MALTESE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT 1798–1964

A Documentary History



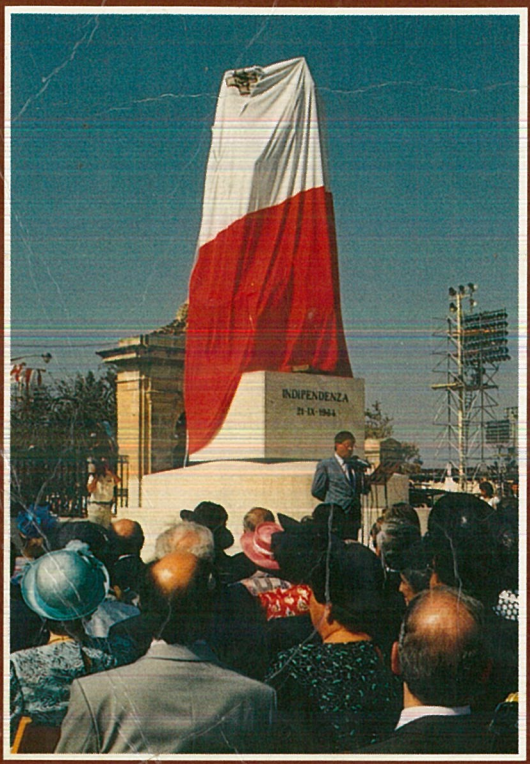
LIZABETH THE SECOND BY THE GRACE OF GOD OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND OF OUR OTHER REALMS AND TERRITORIES QUEEN HEAD OF THE COMMONWEALTH DEFENDER OF THE FAITH To Our trusty and well beloved Sir Maurice Henry Dorman Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George Knight Grand Cross of Our Royal Victorian Order Governor-General of Malta and Our trusty and well beloved Paolo Pace Esquire Speaker of the House of Representatives of Our Parliament of Malta and to Our trusty and well beloved the Members of the said House of Representatives and Our People of Malta Greeting. Whereas by the Malta Independence Act 1964 provision is made for the attainment by Malta of fully responsible status within the Commonwealth And Whereas in pursuance of the provisions of the Constitution set out in the Malta Independence Order 1964 Our Parliament of Malta has been summoned to meet for certain arduous and urgent affairs concerning the Government thereof And Whereas We are desirous of marking the importance of this session of Our Parliament of Malta (being the first session thereof since the attainment by Malta of fully responsible status as aforesaid) and of showing Our special interest in the welfare of Our Loyal Subjects therein and for as much as for certain causes We cannot conveniently be present thereat in Our Royal Person Now Know Ye that We trusting in the discretion fidelity and care of Our most dearly beloved Husband and most faithful Counsellor Philip Duke of Edinburgh Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter Knight of Our Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle Grand Master and First or Principal Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Excellent Order of the British Empire Admiral of Our Fleet Field Marshal in Our Army Marshal of Our Royal Air Force Do give and grant by the tenor of these Presents unto him full power in Our name to hold Our Parliament of Malta and to open and declare and cause to be opened and declared the causes of holding the same and to do everything which for Us and by Us shall be therein to be done Willing that he shall hereby convey to Our said Parliament and People Our Royal message of goodwill and Our assurance of Our earnest prayer for the blessing of Almighty God on the new Constitution of Malta and for the continued prosperity and happiness of all Our Loyal Subjects in Malta Commanding also by the tenor of these Presents as well all and every the said Governor-General the said Speaker and Members of Our said House of Representatives as all others whom it concerns to meet in Our said Parliament that to the same Prince Philip they diligently intend in the premises in the form aforesaid AND We do further direct and enjoin that these Our Letters shall be read and proclaimed at such place or places as Our said Governor-General shall think fit within Malta In Witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent Witness Ourself at Westminster the seventeenth day of September in the thirteenth year of Our Reign.

BY THE QUEEN HERSELF SIGNED WITH HER OWN HAND

COLDSTREAM

Compiled and Edited with Introductory Notes by

HENRY FRENDO



Professor Frendo is here seen delivering the address to mark the inauguration of Malta's Independence Monument on 21 September 1989.

In this volume on Maltese political development, Professor Henry Frendo has compiled, edited, introduced and annotated an anthology of texts – letters, editorials, speeches, inquiries, despatches, conferences, broadcasts – in French, Italian, English and Maltese, with reference to the period of the French and of the British occupations – an era covering over 166 years. In presenting the first such documentary history of Malta, he traces events from the Maltese popular insurrection of September 1798 to the origins of Maltese statehood in September 1964 and Malta's membership of the Council of Europe.

In his writings since 1970 on party politics, colonial nationalism, language and identity, the mass media, migrants and refugees, one of Frendo's primary concerns has been the relationship of culture to politics, especially in the 'British' Mediterranean.

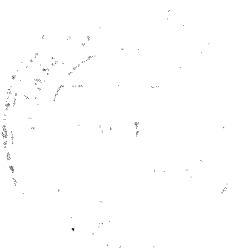
A former daily newspaper editor, a UN diplomat in different countries, and since 1988 Professor of History at the University of Malta, Henry Frendo has been an international visitor in the U.S.A. and in Germany, a Commonwealth Scholar at Oxford, a Guest Lecturer at Florence, a Consultant to the Australian National University, a Salzburg Fellow and a Guest Professor at Augsburg.

Maltese Political Development 1798–1964

Selected Readings
Edited, Annotated and Introduced
by
Professor Henry Frendo



203957



Photoset and printed in Malta by Interprint Ltd.
© Henry Frendo, 1993

A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation long suppressed, finds utterance.

Nehru, 1947

His (Fisher's) idea that history depends, in part, on ourselves, is much more "meaningful" and "noble" than the idea that history has its inherent, and inexorable laws – whether mechanical, dialectical or organic; or that we are puppets in a historical puppet-show; or victims of superhuman historical powers, such as the powers of Good and Evil, or the collective forces of proletarians and capitalists.

Popper, 1968

To the memory of the late
Professor Andrew P. Vella, O.P.,
teacher, counsellor and friend,
this work is dedicated.

Malta's history about which so much has been written is not really well known. Perhaps worst still, some superficial assessments or prejudiced verdicts still pass as history. There has not been enough intellectual debate, and there still exist great lacunae even in the establishment of fact through research at the sources, erstwhile not accessible, now open to those who would have the patience and the passion to discover.

Professor Frendo's collation of texts will not only whet the appetite of those who might feel the first motion of this passion but will also present our reading public and our students with the raw documents from which all and sundry can reconstruct their own assessment. God forbid that we should treat our past historians, even the best, as definitive. From Bosio onwards and down to the latest, the historian's rendering is valuable, but sometimes naively biased. As with the Bible text, every generation "receives" a message from the authentic documents having shorn off the obsolete judgements of previous generations.

History writing may have become more scientifically objective in despairing of absolute objectivity, but the critical apparatus of readers of history has also, perhaps, become more sophisticated. Most of our historians' accounts are now read for the gleanings of nodes of fact or in enjoyment of the quaint and simplistic comments. It is inevitable that our reading public would wish to have not only melitensia but history.

Thirty years after Independence, one may also hope that the old rifts which divided our historians' vision of the past may be fully eschewed. Professor Frendo has made his own contribution in research and in the raising of doubts about previous historians' pontifications. This book leaves the reflections to be made and the revaluations to be realised, very much to the reader.

Our history is our own cultural DNA. DNAs are extremely difficult in discovery. However, even though one would still have the same fixed identity without knowing the key, understanding brings about a fuller and more intense conscience of one's life.

One individual's own, and our nation's.

UGO MIFSUD BONNICI
Minister of Education and Human Resources

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part 1: 1798–1799

Editor's Preface xvii

Introductory Notes on Part 1, 1798–1799 3

Document 1. The Convention of 12 June 1798 between France and the Order of St John surrendering Malta to France 7

Document 2. Bonaparte's Instructions regarding Malta's Government on 13 June 1798 9

Document 3. A Communique dated 5 September 1798 from the Leaders of the Maltese Insurrection to the King of the Two Sicilies 12

Document 4. Luigi Briffa's Account of his Voyage to Naples to consign the Maltese Petition 14

Document 5. Grand Master Hompesch's Protest regarding France's behaviour in the Conquest of Malta 16

Document 6. The Expulsion of the Maltese Populace from Valletta and the Three Cities by General Vaubois 17

Document 7. Petition of the Maltese Congress of 7 February 1799 imploring Britain's intervention, forwarded to Naples by three Deputies 18

Document 8. The Scilian King conveys his Agreement that Britain be asked to undertake Malta's Protection 20

Document 9. Maltese Deputies ask Lord Nelson for Britain's Protection and the Assignment of an English Commander .. 22

Document 10. Naples confirms Temporary Protection of Malta by Britain and sends Assistance to Maltese Insurgents 24

Part 2: 1800–1839

Introductory Notes on Part 2, 1800–1839 29

Document 11. A Short Account of the French Capitulation 33

Document 12. An October 1801 Representation by the Maltese to the Royal Commissioner, Charles Cameon 34

Document 13. Preliminary Treaty for the British Evacuation of Malta, 1st October 1801 39

Document 14. *Alla Nazione Maltese*: Cameron to the Maltese, May 1802 40

Document 15. A remonstrance by the Maltese to Lord Hobart 42

Document 16. Letter from the Maltese Deputies thanking Lord Hobart 46

Document 17. Report of the returning Maltese Deputies to their constituents 48

Document 18. Declaration of Rights of the inhabitants of the islands of Malta and Gozo, 15th June 1802 55

Document 19. *Umile Rappresentazione dei Deputati delle Isole di Malta e Gozo* 57

Document 20. Treaty of Paris 1814 giving Malta to Britain as a possession 64

Document 21. Ratification of British possession by the Congress of Vienna 65

Document 22. The Claims of the Maltese founded upon the principles of justice, by George Mitrovich 66

Document 23. *Maltese miei compatriotti*: 1835 address by Mitrovich to his fellow Maltese 70

Document 24. A Proclamation establishing a Council of Government in Malta in 1835 88

Document 25. Proclamation of Press Freedom, 1839 90

Document 26. Specimens of the first issues of uncensored newspapers in 1838: *Il Portafoglio Maltese* and *Lo Spettatore Imparziale* 91

Part 3: 1840–1887

Introductory Notes on Part 3, 1840–1887 99

Document 27. Proclamation of the Council of 1849 101

Document 28. Results of the first elections held under the 1849 Constitution 102

Document 29. Appeal to the Electorate, 1849 104

Document 30. Extract from *L'Avvenire* on the new Council . 105

Document 31. The Programme of the Associazione Patriottica Maltese 107

Document 32. Address of Dr. Grech Delicata to the Maltese Circle, July 1849 110

Document 33. The Programme of *Il Diritto di Malta*, 1880 .. 113

Document 34. Extract from *Il Diritto di Malta*, 1880 117

Document 35. Extract from *Il Diritto di Malta*, 1881 121

Document 36. Extract from the *Corriere Mercantile Maltese*, 1887 125

Part 4: 1888–1903

Introductory Notes on Part 4, 1888–1903 135

Document 37. 1895 Speech by Savona, requesting Responsible Government for Malta 137

Document 38. 1901 meeting addressed by Mizzi, Azzopardi and Panzavecchia 198

Document 39. Mizzi's appeal prior to the meeting, April 1901 210

Document 40. Notice from the *Gazzetta di Malta*, of 6 April 1901 213

Document 41. Unanimous 1903 protest against the revocation of the Constitution 214

Document 42. Editorial of *Malta*, June 1903 217

Document 43. The new Letters Patent, 23 June 1903 221

Part 5: 1904–1918

Document 44. The formation of the *Associazione Politica Maltese* in 1905 245

Document 45. Scope and organization of the A.P.M.'s *Consiglio Popolare* 263

Document 46. A Protest Resolution sent to the Governor in June 1906 270

Document 47. Police Reports to London on A.P.M. meeting and on Francesco Azzopardi's leadership 271

Document 48. A *Malta* Editorial noting popular support for the National cause, December 1906 275

Document 49. *En masse* Resignation of 9 May 1907 by the Elected Members of the Council of Government 276

Document 50. Azzopardi's speech in 1907 suggesting a version of the policy of *Astensionismo* 279

Document 51. An Article by Emanuele Dimech on the possibility of Malta's independence from Britain 285

Document 55. Testimony on *Sette Giugno* events by Mr J. Hamilton 290

Document 56. Professor Frendo's Address to *La Camera del* Liberty and Nationality 293

Part 6: 1919–1942

Introductory Notes on Part 6, 1919–1942 301

Document 54. Testimony on the *Sette Giugno* events by Count Caruana Gatto 305

Document 55. Testimony on the *Sette Giugno* events by Mr J. Hamilton 321

Document 56. Professor Frendo's Address to *La Camera del Lavoro* in 1920 326

Document 57. Major Savona's address to La Camera del Lavoro in 1920 335

Document 58. Editorial in *The Labourer* on Maltese common concerns 337

Document 59. Evidence by Lord Strickland before the 1931 Royal Commission 340

Document 60. Evidence by Sir Ugo Mifsud before the 1931 Royal Commission 392

Document 61. Evidence by Dr. Enrico Mizzi before the 1931 Royal Commission 422

Document 62. Evidence by Dr. Paul Boffa before the 1931 Royal Commission 437

Document 63. The Request in 1932 that Malta be granted Dominion Status 456

Document 64. News Report in Malta on London Mission requesting Dominion Status 461

Document 65. Editorial on Dominion Status for *Malta Tagħna* 465

Document 66. A Maltese Definition of British Imperialism, 6 August 1932 467

Document 67. A motion recording what happened during the Constitution's Suspension in 1930–1932 470

Document 68. The Governor's Address on the 1936 Letters Patent 506

Document 69. The Governor's Address on the 1939 Letters Patent 509

Document 70. Ugo Mifsud's speech of 9 February 1942 defending the Right to live in One's Country and to a fair Trial 517

Document 71. Borg Oliver's tribute to Ugo Mifsud 538

Part 7: 1943–1958

Introductory Notes on Part 7, 1943–1958 547

Document 72. The 1947 MacMichael Report 551

Document 73. Nerik Mizzi on Dominion status and connections with Italy 564

Document 74. Mintoff, Malta and Marshall Aid 588

Document 75. Statements in 1952 on Financial Aid expected from Britain 609

Document 76. Malta's Status in the 1953 Coronation Festivities 611

Document 77. The Commonwealth Relations Office or the Home Office? 645

Document 78. The Integration or Independence Prospect .. 652

Document 79. Full Self-Government and the Rediffusion Question 659

Document 80. Extracts from the 1955 Lancaster House Round Table Conference 664

Document 81. Extracts from the 1955 Lancaster House, Round Table Conference on Integration: the Malta Labour Party's Position 724

Document 82. The 'Break with Britain' Resolution on 30 December 1957 747

Document 83. Correspondence and Statements Showing the Breakdown in Anglo-Maltese Talks on Integration 782

Document 84. A New Plan for Malta 799

Document 85. Stricklandian Fears of Independence (January 1959) 803

Part 8: 1959–1964

Introductory Notes on Part 8, 1959–1964 809

Document 86. Extracts from the Report of the Malta Constitutional Commission 1961 813

Document 87. Debates in May 1962 Regarding the Nature of Malta's Independence 830

Document 88. Further Debate on Points Arising from the Speech from the Throne Regarding Independence within the Commonwealth 862

Document 89. Extracts from the Report of the Malta Independence Conference at Marlbourough House in 1963 .

Document 90. Extracts from the Malta Independence Constitution of 1964 905

Document 91. Malta's Admission to the Council of Europe . 915

Document 92. Dr. Borg Oliver's Speech to the Council of Europe's Consultative Assembly in Strasbourg on 4 May, 1965 918

Editor's Preface

As indicated in the title chosen for this anthology of texts, there is a unity in Maltese political development that cuts across two occupations – the last two before independence, i.e. the French and the British. Although the French domination only lasted two years in all, it gave rise to Malta's only national armed insurrection and thus made independence a distinct possibility as early as 1799. Had the Treaty of Amiens come to pass, Malta would indeed have become an independent state by 1802, although the guaranteeing European powers took care to ensure that in that case Malta would be a neutral state. That this did not come about detracts nothing from the extraordinary historic events of the time: a popular insurrection which very nearly succeeded, unaided by foreign intervention; a clear notion of and aspiration to self-determination, including the prospect of inviting another power to govern under certain presumed conditions or qualifications; and a declaration of rights, as early as 1802, which ranks as a model of its kind by any standard. There is thus a unity which pierces the change in occupation, as the British protection sought by Malta's leaders soon enough transformed itself into another domination, against which these leaders and their successors had to struggle afresh. The attainment of independence in September 1964 may thus be seen as the culmination and indeed the vindication of an earlier somewhat comparable (if markedly different) struggle starting in September 1798.

The object of *Maltese Political Development 1798–1964* is threefold. First, it is meant as a commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Malta's independence (1964–1989). Now that the flurry of festivity has ceased it is worthwhile to commemorate this event by a project such as this which will far out-last the petards and the bands, the music and the song. The cannons have gone silent, the dignitaries have gone home, and what will stay with us is the written word.

Secondly, this volume is intended to chart out for the benefit of the general public, and for posterity, milestones in Maltese history, especially in the context of Anglo-Maltese relations. There is no easy linearity of development in the sense of one dynamic pointing forwards to one ideal – that of independence, or indeed independence from Britain. As I have

pointed out in *Malta's Quest for Independence*, until recent times dependence is as much on the Maltese mind as is independence, if not more at times. Irredentist yearnings of a cultural and/or economic bent are indications of that; these recur and indeed overlap. However the general direction of events is clearly towards greater autonomy mixed with a concern about economic survival.

Thirdly, *Maltese Political Development* will give an opportunity to the reader and the student to have ready access to original sources, authentic texts, which could then be analysed further and studied separately. Here again the problem was what to insert, because the materials are endless. I have limited documentary history entries to a minimum to try and give a taste of and a feel for the moments in time represented by the documents selected. There are scores of documents of various forms –petitions, appeals, protests, speeches, editorials – that could have been included here, but for that several volumes, not one, would be required.

Texts or parts thereof included here are in four languages – French, Italian, English and Maltese – and the use made of such languages is itself somewhat indicative of time-frames in an historical evolution towards a surer nationhood and statehood.

In the introductions which follow, I shall guide the reader briefly by introducing the various documents, with the respective number of the document in parenthesis in bold type. The volume is in eight parts, with a short annotated introduction to each of these. Each document has also been given a specific "title", which the reader will find listed and enumerated in the Table of Contents.

A glance at the body content of texts will show how far Malta's independence story is linked to goings-on in Britain as well as in Europe and the world generally, with frequent reference to or snides at aspects of international relations prevailing at particular intervals (such as Castro or the Kennedy – Khruschev confrontation over Cuba in 1962). Apart from France until the Vienna settlement of 1815, the countries to which reference is most frequently made are Britain and Italy. Reference is also made sometimes to colonial and nationalist situations or parallels in, for example, Ireland and India. In the sphere of emigration history, which in Malta is always significant, there is increasing consciousness of the potential for settlement in the English-speaking world (rather than in the north African littoral as previously), first the U.S.A. and Britain, subsequently more Australia and Canada.

All this however begins to change after independence, when continental Europe becomes far more important – as indeed it continues to become now. At the same time, wider vistas open up as Malta joins "the international community": a small but sovereign state. Our concluding document is in fact the Maltese premier's address to the Council of Europe in May 1965 when Malta joined that body as a full member. "Membership of the Council of Europe has been to my country", Dr Borg Olivier said, "like returning home after a long absence". It is a telling simile. It again evokes in us the underlying unity and yearning for Europeanity as for democracy represented to a greater or lesser extent throughout the whole period between the end of the rule of the Knights of Malta in 1798, when Bonaparte took the island from them, and the end of the rule of the British, when these finally ceded the island back to its inhabitants after 164 years.

A word of thanks goes to the staffs of the National Library, Valletta, the University of Malta Library, Msida, the archives at the Office of the Prime Minister, Valletta, and the Palace (now removed to Rabat) as well as the Dar Ċentrali library (where I could consult parliamentary debates unavailable at the National Library), Dr A. Ganado and Dr. V. Ragonesi who gave me access to their private archives. I thank, too, Chev. P.J. Naudi, General Coordinator of Malta's XXV Independence Anniversary activities, who invited me to undertake this task, my colleague Professor Oliver Friggieri with whom I initially discussed the plan of work, Mr Charles Coleiro who helped me retrieve and xerox some documents, and Ms. Margaret Abdilla who kindly typed some of my manuscripts, both from the Culture Division at the Ministry of Education, and my wife Margaret who bears with me the travail of producing books and does so pleasantly. I am particularly grateful to Mr. Adian Casha, Mr. Charles Dalli and Mr. Simon Mercieca, history graduates, who assisted me in the first and second reading of the galley proofs of this work.

HENRY FRENDO

Department of History
University of Malta.

PART 1

1798–1799

The Expulsion of the Knights of Malta,
the Insurrection against French domination,
and the establishment of a British presence.

262yrs

DOCUMENTS 1–10

An Introduction to Maltese Political Development (1)

The surrender of the Order of St John to France on 12 June 1798**(1)** abruptly brought to an end a period and a style of rule that had lasted, in Malta, for a good two hundred and sixty-eight years. On the following day Bonaparte from Valletta began dictating his instructions for the government of Malta**(2)**[1].

Less than three months after the Island's "liberation" by Bonapartist republicanism, however, the Maltese were up in arms against their new masters. On 5 September 1798, three days after the start of the insurrection at Mdina (the old capital and ancient seat of the local commune), we find the Maltese leaders petitioning the King of the Two Sicilies, recognized as their lawful sovereign through the old Spanish connection.**(3)** Their emissary, Luigi Briffa, sailed to Naples.**(4)**[2] His Sicilian Majesty is hailed as their only "father" and Sicily as their "ancient mother and provider". What they wanted was direct intervention to help them free themselves from the French ("*affin di vedersi un giorno liberi da una nazione si contraria*") who were seen as enemies of the Catholic religion and of the public peace. (Some Portuguese vessels did sail to Valletta.) Five weeks later, in October, the last Grand Master to hold office in Malta, von Hompesch, issued a declaration from Trieste, denouncing the so-called "Convention" of 12 June 1798 ("*l'écrit malignement intitulé: 'Convention' ... une loi violente ...*"), saying this had been forcibly dictated by Napoleon, and thus seeking to exculpate the Order, and himself, from blame or dishonour. More importantly, perhaps, he twice noted that the sovereignty of Malta vested in the King of the Two Sicilies.**(5)**[3] All this was shortly after the French disaster at Abu Qir, just off Alexandria, and the improving fortunes of the British fleet in the Mediterranean under Nelson.

