up to date. The law of bankruptcy and the method of liquidating companies will be completely revised; there will be the introduction of the principle that in the case of bankruptcy of industries, the interests of the workers will come first. The law will ensure that as far as possible the enterprise will be carried on so that the workers do not lose their jobs. The Cadastre system will be introduced making easier and quicker the necessary research work for the sale and other transfers of buildings and land, and will also further ensure the right for this property.

The Court procedures will be changed so that court cases will take less time. This is possible through reforms which the Socialist Government has already begun to study in cooperation with the Judges themselves. Towards this end a committee will be set up under the chairmanship of the Minister of Justice, with representatives of the Judges, Magistrates, the Office of the Attorney General and the people.

Other reforms will ensure the lessening of the conflict which there may be between the duty of the doctor and the lawyer towards the patient and the client, and their duties to the people when they are chosen to represent them in Parliament. Therefore under new laws, the people's representatives in Parliament will not be in a position to be asked by their clients either for certificates, or to take part in litigations or court cases where in one way or another the interests of the general public will be affected.

A system of public curators or of the Republic will also be introduced in order that they protect the property of persons who are incapable or unable to do so.

### **(B) A clean society**

To safeguard a clean society, a Socialist Government will set up Neighbourhood Committees to protect every aspect of social life and will empower them to stop all abuses. These Committees will assist the police in the control of prices in shops, in the cleanliness of streets, in the protection from pollution and in other matters affecting daily life.

### **(C) Social justice**

In agreement with the workers, the Socialist Government changed and strengthened the industrial laws which had been enacted about thirty years ago.

It was through the Labour Party and the General Workers' Union that those laws had been introduced; and it had to be a Socialist Government that effected the necessary changes to meet to-day's needs. By these reforms the right to arbitration for Government employees was introduced for the first time.

In actual fact the changes in practice began to take place long before the laws were changed, and the changes in the laws were the fruit of the experience we gained in these past years. These difficult changes could also be made in agreement with the industrial organisations because there was harmony in this field. A Socialist

Government will continue to strengthen these good relations between the worker and the employer and will continue to ensure that justice is meted out to everyone.

We are witnessing the creation of a new atmosphere alongside the old one in the workshops. We are seeing that in certain sectors there no longer exist the old ties between master and servant, between the employer and the employed. In these new sectors the master and the employer have disappeared and the worker has to act as master and servant himself. This process which was initiated at the Drydocks was so successful that its example is spreading all the time. It is now imperative that a way be found how to link the rights of these owner workers with the needs of the nation for their mutual benefit.

It is the belief of a Socialist Government that the best social order can be achieved if the worker himself shared the responsibility of running an industry which provides him with his livelihood. Thus not only will the worker take care of his immediate interests of getting always higher wages, but will also see that the industry progresses in order to ensure for himself a steady employment in the future. This is also in the interest of the employer because in this way not only will he share his responsibility with the worker but also the interest that his industry progresses.

For this reason, a Socialist Government will immediately begin to introduce these systems where the people, through the Malta Development Corporation, will have their own factories or a share in these factories.

A Socialist Government will also encourage the private industrialist who, voluntarily and in his own interest introduces a system whereby the worker may share with him in the agreement of the enterprise as well as in the profits.

### **III. The Intellectual and Moral Sector**

The Socialist Government has not only eradicated poverty amongst the Maltese people and provided them with security against disease, but has always taught that man should not only think of material things. In fact, it is the necessity to see to the moral needs that has compelled the Socialist Government to take quick and efficient action in the material sector. The Socialists also know that if there is no intellectual diligence it is not possible either to have clear moral aims or to find the means to ease hardship in the material sector.