General Vaubois, whom Napoleon had left in command at Valletta, evacuated the four fortified cities still under French control, thowing out all their Maltese residents who could not support themselves and who thus depended for provisions on the limited stocks available to the

beleaguered French behind the walls.[4] This "fraternal" directive of 15 December 1798**(6)** added to the insurgents' ranks a famished urban populace, and diminished the patience being shown in regard to the succour yearned for from Naples. The Maltese Assembly (which had been formed representing all towns and villages, outside the fortifications of Valletta) now petitioned His Sicilian Majesty to allow it to seek the additional intervention of another power, Britain, but nothing in that direction would be done without his prior permission. The choice before Malta was succinctly enough stated: "either to die of starvation or to surrender arms".**(7)**

Following subsequent exchanges between Maltese deputies and Neapolitan Ministers**(8)** and, by February 1799, directly with Nelson,**(9)** the increasingly desperate insurgents even asked that Malta's government be placed in the hands of an English captain who had become acquainted with the Island and its woes. In March 1799 the Neapolitan War Minister conceded to this request and sought to facilitate its implementation.**(10)**[5]

Notes

1 H.P. Scicluna (ed.): *Actes et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de l'occupation Française de Malte* (Valletta, 1923), pp. 77–81.
2 Quoted in Felice Cutajar: *L'Occupazzione Francese di Malta nel 1798* (Valletta, 1933), pp. 86–91.
3 H.P. Scicluna, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–73.
4 Quoted in Barone Azopardi's *Giornale della Presa di Malta e Gozo dalla Republica Francese e della susseguente rivoluzione della Campagna* (Valletta, 1833; 2nd ed. 1864), p. 116.
5 Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 120–130 and pp 132–34. On pp. 132–34, Azopardi gives us the list of Maltese deputies ("Elenco dei Deputati, ossia Rappresentanti del Popolo"), as follows:

Città Veccia, Rabato, e Casal Dingli	Emmanuele Vitale.
Zebbug	Notaro Pietro Buttigieg.
Siggeui	D. Salvatore Curso, Parroco.
Micabiba	D. Bartolomeo Garaffa, Parroco.
Crendí	Gregorio Mifsud.
Zurico	D. Fortunato Dalli.
Safi	Ch. Giuseppe Abdilla.
Chercop	Enerico Xerri.
Gudia	Filippo Castagna.

Axiach	D. Pietro Mallia.
Zeitun	Capo Maestro Michele Cachia.
Zabbar	Agostino Said.
Tarscien	Giuseppe Montibello.
Luca	Giuseppe Casha.
Curmi	Stanislao Gatt.
Birchircara	Vincenzo Borg.
Gargur	Ch. Giovanni Gafà.
Naxxaro	Cav. Paolo Parisio.
Musta	D. Felice Calleja, Parroco.
Lia	Salvatore Gafà.
Balzan	Giuseppe Frendo.
Attard	Notaro Saverio Zarb.

DOCUMENT 1

The Convention of 12 June 1798 between France and the Order of St. John surrendering Malta to France

Convention du 24 Prairial, an VI. (I)
(12 Juin 1798)

Convention arrêtée entre la République Française représentée par le citoyen Général en Chef Bonaparte d'une part.

Et l'Ordre des Chevaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem représentés par Messieurs: le Bailli Torinò Frisari, le Commandeur Bosredon Ransijat, le Baron Mario Testaferrata, le Docteur Nicolas Muscat, l'Avocat Benedetto Schembri, et le Conseiller Bonanno, de l'autre part.

Et sous la médiation de sa Majesté Catholique le Roi d'Espagne représentée par Monsieur le Chevalier Philippe Amat son chargé d'affaires à Malte.

Art I. Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de Saint Jean de Jérusalem remettront à l'armée française la ville et les forts de Malte: ils renoncent en faveur de la République Française aux droits de Souvearineté et de proprieté qu'ils ont sur cette Isle, que sur les Isles de Malte, de Goze, et de Cumino.

Art. II. La République Française emploiera son influence au congrès de Rastadt pour faire avoir au Grand Maître sa vie durante, une Principauté équivalente à cette qu'il perd, et en attendant, elle s'engage à lui faire une pension annuelle de trois cent mille francs; il lui sera donné en outre la valeur de deux années de la dite pension à titre d'indemnité pour son mobilier. Il conservera pendant le temps qu'il restera à Malte, les honneurs militaires dont il jouissait.

Art. III. Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de Saint Jean de Jérusalem Français qui sont actuellement à Malte, et dont l'état sera arrêté par le Général en Chef, pourront rentrer dans leur patrie, et leur résidence à Malte leur sera comptée comme une résidence en France.

Art. IV. La République Française fera une pension de sept cent francs aux Chevaliers Français actuellement à Malte, leur vie durante. Cette pension sera de mille francs pour les Chevaliers sexagénaires et au dessus.

La République Française employera ses bons offices auprès des

Républiques Cisalpine, Ligurienne, Romaine et Helvétique pour qu'elles accordent la même pension aux Chevaliers de ces différentes Nations.

Art. V. La République Française employera ses bons offices auprès des autres Puissances de l'Europe pour qu'elles conservent aux Chevaliers de leur Nation, l'exercice de leurs droits sur les Biens de l'Ordre de Malte situés dans leurs Etats.

Art. VI. Les Chevaliers conserveront les proprietés qu'ils possedent dans les Isles de Malte et de Goze, à titre de proprietés particulières.

Art. VII. Les habitants des Isles de Malte et du Goze continueront à jouir comme par le passé du libre exercice de la Religion Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine. Ils conserveront les proprietés et privilèges qu'ils possedent. Il ne sera mis aucune contribution extraordinaire.

Art. VIII. Tous les Actes Civils passés sous le gouvernement de l'Ordre seront valables, et auront leur exécution.

Fait double à bord du Vaisseau *l'Orient*, devant Malte, le vingt quatre Prairial, an sixième de la République Française (12 Juin 1798, V.S.)

(L.S.) (Signé) Bonaparte
(Signé) Le Commandeur Bosredon Ransijat.
(Signé) Il Barone Mario Testaferrata
(Signé) Il Dottor G. Nic. Muscat
(Signé) Il Dottor Bened. Schembri
(Signé) Il Consig. F.T. Bonanni Com.
(Signé) Il Balì di Torino Frisari, salvo il dritto di Alto Dominio, che appartiene al mio Sovrano, come Rè delle due Sicilie.
(L.S.) (Signé) El Caballero Felipe de Amat.

En exécution des Articles conclus le vingt quatre Prairial entre la République Française et l'Ordre de Malte, ont été arrêtées les dispositions suivantes:

Art. I. Aujourd'hui vingt quatre Prairial, le Fort Manoel, le Fort Tigné, le Chateau Saint Ange, les ouvrages de la Bormola, de la Cottonère et de la Cité Victorieuse, seront remis à midy aux troupes Françaises.

Art. II. Demain vingt cinq Prairial le fort Ricasoli, le Chateau Saint Elme, les ouvrages de la Cité Valette, ceux de la Floriane et tous les autres, seront remis à midy aux troupes Françaises.

Art. III. Des Officiers Français se rendront aujourd'hui à dix heures du matin chez le Grand Maître, pour y prendre les ordres pour les Gouverneurs qui commandent dans les différens Ports et ouvrages qui

doivent être mis au pouvoir des Français: ils seront accompagnés d'un Officier Maltais: il y aura autant d'Officiers qu'il sera remis de forts.

Art. IV. Il sera fait les mêmes dispositions que ci dessus, pour les forts et ouvrages qui doivent être mis au pouvoir des Français demain vingt cinq.

Art. V. En même temps que l'on consignera les ouvrages des fortifications, l'on consignera l'Artillerie, les Magasins, et Papiers de Génie.

Art. VI. Les Troupes de l'Ordre de Malte pourront rester dans les Casernes qu'elles occupent, jusqu'à ce qu'il y soit autrement pourvû.

Art. VII. L'Amiral Commandant la Flotte Française nomméra un Officier pour prendre possession ajourd'hui des vaisseux, galères, bâtiments, magasins et autres effets de marine appartenants à l'Ordre de Malte.

(L.S.) (Signé) Bonaparte
(Signé) Il Barone Mario Testaferrata
(Signé) Il Dottor G. Nic. Muscat
(Signé) Il Dottor Bened. Schembri
(Signé) Il Consig. F.T. Bonanni Com.
(Signé) Le Commandeur Bosredon Ransijat
(Signé) Il Balì di Torino Frisari
(Signé) El Caballero Felipe de Amat.

DOCUMENT 2

Bonaparte's first Instructions regarding Malta's government on 13 June 1798

Arrêtés de Bonaparte

Arrêté du 25 Prairial, an VI.
(13 Juin 1798)

ORDRE
BONAPARTE, GÉNÉRAL EN CHEF
Ordonne ce qui suit

Art. I. Les Isles de Malte et du Goze seront administrées par une Commission de Gouvernement composée de neuf personnes, qui seront à la nomination du Général en Chef.

Art. II. Chaque membre de cette commission la presidera à son tour pendant six mois: la Commission choisira un Secrétaire et un Trésorier hors de son sein.

Art. III. Ily aura auprès de la Commission de Gouvernement un Commissaire Français.

Art. IV. Cette Commission sera spécialement chargée de toute l'administration des Isles de Malte et du Gozo, et de la surveillance de la perception de toutes les contributions directes et indirectes. Elle prendra des mesures relatives à l'approvisionnement de l'Isle. L'administration de Santé sera spécialement sous ses ordres.

Art. V. Le Commissaire ordonnateur en Chef fera un abonnement avec la Commision pour établir ce qu'elle doit donner par mois à la caisse de l'Armée.

Art. VI. La Commission de Gouvernement s'occupera incessament d'organiser des Tribunaux pour la Justice Civile et Criminelle, en se rapprochant le plus possible de l'organisation qui existe actuellement en France; la nomination des membres des Tribunaux aura besoin de l'approbation du Général de division Commandant à Malte; en attendant que ces Tribunaux soient organisés, la Justice continuera d'être administrée comme par le passé.

Art VII. Les Isles de Malte et du Gozo seront divisées en cantons, dont le moindre aura trois mille âmes de population: il y aura dans la Ville de Malte deux municipalités.

Art. VIII. Chaque canton sera administré par un corps municipal de cinq membres.

Art. IX. Il y aura dans chanque canton un Juge de paix.

Art. X. Les Juges de paix, les différens Magistrats, seront nommés par la Commission de Gouvernement avec l'approbation du Général de division Commandant à Malte.

Art. XI. Tous les biens de l'Ordre de Malte, du Grand Maître et des différens Couvents des Chevaliers appartiennent à la République Française.

Art. XII. Il y aura une Commission composée de trois membres chargés de faire l'Inventaire de dits biens et de les administrer: elle correspondra avec l'Ordonnateur en Chef.

Art XIII. La Police sera toute entière sous les ordres du Général Commandant, et des différens Officiers sous ses ordres.

BONAPARTE.

Arrêté du 25 Prairial an VI.

ORDRE (I)

Quartier Général, Malte, le 25 Prairial, an VI
(13 Juin 1798)

Le Général en Chef ordonne:

Article 1er.—En conséquence de l'ordre d'aujourd'hui relatif à l'organisation du gouvernement, les citoyens ci-dessous, composent la Commission de Gouvernement:

BOSREDON RANSIJAT
VINCENT CARUANA, secrétaire de l'Evêque.
CHARLES ASTOR, négociant à Malte;
PAOLO CIANTAR, négociant à Malte;
JEAN-FRANÇOIS DORELL, échevin actuel;
GRONGO, juge au Gozzo;
BENEDETTO SCHEMBRY, Magistrat;
Le Chanoine don SAVERIO CARUANA, fabricant à la Cité Vieille;
CHRISTOPHE FRENDO, notaire.

Article 2.—Le citoyen Regnaud de Saint-Jean d'Angely est Commissaire du Gouvernement près la dite Commission.

Article 3.—Les citoyens Matthieu Poussielgue, Caruson et Roussel, composeront la Commission créée par l'Article 12 de l'Ordre de ce jour.

Article 4.—Le Général Berthier réunira demain les membres composant les deux Commissions; il leur fera prêter le serment d'obélissance â la République, aprês avoir procédé à leur installation, et dressera de tout procès-verbal.

Article 5.—La Commission de Gouvernement nommera, sous 48 heures, les deux Municipalités de Malte et, sous 5 jours, celles du reste de l'île et du Gozo.

BONAPARTE.

DOCUMENT 3

A communiqué from the Leaders of the Maltese Insurrection to the King of the Two Sicilies dated 5 September 1798

A Sua Maestà il Re
delle Due Sicilie

"Sire,

"Il popolo di Malta ormai ridotto all'estremo delle sue disgrazie, umilmente prostrato ai piedi della Maestà Vostra le rappresenta, che non potendo egli più a lungo soffrire il tirannico dispotismo dei Francesi, dai quali trovasi per sua disavventura sin da quasi quattro mesi invasa l'isola, animato da un certo natural impeto, fece forza a se stesso affin di scuotere il suo troppo duro e grave giogo, e nel brevissimo spazio di non più che di diecisette ore gli riuscì d'impadronirsi dell'antica città Notabile e di tutte quante le torri della campagna. Non si può affatto immaginare l'impegno che or dimostrano i Maltesi di soggiogare la città capitale, insieme colle altre città adiacenti, le quali per essere ben munite e fortificate, non senza qualche difficoltà si potranno assalire. A tal fine tutti i possidenti della campagna hanno già contribuito, e vanno tuttora contribuendo, delle provvisioni e delle buone somme di denaro per lo necessario sostentamento delle povera gente destinata nei campi, per ovviare agli insulti degli aggressori. Essendo questi più che mai duri ed ostinati a cedere bonariamente la capitale, ed andarsene via, pare che la cosa voglia tirare troppo a lungo, e frattanto le provvisioni delle vettovaglie vanno sempre mancando per gli abitanti della campagna, quando i granari della capitale sono per anco ben forniti. Quando, siccome il danaro dell'università, quello dei banchi pubblici, e quello dei particolari ben possidenti, trovasi tutto rinchiuso dentro le città occupate dal nemico, e la campagna se ne trova del tutto priva: epperò, non potendo essa aver ulteriori sussidi dai rispettivi abitanti, i quali alla fine non sono troppo ricchi, già si vede sul punto di abbandonare l'impresa, e perire affatto di fame, qualor non si volesse prestare un opportuno provvedimento. Or non avendo i Maltesi un padre a cui ricorrere, nelle presenti loro calamitose circostanze, più amoroso e più tenero della Maestà Vostra; perciò con forte coraggio implorano essi il suo potentissimo patrocinio, supplicandola con tutto il loro potere di averne

misericordia e compassione, accordando loro facoltà di far portare dalla Sicilia, antica madre e provveditrice di Malta, le necessarie provvisioni di grano, e di tutto altro, a credenza, coll'obbligo di pagare tutto dopo avuta la vittoria. E perchè ancora manca di armi, polvere ed altre munizioni necessarie per attaccare, occorrendo, il nemico dalle parte interna dell'isola, a misura del numero della gente, che si ha già pronta, si fa lecito di domandare alla stessa Maestà Vostra le già dette provvisioni di guerra. L'affetto particolare che ha sempre la Maestà Vostra, ed in molte circostanze assai meno urgenti della presente, dimostrato verso dell'isola, rende sicuri gli abitanti di essa, che dando la Maestà Vostra uno sguardo benigno e cortese verso di loro, e considerandone attentamente il misero e deplorabile stato, non sarà mai per negare loro l'implorata grazia, ora che eglino trovansi costretti a perire miseramente, senza poter proseguire l'intrapresa onorevole carica, affin di vedersi un giorno liberi da una nazione sì contraria non solo alla religione cristiana, che è il primo freno del governo, ma eziandio alla pubblica tranquillità. Ognuno sa che tra i nobilissimi pregi, onde vien adorno l'animo d'un Sovrano, il più singolare e preciso sia quello della provvidenza, massimamente in tempi calamitosi; questa dunque essendo l'oggetto delle più belle reali sue cure, non ha da dubitare punto il popolo maltese di ottenere tutto ciò che egli ardentemente desidera dalla benigna mano della Maestà Vostra, il di cui glorioso nome per mille e mille titoli, e singolarmente per quello di benigno e misericordioso, da per tutto risuona e rimbomba. Iddio pertanto sia quello che inspiri alla Maestà Vostra una pronta e risoluta volontà di esaudire i voti dei suoi cari figli e sudditi maltesi, mentre essi unitamente coi loro posteri non cesseranno mai di predicare per sempre lo zelo e la beneficenza del loro amato Sovrano, siccome anche di pregare il signore Iddio per la lunga e felice conservazione della Maestà Vostra.

Malta 5 settembre 1798.

Affezionatissimi ed obbligatissimi sudditi,

"Canonico D. Saverio Caruana
Emmanuele Vitale
Conte Salvatore Manduca
Marchese Vincenzo De Piro
Conte Ferdinando Teuma".

DOCUMENT 4

Luigi Briffa's account of his voyage to Naples to consign the Maltese Petition

Ecco anche la relazione del suo viaggio, da lui stesso presentata nella Banca Giuratale li 22 di 7.bre 1798.

Essendomi trovato nella Banca Giuratale il secondo giorno della rivoluzione della Campagna, fui pregato da diversi Signori per partirmi in Napoli con una lettera diretta a S. M. il Re delle Due Sicilie. Al momento io parti, e presi con me la lettera sottoscritta da alcuni signori a nome di tutta la popolazione. All'uscire dal Porto di S. Paolo, in arrivare alli scoglietti detti Selmonetto, ravvisai una barca speronara, che veniva da fuori per la Valletta; la trattenni prima con carezzi, poi con mano forte, e trovai a bordo due passeggieri Maltesi, che il loro nome non so, l'uno aveva il cognome Desalvo, e l'altro non so, e tenevano dispaccio, uniforme, spallette ed altre cose, che non mi ricordo, dirette per il Generale Vaubois; il tutto insieme con li passeggieri l'ho inviati al Campo per essere processati secondo la loro condotta. Sette giorni appresso arrivai a Napoli al far del giorno, poco tempo appresso venne un Ufficiale di Sanità quale mi disse d'essere mandato dal suo Padrone, che così lo chiamava, ed allora io ci raccontai lo stato di Malta, e ci consegnai la lettera, e lo pregai a nome del popolo d'intercedere presso il Suo Re per soccorrerci in una circostanza così calamitosa, giacchè per mia disgrazia io non potevo calar terra. Allora lui mi assicurò di far le mie parti al suo Re, e che detto Re farà senza dubbio il suo possibile per soccorrerci, e partì da me con farmi mille gentili esibizioni. Poco dopo vide comparire il Console, o sia Ambasciatore di Francia, e mi fece mille domande, e fra le altre: quando io partii da Malta, e se vi è qualche novità, ed il motivo delle mia gita in Napoli. Allora io risposi che faceva tre mesi che mancava da Malta e che non so veruna novità, e che io non sono obbligato di dire a veruna persona gli affari miei, giacchè venni per affari miei particolari d'interesse, e ci voltai le spalle, ed andò per i fatti suoi.

Poche ore appresso ritornò con un'aria molto superba a domandarmi il giorno della mia partenza, ed allora gli risposi d'essermi fermato tre mesi in Palermo, ed avendo voluto seguitare a farmi delle interrogazioni, ci voltai le spalle con dirgli di non essere tenuto di dare sodisfazzione a veruna persona se non che al Governo del luogo; ed allora partì con rabbia, e si portò dal Re a domandar soddisfazione di me di averlo trattato male. La

sera poi venne un'altra volta l'Ufficiale, o sia Ministro, e trovai che era inteso del fatto del Console Francese, e perchè io ci avevo domandato delle Bandiere, mi consegnò un sacco con otto Bandiere, e mi disse di inalberare sulla barca una bandiera per non aver più seccature dal detto Console; come infatti feci, e quel giorno il detto Ufficiale mi fece mille esibizioni a nome del suo Re, ed io l'ho ringraziato sempre senza essermi prevalso di nulla. Il terzo giorno poi, venne la terza volta, e mi disse a nome del Re se io volessi qualche cosa e che mi preparassi al tardi per la partenza. E perchè io l'ho ringraziato di non voler niente, chè la mia mira non era altra che di uscire con onore, mi disse di domandar almeno delle provvisioni per il viaggio; gli ho risposto che per me non mi necessitava nulla. Con tutto questo, vedendo di non aver domandato niente per me, mi disse di dire allo meno alli marinai se avessero bisogno di qualche cosa; e ci mandò diversi cordami, tende, remi, e tutt'altro che apparteneva alla barca, e diverse provvisioni da mangiare per tutto l'equipaggio, fino le galline, e presciutti, ed io lasciai tutto a favor delli marinai.

Quella notte poi partii, e prima di partire mi incaricò il Ministro, ossia l'Ufficiale, che passando pei porti di Sicilia di avvertire alli Governatori di tener guardie fisse per qualche armata amica, ed avvisarla di venire subito in Malta (e quest'avviso circolare l'hanno avuto per lettera subito che arrivai in Napoli dal Re ancora), ed incontrandomi con qualche armata m'incaricò di far l'istesso. Partendo da Napoli l'indomani, mi colse una gran tempesta e fui costretto di ritirarmi per un giorno ed una notte in una calanca detta Rinfresci. L'indomani poi partii, e passi da diversi porti a dar parte delle nostre circostanze. Essendo in Siracusa il Governatore, mi disse d'aver avuto notizia d'esserci in quelle acque l'Armata Portughese; a tale riflesso uscimmo assieme, lui sopra la sua scialuppa, ed io sulla mia speronara, per cercar l'Armata; il Governatore per consegnargli le lettere del Suo Re, ed io per comunicargli a voce ciò che dovevo comunicargli, ma avviandoci in un tal tragitto il mare si rinforzò, ed eravamo costretti, prima il Governatore, poi io, di ritirarci indietro senza pigliar veruna novità della suddetta squadra.

"Di notte poi partii da Siracusa, e l'indomani arrivai in Malta e trovai l'Armata Portughese che imbloccava il Gran Porto, e salii a bordo dell'Ammiraglio, e gli raccontai ciò che mi era passato fin allora, che sentì con piacere grande e promise a noi Maltesi l'assistenza.

LUIGI BRIFFA"

DOCUMENT 5

Grand Master Hompesch's protest regarding France's behaviour in the conquest of Malta

Protestation de Hompesch contre la prise de Malte.

Le Grand-Maître de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, du Saint-Sépulcre, de Dominique et de St. Antoine de Vienne, tant en son privé nom qu'en celui de tout l'Ordre, dont il est le Chef légitime et représentant, proteste devant Dieu et tous les Souverains, à la face de tout l'univers entier, contre les effets de la révolution interne que la République Française a opéré dans l'île de Malte, contre la séduction au moyen de la quelle cette République a perverti quelques membres du dit Ordre, attiré une quantité d'habitants de la ville, éludé et trompé la fidélité du peuple, et rendu vains les moyens de défence, et inutiles toutes les dispositions militaires;

Proteste contre l'invasion hostile des troupes dans le moment même où l'Ordre remplissait en vers elles les devoirs de la neutralité et de l'hospitalité la plus attentive; enfin, contre la manifeste et injuste usurpation des propriétés, droits etc. Proteste formellement contre l'écrit malignement intitulé: "Convention", conçu et dicté dans la forme et manière qu'on l'a vu par le général Bonaparte; cet écrit n'étant autre qu'une loi violente imposée par d'infâmes traîtres dont l'ennemi s'est prévalu pour remplir ses desseins, les députés Français et Maltais et autres rebelles ôtant par là au Grand-Maître et au Conseil le pouvoir d'examiner et de refuter la dite Convention;

Proteste spécialement contre l'abandon et le départ de l'île, auquels il a été conséquemment forcé; n'ayant jamais prétendu ni pu prétendre en céder la Souveraineté à quelque puissance que ce soit sans le consentement de S.M. le Roi des Deux-Siciles, à qui seul la haute domination de l'île de Malte appartient; se considérant, au contraire, comme du passé, tenu à l'hommage que l'Ordre doit à Sa Majesté pour une principauté sur laquelle elle conserve toutefois ses droits;

Ledit Grand-Maître proteste particulièrement contre tout ce qui individuellement le regarde dans l'Article 2 de la Convention supposée malicieusement, inventée et inserrée pour des fins secondaires, tant par rapport à la souveraineté qu'on a voulu lui faire espérer par le moyen de l'influence française, détestant et rejetant tout cela pour toujours, comme n'ayant jamais été desiré ni sollicité par lui en aucune maniére.

Finalement, il proteste contre tout autres actes quelconques, tant privés que publics, formés par une suite de la Convention supposée et arachée par la violence; les considérant, avec le secours du droit naturel des gens, comme absolument nuls et controuvés;

Et afin que la présente, formelle et solennelle protestation, projetée et résolue dès le premier instant que, sous les auspices de l'Auguste Empereur et Roi, l'Ordre et son Chef ont récupéré le libre exercice de leurs sentiments et de leur volonté dans cette ville de Trieste, soit comme est manifestée, premièrement à celui à qui sans controverse la haute domination de l'île de Malte appartient, et de là à toutes les Puissances amies et protectrices de l'Ordre, le Grand-Maître, tant en son propre nom qu'en celui de tout l'Ordre, la soumet respectueusement à Sa Majesté le roi des Deux-Siciles, comme il la soumettra à tous les autres souverains.

Trieste, le 12 Octobre 1798.

Signé: HOMPESCH.

DOCUMENT 6

PROCLAMA

The Expulsion of the Maltese populace from Valletta and the Three Cities under French control

(15 *Decembre* 1798)

Considerando il generale di divisione che sia molto a proposito di far uscire dalle città tutte le bocche inutili, ordina.

ARTICOLO I.

Tutte le donne di cui mariti sono assenti, le vedove, le zitelle, che fanno il mestiere di lavorare calzette, le filatrici, le lavandare, si porteranno domani ad un' ora dopo pranzo con la loro roba, cioè quelle della città dell'ovest (compresa la Floriana) sulla piazza della libertà, come pure quelle delle città dell' est, e della Cottonera sulla piazza della Vittoriosa. Esse saranno immediatamente condotte alle porte, e mandate fuori con tutti i loro effetti.

ARTICOLO II

Tutte quelle, che non si presenteranno saranno arrestati, e mandate in campagna senza la loro roba.

ARTICOLO III

Sono eccettuate le donne che vivono dalle loro rendite, e più particolarmente le madri, e mogli di quelli, che sono partiti coll'armata, le quali saranno sempre sotto la protezione de' Francesi.

ARTICOLO IV

I cittadini che saprebbero, che alcune di quelle donne saranno rimaste in città, sono invitati a manifestarle.

ARTICOLO V

Le case matte, le volte, i magazzini, i sotterranei, ed altri luoghi a prova de bomba, dovendo essere occupati dai Francesi, e cittadini impiegati al servizio della republica, tutti gli altri individui, che vi sarebbero collocati, o che si collocheranno senza un permesso, ne usciranno al momento.

ARTICOLO VI

Il comandante ingeniere, ed il comandante di piazza, sono incaricati di vegliare all'esecuzione dell'articolo precedente.

ARTICOLO VII

Saranno indicati luogli sicuri dove potranno ritirarsi i funzionarj pubblici.

(Sottoscritto)

DOCUMENT 7

Petition to His Sicilian Majesty agreed to by the Maltese Congress on 7 February 1799 and conveyed to Naples by three Deputies, imploring Britain's intervention

MEMORIALE

Dei Maltesi a Sua Maestá Siciliana.

Sire,

I rappresentanti del clero, e popolo maltese, umilissimi servidori, e

vassalli fedelissimi della Maestà Vostra, con tutto il rispettoso ossequio si umiliano avanti il trono di Vostra Maestà, esponendole, che quel popolo crede di aver dato il maggior contrassegno del suo attaccamento, e fedeltà, verso la sua real corona, avendo preso le armi contro i Francesi, i quali illegittimamente avevano occupato l'isola de Malta, e Gozo, e privata la Maestà Vostra di quelli dritti che tiene sulle medesime, e con aver immediatamente ricorso alla paterna sua protezione, domandando quelli valevoli soccorsi di bocca e di guerra, analoghi al bisogno, per espellere totalmente i Francesi ristretti dentro la piazza e sulle fortificazioni.

Non ommise la Maestà Vostra dare le più serie disposizioni perchè dalla Sicilia venissero somministrati dei viveri ai Maltesi, e di spedire anche delle munizioni di guerra. Convenne bensi ai medesimi coi più alterati prezzi, e con pagare varj dritti di contumacia, ed altri, acquistare le medesime derrate. I soccorsi militari poi non furono sufficienti, per poter avere l'intento, a segno che sono già acorsi cinque mesi di viva guerra, e ci mancano ancor i necessarj mezzi per evacuare la piazza, la quale dimora ridusse la popolazione maltese alla maggior meseria, ed allo stato di vera inerzia a poter tirare avanti, crescendo giornalmente la popolazione in compagna per l'espulsione della povera gente dalle quattro città, la quale viene a vivere a spese dei campagnuoli, e questi non possono più reggere alle spese pel mantenimento delle truppe, fabbriche di trinceramenti, e varie cose, che necessitano, a segno, che mancando il numerario si trovano nelle più critiche circostanze, o di perir di fame, oppure di cedere le armi, e restarne vittima dei Francesi.

Onde ricorrono alla paterna sollecitudine di Vostra Maestà, perchè, non potendo forse, per i torbidi che vi sono in Italia, e nel suo regno di Napoli, prendere piena cura di quest'isola con farla provvedere di tre mesi di viveri, sotto l'ipoteca de' suoi beni pubblici, e particolari, e supplire altresì quello che manca pel decisivo attacco coi pertinaci nemici, permetta al popolo maltese di ricorrere ad una potenza alleata alla Maestà Vostra, qual è Sua Maestà Britannica la di cui squadra tiene tuttavia bloccati i Francesi, ad effetto di ottonere dalla medesima una speciale protezione, e valida cooperazione, in un affare di tanta importanza. E perchè Sua Maestà Britannica potesse maggiormente interessarsi, permetta a questo popolo, di poter inalberare sulle piazze, e fortificazioni dell'isola lo stendardo inglese in sin alla fine della guerra, quante volte ciò sarà di suo piacimento.

Che però si fanno lecito gli oratori, a nome del fedelissimo clero, e popolo maltese, implorare dalla Maestà Vostra una pietosa commiserazione ad accordare loro il supplicato permesso, giacchè a costo di perdersi, nulla vogliono arbitrare senza la sua reale approvazione.

DOCUMENT 8

The Sicilian King conveys his agreement that Britain be asked to undertake Malta's protection

LETTERA

Scritta da Sua Eccellenza il Signor Giovanni Acton, Ministro di Sua Maestà Siciliana, al Ricorso dei Deputati Maltesi

Illustrissimi Signori,

Sulla richiesta presentata al Re dalle signorie loro illustrissime come deputati del popolo maltese, è venuta Sua Maestà a comandarmi di esprimere quanto segue, e comunicarlo a loro.

Ha la Maestà Sua sommamente gradito, ed applaudito agli sforzi intrapresi da quelli suoi amati popoli per iscuotere il giogo, che un rapace usurpatore era giunto con manifesto tradimento ad imporli, nella mira di privarli di ogni sostanza, di calpestare la santa Religione, ed erogare quelle isole, patrimonio della corona di Sua Maestà, in posti ostili diretti all'attacco più facile e spedito della Sicilia. Esortando pertanto di nuovo la Maestà Sua i fedeli suoi sudditi maltesi, e del Gozo, a raddoppiare colla massima energia i mezzi di ogni natura che vengono loro somministrati dal nativo coraggio, e dalla giustizia della santa causa per cui combattono, dichiara che adopererà sempre con efficacia le misure che saranno in suo potere, per cooperare con effetto al successo dei vivi loro sforzi, onde ottenere l'intento di discacciare i Francesi da quelle fortificazioni, ed assicurare specialmente quelli suoi popoli dagli ulteriori danni, e calamità, che il commune nemico cercasse d'infliggere loro.

Ha osservato Sua Maestà dal contenuto della supplica del popolo maltese, conosce, e conviene, che le peripezie recentemente sofferte nel suo regno di Napoli possono aver recato inquietudine in alcuni, e forse allarme in altri, sull'idea, che per motivo delle necessarie difese che richiede urgentemente il regno di Sicilia, venisse ad essere la Maestà Sua meno atta, ed in grado di soccorrere le sue isole di Malta, e condjuvare le operazioni di quel fedele popolo.

All'effetto però di conciliare tutti gli animi, traquillizzandoli sopra questo assunto, invitarli all'unione, ed al necessario concerto che esige la loro posizione, e rimuovere quella titubanza, che le circostanze potessero eccitare in alcuni individui di quel buon popolo, manifesta Sua Maestà al medesimo, che dalla Sicilia contingerà ad essere concesso a Malta, e con ogni maggior facilitazione, ogni ajuto di viveri, e quanto sarà possibile in altri generi, conforme si è espressa la Maestà Sua sull' assunto con gli stessi deputati.

E siccome le operazioni militari, che dovranno liberare Malta dai Francesi, e difenderla in appresso da ulteriori tentativi del nemico, sono fortunamente appoggiate mercè il blocco, e l' opportuna direzione di chi lo comanda, alle armi di sua Maestà Britannica, ottimo, sicuro, e degno alleato di Sua Maestà; così permette ben volentieri il Re, che i popoli maltesi uniscano i loro voti, ed istanze a quelli di Sua Maestà Britannica per mezzo del suo bravo ammiraglio in questi mari, acciò voglia continuare a proteggere efficacemente quest'isola, ed operare per la sua difesa ogni maggiore e più esteso mezzo sotto qualunque denominazione, o dimostrazione esteriore, benanche che l'ammiraglio Lord Nelson giudicasse di assumerla in nome di Sua Maestà Britannica, per caratterizzare maggiormente la protezione che concede a quest' isola. Conosce Sua Maestà la leatà del prelodato suo alleato; ed è in oltre convinta della decisa ottima volontà, e dei sentimenti, come dell' esperienza di Lord Nelson a cui la Maestà Sua ha affidato, ed affida i suoi sacri, e cari interessi.

Tanto mi ha ordinato il Re di manifestare alle signorie loro illustrissime, perchè ne rendano inteso il buono, e diletto popolo maltese, mentre con distinta stima passo a diachiararmi.

Delle Signorie Loro Illustrissime,
Palermo 19 Febbrajo 1799.

Demo, ed Obmo Servidore
GIOVANNI ACTON

RICORSO

In forma di lettera scritta dai Deputati al Signor Cavaliere Hamilton Ministro Plenipotenziario di Sua Maestà Britannica.

Eccellenza,

Adempiti sono i voti del popolo maltesi. Sua Maestà il nostro

sovrano si è degnata gradire il ricorso dei rappresentanti del clero e popolo maltese da noi qual deputati del congresso dei 7 del corrente Febbrajo, umiliato alla Maestà Sua, e condiscendere altresì alle domande di quel popolo, come per dispaccio ministeriale di Sua Eccellenza il Cavaliere Acton dei 19 del Corrente.

Quindi, in disimpegno del nostro incarico, ci facciamo un dovere di Ricorrere a Vostra Eccellenza come ministro plenipotenziario di Sua Maestà Britannica, supplicandola proteggere efficacemente quell'isola, ed operare per la sua difesa ogni maggiore, e più esteso mezzo, sotto l'ottima direzione di Sua Eccellenza Lord Nelson ammiraglio della squadra di Sua Maestà Britannica, la quale ha colmato quell'isola sin adesso di tanti favori.

E per caratterizzare maggiormente tale sua protezione, volesse sin alla fine della guerra unire allo stendardo di Sua Maestà il Re delle due Sicilie, già inalberato sulle fortificazione e trinceramenti del popolo maltese, anche lo stendardo di Sua Maestà Britannica fido alleato della Maestà Sua Siciliana.

Tanto ci diamo l'onore di umiliare all'Eccellenza Vostra supplicandola di gradire il profondo rispetto col quale ci rassegniamo.

Di Vostra Eccellenza,
Palermo 23 Febbrajo 1799.

Devmi, ed Obmi Servitori
I Deputati di Malta,
Rettore LUDOVICO SAVOYE,
Barone FOURNIER,
Assessore LUIGI AGIUS.

DOCUMENT 9

Maltese Deputies ask Lord Nelson for Britain's special protection and the assignment of a British commander

ALTRO RICORSO

In forma di lettera scritta dai medesimi a Lord Nelson Ammiraglio della Squadra Inglese nel Mediterraneo.

Milord,

Avendo, qual incaricati nel congresso dei capi, e rappresentanti del

clero, e popolo di Malta, tenuto li 7 del corrente Febbrajo, umiliato a Sua Maestà il nostro sovrano le loro rappresentanze, ad effetto di permetterli ricorrere alla speciale protezione, e valida cooperazione di Sua Maestà Britannica, Potenza alleata alla medesima, mediante la quale potesse quel Popolo venire a capo di liberarsi dai Francesi, e permettergli altresì inalberare lo stendardo inglese in sin alla fine della guerra; si è degnata la Maestà Sua aderire alle suppliche di quel popolo, e con dispaccio ministeriale di Sua Eccellenza il sig. cav. Acton dei 19 del corrente, ha esternato le sue favorevoli intenzioni.

In conseguenza di tali disposizioni, ci diamo l'onore di ricorrere a nome del clero, e popolo maltese all'Eccellenza Vostra, pregandola guardare quell'isola sotto la speciale protezione di Sua Maestà Britannica, e compiacersi continuare ad adoperare la più valida, ed energica cooperazione in sua tutela. E perchè per il buon esito dell'affare conferisce molto, esservi in terra un comandante inglese, che unendo i vari, e più volte difformi sentimenti dei capi dei battaglioni maltesi, potesse, con una abilità, e perizia militare, prendere quelle più savie deliberazioni, le quali conducono al buon evento; siamo anche incaricati da quel popolo supplicarla designare un comandante ben visto all' Eccellenza Vostra, non tralasciando per altro supplicarla, che essendo presso quel popolo in grande stima l'illustrissimo signor comandante Ball, far cadere tale scelta in persona di quello, con permettergli di sbarcare in terra, allorquando il servizio di mare glielo permetterà, e con poter sostituire per servizio di terra una persona ben vista al medesimo.

Di Vostra Eccellenza,
Palermo 23 Febbrajo 1799.

Devotissimi Servitori,
I Deputati del Popolo Maltese,
Rettore LUDOVICO SAVOYE,
Barone FOURNIER,
Assessore LUIGI AGIUS.

DOCUMENT 10

Naples confirms temporary British intervention and assists Maltese insurgents

LETTERA

Del Principe della Trabea, Ministro di guerra di Sua Maestà il Re delle Due Sicilie, ai Deputati Maltesi

Signori,

Il Re della Gran Brettagna fra i tanti chiarissimi saggj, costantemente dati da lui al Re delle due Sicilie nostro signore di sincera corrispondenza, e stretta amicizia in tutti i rincontri, e specialmente nelle attuali urgenze de'tempi, vi è stato quello, di aver intrapreso l'impegno d'impiegare generosamente parte delle sue rispettabili forze marittime per vendicare i torti fatti dai Francesi a Sua Maestà Siciliana coll' invasione dell' isola di Malta, e riacquistare alla stessa Maestà Sua Reale tale dominio, impegno secondato, e portato a buon termine dalla realtà del noto valore, e dalle savie disposizioni dell'illustre ammiraglio Lord Nelson, e del capitano D. Giovanni Ball comandante del blocco di Malta sulla nave inglese l'*Alessandro*. Per la facilitazione di questa impresa Sua Maestà ha somministrato ai fedeli abitanti dell'isola molti soccorsi di viveri, ed altro, e di presente ad istanza delle signorie vostre, qual deputati dell'isola stessa, ha ordinato e disposto che dalla dipendenza d'artiglieria si diano al comandante della fregata inglese la *Terpsicore*, su di cui imbarcano le signorie vostre venti cantaja di polvere da guerra, cento cantaja di piombo parte in palle, e parte in pani, e la carta corrispondente per cartucci, per portarsi tali generi in potere del detto Ball, che si prenderà la cura di farli distribuire a quelle persone armate dell'isola di Malta, che sono partigiane della buona causa, ed occupate al discacciamento de' Francesi. Sua Maestà s'augura che, per mezzo de' validi ajuti, e della somma vigilanza del comandante Ball, e della squadra Britannica sotto il comando di lui, e coll'opera de'buoni Maltesi, sarà fra poco ricondotta tutta l'isola all'ubbidienza della Maestà Sua, la quale ha tutta la fiducia così nel valore, nella costante realtà, e nella buona volontà nelle armi Britanniche, come nell' ottima volontà, e nel coraggio de' suoi sudditi amatissimi maltesi.

Questo felice augurio ha i suoi forti fondamenti su le ferme assicurazione dell' ammiraglio Nelson, del comandante Ball, e del governo

inglese, di che per ordine di Sua Maestà ne fo intese le signorie vostre per consolazione propria, e de' fedeli, e prodi Maltesi, ai quali è real volontà, che dalle signorie vostre si manifesti l'intero tenore del presente reale dispaccio.

Palermo 8 Marzo 1799.

IL PRINCIPE DELLA TRABEA.

PART 2

1800–1839

Maltese opposition to the Treaty of Amiens,
Statements about Malta's independence and sovereignty,
the state of Malta as a Crown Colony after 1814,
Representations for an elected Council and for Press freedom.

UNIVERSITY OF MALTA
MELITENSIA
MAIN LIBRARY

An Introduction to Maltese Political Development (2)

Following a British naval blockade, the French position became untenable even inside the bastions so that by July 1800 Vaubois sent word to Paris of the imminent fall of Valletta, unless aid were forthcoming. On 4 September he informed the British general commanding the besieging forces, Graham, that he would surrender, which he did on the following day. The capitulation, dated 5 September 1800, was signed solely by General Vaubois and Admiral Villeneuve, for France, and Major General Pigot and Captain Graham, for Britain.[1] The Maltese, who had lost thousands of men, women and children and suffered untold misery in exactly two full years of fighting by whatever means they had at their disposal, were excluded as if they were a non-entity. This was the *mise-en-scène* of Britain's occupation of Malta. One short account of what ensued is contained in this anthology.**(11)** However, it was by no means clear whether Britain wished to keep Malta and what price was placed upon it in the wider context of the ongoing Napoleonic Wars. The Maltese Congress quickly came to life again when it got wind of the prospect that in the interests of a European peace Malta could be returned to the Order, almost as if nothing had happened in the interval.

Initially in October 1801 the deputies request that if that were to come about, all the fortifications should remain "in the possession of" His Britannic Majesty.**(12)** As that prospect quickly becomes more probable, they petition the King, questioning his right to dispense of Malta as if he were sovereign of it. These documents are published here in their English translation; the names and localities of the signatories in Malta and Gozo are included. Meanwhile, the British began preparations, very much of their own accord, to leave.**(13)**[2]

Article 10 of the Treaty of Amiens was proclaimed "to the Maltese Nation" by the British Civil Commissioner, Cameron, on 18 May 1802: this announced the Order's return under certain conditions.[3] Malta would be an independent state but, at the behest of the guaranteeing powers, it

would be obliged to observe neutrality. There would also be a Maltese *Langue* as well as a local army half of which, at least, would be composed of Maltese troops. A Sicilian garrison was also envisaged.**(14)**

This announcement forces the issue. In their remonstrance to Lord Hobart of 1 March 1802, six leading Maltese personalities demand that "the Islands of Malta and Gozo should be left in their independence" under "the mutual guarantee of Great Britain and France". They could not be considered "a conquered country".**(15)** An exchange between Hobart and the Maltese delegation in London follows.**(16)** In a communication to Malta from London, published here in the English translation, the delegation offer two options: "freedom to return under the sovereignty of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, or independence under the protection of England or the United Powers".**(17)**

It was shortly after these deputies arrived back in Malta, in June 1802, that the *Dichiarazione dei Diritti degli abitanti di Malta e Gozo*[5] was drawn up. An early, eloquent incapsulation of the right of self-determination of peoples, this *Dichiarazione* was no doubt influenced by both American and French precedents; no study of Maltese political or constitutional development can be complete without a text such as this.**(18)** The *Dichiarazione* clearly presumes that the King reigns not rules, and asserts that freedom rests on the rule of law.