#### **Education and Culture**

A Socialist Government believes that instruction and education have utilitarian and cultural aims. Instruction is imparted, first and foremost so that many may be able to provide work for the benefit of the nation, of the family and of himself. Instruction is also given in order that man may increase his knowledge even in those matters that do not serve him directly and immediately for the work he carries out for the nation. Such instruction makes him more intellectual, gives him the opportunity to live a happier life, endows him with greater personality and dignity, and opens for him new horizons.

During the past five years the Socialist Government has found out that the teaching of trades had been neglected and it had to make a big drive in this direction. It opened eleven trade schools in Malta and one in Gozo, a handcrafts school, a nautical school and another one for the teaching of industrial electronics. Nevertheless it has not neglected cultural education, in fact it gave it more impetus. In this field the Socialist Government has set up for the first time a school for music and drama as well as a Cultural Institute.

The Socialist Government has raised the school leaving age to sixteen and has given a start for the effective

coordination between the three higher educational institutions - the University, Malta College of Arts, Science and Technology and the Malta College of Education. The latter has now been merged with M.C.A.S.T.

## **Higher education**

In the next five years, a Socialist Government will continue to strengthen the fact that the University and M.C.A.S.T. are together a single sector of education. Although these two institutions are different, both are equally essential to the nation, and therefore they should enjoy the same prestige. The difference in their stature should come from the standard each of them succeeds in attaining, but as one sector they should cooperate in order to do away with duplicate work, and to make the best possible use of their facilities particularly those common to both. In both institutions the courses should be planned according to the economic and social needs of the country.

The education that should be given in these institutions should be limited to those professions and other fields of teaching which a country as small as ours could give at an adequately high standard. As regards other subjects, especially science subjects in which we cannot reach the necessary standard, or where this is not economical, a Socialist Government will create opportunities for Maltese students to go abroad and undergo courses of specialised studies.

Through the contacts established by the Socialist Government with foreign countries, and particularly as a result of the new agreement with the European Economic Community, there is an ever-increasing opportunity for scholarships, and for access to scientific researches in highly advanced countries.

An intellectual field which up to now has not received its due importance is that of art, especially the contribution that this field can offer to the country's economic and social life. A Socialist Government will set up an association or an institute of Maltese artists in which musicians, painters, sculptors and actors be assisted so that through their art they not only pave the way to culture but also create a profession which gives its share to the material wealth of the nation.

## **Secondary education**

In the field of secondary education a Socialist Government will continue to offer to one and all the opportunity to develop one's own intellectual powers according to the ability and natural inclination of the citizen. It will also offer special encouragement to those who show ability and inclination more than others. With this aim in view, the students will be chosen and streamed into special schools, and each school will lay emphasis on some special branch of education, such as science. The selection will be made not only through examinations but also according to the ability of the student and his progress during the year.

## **Technical education**

Notwithstanding the unceasing efforts of the Labour Government during the past five years to promote the teaching of trade subjects, there is still need for further efforts to foster technical education. Moreover, in order to promote further the industrial development of our country, we must not only expand the teaching of trade subjects, but we must also provide facilities for the teaching of more advanced technology.

Skilled trades and other manual work are vital for the economic development of our country. They have the

same dignity as clerical and professional work. To help our youths understand how true this is, the financial assistance we felt we should give to the students was an opportunity given to them to earn money while performing useful work for the country.

### **School environment**

There should be a change in school environment. Schools must attract children and should no longer be places which children do their utmost to keep away from. To achieve this aim, first and foremost the teaching staff should look upon their profession as one which requires complete dedication to students. Teachers are second parents and should do their level best to gain from students the same esteem a child should have for his parents. When such relationship is established between teachers and students, the latter will be more attracted to attend school and will be instilled with that self-discipline which eliminates the need of enforced discipline.

### **National youth centre**

A Socialist Government believes in the principle that youth activities proceed more smoothly if the youths themselves not only take an active part in them but also have a say in the choice and the running of such activities. To put this principle into effect and to further promote youth activities, a Socialist Government will set up a National Youth Centre consisting of representatives of various associations. A Socialist Government will give appropriate assistance to this Centre.