The Treaty of Amiens comes to nought mainly as a result of shifting international circumstances and considerations which result in resumption of the Napoleonic Wars, so the British stay on. The manner in which they do so, however, greatly disappoints Maltese expectations and aspirations, as may be seen already from a protest of 1801 published in 1805.**(19)** This document recapitulates assumptions and presumptions that begin to crystallize soon after the British arrival and evokes an almost immediate sense of betrayal by British dealings, methods and attitudes. Once again we come across the belief that the British King was intended to be a protector rather than a sovereign of Malta, hence the Maltese claim to the retention of their independence ("*mantenere la loro propria intiera indipendenza*"), won from the French by right of conquest ("*per dritto di conquista fatta sulli Francesi*").[6]

Maltese opposition to early British rule continues in this frame of mind for some decades until the momentous experiences of the 1798–1800 takeover are no longer vivid in the mind of a later generation. Malta is given to Britain as a possession by the Treaty of Paris in 1814**(20)**,[7] ratified at

the Congress of Vienna**(21)**, thus setting the seal of sovereignty by an international title over and above the heads of the Islanders themselves. From now on the Crown Colony is in the hands of Governors and Lieutenant Governors, almost invariably military men. By the early thirties the two main claims of the Maltese (among whom a *Comitato Generale Maltese* has been formed) are representative institutions – free elections to send deputies to a local assembly – and the abolition of the censorship – hence a free press to enable information and debate about public affairs. To manifest these trends I am selecting parts of two political pamphlets, published appeals made in London, on the *Comitato's* behalf, by Giorgio Mitrovich in 1835. The first**(22)** relates more specifically to the desire for press freedom and an elected council; the second**(23)** is more general, emphasizing national rights. Both texts are motivated by the now popularized belief that taxation presupposes representation: we find British rule condemned as an unparalleled ingratitude ("*O ingratitudine senza esempio!*") and the insistence on emigration (due to over-population) derided as a proof of slavery ("*prova della vostra schiavitù*").[8] It is important to note that these appeals coincide with what may be deemed to be the first proper constitutional instrument so far granted to Malta by Britain. This sets up a Council of Government**(24)**, but there is no provision for a single elected Maltese representative to sit there.[9]

In 1839, however, the censorship is abolished. I am including here the first part of the relevant Ordinance and a Proclamation announcing it,**(25)** as well as the frontispiece of two of the very earliest newspapers, *Il Portafoglio Maltese* and *Lo Spettatore Imparziale***(26)**. Published already in 1838, both papers make reference to the coming into existence of press freedom and indicate their responses to this important new departure.

Notes

1 Cf. Sir Temi Zammit's *Malta: The Maltese Islands and their History* (Valletta, 1948, 3rd ed. repr. 1971), pp. 269–70.

2 Quoted in W. Hardman (ed.): *A History of Malta during the period of the French and British occupations, 1789–1815* (London, 1909), pp. 406–9 and 410–18.

3 The "Proclama" was printed at the government press. An original copy of it was made available to us by Dr Albert Ganado from his archives. An English translation is given by Hardman, *op. cit.*, pp. 410–415.

4 Quoted in W. Hardman, *op. cit.*, pp. 421–22, 424–25 and pp. 427–30. The Maltese delegation was composed of the Marquis Don Mario Testaferrata, the Abbé Mallia, the Abbé Ricaude, Philip Castagna and Michel Cachia.

5 The original MS of this *Dichiarazione* was sent to London; period and later textual references to it abound. It has been included in a number of anthologies of historical, political and documentary writings from the time when it was written until the present day.

6 This "Umile Rappresentazione Dé Deputati delle Isole di Malta e Gozo" is signed by Testaferrata, Castagna, Cachia, Ricaud and Mallia, datelined Valletta on 22 October 1801. It was published for them in 1805 in London by Luke Hansard at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

7 Cf. text in *Gazzetta Straordinaria del Governo di Malta*, 27 June 1814.

8 See G. Mitrovich: *The Claims of the Maltese founded upon the Principles of Justice* (Mills & Son, Fleet Street, London, 1845), pp. 1–8; and a second pamphlet, likewise printed in Fleet Street in the same year, this being an address from London to Mitrovich's compatriots in Malta. These pamphlets from part of Count Messina's bequest to the Bibliotecha in Valletta.

9 Such announcements were published as a matter of course in the *Malta Government Gazette* in the English and Italian languages.

DOCUMENT 11

A short account of the French Capitulation

On the 21st August, the French Admiral despatched a small vessel to his Government with the information that the garrison could hold out no longer, and must strike their colours by the 5th of September if help was not forthcoming. On the 4th September, Vaubois informed General Graham that he was ready for the surrender of the fortress.

Graham entered Valletta with Captain Martin of H.M.S. "Northumberland", and met the French Commander. The articles of capitulation were then drafted and taken to Pigot for approval. They were signed on the 5th September by Vaubois, Pigot, Villeneuve and Captain Martin.

The provisions of the act of capitulation were as follows:— The French garrison were to leave the fortress with the honours of war and forts Ricasoli and Tignè were to be delivered up to the British troops; British ships were to enter the harbour immediately; all artillery, ammunition, inventories, and public papers, were to be delivered to British officers; members of the garrison were to be considered as prisoners of war, and conducted to Toulon, not to serve against England until exchanged; the besieging army and the inhabitants of the Island were not to enter the fortifications until the French troops were embarked and out of sight of the harbour.

As soon as the act was signed, Vaubois and Villeneuve rode out of Valletta and became the guests of General Pigot at Casal Balzan.

By the 8th of September, the greater part of the French troops were on their way to Marseilles, and on that day, Captain Ball, as governor of Malta, made his triumphal entry into Valletta. Attended by his lieutenant, Baron Francesco Gauci, and the Capitano di Verga, and followed by the Magistrates, the representatives of the villages, and all constituted authorities, he drove to the Church of Saint John, where thanksgiving prayers were sung. He then went to the Magisterial Palace, where he received the Bishop and the notables of Valletta. The people were not allowed into Valletta that day, but on the morrow the gates were opened and hundreds of anxious persons thronged in, in search of their property.

On the 11th of September, the Congress which had so well fulfilled its duties during the siege, was dissolved, and the country battalions

disbanded. On the 15th General Graham left the Island on leave of absence.

DOCUMENT 12

A representation by the Maltese to the Royal Commissioner Charles Cameron in October 1801

Your EXCELLENCY,—The sensation produced in Malta by the news which has reached us from France, to the effect that this Island is to be again delivered to the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, is most intense and universal.

The conduct of the French captain and his officers, who landed immediately to communicate the tidings to their most notorious partisans, afford well-grounded reasons to suspect that Bonaparte has consented to this arrangement in order that he himself might repossess the Island on some future occasion. The Order has but few partisans, and these, since the expulsion of the Knights, have no influence among the people, yet attempt when occasion offers to excite odium against the existing Government under various false pretexts. The French are generally detested, and as the Maltese foresee that by placing the Order in possession of the Island it is virtually handing it over to the French, they for such justifiable fear are determined to oppose it. All those who have in the past made any resistance, either to the Order of Saint John or the French, will most certainly become victims, and they form the majority of the Maltese nation.

In the desperate situation of the nation by such an odd change of Government it must naturally be expected that the most obstinate resistance will be shown. The bravery and the high courage displayed in the past will be exhibited in the future. The Maltese have already begun to experience the advantages and enjoy the happiness of being governed by His Britannic Majesty; they have seen the trade of their islands flourishing, with every probability of their Island becoming the emporium of the Mediterranean, and, further, that the arts, sciences, and manufactures are protected. They begin to feel themselves of more importance through their becoming a portion of a vast Empire, and each individual experiences the consciousness that, having formerly been despised and vilified, he has become a respected member of society.

If in the future they are placed under the government of the Order or of that of the French, and as the importance of their Islands to these is due to its port and fortifications, they are convinced that they will return to a condition of things more deplorable than what existed in the past. Every merchant possessing means is determined to leave the place, persuaded that under the Order their trade will be restricted as formerly, if for no other than political reasons, cultivated for the purpose of creating jealousy amongst the Powers; and they further know well that under the French Government the ports of Marseilles and Toulon would have the preference. It is impossible to describe the fear of those who have taken up arms and fought the French and the traitorous Order with the greatest energy and rancour.

With regard to the ability of the Order to maintain its independence and neutrality it must be observed:—

First. That the other nations, having deprived the Order of its revenues, it would become dependent upon France, whose Government would not fail to support her own more numerous Knights, possessing as she does three Langues, so that without any declaration of war France will become mistress of Malta, and whenever she wishes to remove the mask she can raise her flag over this impregnable fortress.

Secondly. The garrison of Malta was formerly composed of Maltese; the Order would not, under existing circumstances, rely upon their fidelity, and would therefore engage foreign troops, and such would, without doubt, be selected from those nations which are in sympathy with the French, who, having the garrison in their pay and dedicated to their interests, would be in consequence masters of the Island.

Thirdly. The Maltese might have hopes that at some future time they would be able to dispossess the Order, as in the past, but would not the French provision the Island so as to endure a prolonged siege? A winter blockade is almost impossible. Would they not disarm the inhabitants? Would they not drive them out of the fortifications? Would they not, in fact, adopt every measure to ensure themselves against surprise!

Fourthly. Would the Maltese, after having been abandoned and sacrificed by the English, confide themselves a second time to their protection? From having been your most ardent friends, they would become your most implacable enemies.

Fifthly. If it is determined to withdraw the British troops from Malta, the people pray that they may be permitted to conduct their own affairs. The

Maltese are determined not to submit to any other Power than Great Britain, preferring otherwise to perish under the walls of their city if they cannot maintain their liberty and independence.

After having received you as friends and liberators, after having been cordially united to you, the Maltese have reason to hope that you will not join their enemies in aiding to place them again in the bonds of slavery to masters whom they detest.

They will not yet believe you capable of such an act. They deeply deplore having been sacrificed in the Capitulations made with the French, and they have lately been provoked almost to the point of insurrection by the tyranny and insults of a military government, but the arrival of a Civil Governor has perfectly restored calm. From all this the better class of the Maltese nation is persuaded that the wrath of the people, on finding themselves abandoned by you, will be re-awakened, and that on no future occasion will you have the power to regain this Island.

Sixthly. They feel the great political importance of Malta to those who possess it; they know that in the hands of the French that nation can reconquer Egypt, and advance upon India with greater strength and experience. They know that Russia at this moment is anxious to see the Order of Saint John in Malta, which means France being mistress of the Island; that Russia (notwithstanding her projects against Turkey, which may be dormant for a reign) will be re-awakened, and that whosoever possesses Malta has the certain means of uniting with Russia, and that France, if she will but abandon the Turks, may rely on the co-operation of Russia in the annihilation of the British power in the Mediterranean.

They know that Russia united with France can obtain the entire and exclusive trade of the Levant, that France can procure from the Black Sea naval stores in safety, that Russia might march an army from the southern coasts of the Caspian Sea to the territories of Zaman Sera, and carry out the threats of the defunct Empress [Catharine] to expel you from India; in fact they are convinced that Malta is the key which opens the gates to India, and the link which binds the chain uniting Russia to France, for it will close the entrance of the English to the Mediterranean, impeding for all time the opportunity of counterbalancing French influence in Italy, creating a navy which some day will pass into the Atlantic, and there challenge the English fleets.

Whereas if England possesses Malta she will be Mistress of the Mediterranean, despite the enmity of the surrounding nations; and that

which concerns England still more, and which the Maltese do not ignore, is the fact that their Island would become a commercial emporium and a grand depôt for British dry goods, where Italian, Turkish, and Russian produce would be abundantly poured in.

In the arsenal of Malta there exists every accommodation to build, equip, and maintain a fleet.

The granary of all Europe might be made in Malta importing grain from the Black Sea, from Egypt, and any other ports where it might be purchased at low rates, and re-shipped to the parts where scarcity prevailed, and particularly to Great Britain.

With regard to the Knights of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, we repeat that it is impossible that they can maintain their neutrality, for not only is internal strength wanting, but they are without the aid of neighbouring States. The only Power which could in such eventuality support them is the same which has in view the repression of the Island.

The Knights have violated their solemn oaths, made at the altar, by disgracefully surrendering the Island without making any defence, betraying their own religious and military institution; they have violated all codes of honour as knights and soldiers; they have sacrificed the Maltese people.

Can such men ever be counted worthy of the Maltese confidence?

A large number of the Knights of the Order took service in the French army, accompanying it to Egypt. Nearly all have conducted themselves in a manner incompatible with their vows.

Only those Knights who were absent from Malta could allege innocence, but even such conducted themselves in a way no less reprehensible. Not one of them came, as was their duty, to reconquer their ancient seat. The road to honour was open to them. A national army was in the field, and there was a powerful co-operation of allies; in fact, there is not one single Knight who is not, according to the statutes of his Order, degraded and irreclaimable, and deprived of all pretensions to membership of that body.

The Order therefore exists no longer; it is annihilated in accordance with its own laws, and is despised and vagrant. They preferred taking refuge in Russia, where they were further from the place of danger, rather than in the campaign of Malta, and created for a morsel of bread, a schism in the Order which was a violation of their obligations.

Yet this section of the Order may be considered the better portion among the infamous Knights, for *they* did not, like the majority of their brethren, prostitute their honour by opening the gates of Valletta to the French.

Until we have time to formulate a fitting representation to be sent by a national deputation to England we implore you, as the King's Commissioner, by all the attachment we have for your person, to the British Government, in honour of virtue, of religion, by the love we have for our wives and children, for our beloved Island, for the dignity of man, and for the sacred laws of justice, for the sake of humanity, generosity, gratitude, and for our sincere affection. We pray that you will be pleased to represent these sentiments and our deplorable situation at the throne of His Majesty, praying to the Almighty that Great Britain may ever remain the bulwark and asylum of liberty, fidelity, and religion.

If His Majesty absolutely wishes that the Order of Saint John should return to Malta, in such case the people beseech that all the fortifications remain in the possession of his said Majesty.

La Vallette, 21st October 1801[1].

The Right Hon. Lord Hobart, &c.

My Lord,—As your Lordship will receive from General Fox a report of the troops which have already arrived here from Egypt, I shall not trouble you at present with another.

The important news which we received yesterday by a French cartel, of a general peace having been signed in London on the 1st instant, is the only event of consequence that has occurred here since my last of the 9th instant. This intelligence has been announced to me by the Prefect Maritime of Toulon, in a letter which appears to be a circular (and of which I find Mr. Cameron proposes sending your Lordship a copy), but without mentioning any one of the articles of the treaty. We have, therefore, no other account of them but such as the French officers themselves are pleased to give us; and though very reasonable doubts may be entertained of its authenticity, it has not failed to excite the greatest agitation in the minds of the people of this Island. I shall not enter into any detail on this subject, as your Lordship will receive the fullest information upon it from Sir Alexander Ball, who is going home by this opportunity, and is better qualified than any other person to represent the alarm of the greater part of the population here on this occasion, and how sincerely they will lament any change likely to remove them from the immediate protection of His Majesty's Government.

I make no doubt but we shall soon receive more authentic information

on this subject, and in the meantime I shall only beg leave to assure your Lordship that, whatever may prove the event, nothing shall be wanting on my part to fulfil His Majesty's wishes and instructions to the best of my abilities. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) W. A. VILLETTES.

DOCUMENT 13

Preliminary Treaty for the British Evacuation of Malta, October 1801

With regard to the arrangements relative to Malta, His Majesty has only consented not to occupy that Island on the express condition of its independence of France, as well as that of Great Britain. The only means to succeed in this would be to place it under the guarantee or protection of some Power capable of supporting it.

His Majesty will not persist in desiring to keep an English garrison in the Island till the establishment of the government of the Order of Saint John. He will be ready, on the contrary, to evacuate it in the time which shall be fixed on for taking measures of this sort in Europe, provided the Emperor of Russia, as Protector of the Order, or any other Power acknowledged by the contracting parties, will efficaciously take on itself the defence and safety of Malta.

ART. IV.—The Island of Malta and its dependencies shall be evacuated by the troops of His Britannic Majesty, and restored to the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem.

For the purpose of rendering this Island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be placed under the guarantee and protection of a third Power, to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.
(Signed) OTTO.

DOCUMENT 14

"Alla Nazione Maltese": Cameron to the Maltese, May 1802

Il Regio Commissionario fa noto alla Nazione Maltese l'articolo del Trattato Definitivo di Pace relativo a queste Isole.

L'Isole di Malta, Gozzo, e Comino saranno rese all'Ordine di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme per essere da Esso possedute alle medesime condizioni con le quali le possedeva avanti la Guerra, e secondo le seguenti Convenzioni.

1. I Cavalieri dell'Ordine, le di cui Lingue continueranno a sussistere, dopo il cambio delle Ratifiche del presente Trattato sono invitati a tornare a Malta, tosto ché il Cambio avrà avuto luogo: vi formeranno un Capitolo Generale, e procederanno all'elezione d'un Gran Maestro scelto fra gli Originarj delle Nazioni, che conservano tuttora le loro Lingue, ammeno che questa non sia stata di già fatta dopo il cambio delle Ratifiche dei Preliminari.

S'intende che l'Elezione fatta dopo quest'Epoca sarà sola considerata come valevole all'esclusione di qualunque altra che avesse avuto luogo in alcun tempo anteriore alla detta Epoca.

2. I Governi della Gran-Brettagna, e della Repubblica Francese desiderando di mettere l'Ordine, e l'Isola di Malta in uno stato d'intiera indipendenza a loro riguardo, convengono che non vi saranno da qui innanzi nè Lingua Inglese, nè Francese, e che niuno Individuo appartenente all'una o all'altra di queste Potenze non potrà essere ammesso nell'Ordine.

3. Sarà stabilità una Lingua Maltese, che sarà mantenuta con le Rendite Territoriali, e i diritti Commerciali dell'Isola. Questa Lingua avrà Dignità che le saranno proprie, Appuntamenti, e una Albergia. Le prove di Nobilità non saranno necessarie per l'ammissione dei Cavalieri nella detta Lingua; Eglino saranno d'altronde ammisibili a tutte le Cariche, e goderanno di tutti i Privilegi come i Cavalieri delle altre Lingue. Gli Impieghi Municipali, Amministrativi, Civili, Giudiciarj, ed altri dependenti dal Governo dell'Isole saranno occupati per la metà almeno da Abitanti dell'Isole di Malta, Gozzo, e Comino.

4. Le forze di S. Maestà Brittannica evacueranno l'Isola, e sue dependenze nei tre mesi che succederanno il cambio delle Ratifiche, o più

presto, se si può. A cotesta Epoca l'Isola sarà rimessa all'Ordine nello stato in cui si trova, purchè il Gran Maestro o Commissarj, aventi pieni poteri, secondo li Statuti dell'Ordine siano nella detta Isola per prenderne il possesso, e che vi sia arrivata la forza Militare che deve essere somministrata da Sua Maestà Siciliana, come è quì sotto fissato.

5. La metà della Guarnigione almeno sarà sempre composta di nativi Maltesi: per il rimanente l'Ordine avrà la facoltà di reclutare fra i Nativi di quei soli Paesi che continuano a possedere le Lingue. Le Truppe Maltesi avranno Uffiziali Maltesi. Il Comando in Capo della Guarnigione, egualmente che la nomina degli Uffiziali apparterranno al Gran Maestro, e non potrà dimettersene neppure temporariamente che a favore di un Cavaliere, secondo il parere del Consiglio dell'Ordine.

6. L'indipendenza dell'Isola di Malta, di Gozzo, e di Comino, non meno che la presente disposizione, vien posta sotto la protezione, e garanzìa della Gran Brettagna, della Francia, dall'Austria, della Spagna, della Russia, e della Prussia.

7. La neutralità permanente dell'Ordine e dell'Isola dì Malta con le sue dipendenze è proclamata.

8. I Porti di Malta saranno aperti al Commercio, e alla Navigazione di tutte le Nazioni che vi pagheranno diritti eguali, e moderati. Questi diritti saranno applicati al mantenimento della Lingua Maltese, come e spiegato nel §§ 3., a quello degli stabilimenti Civili e Militari nell'Isola, come pure di un Lazzaretto aperto a tutte le Bandiere.

9. Li Stati Barbareschi sono eccettuati dalle disposizioni dei due precedenti paragrafi, fino a che per mezzo di un accomodamento, che procureranno le Partì Contraenti, sia cessato il sistema dell'ostilità, che sussiste fra i detti Stati Barbareschi, l'Ordine di S. Giovanni, e le Potenze che possedono delle Lingue, o concorrono a comporle.

10. L'Ordine sarà governato, quanto allo Spirituale, e al Temporale con i medesimi Statuti che erano in vigore quando i Cavalieri sono usciti dall'Isola, in quanto non vi sia derogato dal presente Trattato.

11. Le Disposizioni contenute nei §§. 3. 5. 7. 8. e 10. saranno ridotti in Leggi, e Statuti perpetui dell'Ordine nella forma usata. E il Gran Maestro, o il di lui Rappresentante, nel caso che il detto Gran Maestro non fosse nell'Isola al momento in cui ella sarà rimessa all'Ordine, e il di lui Successori saranno obligati a giurare di osservarle esattamente.

12. S. M. Siciliana sarà invitata a fornire 2000 uomini nativi de'suoi Stati per servire di guarnigione nelle differenti Fortezze dell'Isole

predette. Questa forza vi resterà un'anno da comminciare dall'epoca della loro restituzione ai Cavalieri. E se allo spirare di questo termino l'Ordine non avesse ancora levato una forza sufficiente a giudizio delle potenze garanti per servire di guarnigione nell'Isola, e nelle sue dependenze, come è specificato nel §5. in questo caso, le Truppe Napoletane vi rimarranno fino a che siano rimpiazzate da un'altra forza, giudicata sufficiente dalle Potenze medesime.