### **A morally healthy society**

In order that our country be really developed, it is not enough only to increase material welfare and distribute it equitably. Neither is it sufficient to enhance the intellectual and cultural standards, but it is also necessary that our society be morally healthy.

In the past, the Socialist Government put into effect this principle by eradicating corruption and by waging a total struggle against drug trafficking, smuggling and other matters that weaken the moral fibre of our Society.

In order to win this struggle, the Maltese people must act in the same way as they treat medical ailments. A Socialist Government believes that in order to enhance the nation's morality, the struggle should not only be corrective but also preventive. Drugs, excessive drinking, sex, etc., cannot always be eliminated by treatment, especially in chronic cases. It is necessary to prevent such vices altogether or to nip them in the bud.

A Socialist Government will take measures to hold back such evil practices from reaching our shores and from spreading not only in our own country but also to other countries. We will invite once again other organisations, whether religious or not, to unite with us so as together we will work without any distinction of creed or class, to keep away such afflictions from the Maltese people. A Socialist Government will continue to co-operate with all those Governments which likewise do not want such afflictions in their countries.

Amongst preventive measures, special importance will be given to adequate education, particularly sex education, in schools and on television. Such education should be presented in a positive way, both through moral methods of teaching as well as by means of appropriate films. Through these positive means one is taught how to choose good from evil, to recognise the advantages of good values, and to discard voluntarily

harmful practices.

Now that the broadcasting media are in Maltese hands, and, under the Socialist Government, they have expanded so much (Radio Malta and the second TV channel), now has come the time for these media to be purified from the commercial and had influence of foreigners. These modern broadcasting media which, during this century, have influenced so much man's mind, should in our country be purged from many episodes of brutal violence and of bestial civilization built solely on greed and private profit. Instead, a Socialist Government will infuse love towards all creatures, admiration of nature's beauties, kindness, mercy and the other real values of life.

A special encouragement will be given to youths to participate actively in sports, This strengthens and helps individuals physically and morally. Sports helps one's physical and moral development and keeps one away from evil. Consequently, the most urgent need is to set up further district sport facilities, both for young children as well as for citizens of all ages.

A Socialist Government will continue to regard Marsa as the cradle of Maltese sport and will continue to improve facilities at this Centre for the recreation of Maltese and tourists.

### **Towards a Socialist Malta in progress and peace**

In present times, no man is an island entire of itself,\* but no island has remained an island on its own. Not only man cannot live isolated from other human beings, but also a nation cannot exist in isolation from the rest of the world.

\* "No man is an island, entire of itself, everyman is a piece of the continent, a part of the main". - John Donne

Consequently, in order to plan the future of our country, we must also be aware of foreign events. We should do our utmost, so that together with others, we will create those conditions conducive to proper economic, social and moral development. This means that as a nation we have the duty to do our part towards a better and peaceful world.

For this reason the Socialist Government began to take a different view of our country's foreign policy. The new foreign policy launched by the Workers' Government was based on two fundamental principles firstly that Malta utilises its representatives abroad and the numerous newly acquired friends in the international field to strengthen its trade and economy; secondly to avail itself of every opportunity in international meetings to spread the moral ideal of peace and to create the means through which, together with other countries the goal of world peace can gradually be achieved.

For many centuries Malta and its people earned a living on the profits of wars. Now we have realised that this should no longer be so. The Socialist Government has shown clearly that the way of living in pursuit of peace is not only feasible but will soon become a fact.

The Maltese people are convinced that they have taken the right direction. This conviction became firmer when many countries gave us their moral and material aid without any subsequent intention to rule over us, but in recognition of our good will. Their support has served to improve our standard of living in these turbulent times. This support has enabled us to reinforce our moral backbone so that on the road to peace we achieve real independence for our country and confirm our national integrity.