13. Le differenti potenze designate nel § 6. cioè la Gran-Brettagna, la Francia, l'Austria, la Spagna, la Russia, e la Prussia saranno invitate ad accedere alle presenti stipulazioni.

Nella Stamperia del Palazzo li 18 Maggio 1802.

DOCUMENT 15

A Remonstrance by the Maltese Deputies to Lord Hobart

7 Berkeley Street, London, 1st March 1802.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—It has been with the deepest pain, and greatest surprise, that the Maltese people have heard of the sad and unmerited lot to which they are destined, by the return of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, and its re-acquisition of the Islands of Malta and Gozo. The defection and treachery of which they (the Order) were guilty will be events in the annals of the world no less surprising than that which again throws us under its despotic government, after having delivered us over to an army unfaithful to its promises and engagements.

The sentence which posterity will pronounce will certainly not be one of eulogy worthy of the century in which we now live, and were we from any unworthy timidity to be silent, before the righteous and magnanimous tribunal, to which we have now the advantage to appeal, we should but anticipate the laments and reproaches of our children.

We would not wish to hide from your Excellency all that which justifies us in our resentments against the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem. The blood which has been shed, the death of about 20,000 of our citizens, following the most distressing misery, the expenses incurred during the early months of the Revolution for the support of the

Battalions, the loss of 6,000,000 scudis (£500,000) are sufficient proofs to belie the atrocious calumnies which the author of the reply to the Manifesto of the Priory of Russia has sought to heap upon our heads.

The slander contains within itself its own condemnation, for it is well known that the plan for the invasion of Malta was conceived in Paris, and the secret confided to the most important Knights of the Order, resident in Malta.

Letters in cypher were continually arriving, without opening the eyes of either Grand Master de Rohan, or his successor Hompesch. Following such undeniable facts, of which we might cite without number, consider, your Excellency, whether the Maltese people can witness without horror, and in cold blood, the authors of their misfortunes regain possession of Malta, and have at their disposal the freedom of the nation. Nay indeed, for even if we wished to keep silence, the still warm ashes of those who gave up their lives to liberate and recover their native land would spur us on to better defend our rights, and give the greater prominence to truth.

Yes, your Excellency, we venture to say that the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem cannot be re-established in Malta without injuring the legitimate rights of the august descendants of Charles V, the rights of the Maltese, and without exposing the latter to fresh catastrophes. The fidelity of the Maltese people has always been acknowledged by its ancient Sovereigns, and they have shown in these later times that they are still the same, no less in energy, than in the love of justice.

They have willingly sacrificed their resentments, but they at the same time desire that the sacrifices that they have experienced should not be forgotten, and in proof of which we request your Excellency's permission to refer to the pacific resignation which the Maltese exhibited at the time of the capitulations between the English General and General Vaubois.

Our blood, our fatiguing labours, our rights, and all our interests were either forgotten or despised. We watched the French abandon their arms, in order to carry away what remained of our spoils, with a tranquillity without example, and worthy of the highest respect; and the Maltese faithful and virtuous were reduced to envy the lot and the treatment of Maltese rebels. Alas, how can we hide from our descendants the details of a capitulation which ruined our rights, and rendered us unhappy.

It is true that the presence, and the wisdom of Captain Ball, to whom we then made known our complaints, contributed not a little to make us forget the sacrifices we have made, but the vicissitudes which have

followed have neither seconded our hopes nor our requirements. We cannot hide the fact, your Excellency, of the evil impressions which the preliminaries of peace have conveyed to us of a Government to which we incessantly desire to give proof of our attachment, our fidelity, and our preference.

We are aware, your Excellency, that it is not given to us to have influence in political matters. Nature has so formed Malta that she is to be regarded from the point of view of her situation, and according to her strength, and that she is not to dictate terms of arrangement, but it is the duty of politicians nevertheless to see that her numerous population is not forgotten. Russia, France, as well as the other nations of Europe, are too just and enlightened to censure the conduct of the Maltese, and their opposition to the re-establishment of the Order, which for its despotism, its faults, the corruption of its members, can never hope to inspire confidence, or reconcile our hearts.

Nevertheless, your Excellency, if by reason of the inevitable, imperious, and necessary circumstances, the Maltese people have to suffer the pain and misfortune to be detached from the Empire of His Britannic Majesty, and for the tranquillity of all Europe it is required that the Islands of Malta and Gozo should be placed in a state of neutrality, we beg your Excellency in the name of our constituents, and of all which is dearest and sacred among men, in the name of all human and divine laws, in the name of the rights of man and of justice, that you will supplicate His Britannic Majesty that he will deign to employ his efficacious and powerful mediation with the other Powers, to the effect that the Islands of Malta and Gozo should be left in their independence under the mutual guarantee of Great Britain and France, and not consider it as a conquered country, after its inhabitants have shed their blood and expended their substance.

Your Excellency will have seen that we as deputies could not be dispensed from bringing before your notice the views and intentions of our nation, and in mentioning some of the faults of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem it has not only been our intention to give vent to our feelings, but to justify ourselves before the world in our eternal opposition, and vigorous resistance if they dare to attempt to place their feet inside our forts, still wet with the blood they have caused to be shed.

We beseech your Excellency to employ your influence with His Britannic Majesty in favour of justice, truth, humanity, and of a nation

worthy of a better fate, and be pleased to accept the homage of a resignation the most respectful, of which we have the honour to be. Yours, & c.

(Signed) LE MARQUIS TESTAFERRATA.
(Signed) L'ABBÉ EMANUEL RICAUD.
(Signed) L'ABBÉ PIERRE MALLIA.
(Signed) PH. CASTAGNA.
(Signed) ANTOINE MALLIA.
(Signed) MICHEL CACHIA.

London, 2nd March 1802.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIGNORS,—We arrived here the 1st ultimo. The 4th February we wrote the enclosed letter (see ante) to Lord Hobart, the Minister, stating we were arrived in this capital in the character of deputies to represent the demands of our fellow citizens.

In consequence of this letter, the Minister made known to the deputation through the medium of Sir Alexander Ball that they would do well to procure their departure from London as soon as possible, adducing for reasons, that their remaining would give jealousy to France, and thereby impede the conclusion of the definitive articles of peace, and that he could not for reasons of State receive and hear them in his office, but that he would permit them to come in private to his house, where he would hear them.

We were received by the Minister on the 8th February, and he heard with patience all the reasons for which we were sent to London, particularly to protest to the British Government in the name of our nation against the cession of our Island to the Order of St. John, and all the reasons for which we do not recognise the right of the Order to the dominion of our Island and the firm and effectual resistance which we were resolved to make to oppose the return of the Order into our Mother Country. To this representation the Minister answered that the English Government would take care of the happiness of the Maltese, and that the result would prove to us that the return of the Order in Malta would be of advantage by the precautions which the English Government would take to guarantee the people of Malta.

Yesterday, with the approbation of Sir Alexander Ball, we presented the enclosed memorial (see ante), and await his answer. It is one day

reported that there will be war, and the next that peace will be concluded, &c. We are, &c.

DOCUMENT 16

Letter from the Maltese Deputies thanking Lord Hobart

FROM THE MALTESE DEPUTIES TO LORD HOBART.

London, 2nd April 1802.

MY LORD,—The deputies of the Islands of Malta and Gozo have the honour of presenting to your Excellency the warmest thanks for all that you have deigned to do in favour of their nation.

We are not ignorant, my Lord, of all that you must have had to overcome in order to insure the tranquillity and happiness of our country. The defence of it which you have been pleased to undertake is worthy the loyalty and magnanimity of your nation. Being unable to have the honour of forming a part of the Empire of his Britannic Majesty, by a faithful submission, we shall have that of being always united to it by an affectionate gratitude. In transmitting to our latest descendants the story of our revolution, we shall tell them, that without the assistance of Great Britain our ruin must have been inevitable; and the date of our happiness will be the date of the protection with which your Excellency has honoured us. We entreat you, my Lord, to permit us at a seasonable opportunity to lay before you that which would complete the felicity of the Maltese nation, and to tender you, if you please, the homage of the lively gratitude and respectful devotion with which we have the honour, &c.

(Signed) LE MARQUIS TESTAFERRATA.
(Signed) L'ABBÉ MALLIA.
(Signed) L'ABBÉ RICAUDE.
(Signed) ANTOINE MALLIA.
(Signed) PH. CASTAGNA.
(Signed) MICHEL CACHIA.

LORD HOBART TO THE MALTESE DEPUTIES.

Downing Street, 20th April 1802.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to forward you by order of the King a copy of the Xth Article of the definitive treaty of peace concluded in

Amiens, from which you will learn of the new arrangement agreed upon by the Contracting Powers for the future government and trade of Malta.

From the time in which the abandonment of Malta became an indispensable sacrifice on the part of His Britannic Majesty in order to ensure a general peace, one of the principal objects of his desire has been that of witnessing the happiness and prosperity of the Maltese nation increased and assured in such a manner as to render her able to participate in the authority through which her interests will have to be governed, as well as to avail herself of all the advantages relative to trade which her geographical position offers them in a manner so singular, and His Majesty experiences the most sincere and constant satisfaction, believing that these great and important advantages have been at last granted them by the Act of the Contracting Powers in the Treaty of Amiens.

I am now able to inform you that your letters of the 1st March, 2nd and 5th of the current April, have been received. With regard to the first, as its date is prior to that of the definitive treaty, you must be aware that I could not give you an earlier reply, seeing that it was delivered to me at a most critical moment of the negotiations, and I have deferred replying to this letter with less regret, knowing that the interests of the Maltese were being anxiously defended and considered by His Majesty's Government as far as the circumstances would permit.

In your letter of the 2nd instant I have had the satisfaction to receive the testimony which you offer for the success of the efforts made in favour of your compatriots, and with the most sincere pleasure I have to inform you that having placed this letter before the King, His Majesty has been graciously pleased to declare his great satisfaction at the expressions it contains. In reply to the letter dated the 5th instant, it will be sufficient for me to assure you in general terms, that His Majesty will employ all his influence to obtain a due execution of the treaty regarding Malta, according to the true intentions and true spirit of said treaty.

The fidelity, the attachment, and the good conduct of the people of Malta and Gozo, during the time in which these Islands have been connected with the British Government, have entitled them to any protection which [it] may lie in the power of His Majesty to grant.

I feel happy at being able to avail myself of this occasion to express to you my satisfaction, with regard to the prudent, discreet, and honourable

conduct which you have observed during the whole period of your stay in this country. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) HOBART.

DOCUMENT 17

Report of the returning Maltese Deputies to their Constituents

DEAR FELLOW CITIZENS,—Upon our safe arrival in this our island it becomes our duty to report to you the manner in which we have performed the duties attached to the high office of representing you at the Royal Court of London, and the line of argument we adopted in supporting the rights of the Maltese our fellow citizens, and obtaining for them the utmost advantage.

At the first audience which we had with His Britannic Majesty's Minister, Lord Hobart (Minister for War and the Colonies) on the 8th of last February, and in obedience to the instructions communicated to us by you, previous to our departure, we expressed above all other things the ardent desire of the Maltese to become an integral part of the British dominions, from which Government they had already received signal proofs of its beneficence.

Such expression of our feeling would, we felt assured, be most gratifying to that Royal Court, rendering it most favourably disposed, and engage it in all eventualities to support the rights to which the Maltese nation is entitled. To this declaration of ours the Minister replied in feeling terms, assuring us on behalf of the Sovereign, of His Majesty's gracious acknowledgment, and informing us further, that what had been established in the preliminary articles of the treaty of peace was the result of the circumstances in which Europe was actually placed, and that Great Britain, having ratified these preliminaries, she was bound to keep them, and, therefore, compelled to relinquish the sovereignty of Malta.

Under these circumstances, we then considered it our duty, in accordance with the instructions received, to claim at least the protection of England, towards which Power the Maltese had given proofs of the greatest attachment, and in order that by her authority and influence Malta might obtain the most favourable conditions.

These most favourable conditions we conceived to be, freedom to return under the sovereignty of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, or independence under the protection of England or the United Powers. To this end tended all our expressions.

To strengthen our arguments, we mentioned that not only the natural rights which belong to all men justify us in demanding not only the above, but also those rights which result from privileges granted to the Maltese by our ancient sovereigns, demonstrating that such privileges had always been respected in the past by the Emperor Charles V when granting the Island in fief to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and even by the French in the capitulations between them and the said Order, when Valetta was surrendered.

Not satisfied with an oral declaration of these views, advanced with all the zeal in our power, we repeated same in a written memorial addressed to the English Minister, and presented on the 1st March, in which we expressed the pain we had experienced in witnessing the unhappy lot which had fallen to our country in being prevented from becoming one of the signatory parties in the capitulations agreed upon between the British General and the French upon the surrender of Valetta.

We further maintained that the treatment which the Maltese had received was that of a conquered people, whereas they ought certainly to have been considered, if not the sole conquerors of their own Island, at least as allies of England and the other Powers who had contributed to the capture of the city, and as a people who had shed their blood, as well as treasure, in the purchase of their liberty.

We further took the advantage of laying our case, with all the arguments we could bring to bear upon it, before all people of influence, who might aid our cause at Court.

Although our representations made no little impression upon the British Minister, nevertheless, he was not in a position to remedy the past. The ratifications of the preliminaries of peace, it was alleged, made it necessary to place the Island of Malta again under the dominion of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

Knowing full well, that the whole object of placing Malta again in the possession of the Order of St. John was to secure its perfect neutrality, we expressed in the most positive manner the impossibility of the Order to maintain such pretended neutrality, that, in fact, the idea of neutrality was contrary to the secret constitution of the said Order. To add weight

to our assertions, we gave an account of past events regarding the said Order, proving up to the hilt its absolutely necessary dependence upon one of the Powers of Europe, rather than that of any of the others. And we must not omit stating that we, with great warmth, defended our nation from the effects of the injurious accusations which the Order has circulated to our cost at the various Courts, describing us as rebels and traitors.

Owing to the circumstances we have related, we found ourselves at last compelled to dwell only on endeavouring, as far as possible, to mitigate the evil, and to improve the prospects of the Maltese about to be replaced under the sovereign dominion of the Order. For this purpose we adopted all the means at our disposal, which might in effect free the Maltese for the future from the vicissitudes they have suffered in the past, by giving to them also a voice in the government of their own country, in order that they might maintain by their influence and their additional strength that neutrality which the Powers required. If on these points all our demands have not been granted in full, the fault must be attributed to the political circumstances of the times.

It is a well known fact that, owing to the discussion which followed our representations, the conclusion of peace was delayed for a considerable time, and various couriers were successively despatched to the British Envoy (at Amiens) on this account, and we are persuaded that you will be fully convinced of our having, with every possible means, promoted the interests of our country, when you deign to compare Art. IV of the preliminary treaty of peace with the conditions of Art. X of the definitive treaty.

Our last efforts on your behalf were made for indemnity, for we remembered well with what warmth your instructions on this point were conveyed to us, and we, therefore, upon various occasions appealed most earnestly that such should be granted.

If these efforts have not been successful, the disappointment cannot be attributed to Great Britain, aided though she was by our co-operation. Nor will it be necessary to adduce any further reason to convince anyone, whosoever he may be, that England was not in a position to obtain for the Maltese such indemnity. On her part she had to abandon the Island, with the loss of considerable advantages, together with the expense incurred in acquiring its possession. These are sufficient reasons for her declining to support this claim—a claim which, without doubt, she

would have paid (as on various occasions she proclaimed she would) had the Island remained under her dominion. It is, therefore, with great sorrow that we have to announce what the British Minister said to us in mitigation of the pain it gave us to hear, viz.: "that if the Maltese do not succeed in obtaining such indemnity from the Order of St. John upon their arrival in Malta, the expenses they had been put to must become an indispensable sacrifice, for a sacrifice of much greater proportion each nation had to suffer, in their desire to obtain peace".

But, in order that the sacrifice which had thus to be made should fall upon each individual Maltese in proportion to their means, we suggested to the English Minister that it would only be equitable that such expenses (in the event of their not being otherwise paid) be liquidated by Maltese possessors of property (landed or otherwise) in proportion to their rentals.

And, finally, our last effort was made by reminding the English Minister of the various difficulties which might arise after the Order had been re-established in the Island, and when the future civil administration had been decided upon, and which might, later on, be encountered in the execution of the conditions—difficulties which might unfortunately nullify the advantages gained by the Maltese in the definitive treaty, and we, therefore, demanded the adoption of those remedies which we considered applicable to the case. The English Minister promised that the assistance of England would be given to us, and he assured us further, that her good offices would be engaged with the other guaranteeing Powers in securing the independency of Malta, and that to such end the spirit of the definitive treaty should be faithfully observed.

Such also were the expressions of His Britannic Majesty when, in presence of the Royal Family, we were honoured with an interview, upon taking our leave to return to Malta.

In order to secure the fulfilment of all that had been promised, we deemed it expedient to demand that the Resident British Minister about to be appointed to Malta should be endowed with all those powers and qualifications which would inspire confidence amongst the Maltese, and maintain with force their rights.

We further on this occasion requested, for the security of our commerce, that the use of the British flag might be granted until the cessation of hostilities between the Order of St. John and the Barbary States, promised by the contracting Powers, had been verified. Nor did we omit,

finally, to make the opportune entreaties that the widows, wounded, and well-deserving of the country should continue to receive the pensions which had been accorded them by the English Government, that all the battalions should participate equally with the English and the Neapolitans in the prize money of Malta, and that the Maltese slaves resident in Algiers should be liberated, as had been done with those in Constantinople, and other Ottoman dominions.

Having faith in all that has been done with regard to our Island, and relying upon the vigilance and power which our fellow citizens will for the future exercise in maintaining their ancient rights, as well as those lately acquired, by means of the Ministers of the guaranteeing Powers attached to the Order of St. John, we have not the slightest doubt but that Malta in the future will enjoy that good fortune, of which up to the present time she has been deprived.

This we desire from the bottom of our hearts; we have striven to obtain it for her, with all the zeal and fidelity we possess, in fulfilment of the commission entrusted to us. It remains for you and all our fellow citizens to support her, rendering her firmly established, and adding to the glory of the Maltese name. We trust that you will be able to approve of all that we have done regarding the commission you charged us with, in the like manner in which the Royal Court of London publicly approved our conduct during the whole time of our stay, giving proof of same by the manner in which we were hospitably received, and, further, by the last letter forwarded to us by the Minister under date of the 20th of April last. The satisfaction which results from having faithfully fulfilled our duty, and in having rendered some service to our country, leads us to forget all that we have suffered in its accomplishment, and we shall consider ourselves happily rewarded by obtaining your approbation.

(Signed) MARQUIS DON MARIO TESTAFERRATA, & c.

[Private and confidential.]

Valletta, 13th November 1801.[1]

I do not think it will be easy to reconcile the Maltese to the return of the Order so as to make them act cordially together for the defence of the Island, and their general abhorrence of the French is not to be described.

Military force only can protect the Order, should it be found necessary to re-establish it. The attachment of the body of the people to His Majesty's Government is complete, but they are continually agitated by the acts of those who are employed by the different parties, who are not sufficiently enlightened to perceive how unavailing any efforts of theirs must be in deciding the future fate of this Island. Mr. Livingstone, who will be the bearer of this letter, will be able to inform your Lordship on many subjects to which your enquiries may lead; his experience and ability, as well as his firm attachment to His Majesty's Government, will, I trust, be accepted as an excuse for the confidence which I have reposed in him. He was there on the day the freedom of the port was declared, and witnessed the enthusiasm with which it was received by the Maltese. He will also tell you how cordially I have the good fortune to live with Lord Keith, Gen. Fox, Gen Villettes, and in short, with all the officers of army and navy, as well as the merchants, civil officers, and the Maltese generally.

I regret that this is not to be done without considerable expense, and I trust you will not think me mercenary in stating these circumstances to you. Pray allow me again to tell you how much I am flattered by your manner of expressing your approbation of my conduct, and how strongly I feel your Lordship's kindness to me. Believe me, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES CAMERON.

Malta, 13th November, 1801.

. . . I refused to assist in the expenses of the intended deputation to England, but at the same time I did not attempt to impede the journey. The spirit of party continues with redoubled violence, people are loud in their expressions of dislike to the Order, and adherents of the Order do not scruple to threaten those attached to the English Government.

To avoid all possibility of there being any doubt as to the unanimity of the election of the deputies to proceed to England, public notices appeared on the 16th November 1801, testifying to the fact and empowering the deputies to speak on behalf of the Maltese people.[1]

In a private and confidential paper from the Royal Commissioner, Charles Cameron, dated the 15th November 1801, the personal character of the several deputies was given as follows:—

Marquis Mario Testaferrata, of the first family in the Island. One of

his ancestors was made Grandee of Spain. The Marquis has been distinguished for his moderation in practice and his prudent though manly conduct in the various trying situations he was placed in since the invasion of the French. He was so well thought of by all parties that he was appointed one of those who drew up the capitulations to the French. The French laid heavy contributions on the family, which is still one of the most opulent in the Island. He has always shown a great attachment to His Majesty's Government, and is at the same time esteemed a well wisher to his country, and consequently he is very popular. As to his talents, he is a man of sound judgment, and is well informed with respect to the ancient privileges, as well as the modern state of the Island.

Phil. Castagna, Luogotenete (or Lieutenant-Governor) of the two cities of Burmola and Senglea. A man of an excellent public character, exceedingly popular with every rank of the inhabitants. He distinguished himself at the siege of Valetta, and in the Congress, both by his courage, moderation, and wisdom. He took Gozo from the French with a handful of troops, and an address which raised him very high in the opinion of the military. He is very warmly attached to His Majesty's Government.

Don Pietro Mallia (Magister Theologiæ in the Public College), representative of Casal Asciak, a Maltese priest (not of the Order) and a man of very pure reputation, enjoying popular confidence and is much attached to His Majesty's Government, as are all the Maltese priests, and the Monastic Orders.

Don Emanuel Riccaud, was first a Capuchin, but his health suffering by the rigour of the Order, he became a priest (not of the Order). He is a man in whom Governor Ball puts much confidence, he is very zealous in our cause and in that of his country. He is a respectable man and speaks French.

Michele Cachia, military and civil engineer, representative of Casal Zeitun. He constructed all the batteries during the siege of Valetta, and contributed money towards the expense of the war. He is famed for his wisdom in counsel, and is the most popular man in the Island, his integrity and talents have acquired him a great reputation, and the entire confidence of the people of every description.