The Socialist Government has for several months been working in collaboration with neighbouring countries to establish what status Malta should have in the international scene when the agreement with the British Government will terminate in March 1979. In this pursuit, the aim of the Maltese Government was to consolidate the existing friendship which Malta has seriously succeeded in establishing both with Arab countries as well as with European countries particularly those bordering the Mediterranean.

As a result of this pursuit we have found out that there are two practical and realistic avenues open to our people.

The first one is to reach a separate bilateral defence pact and economic co-operation agreement with every nation which feels that it would be in its interest to do so.

This road is not only open to us but from an official offer already in the hands of the Maltese Government we are aware that, if the need arises, the Maltese people can unhesitatingly take this road.

The second way is far dearer to the Maltese Socialist Movement. By taking this road the Maltese people will be given the guarantee that the neighbours bound by new pacts will defend them if attacked by foreign forces. The Maltese people will also have these nations' pledge of economic co-operation so that Malta will not suffer economically when it changes to an economy based on peace after March 1979.

In this second way, Malta, on its part, offers to bind itself to continue with its policy of non-alignment, that is, that in no way will it help the two super-powers, and that in particular there will be no foreign military bases on the island after 1979.

With great satisfaction, the Socialist Movement is now aware that the initiative taken by the Maltese Government to open this second avenue leading to moral and material welfare not solely for us but also for all Mediterranean nations, has already had positive results. On the part of the Government of the Republic of Italy as well as on the part of the other democratic parties in Italy (which, at present, although on the Opposition benches, are gradually participating with Government in its policy making), our initiative has been favourably received and what remains still to be considered on their part is an assurance that this new agreement will not hinder their other pacts in the international field.

On the part of the Libyan Arab Republic, and now also on the part of Algeria, we are aware that this new agreement we are seeking, so that Malta will assume this position of neutrality towards the two super-powers and obtain economic co-operation, has their full and wholehearted support. We know, that in nations farther away, such as in France, our initiative is being studied carefully and sympathetically by both Government and Opposition. In addition, we are aware that traditionally non-aligned countries, such as Yugoslavia, Tunisia, etc., have also promised their support.

Although we would be foolish if we were to presume that all the necessary work to pave this new way leading to peace for us and for our Mediterranean neighbours has been completed, the results we have had so far inspire us to further our efforts towards our goal. We should continue to pursue this initiative with further enthusiasm in the knowledge that if it were to fail, the Maltese people would have an alternative way.

We know that the final success in this initiative can only be achieved if the voluntary and full support of West European countries is forthcoming. We are convinced that the way we have chosen will be mutually beneficial. However, we are realistic enough to appreciate the fact that we cannot embark on this way alone.

On the 17th and 18th September, the Maltese people, by casting their votes, will decide whether they want to proceed further on this way we have initiated together. If one were to review all that has been achieved by Malta during the past five years - the substantial material progress and the no less spectacular moral change -

one cannot fail to deduce that the work and efforts came from all classes of the Maltese people. One cannot fail to realise that all the benefits we acquired, (after as Christians, civilized people, and Socialists, we alleviated the hardships of the lower class people and of all those dependent on their fellow human beings for their livelihood), were shared thus enriching all and sundry; retailers, businessmen, professionals, manual workers and all those who endeavoured to discharge their duties during these times which certainly cannot be termed as having been easy for the world.

The Socialist Movement believes that on the eve of elections, it would be insulting the Maltese people's intelligence if it were to resort to making empty promises in a deceitful attempt to acquire the vote of the gullible.

The Socialist Movement believes that now has come the moment of truth, when each and every Maltese citizen should examine his conscience and decide what is materially and morally beneficial for the Mediterranean, his country, his family and himself

The Maltese workers, united within their two organisations, the Labour Party and the General Worker's Union, are confident that the Maltese, in the forthcoming days, will choose to continue working wholeheartedly and as brethren for a Maltese and Socialist Malta, in progress and in peace.