Antonio Mallia (Gozitano). In the beginning of the revolutions he stood forward. He is a gentleman, living on his income. He is the Lieutenant-Governor and first Provost of Gozo, and zealously attached to the British Government.

DOCUMENT 18

Declaration of Rights of the Inhabitants of the Islands of Malta and Gozo

Malta, 15th June, 1802.

We, the Members of the Congress of the Islands of Malta and Gozo and their dependencies, by the free suffrage of the people, during the siege, elected to represent them on the important matter of ascertaining our native rights and privileges (enjoyed from time immemorial by our ancestors, who, when encroached upon, have shed their blood to regain them), and of fixing a Constitution of Government, which shall secure to us and our descendants in perpetuity, the blessings of freedom and the rights of just law, under the protection and Sovereignty of the King of a free people, His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. After long and mature deliberation, we make the following declaration, binding ourselves and our posterity for ever, on condition that our now acknowledged Prince and Sovereign shall, on his part, fulfil and keep inviolate his compact with us.

1st. That the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is our Sovereign Lord, and his lawful successors shall, in all times to come, be acknowledged as our lawful Sovereigns.

2nd. That his said Majesty has no right to cede these Islands to any power. That, if he chooses to withdraw his protection, and abandon his sovereignty, the right of electing another sovereign, or of governing these Islands, belongs to us, the inhabitants and aborigines alone, and without control.

3rd. That his Majesty's governors or representatives in these Islands and their dependencies are, and shall ever be, bound to observe and keep inviolate the Constitution, which with the sanction and ratification of his said British Royal Majesty, or his representative or plenipotentiary, shall be established by us, composing the General Congress elected by the people, in the following proportion, viz:

Cities – Notabile and Casal Dingli, 14 members; Valletta, 12; Vittoriosa, 4; Senglea, 4; Cospicua, 4.

Casals or Burghs –Birchircara, 6 members; Attard; 3; Lia and Balzan 3; Curmi (also a city), 12; Nasciaro, 4; Gregorio, 3; Musta, 5; Zebbug (also a

city), 8; Siggieui, 4; Luca, 3; Gudia, 1; Zurrico, 4; Micabiba, 2; Crendi, 2; Zabbar, 3; Tarshien, 2; Hasciach, 1.

Total Members – 104

4th. That the people of Malta, Gozo, and their representatives in Popular Council assembled, have a right to send letters, or deputies, to the foot of the throne, to represent and to complain of violation of rights and privileges, or of acts contrary to the constitution of the Government, or of the spirit thereof.

5th. That the right of legislation and taxation belongs to the Consiglio Popolare, with the consent and assent of his Majesty's representatives, without which the people are not bound.

6th. That His Majesty the King is the protector of our holy religion, and is bound to uphold and protect it as heretofore; and without any diminution of what has been practised since these Islands have acknowledged His Majesty as their Sovereign to this day; and that His Majesty's representatives have a right to claim such church honours as have always been shown to the regents of these Islands.

7th. The interference in matters spiritual or temporal of no other temporal sovereign shall be permitted in these Islands; and reference in spiritual matters shall only be had to the Pope, and to the respective Generals of the Monastic Orders.

8th. That freemen have a right to choose their own religion. Toleration of other religions is therefore established as a right; but no sect is permitted to molest, insult or disturb those of other religious professions.

9th. That no man whatsoever has any personal authority over the lives, property or liberty of another. Power resides only in the law, and restraint, or punishment, can only be exercised in obedience to law.

Signed by all the Representatives, Deputies,
and Lieutenants of the Villages and Towns.

DOCUMENT 19

Umile Rappresentazione de' Deputati delle Isole Di Malta e Gozo, al piede del Trono di Sua Maestà il Rè dell'Unito Regno della Gran Bretagnia ed Irlanda

Li Maltese furono li primi che presero le armi contro li Françesi, e li bloccarono dentro Valletta: dopo furono ajutati da' Portoghesi, da' Napolitani, e dagl'Inglesi, li quali bloccarono il gran Porto, e quello di San Paolo, fratanto che li Maltesi guardavano ogni altro ingresso all'Isola.

Le Porte di Valletta furono chiuse al dì 2 Settembre 1798, e la Città si rese li 4 Settembre 1800.

Le truppe estere erano solamente aussiliarie, e si congiunsero ai Maltesi, (come provano tutti li manifesti, e tutti i proclami de' differenti Generali e di altri) solo per ajutarli. Li Maltesi furono li principali nella guerra.

Durante il Blocco li Maltesi persero più di venti mila anime. L'Armata Brittanica non ebbe un solo soldato ucciso.

La guarnizione Francese ridotta all'ultima estremità, per la mancanza di provisioni, offrì di capitolare, e di lasciare ostaggii per il pagamento delle somme grosse che avevano preso dal *Tesoro Publico*, dall'Università, dal Monte di Pietà, dalle Chiese, e da particolari sotto titolo d'imprestito forzato.

La Situazione della guarnizione Francese si seppe dal Generale Brittanico, come si sapeva dai Maltesi, cioè, che frà due giorni dovrebbe rendersi a discrezione, e nella Città effettivamente non furono trovate che poche Salme di grano, e nissun altra sorte di provisione.

Il Generale Pigot nonostante concesse alla Guarnizione una Capitolazione, per la quale fu permesso, senza la participazione, e senza il consentimento dei Maltesi, ai Francesi di portar via tutti li loro effetti; ed in conseguenza, avanti di aprire le porte, i Francesi spogliarono di nuovo la Città delle gioje, denari, ed effetti, che ancora restavano agli abbandonati abitanti, e portarono in trionfo a bordo delle Navi che condussero in Francia, l'intiero spoglio d'un popolo Vittorioso.

Le truppe Brittaniche presero possesso della piazza, e persuasero i Maltesi di deporre le Armi sopra il pendio avanti d'entrare in Città.

Li Maltesi, fidandosi nella buona fede della Nazione Brittanica, consegnarono il governo della patria nelle mani de' suoi Generali, senza sospetto, e senza patto, prestando fedeltà ad essi, come ministri del Sovrano eletto da loro cuori.

Sitace la maniera con cui furono trattati, perche, sono pienamente persuasi, che sarà disapprovata con orrore, e disprezzo dai Ministri di Sua Maestà Brittanica.

Le spese della guerra per terra, ed il soldo de' Battaglioni furono pagati dai Maltesi, perloche ipotecarono le terre di diversi Villaggii.

I Maltesi perciò domandono, o che l'Isola sia loro restituita, o che tutte le spese fatte per la parte che hanno avuto nella guerra li siano pagate, e che li danni cagionati dalla guerra, e le perdite sofferte de' Francesi li siano buonificate.

Affermiamo che siamo stati noi li Principali nella guerra, che noi eravamo li conquistatori; che ogni sorte di bene publico, è il nostro, e che, se per una forza magiore sarà rapito dalle nostre mani, le ipoteche almeno devono essere pagate.

Li Maltesi domandano il possesso della loro Isola per dritto di conquista fatta sulli Francesi, i quali la conquistarono dall'Ordine di San Giovanni.

Quanto alle pretezioni di quest'Ordine sull'Isola dobbiamo asserire, e certificare, che fù cessa dall Imperatore Carlo Quinto in qualità di feudo, e come piazza d'arme per il mantenimento delle truppe per fare la guerra perpetua contro gl'infedeli.

Quanto ai beni che l'Ordine vi ha acquistato; questo seguì contro le stipulazioni, e per usurpazione de' beni de'particolari; ed una gran parte delle Fortezze stesse, e publiche fabriche furono fatte con denaro de' Maltesi proveniente da' dritti, o dazii imposti sopra di loro, designando l'oggetto, e la destinazione del prodotto de'dazii. L'Università, il Monte di Pietà ed altre istituzioni appartengono solo ai Maltesi, e sono beni dei particolari, e mai lo furono dell'Ordine.

Ma qualunque pretenzione che potessero aver avuto li Cavalieri dell Ordine di Si Giovanni all'Isola, l'hanno perso per un atto molto più conclusivo, che non è quello della conquista stessa: per il più indegno tradimento del loro proprio Corpo, violando le sacre leggi di religione, d'onore, e degli statuti dell Ordine, li quali giurarono solennemente sopra gli Evangelj, avanti l'Altare, di mantenere collo Spargere fin l'ultima goccia del loro sangue. Per questo atto, secondo le loro leggi, cessano di essere membri dell Ordine, e sono degradati con infamia, e la sana parte di loro (se esisteva tale,) era tenuta di metterli a morte. E se allora, quando li Cavalieri dell Ordine erano in corpo intiero riuniti nella sede del loro stabilimento, che erano stati testimonj di tante azioni gloriose, con ogni mezzo di difesa, e senza alcun bisogno: se allora, quando il loro onore aveva

ancora un nome, furono traditori, e partigiani dei Francesi, come non lo saranno oggi, avviliti, disonorati, ed infami, ridotti alla indigenza, ed alla più vergognosa mendicità?

Ma li Maltesi hanno altre pretenzioni alla Sovranità della loro propria Isola. Senza ricorrere all'argomento di alcuni scrittori, che quando il Trono ê vuoto il diritto di nominare il Sovrano appartiene al popolo, provano il loro diritto all'indipendenza nel avere due volte comprato Malta, e pagato il prezzo stabilito dai Rè di Spagna, e Sicilia. Il Rè Alfonso (a cui volontariamente si sommisero li nostri antecessori dopo aver comprato l'Isola) nel suo Diploma del 27 Novembre 1397 dichiarò che Malta faceva parte del suo Dominio, ed in caso che i suoi successori l'alienassero dalla Corona, sotto qualunque titolo, anche di Governo, o Rettoria perpetua, o temporanea in qualunque persona, anche fosse consanguinea alla stessa Maestà Regnante doversi conservare Malta *conjunctam semper tamquam membrum*, &c. *Regiae Coronae*, &c. permettendo perciò ai Maltesi in caso contrario di resistere *manu forti, pro quo in nullum crimen, delictum vel inobedientiam incurrere reputenter, et aliquatenus censeantur*, &c. Questo fu confirmato dal Rè Ferdinando ai 4 Gennajo 1489, e il Maltesi la considerano come la loro *Magna Carta* la quale si lusingano non li sarà tolta dalla Nazione Inglese.*

Con questi privilegj rimasero annessi alla Corona di Sicilia e trattati dai Rè di Spagna come popolo libero fino al Regno di Carlo Quinto che cesse la loro isola all Ordine di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme dopo la loro espulsione di Rodi. Si sommisero dopo una lunga negoziazione, ma pure con la condizione espressa che dovrebbero sempre godere i loro privilegii, ed essere considerati come vassalli, ed annessi alla Corona della Sicilia; *e che, se l'Ordine di San Giovanni andasse ad un altra residenza o stabilimento, Malta* ritornar dovrebbe com'era avanti sotto i Rè di Sicilia. La sommissione de' Maltesi all Ordine di San Giovanni fu volontaria, perciochè non ne fecero opposizione, come avevano il dritto di fare senza essere tenuti per ribelli, e da tutto ciò evidentemente ne segue che il dominio apparteneva ai Maltesi, e che la loro sommissione ai Rè di Sicilia o Spagna, non fu in consequenza d'un dritto di quelli Regnanti alla Sovranità dell'isola, ma *l'alto dominio*, e *la protezione* loro fu un *favore chiesto da' Maltesi* per causa della protezione d'un possente Stato contro li nimici. Furono *liberi alleati: elessero li loro Sovrani* i Rè della Sicilia, e *si governarono nell'Isola da se stessi.* Vi esistono molti documenti per provare tutto quello che avanziamo, e di più.

Convinti della loro debolezza politica, e mettendo piena confidenza nella sincerità del Governo e nella fede della Nazione Brittanica, bramarono piutosto di divenire sudditi del Rè, e godere tutti gli vantaggj di liberi sudditi d'un Monarca che è il Padre di tutti i suoi popoli, che di reclamare e mantenere la loro propria intiera indipendenza; ma mai ebbero sospetto, o possono ora per un momento averlo, che violando tutte le Leggi di Giustizia Divine, ed Umane, che saranno forzatamente consegnati dagli Ausiliarj alleati, in guisa di Nazione conquistata, o di vili Schiavi, venduti per una considerazione politica ad altri Padroni; ed a Padroni di cui la tirannia, l'estorzione, ed il Sacrilegio l'hanno resi l'esecrazione d'ogni individuo virtuoso; ed a qualunque sia oribile calamità perciò ne dovrà seguire che la nazione mai si sommetterà. Esclusi dalle Fortezze; quasi senza armi; senza munizioni; senza provisioni, ed assolutamente senza aleanza estera, o promessa di assistenza, i nostri bravi Isolani risolsero, o di perire o d'essere liberi. Tutto il paese si sollevò, armati con istrumenti di agricoltura la più gran parte. Espulsero i Francesi da ogni posto, fuori che dalle grandi Fortezze, che tennero però bloccate, e rispinsero ogni sortita del nemico. Ipotecarono le loro terre per aver grano dalla Sicilia. Mentre l'armata Brittanica bloccava l'ingresso del Gran Porto, li Maltesi difesero ogni altro passo, fino alla resa di Valletta.

È da aspettarsi che un tal popolo consegni i suoi privilegj, e la sua libertà a tali Padroni? Forse saranno liberi, forse periranno, ma mai si sometteranno i Maltesi. Di quale mani la Divina giustizia domanderà il loro sangue? Sopra cui testa cadrà la vendetta del Cielo, che invocheranno i nostri Padri, i nostri innocenti fanciulli, e li nostri venerabili Sacerdoti, nell' ora della morte?—le nostre donne e figlie violate?!!!—

O Bretagnia, fin' ora l'envidia e 'l terrore dei tiranni, protettrice della libertà, e degli oppressi! Ch'il tuo capo raggiante di gloria, sia mai colpito da una saetta della mano infallibile di guistizia di Quello che da' e chi reprende le coronne!

Sua Maestà Brittanica s'è mai dichiarata in alcun atto pubblic, o in alcun manifesto de'suoi generali, nostro Sovrano. Non si è servita d'altro termine che di *Prottettore*, quantunque i Maltesi ardentemente desiderano essere ammessi tra i suoi Sudditi.

Crediamo totalmente superfluo l'esporre la maniera vergognosa, con cui la Nazione è stata trattata dall' Ordine di San Giovanni; come i Maltesi erano tenuti in vile soggezione da Esseri d'una classe inferiore; escluso ogni nobile da pretenzioni all onore, ed a distinzione; ogni uomo di merito, o

talento allontanato da ogni impiego onorevole; come le nostre famiglie erano, o disonorate, o rovinate, quando il capriccio d'un Cavaliere si fissava sopra di una Vittima.

Quali furono questi uomini, e quale dev' essere stato il governo loro, si può conchiudere da questo solo fatto: Essi tradirono il loro proprio Ordine.

Noi passiamo sdegnati sopra questo punto, per provare che il dare all' Ordine Gerosolomitano l'Isola di Malta, è la stessa cosa che darla ai Francesi.

Se ai Cavalieri dell Ordine, in possessione di Sovranità indipendente, godendo l'ozio, ed ogni piacere che puo formarsi l'imaginazione, occupati in oggetti di lusso, carezzati e riveriti come tanti monarchi; se i Francesi alora poterono ordinarli di sortire dal loro paradiso terrestre a pellegrinare nel mondo aperto, e poterono farli partigiani della loro Causa, qual non dev' essere il potere dei Francesi ora sopra di loro, degradati, dependenti, disonorati, indigenti, mendicanti; senza scintilla d'onore e macchiati col delitto il più nero, sprezzevole, ed infame? Rei della più orribile infedeltà ed apostasia verso il loro Dio? Rei di spergiuro de' voti Sacramentali?

La Francia ha tre lingue, e la Spagna due. Gli Spagnoli sono dependenti della Francia; lo erano anche quando fu tradita l'Isola. Restano sole due lingue, che in qualche maniera si potrebbero chiamare indipendenti; li Cavalieri di Napoli, e Sicilia. Tutti quelli della Republica Cisalpina, e dei paesi conquistati, o soggiogati ad uno stato di vassallagio, se non in nome in fatti però, sono partigiani dei Francesi.

Quasi tutti gli introiti dell Ordine, li grandi impieghi, e posti di confidenza erano occupati da Francesi, secondo li statuti dell Ordine, o da quelli che erano divenute creature e dipendenti della Francia. In fine non vi è (enumerando quelli della nuova lingua Anglo-Bavara) più della trentesima parte de' Cavalieri che non saranno alla disposizione cieca della Francia.

Li Tesori publici sono dissipati, e le commende (colla supposizione che siano tutte restituite) di qualche valore appartengono ai Francesi. Deve perciò l' Ordine dipendere dalla Francia per le spese di formare e mantenere un' armata per occupare le Fortezze, e di comprare ed equipaggiare una flotta, o almeno alcune galere per protegere il commercio, per crociare contro gl' infedeli, e per approvisionare l'Isola. La Francia senza dubio fornirà questi necessarii fondi, e saranno ben impiegati, assicurandole una fortezza inespugnabile. Le truppe che l' Ordine farà saranno sicuramente di quelli che sono attaccati al Governo Francese.

Molte più prove saranno prodotte per dimostrare l'asserzione nostra, che il dare Malta all'ordine di S. Giovanni, è lo stesso che consegnarla ai Francesi.

E chi puo dubitare che la mira principale del Governo Francese nel far la pace non fosse per ottenere il possesso di Malta? Poiché *dal possesso di Malta dipende l'esistenza delle Indie all' Inghilterra, l'alleanza con la Russia*, la sicurezza della Sicilia e d'ogni circongiacente paese, ed il commercio del Mediterraneo dell Adriatico, e del Levante.

La Sicilia, troppo bene lo sappiamo, dev'essere una facile preda ai Francesi, essendo in possesso di Malta. Per difendere la Sicilia in tutti i suoi punti vulnerabili; ci vorrebbe una più grande e meglio disciplinata armata, che mai potrebbe quel Sovrano mantenere.

Quando i Francesi erano stabiliti in Malta, e non pensavano che potrebbero essere un giorno espulsi, dichiaravono, senza mistero in istampa, in lettere, ed in discorsi le loro vedute, e li smisurati loro progetti di conquista.—"Dimostrarono come potevano procurare dal mar nero e dall Adriatico legni di costruzione, alberi da navi, ed ogni sorta di munizione navale a molto meglior conto che dal Baltico, o d'altre parti del Nord; le flotte, e li Porti della Russia, e dello sprezzevole Impero Turco riguardavano come dipendenti da loro; che potevano dettare ad essi condizioni di Vassallagio; che la Russia mai abbandonerebbe il suo progetto d'espellere i Turchi dall' Europa, ed erigere un nuovo Impero Greco, che non ostante che il progetto irrevocabilmente fissato nei consiglj del gabinetto dall'Epoca del padre di Pietro Primo, potrebbe essere per un piccolo spazio di tempo abbandonato da un Sovrano poco ambizioso, o sospeso per qualche raggione di stato più pressante, non sarebbe mai perso di vista da quel gabinetto così costante nel suo sistema di politica; che la Russia ha sempre trattato come amici quelli che in questo punto entrarono nei suoi progetti, e come nemici quelli che si opposero sacrificando a questa considerazione ogni altra; che la Francia in conseguenza potrebbe dettare alla Russia, e staccarla dalla sua alleanza colla Gran Bretagna; che la flotta formidabile Russa nel Mar-Nero unita con quella della Grecia, quantunque sia troppo debole per lottare con quella della Francia, della quale sarebbe sempre dependente, ma unita con lei potrebbe sfidare l'armata navale della Gran Bretagna la quale in nessun caso sarebbe in istato di staccare una flotta assai possente per azzardarsi nel Mediterraneo, avendo bisogno di guardare le sue proprie coste." Tutto questo hanno stampato, e in Malta, e fuori, non credendo mai di sortire di Malta. Da tutto ciò

vediamo che si credevano padroni assoluti del Mediterraneo; che dall Egitto potessero mandare un' armata a far la conquista delle Indie, attaccandole in varii punti. Mostravano progetti di questa spedizione senza l'ajuto e congiunzione della Russia.

Il successo di tutti li sforzi della Casa d'Austria per avere una marina, ed un commercio deve dipendere per necessità dalla buona volontà della Francia. La Francia avrà per equipaggiare la sua flotta non solamente li suoi proprj marinari (e quelli che si formeranno ancora da un estensivo commercio) ma saranno a sua disposizione tutti quelli della costa d'Italia, e dell'Arcipelago con Ragusa, e con quelle contrade—Il numero de' marinari de' porti d'Italia, è molto più grande di quello che comunemente si crede. Avranno a loro disposizione i Francesi nel Mar-Nero, rame, canape, alberi da nave, legni da costruzione, pece, catrame, ferro, nitro, ed ogni altro genere di commercio, e di armamento.

L'esperienza ha fatto ad essi conoscere l'Egitto, sapranno un altra volta come hanno d'agire, ed a dispetto di tutte le loro crudeltà, e tirannie che a noi Cristiani pajono così orribili, ma niente affatto a quei popoli accostumati al Governo de Turchi, avranno dei partigiani, e non pochi.

Ricaduta Malta un'altra volta in mano della Francia, non potrebbero rapirdela tutte le potenze della terra. Esisterebbe essa, isolata dal mondo con i suoi proprj mezzi, se fossero tutti li terreni coltivati con grano ed altre piante che forniscono cibi. Non vi sono mezzi violenti, che quel popolo astuto, e senza il freno della giustizia e dell umanità, non adoperebbe per avere il suo intento. Questi sarebbero il cacciare gli abitanti dalle fortezze; massacrare i sospetti; disarmare il popolo intiero, e forse (come lo hanno di già una volta proposto) mandare tutti i Maltesi in Francia, o alla costa di Barbaria, per ripopolare l'Isola con Francesi. Tale minaccia saputa dal popolo fù una delle ragioni che l'animarono contro di loro, e l'indussero a prendere le armi. E molta ragione abbiamo di credere che veramente avrebbero messo questa minaccia in esecuzione, se fossero andati bene i loro affari in Egitto.

In quanto per fine alla garanzia di altre Potenze, pur troppo conosciamo la nostra Isola, li Francesi, e l'Ordine, e li mezzi che hanno per non comprendere la fallibilità di qualunque simile proposizione. La prima guerra di breve, o lunga durata annichilirebbe il patto. Se ancora una terza potenza occupasse una porzione delle fortezze i Francesi corromperebbero i soldati, e con il denaro, e con le loro massime, e grosse somme saviamente spenderebbero. Li posti militari dipendono li uni dagli altri. Possiamo

dimostrare l'impossibilità di mantenersi in un posto senza averli tutti: possiamo dimostrare come possono e devono riuscire: possaimo pure far vedere che non vi è altra sicurezza che coll' occupazione di tutte le Fortezze dalle truppe Brittaniche, e coll' amministrazione della Giustizia da un Governo civile Inglese.

Non entriamo nelle profonde mire dei cabinetti; ma che ci sia permesso di osservare solamente, che se la Francia non avesse altra intenzione che il ristabilimento dell Ordine nel suo pristino splendore, ed indipendenza, perchè non ha scelto un luogo dove sarebbe più indipendente? Perchè ha considerato la possessione di Malta dall'Ordine necessaria al di lui ristabilimento? Non è che troppo chiaro a chi è in istato di vedere, che non si cerca di togliere Malta dall'Inghilterra per lasciarla nelle mani dell Ordine di San Giovanni.

Valetta ai 22 Ottobre 1801.

Sottoscritto dai seguenti Deputati eletti:

Il marchese Mario Testaferrata.
Il luogotenente delle due cittá F. Castagna.
Il rappresentante di Zeitun M. Cachia.
Il rappresentante di Axiach P. Mallia.
L'abbate Emanuel Ricaud.
Il primo giurato di Gozo Ant. Mallia.

Confirmato da Rappresentanti e Capi dei Casali, e Capi dei Battaglioni ed altri.

L'avviso al Publico fattone per tutta l'isola, è stata approvata la Deputazione senza voce alcuna contradicente, come si vede da' registri de' Notari Publici.

*Alfonso only become King of Aragon and Sicily in 1416; in 1397 the King of Sicily was still Martin the younger.

DOCUMENT 20

Treaty of Paris 1814 giving Malta to Britain as a possession

SUA ECCELLENZA IL GOVERNATORE avendo ricevuti Rapporti Ufficiali, che un Trattato di Pace sia stato firmato in Parigi nel di 30, o 31, di Maggio tra la Francia e l'Inghilterra ed i suoi Alleati, crede opportuno di comunicarlo

colle stampe per informazione del pubblico, e di far noto che la sostanza delli principali articoli del detto Trattato è presso a poco del tenore seguente.

La Francia conserva l'integrità de'suoi confini tali quali erano nel di primo di Gennaro 1792, ma la Strada che passa da Versoy a Ginevra ed alle altre parti della Svizzera rimane comune ad ambi li paesi.

La Navigazione del Reno deve essère libera. L'Olanda riceverà una considerevole estensione di territorio nelli Paesi bassi.

Tutti gli Stati della Germania e della Svizzera devono rimanere indipendenti.

L' Italia, ad eccezione dei paesi che ritornano all' Austria, sará composta di Stati Sovrani.

Genova resta ceduta al Re di Sardegna, ma il suo Porto deve esser libero.

Malta e le Sue Dipendenze devono appartenere in intiera proprietà e Sovranità a Sua Maestà Britannica.

Tutte le Colonie francesi devono restituirsi alla Francia, eccettuate le Isole di Tobago, di Santa Lucia, l'Isola di Francia e Dipendenze, che vengono cedute alla Gran Bretagna.

La parte Spagnuola di San Domingo sara ceduta alla Spagna.

La Guadaluppa sarà dalla Svezia restituita alla Francia, come lo sará la Guianna dal Portogallo.

La Francia non dovrà fabbricare Forti nell'India, nè mandarvi truppe.

Tutti gli altri punti non istabiliti con questo Trattato, dovranno discutersi da un Congresso Generale delle Potenze Alleate e della Francia, da tenersi in Vienna nel periodo di due mesi.

Questo Trattato è stato firmato da parte della Gran Bretagna dal Visconte Castlereagh, dall'Earl di Aberdeen, dal Visconte Cathcart, e dall'Onorabile Sir Charles Stewart K.B. e da parte della Francia dal Principe di Benevento.

DOCUMENT 21

Ratification of British possession by the Congress of Vienna

Act. 8. Tutti li Regolamenti del Trattato di Parigi delli 30 maggio 1814. relativi alli Paesi ceduti con quel Trattato, saranno egualmente applicabili a tutti li Territorj e Distretti ceduti col presente Trattato.

Art. 9. Le Alte Parti Contraenti avendo fatte avanzare le diverse lagnanze derivanti dal non essersi eseguiti li 19mo. e seguenti articoli del Trattato delli 30 Maggio 1814, come ancora gli Articoli addizionali di quel Trattato tra la Gran Bretagna e la Francia, desiderando di rendere più efficaci le disposizioni annunciate in quegli Articoli, ed avendo a tal fine determinato con due separate Convenzioni li passi da seguitarsi da ambe le parti per l'intera esecuzione delli sopramenzionati Articoli, le due dette Convenzioni che si troveranno unite al presente Trattato avranno la medesima forza e vigore come se fossero in esso inserte letteralmente.

Art. 10. tutti li prigionieri presi durante le ostilità, come ancora tutti gli ostaggj che possano essere stati presi o dati saranno restituiti col minimo possibile ritardo. La medesima restituzione si applica alli Prigionieri fatti prima del Trattato delli 30 Maggio 1814, e li quali non sono stati gia restituiti.

Art. 11. Il Trattato di Parigi delli 30 Maggio 1814, e l'Atto finale del Congresso di Vienna delli 9 Giugno 1815 sono confermati, e saranno mantenuti in tutte quelle loro stipulazioni che non vennero modificate colle condizioni del presente Trattato.

Finalmente il presente Trattato colle Convenzioni ad esso unite, sarà ratificato in un solo Atto, e le ratifiche saranno cambiate in due mesi o prima se sará possibile. In virtù di che li respettivi Plenipotenziarj hanno sottoscritto il medesimo, e lo hanno suggellato coi suggelli delle loro armi.

Fatto in Parigi li 20 *Novembre dell'anno di Nostro Signore* 1815.

Richelieu
(Sottoscritti) Metternich
Wessemberg

DOCUMENT 22

The claims of the Maltese founded upon the principles of justice, by George Mitrovich

London, July 31, 1835.

It is now time that the British nation should be made acquainted with the actual state of the island of Malta, and that every Maltese, who is attached to his country, should direct his voice to every Englishman, animated with the spirit of moderate liberty, humanity, and philanthropy, and invoke his

powerful aid in favour and support of a people, brave, patient and highly praiseworthy, well-disposed, loyal, and faithful to the British Crown.

It is incontestably true, that the Maltese, from very remote periods, enjoyed many privileges, immunities, and franchises,—they were governed by their own laws, they had their magistrates, and representatives who were accustomed to assemble in council. Their great shield against oppression and a profligate expenditure of public money, was their National council.

On the breaking out of the insurrection against the French republicans in September 1798, the first measure of the Maltese was to re-establish this council (which had been despotically suspended by the latter Grand Masters of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem), to which they then gave the name of Congress. This Congress was composed of representatives of the clergy and of the people of the whole country freely elected, and had appointed as president Sir Alexander John Ball, then commanding his Majesty's naval forces in the blockade of Valletta.

When the British troops took possession of the fortifications in Sept. 1800, the Congress was suspended by Sir A. Ball, the very man who had stipulated with the Maltese and promised its preservation; he established a system of government entirely arbitrary and despotic, contrary to the expectations of the Maltese, and instead of allowing them to be governed by their ancient laws, conformably to the spirit of the British constitution, he adopted the detested code of Rohan, which had already destroyed some of their privileges, and which code is in force in the island to this day.

This system of government has now existed in Malta for thirty-five years, during which time Deputations have been sent to England, and repeated Petitions have been forwarded to his Majesty in Council, but without any other result to the petitioners than that of seeing their situation getting worse and worse every day.

In 1813, Sir Thomas Maitland arrived in Malta as governor, when the last deadly blow was given to the remaining national institutions of the Maltese. Their magistrates, under the name of Giurati, formed a highly respectable Board, which had existed for many centuries, and was respected even by the despotic grand masters, as well as by the French themselves; but in 1818 their office was totally abolished, so as to leave no trace whatever of a Representative Body in the island of Malta! Respectable and meritorious Maltese have been dismissed from their situations for no other reason than to make room for Englishmen of Sir Thomas Maitland's choice. The salaries of the heads of several families were given to

a few individuals newly arrived in the island, whose merits were totally unknown to the natives. The Maltese occupied formerly all the principal situations in the island, including that of Governor of Gozo, with the exception of the posts of public secretary and treasurer; but at this period they were removed, humiliated in their own country by their protectors, and lowered to the rank of inferior officers. The island has been loaded with insupportable burdens; high duties have been established, and pensions assigned on her revenue to individuals not Maltese, and not resident in the island. Restrictions on the trade, high quarantine dues and charges, have been established, and no trace of a free port is any longer left; excessive expenses in the numerous tribunals; confusion in the laws by continual alterations, and by frequent contradicting proclamations, have succeeded. The University, anciently endowed with sufficient funds for its support, has been rendered mercenary by imposing on the students a monthly tax, while the revenue has been engrossed by the Government.—Sir Thomas Maitland was the governor, the legislator, and the judge, and stood, a military man, omnipotent in the island. By a single stroke of his pen, numbers of individuals were reduced to misery and starvation. Even the brown barley bread, the only food of the poor, was highly taxed, to upwards of 100 per cent.

The Maltese, deprived of the blessings of a free press, notwithstanding their repeated supplications for the privilege, had no means of making known their grievances to the British nation, from their own country; while the press being monopolized by the Local Government, the progress of intellect is checked, and the natives are deprived of the benefit of so profitable a branch of employment. The Maltese, goverened as they are by a liberal nation, jealous of the liberty of the press, cannot but feel strongly at being totally deprived of so great a privilege.

Even their humble petitions encountered the greatest difficulties from the local authorities at Malta; so as almost to impede the voice of the faithful Maltese subjects in reaching the British Throne; and, after a Petition to the King had been signed by almost all the nobility of the island, and other respectable inhabitants, they were designated by the ruler, a despotic military man, in a printed publication stuck up in all public places, as weak, inconsiderate, turbulent, and factious, and some of the subscribers have been deprived of their situations to the present day.

At the present moment, when the Maltese are starving, and a great number a great number of them are obliged to quit their country to seek a

livelihood elsewhere, they are compelled to pay an excessive duty on wheat, which on many occasions amounted to from 50 to 60 per cent, according to the quality, or to the rise and fall in its price.

It would occupy too much space to enumerate here the hardships and sufferings of the Maltese people. Deprived of their liberty, their rights and privileges disregarded or suspended, without any Representatives of their own to whom they could apply for redress, reduced to the lowest state of destitution and misery, a general discontent prevails amongst them though they are patient, submissive, and quiet. Who and where is the interested person that can wish to perpetuate this horrible system, and who dare or can contradict the truths here stated? Let him come forward if there be any; we shall be ready to meet him.

To remedy all these grievances, however, a most unexpected and extraordinary proclamation was issued at Malta, on the 1st of May last, creating and constituting a council for the Island of Malta, composed of eight members, all selected or appointed by the King and the Local Government, of whom five, including the Governor, must hold offices, *and not one is elected by the people!* A Council of this kind is certainly not according to the wishes, interests, and prayers of the Maltese, and therefore they have determined to apply to the British Parliament, in order to obtain the restitution of what has been despotically and unjustly taken from them, and for which they have, on several occasions, in ancient or modern times, sacrificed immense property, and shed their blood. A notice has already been given by a highly respectable member of Parliament, William Ewart, Esq., member for Liverpool, of bringing forward a motion on the 18th of August next, in the House of Commons, in order to call the attention of that wise and impartial House to the interesting and important Island of Malta; which the Maltese hope will be supported by a considerable number of the distinguished and disinterested members who compose that honourable assembly.

In support of the above assertions, and for the better information of the reader, the following documents are deemed to be of great interest, and worthy of insertion in this humble publication of a faithful Maltese.

The Maltese hope, and are convinced, that the system before alluded to will soon be changed, and that a just and impartial Council will be established for the good government of the island, and the content and happiness of the Maltese, who will always be ready to shed their blood in defence of the possession of their island by Great Britain. If the Maltese be

satisfied with the form of their government, and should their rights and privileges be restored to them conformably to the spirit of the British constitution, the British Government may be assured that no power in the world can ever snatch the island out of its hands. Every one knows the importance of Malta to Great Britain. It possesses a formidable fortress, a beautiful and commodious harbour, an arsenal, a storehouse, a place of refreshment, a rendezvous in the centre of the Mediterranean, with a faithful population of one hundred and twenty thousand souls. Is such a place to be left in the state of constitution and slavery in which it now exists? Certainly not. A remedy no doubt will soon be granted. The just and unquestionable claims of the Maltese are manifest to all the world, and admitted by the British Government itself, as it clearly appears by the documents already mentioned herewith inserted. The confidence reposed by the Maltese in the British officers, when they placed their island under British protection, the sacrifice of the lives of twenty thousand of their countrymen, the immense loss of property sustained by them during two years of a rigorous blockade, and by the capitulation of 1800, made without their participation and concurrence; their patience and submission to the unlawful destruction of their institutions, and the many alterations made in opposition to their interests, together with their fidelty and attachment to the British nation; these and many other strong reasons demand and entitle them to the prompt assistance and support of every Englishman. Many authors have written fully on the just claims of the Maltese, and on the state of the island, among whom may be enumerated, Mr. William Eton, Mr. John Joseph Dillon, Capt. C.W. Pasley, Mr. E. Blaquiere, and Mr. James Webster, from the works of all of whom some extracts are also introduced into these pages.

DOCUMENT 23

Londra, 20 *Novembre, 1835.*

"Maltesi Miei Cari Compatrotti": 1835 Address by Mitrovich to his fellow Maltese

La Nazione Inglese si fece meraviglia al sentire da me lo stato di miseria, di sofferenze e d'abbiezione sotto cui geme la nostra cara patria. Moltissime

persone di considerazione e di grido in questa Metropoli, ed altri luoghi d'Inghilterra, ove ultimamente mi sono recato, sono penetrate da sentimenti di giustizia e generosità verso i Maltesi, ed hanno stabilito di sostenere validamente le nostre rappresentanze nella Camera dei Comuni, augusta, assemblea di veri padri della patria, ed accertatevi, saremo esauditi. Il Signor Wm. Ewart, membro della suddetta Camera per la città di Liverpool, ha già dichiarato, come vi è noto, essere sua decisa volontà di esporre i vostri bisogni ed i vostri giusti desiderj dietro una vostra legale petizione. Se per avventura persone interessate a mantenere la prepotenza ed il dispotismo, s' avvisassero a scoraggirvi di ricorrere, o coll' istessa astuzia illudervi con promesse; vi consiglio a non prestare loro credenza, giacchè il loro fine è di tenervi per sempre nella schiavitù, di sacrificarvi, e sacrificare i vostri teneri figli, per il loro personale interesse. Smentite anche con nuove prove quelle calunniose vociferazioni ad arte sparse, che siete incapaci di ricuperare quei sacrosanti diritti, che un tempo possedeste, e che ogni suddito inglese li considera tuttavia di sua ragione. Osservate, che il pregare e sottoscrivere petizioni è prerogativa d' ogni suditto del Regno Unito, e molto più di voi, miei cari compatriotti, consapevole com' è la Nazione Britannica della vostra giusta causa, della vostra fedeltà e dell' attaccamento verso di essa. Fatevi pertanto coraggio, poichè colle vie legali, che rigorosamente osserverete, avete a sperare non solo il rimedio, ma anche la ricompensa, particolarmente da una Nazione che a fronte d'immensi sacrificj emancipò generosamente gli schiavi.

Permettetemi di farvi rammentare in succinto ciò che perdeste sotto l'attuale sistema del dispotismo e dell' oppressione, opera di soli pochi individui a voi pienamente noti; e maravigliatevi. Non vi parlo punto dell' opulenza, della prosperità e dello splendore della nostra isola ne' tempi de' Fenici, de' Greci, de' Cartaginesi, e de' Romani, perchè sono fatti che decanta l'istoria a sufficienza; ma soltanto vi farò cenno brevemente di quelle circostanze più a noi vicine e più a proposito al caso nostro.

Il Conte Ruggiero di nazione Normanno, l'anno 1090, avendoci liberati dal giogo degli Arabi, che allora infestavano il Mediterraneo, stabilì il nostro Consiglio Nazionale, ch' era composto dei rappresentanti del clero, dei nobili e del popolo, liberamente eletti. Questo corpo sublime aveva il potere legislativo. In tempo degli Aragonesi, sotto cui le nostre isole erano in seguito cadute, per cause urgentissime del Regno vennero per ben due volte pegnorate per la somma in que' tempi molto considerevole di 30,000 fiorini d'oro per volta: i Maltesi però attaccati in un modo particolare alla

loro libertà ed ai loro diritti, che han sempre procurato di conservare nel loro pieno vigore, si determinarono di spontanea volontà a nobilmente sborsare la somma suddetta, e così a nobilmente sborsare la somma suddetta, e così ottenere la loro indipendenza. In seguito di questi sborsi ottennero essi moltissimi privilegi, tra i quali quello che le isole non sarebbero state mai più alienate, o smembrate dai Reali Dominj sotto qualunque siasi pretesto, o ragione, e che nel caso contrario, i Maltesi avessero il dritto di opporsi colla forza delle armi senza che fossero considerati ribelli. Questo gran privilegio venne in seguito confermato da tutti i loro Sovrani, e dall' istesso Imperadore Carlo V. Questi però in violazione di tale suo giuramento, concesse le nostre isole all'ordine di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme colla condizione però che i Cavalieri dovessero rispettare e mantenere intatti i diritti e tutti i privilegi de' Maltesi. Perciò si stipulò una convenzione tra i Deputati dell' ordine, e quelli de' nativi, ratificata li 16 Luglio 1530, in cui si osservano le seguenti espressioni "inviolabilem observationem Privi-"legiorum, Immunitatum, libertatum, franchitiarum, jurium, laudabilium, consuetudinum, &c." Ogni Gran Maestro prima di prendere possesso del suo Magistero, prendeva il suo giuramento innanzi il primo Magistrato de' nativi per la rigorosa osservanza de' suddetti privilegi. Questa osservanza durò per qualche tempo; ma in seguito, non ostante la pratica del giuramento che continuò fino all' ultimo Gran Maestro, i Cavalieri avevano incominciato ad allontanarsi dai loro doveri, e dimentichi de' loro impegni andavano grandatamente sovvertendo i privilegi e le franchigie de' Maltesi. Indi si compilarono nuovi codici, ed il Consiglio Nazionale, sebbéne in essi menzionato, divenne a poco a poco di solo nome, ed alfine composto di persone scelte, o nominate dal Gran Maestro, cricostanza che altamente aveva provocato la popolazione, ed attirò la più grande sua indignazione. Una delle cause principali per cui si fece la rivoluzione così detta de' Preti, alla testa della quale vi era il celebre patriotta Mannarino, era quella di obbligare i cavalieri a rientrare nel loro dovere e restituire ai Maltesi i loro sacrosanti diritti e privilegi. L' isola, proprietà nostra perchè comprata colle nostre sostanze, divenne nel mese di Giugno 1798, per tradimento de' Cavalieri, conquista de'Francesi. Questi diportandosi male produssero, tre mesi dopo, la rivolta. In poche ore si vide tutta la campagna in sollevazione, decisi i nativi di distruggere sei mila Francesi, allora le migliori truppe dell' Europa, o essere distrutti per la loro libertà. In vano fu ogni sforzo da parte de' Francesi per smorzare il fuoco, in

vano furono le varie sortite della guarnigione contro gl' insorgenti, da per tutto trovarono il nimici, non uomini armati, perchè armi non avevano, ma leoni pronti a devorarli. Elessero i nativi immediatamente i loro capi, i principali de' quali erano il Signor Emmanuele Vitale (morto) il Canonico Don Francesco Saverio Caruana (attualmente Vescovo) ed il Signor Vincenzo Borg di Birchircara, e risposero in essi tutta la loro fiducia. Stabilirono il loro Consiglio Nazionale, al quale diedero il nome di Congresso, ch' era composto dei rappresentanti del clero, e di un deputato d' ogni Casale, liberamente eletti. In questo Congresso risiedeva tutto il potere legislativo. Esso provvedeva ai bisogni dell' isola con tanto zelo ed abilità che si è meritato l' elogio e la stima di tutto il popolo. Avvertirono la Corte di Napoli dell' accaduto, e chiamarono gl' Inglesi, i quali non potendo al momento venire in loro soccorso, mandarono alcune navi Portoghesi. Indi comparve Sir James Saumarez che veniva da Alessandria colle sue navi dopo la memorabile battaglia di Abuckier; poi il Cav. Alessandro Giovanni Ball, e poco dopo l'Ammiraglio Nelson, i quali hanno dato ai Maltesi de' soccorsi in armi e munizioni. Napoli in seguito ci somministrò del grano, qualche somma in danaro e poche munizioni. Il Cavalier Ball venne eletto dai Maltesi Presidente del Congresso. Egli promise il mantenimento de' nostri più cari diritti e privilegi, e la bandiera inglese venne spiegata su tutte le batterie della campagna, mettendoci così sotto la protezione dell' Inghilterra. Dopo sedici mesi dal giorno della rivolta comparve il General Graham con due battaglioni, le prime truppe inglesi arrivate nell' isola, e subito dopo giunsero poche truppe napolitane. Il memorabile indirizzo di questo illustre generale ai Maltesi, dato dal suo quartier generale di Gudia sotto il giorno 19 giugno 1800, è noto ad ogni nativo, ed essendo la gloria de'Maltesi, merita elogio e riferenza. Due anni di guerra e di rigoroso blocco, in cui i Maltesi fecero prodigj, ipotecarono i loro beni per far acquisti di grano dalla Sicilia, soffersero patimenti indicibili, malattie, miseria e fame; costarono la perdita di venti mila de' loro compatriotti e di parecchi milioni di scudi. Dopo l'arrivo del General Pigot con altre poche truppe inglesi, i Francesi nel mese di Settembre 1800, offersero di capitolare. Questo generale, che aveva preso il comando delle truppe del blocco, in vece di avvertire i Maltesi per essere presenti nella capitolazione, com' era tenuto di fare per gratitudine e per giustizia, segretamente e frettolosamente la conchiuse, sacrificando così barbaramente gl' interessi di un popolo vittorioso, e di buona fede, che in diverso caso avrebbe potuto obbligare i Francesi di dare garanzia pel

pagamento delle grosse somme da loro prese per via di contribuzioni sui particolari, dal Monte di Pietà, dall' Università, dai Tribunali, dalle Chiese, &c., che ascendono a più milioni di scudi. Subito che le truppe inglesi presero possesso delle fortificazioni, il Congresso venne sciolto da quell' istesso che aveva promesso il suo mantenimento, vale a dire dal Cav. A. Ball. Il General Pigot prendendo le redini del governo dopo la partenza di quest' ultimo, promise ai Maltesi per mezzo d'un proclama "il godimento delle loro libertà." Il ben' amato Cav. Carlo Cameron al suo arrivo poco dopo, e nell' occasione del suo nobile ed interessante Proclama ai Maltesi, si è espresso in questi termini, "Sua Maestà vi accorda piena protezione, ed il godimento di tutti i vostri più cari diritti." Ora ditemi, miei cari fratelli, v' è persona al mondo per quanto potente sia, che possa distruggere questa sacra promessa da parte del nostro eletto Sovrano? O come innanzi il Parlamento Brittannico coloro che l'hanno calpestata dovranno tremare! Tutto il mondo conosce quel che fecero i Maltesi nell' occasione della pretesa restituzione delle nostre isole all' Ordine nel trattato d' Amiens. Una deputazione di sei persone venne tosto spedita in Inghilterra con una petizione per portare i voti de' fedeli Maltesi ai piedi del Trono di Sua Maestà, supplicandola a non abbandonarci perchè la voce di tutto il popolo era quella di restare uniti per sempre all' Impero Britannico. La nota ufficiale dalla corte d' Inghilterra a quella di Russia, ed il discorso di Lord Melville nel Parlamento Britannico, dimostrano chiaramente come si pensava a darci quella forma di governo che la popolazione domandava, e che aveva dritto di aspettare dietro i fatti accaduti, e le solenni promesse fatteci, che non si possono distruggere senza coprire di vergogna coloro che le avanzarono per ingannarci. Anni trascorsero, in cui non cessarono i Maltesi ad avanzare le loro fervide suppliche al loro agente in Inghilterra ed al Monarca istesso. Fa fremere la condotta delle Autorità locali dopo la petizione del 1811, perseguitando tanti individui colla predita de' loro impieghi, e trattando i nobili Maltesi ed altri rispettabili personaggi pubblicamente da torbidi e faziosi. Dopo la Commissione dell' anno 1812, a voi ben nota per essersi condotta a suo modo, e non secondo gl' interessi della patria, ed i dettami della giustizia, fummo favoriti dell' arrivo di Sir Thomas Maitland. Sarebbe superfluo il narrarvi partitamente la devastazione fatta dalla tirannia di questo despota su di voi (avvezzo a governare i popoli del Ceylon) perchè tutti press' a poco ne soffriste, e perciò ne dovete essere pienamente intesi. Pur non di meno mi sia lecito il dirvi qualche cosa in succinto dalla massa de' mali dal

medesimo cagionati. L' antico stabilimento de' Giurati che discendeva da tempi i più remoti, e formava un corpo rappresentativo anticamente eletto dal Consiglio Popolare, e teneva una corte a se indipendente con molti altri privilegi; con un colpo di penna venne intieramente rovesciato. I Giurati della Valletta, gli Amministratori de' Beni Pubblici (adesso sotto la denominazione de' Beni Territoriali di Sua Maestà!), il Governatore del Gozo, il Presidente della Gran Corte, gli Stabilimenti di Pulizia, la Dogana e varj altri Dipartimenti, tutti vennero rimpiazzati da Inglesi a scelta di Sir Thomas Maitland, che pare avesse deciso da bel principio di voler annichilare i Maltesi, dimenticandosi intieramente delle sacre promesse di Sua Maestà già menzionate, e nulla curandosi che con una tale condotta veniva a rovesciare e calpestare ciò che l' istesso suo Sovrano non avrebbe mai fatto, perchè non poteva fare cose contro la sacra ed inviolabile sua promessa. I varj corpi militari maltesi furono ridotti ad un piccolo numero. I tribunali si caricarono di spese insopportabili; le leggi furono alterate colla massima confusione e danno notabile de' litiganti. L' Università degli studj trascurata e resa mercenaria. Dazj all' eccesso gravosi furono stabiliti sugli articoli d'introduzione e d'estrazione, e quel ch' è peggio sopra articoli d'industria nazionale. Imposizioni sotto titolo di licenze toccanti al povero ed al miserabile vennero fissate. La quarantina ed i porti sistemati in un modo che facevano coi loro aggravj allontanare dall'isola i legni esteri in vece di richiamarli. È questo il porto franco che Sua Maestà si era benignata di accordarci per mezzo di un' ordine in Cosiglio dato dalla sua Corte in Weymouth sotto la data dei 30 Luglio 1801? Il commercio, oggetto importantissimo pel nativo, si vide ben presto in piena rovina. Il negoziante abbattuto da perdite e vessato da aggravj; e la miseria cresceva a passi rapidi; questa devastazione però in vece di rallentarsi andava sempre più crescendo. Nuovi Inglesi con salarj eccessivi rimpiazzavano i poveri Maltesi ne' loro impieghi, che occupavano decorosamente con tenui, o moderati emolumenti. Tutta l' economia si faceva cadere sui Maltesi, e gran profusione di stipendj e di pensioni si accordavano ad Inglesi del partito del sistema di devastazione, sistema detestabile, contrario ad ogni legge d'umanità e di misericordia. Questa distruzione e rovina di commercio, unita alla miseria ed alla desolazione della popolazione, spinsero i negozianti Britannici ed i nativi ad inoltrare nel 1821, una ben circostanziata e ben ragionata petizione al Parlamento; ma questa per non essere secondo le regole sfortunamente venne ritornata, e Sir Thomas Maitland avendo promesso di darne rimedio, è stata da detti negozianti

ritirata. Credo che quanto me siate informati del rimedio che ne ha dato, e non occorre il dirvi che la nostra condizione è andata sempre più peggiorando, e le nostre catene sempre più crescendo. L' anno 1832 si fecero due petizioni al Monarca; ma nuove Tariffe più aggravanti alla popolazione delle precedenti, pare che ne sia stata la risposta, opera certamente di quelli che ci vogliono bene, e che vogliono governare l' isola a modo loro e secondo i loro interessi, e non secondo le preghiere ed i bisogni della popolazione. Nuovi impieghi tolti ai Maltesi si concessero ad Inglesi. Il Procuratore Generale rimpiazzò l' avvocato fiscale con poteri smoderati, ed ultimamente l'unico posto di qualche riguardo che rimaneva ai nativi, e che aveva contabilità di danaro, venne sotto frivoli pretesti tolto al Signor Trapani ed incorporato alla Dogana sotto il reggimento di un Inglese, il quale, come assicurasi, ebbe per quest' operazione un' aumento di salario; e questo oltre l' ingiustizia fatta al povero Signor Busuttil per averlo privato del posto di Magazziniere, che a lui solo spettava, il quale posto venne dato ad un Inglese per semplice protezione di quelli che hanno finora il potere di far di noi ciò che piace ad essi, e che agiscono senza alcun ritegno e considerazione, dimenticandosi intieramente che possono, com' è probabile, un giorno essere chiamati a rendere minuto conto delle loro operazioni, e del danno che hanno ingiustamente cagionato ai poveri Maltesi. Aumento di salario al primo, e l'emolumento di quest' ultimo, fecero si, come mi si scrive, che i poveri pesatori della Dogana ne pagassero la pena: si tolsero a questi i loro miserabili sei tarì al giorno, co' quali compravano il pane per i disgraziati loro figli. Ecco ove cadde l'economia, ecco come sempre si va meditando in che modo si devono opprimere i disgraziati Maltesi. *O ingratitudine senza esempio*! Dopo l'apertura delle porte nel 1800, tutti gl' impieghi del governo erano nelle nostre mani, eccetto il posto di segretario pubblico, allora occupato da un tal Mr. Macaulay, il quale abbracciava anche quello di Tesoriere con un moderatissimo salario. Ora i primi posti ci vennero rapiti, e non ci rimangono che alcuni posti di second' ordine e quelli inferiori, con una differenza di salario strabocchevole. Menati a capriccio di chi ha le redini del governo nelle sue mani, e condotti a guisa di pecore, tutti umiliati, oppressi, e tenuti come schiavi nella più grande oscurità, senza altra libertà che quella di poter dire, "O come la fame ci stà devorando; i nostri padroni però come stan bene, più ne hanno, e più ne vogliono," la nostra situazione è divenuta spaventevole. In questi trenta cinque anni quante vessazioni e quanti atti arbitrarj abbiamo veduto, contrarj agl' interessi della patria ed

al bene de' suoi abitanti! Non ci si diede da mangiare frumento di pessima qualità, introdotto da esteri, e portato dal Mar nero e dall' Egitto? O che contrasto tra i nuovi provveditori, e gli antichi nostri Giurati che ci portavano il miglior grano dalla Sicilia! O che stabilimento equo era quello condotto da nazionali premurosi soltanto del bene della patria, che varie volte ci passavano il grano a meno prezzo di quel che costava! Non era forse un atto il più ingiusto quello di toglierci la principale parte di San Calcedonio, ossia di Casa Santa, convertendola in un ospedale militare? E cosa si dice della soppressione delle Maddalene, e delle rendite tolte alle medesime; di tanti legati, de' cumoli così detti di Città Vecchia, e dell' ospedale di Santo Spirito? A suo tempo se ne parlerà, e si vedrà ciò che si deve vedere. Perchè il Monte di Pietà, stabilimento nazionale, non ha reso conto alla popolazione delle sue operazioni? Cosa si fece delle sue rendite in questi trenta cinque anni? Perchè continua a passare al miserabile, all' oppresso, al desolato il lucro del sei per cento? Perchè non tre o quattro come prima? Perchè la Casa d' Industria, stabilimento lasciatoci dal nobile e generoso Marchese d' Hastings che servirà per sua memoria, in vece di 350 persone, come sento non mantiene attualmente che soltanto 250? Che dritto si aveva di togliere dei privilegi alla Corte vescovile, e di emanare delle leggi relative ai contratti matrimoniali, ed altri capi importanti senza il consentimento e l'approvazione de' Maltesi? Per mancanza di buoni regolamenti sanitarj non si ebbe la peste nell' anno 1813, ed il vajuolo nel 30? E cosa vi pare, miei cari fratelli, dell' atto di estremo arbitrio e straordinaria sfrontatezza, commesso da parte di Sir Thomas Maitland quando giunse da Tunisi nell' anno 15, e senza assoggettarsi alle leggi di quarantina, alle quali si assoggettano gl' istessi Monarchi, se ne sbarcò a dispetto d' ognuno, e se n' andò per i fatti suoi, e le conseguenze n' erano, che la quarantina sul continente per le provenienze da Malta venne tosto aumentata con danno notabile del commercio? E cosa dite dello scoppio della Polverista nell' anno 6, colla perdita di centinaja d' infelici, cagionata dalla negligenza di chi allora comandava, non ostante le rimostranze di varj abitanti che prevedevano il caso, e non facevano che lagnarsene? Non si vide forse una petizione nazionale diretta al Sovrano trattenuta dalle Autorità locali per quaranta giorni, ed indi sotto frivoli pretesti data in dietro a pochi individui non ostante il protesto di una porzione de'sottoscritti che in segreteria esisteva contro il ritardo d'invío, ed il maneggio che si faceva per frastornarla? Il dritto delle petizioni è così sacro in Inghilterra,

che le Autorità in Malta erano in dovere di spedirla col primo Pacchetto, molto più che ne avevano tempo sufficiente, e non v' è scusa che possa metterle al coperto per il ritardo e le conseguenze. Non si vide ancora una petizione al governo in Inghilterra consegnata dalle Autorità locali nelle mani della parte opposta, la quale si fece lecita di perseguitare la parte supplicante prima nell' invío di detta petizione al suo destino? E non si videro persone di gran merito lasciate senza impiego, o senza pensione nella loro vecchia età, ed altre di simile merito trattate con una bagatella insignificante a titolo semplicemente di carità, quando £600 si concessero a Sir William Ball, figlio di colui che ci distrusse il nostro Consiglio Nazionale; £400 al Revdo Laing; £1600 ai sedicenti cavalieri dell'Ordine di San Giovanni residenti in Inghilterra, dopo che ci consegnarono per tradimento ai Francesi, ed i mali in conseguenza sofferti in seguito dalla popolazione; £1000 a R.R. Wood, non so a che titolo, e tant' altre pensioni e spese superflue che non si possono notare se non quando si verrà al punto che la popolazione, finora tenuta da schiava, sarà informata d' ogni circostanza? E non si vedono persone di merito dopo venti o trent' anni di fedele ed esatto servigio al governo essere trattate con un piccolissimo salario non sufficiente neppure al loro giornaliero sostentamento per essere soltanto Maltesi, contrasto non piccolo con quelle che godono profusione di salarj per essere Inglesi e non altro? E gli antichi Diplomi de' vostri sacrosanti privilegi ed altri Documenti nazionali per i quali si aveva un tempo tanto attaccamento, e che si conservavano in Città Vecchia in casse di piombo, dove sono adesso? Nessun Maltese può più vederli? Solamente i nostri avversarj possono avere questo piacere perchè sono nelle loro mani? Queste sono le promesse di Sua Maestà colle quali assicura al Popolo maltese il godimento de' suoi più cari diritti? Certamente no, poichè la promessa di un Monarca in Inghilterra non viene mai meno: dessa è sacrosanta. Questo non è altro, persuadetevi, che il maneggio, e l'interesse di pochi individui, che si abusano del loro potere, e si acciecano talmente che compromettono perfino il sacro nome del loro istesso Sovrano, purchè portino ad effetto e soddisfacciano le loro brame e la loro ingordigia. Persuadetevi, miei cari, che non v' è paese civilizzato in Europa dove la popolazione si tiene tanto all'oscuro quanto nella nostra isola di Malta. Vi sono de' luoghi conquistati con grande spargimento di sangue, e con gran sacrificj pecuniarj, eppure sono meglio trattati di quel che siamo noi mille volte. Nei paesi sotto i governi più assoluti come sarebbero quelli d' Italia, della Germania &c., trovate che il popolo ha i suoi magistrati, ha la sua

Comune, ha i suoi torchj per poter stampare libri non offensivi alla religione ed al governo, e tant'altre cose; e noi, non ostante che siamo sotto una nazione libera, e che ci siamo battuti per la libertà, e questa ci è stata garantita solennemente, che cosa abbiamo? Abbiamo soltanto la sferza de' nostri governanti, che da protettori divennero nostri carnefici, la quale sferza batte su di noi a capriccio senza altra commiserazzione per la nostra estrema miseria, che quella di dire continuamente "la popolazione è molto grande, ed ha bisogno dell' emigrazione." Il loro piacere sarebbe quello che non restassero in Malta che quelle sole persone, delle quali hanno assolutamente bisogno per i loro comodi. Prova della vostra schiavitù. Vi si è mai dato o almeno pubblicato, conto, o nota alcuna sulle rendite, e le spese dell'isola per vostra soddisfazione, mentre voi d'ogni boccone di pane che mangiate, ne dovete dare una buona porzione al governo? Avete avuto mai il piacere di stampare la minima cosa senza il permesso del governo, il quale, avendo il monopolio dell' unico torchio esistente nell' isola, può darvelo, o non darvelo a suo capriccio? Vi si è mai domandato un vostro sentimento per cambiare, o emanare una legge, e fare nuovi regolamenti tra mille e mille che se ne fecero nell' isola nel periodo di trenta cinque anni? Avete mezzi nelle vostri mani per opporvi a ciò che i nostri padroni vorrebbero capricciosamente imporre su di voi a danno e rovina vostra? Non è nelle loro mani il mandarvi via dai vostri impieghi quando piace ad essi rimpiazzandovi da Inglesi con dieci volte più di salario di quel che avete voi? E non l' abbiamo forse più di una volta sperimentato? Avete qualche rappresentante che difenda la vostra causa? Non vi hanno distrutto tutte le vostre magistrature espressamente per non lasciarvi mezzo alcuno di poter parlare e domandare? E volete più schiavitù di questa? Non la troverete neppure in Costantinopoli. Questo profondo mistero de' nostri avversarj, questa gran segretezza, e l' oscurità in cui procurano di tenervi, non mostrano chiaramente che le intenzioni non siano rette? E vogliamo noi continuare ad essere governati in questa guisa? L' istessa Nazione Inglese, nazione grande, magnanima e generosa, che venne ora a conoscere in qualche modo i nostri gravami e le nostre sofferenze, se ne sorprende non poco ed esclama, e dice: perchè non si è pensato prima d' ora a portare il nostro appello innanzi il Parlamento! Io anticipo la vostra risposta; voi siete tutti pronti a concorrere in folla in sostegno della giusta causa, che abbraccia i vostri proprj interessi, animati dall' istessa voce del popolo Inglese. Armatevi dunque di coraggio e di risoluzione. Il tempo della persecuzione è passato. Levate dalla vostra mente ogni minima ombra di

timore, perchè si tratta di ricorrere ad un' assemblea di un popolo libero, che vi dà piena facoltà di parlare apertamente, domandare e ripetere. Ora è il momento, miei cari fratelli, e non dovete perderlo. Le vostre preci e la vostra unita cooperazione vi faranno acquistare immancabilmente tutto quello che vi fu tolto dispoticamente e senza alcun motivo. Il governo istesso in questa Metropoli già si mostra propenso a migliorare la vostra condizione, e l' istesso Ministro delle Colonie Lord Glenelg, uomo di gran merito e di particolare bontà, assistito da Sir George Grey, altro personaggio di alti talenti e buona disposizione, non mancheranno di farvi giustizia come meritate. La Nazione Inglese ed il Parlamento vi attendono. Essi sono pronti a sentirvi ed indi ordinare la restituzione di quel che vi appartiene, perchè, io son certo, nulla vogliono del vostro, nè hanno mai pensato di volerne parte alcuna. Sottoscrivete dunque petizioni, e quel che occorre pel bene della nostra Patria, e siate certi che verrà un giorno che il popolo maltese sarà reso felice, sarà liberato dalla sua schiavitù, ben trattato ed accarezzato. Il tempo della nostra rigenerazione si avvicina, allora benedirete la Nazione Inglese ed il suo Parlamento. Sappiate per vostra soddisfazione che il nome Maltese in questo paese è tra gl'industriosi, tra i bravi e tra i meritevoli. Un poco di energia da parte vostra vi assicurerà la pace ed il contento. Vi raccomando di lavorare per il Consiglio Nazionale. Questo è lo scopo nostro, ed ha sempre formato la nostra felicità. Ottenuto questo, tutto il resto si rimedierà. Desso con permesso del nostro graziosisimo Sovrano porterà la stampa libera, stampa moderata non offensiva alla religione e nè licenziosa: Sarà un oggetto molto utile e proficuo alla popolazione, schiarimento all' intelletto e freno al potere. Il Consiglio ristabilisce le leggi dandovi una giusta Costituzione, non formata da sole cinque persone nominate e salariate dal governo, come si fece per la compilazione de' nuovi codici, ma da un gran numero di persone indipendenti che prenderanno a cuore gl' interessi della patria. Desso renderà libera e franca l' Università degli studj, e cercherà di renderla più utile e più rispettabile. Riformerà gl' impieghi, e stabilirà giusti salarj senza parzialità, ed a tenore del merito e del grado, e secondo le forze ed i mezzi della popolazione. Stabilirà un' indipendente Comitato di salute pubblica di soddisfazione tanto degl' abitanti che dell' estero. Prenderà in considerazione le pensioni, e ne farà giustizia. Procurerà di rendere l'isola di nuovo porto franco (meno quei Dazj moderati che sono assolutamente necessarj per ricavarne una rendita) ne così attirare il commercio per quanto le circostanze permetteranno, dal quale la popolazione deriva in

gran parte la sua sussistenza. Prenderà in considerazione quei che han sofferto in tempo del blocco per contribuzioni staordinarie; per i fondi nella Massa frumentaria, il perchè si concedono ai proprietarj soli $2^{1}/_{2}$ per cento d' interesse, escludendo ingiustamente i luoghi pij; la perdita sofferta nel Monte di Pietà; i crediti di Hompesch, e tant' altre cose, che si possono ancora discutere, e vedere se si ha dritto di ripetere e di reclamare. Sappiate che avete un dritto su tutto quello che esiste nell' isola, che apparteneva all' Ordine, perchè è vostra conquista. I Cavalieri erano vostri debitori, i Francesi lo stesso, i beni territoriali per conseguenza ne devono rispendere. Lascio a voi il ragionare sul ricavato, o la valuta de' cannoni di bronzo, che ascende ad una somma considerevole, meno i pochi cannoni di ferro che furono portati in loro vece. Chi ha perduto venti mila persone, e sacrificato milioni di scudi altro che voi? I nostri protettori nel darci la loro assistenza (lo sapete meglio di me) non persero un sol soldato. Essi non fecero che bloccare il porto, ed era loro interesse il farlo per due riflessi; l'uno perchè in esso vi era un formidabile nimico, il quale possedeva un luogo che servir dovera di un punto d'appoggio alla grande spedizione d'Egitto sotto Bonaparte, che minacciava le Indie; l'altro, perchè dentro vi erano delle navi da guerra, che gl' Inglesi naturalmente non volevano che sfuggissero dalle loro mani, come di fatto, in seguito, ad eccezione di una sola fregata che se ne scappò portandosi in Francia, tutte le altre navi, nemiche, o amiche, caddero in loro potere. Non intendiamo, certamente, di dire con questo che non dobbiamo riconoscere con gratitudine l'assistenza dataci da detti nostri protettori; ma soltanto, che questa assistenza non deve toglierci le nostre sostanze, nè privarci de' nostri diritti. La nostra riconoscenza, che non fu piccola, l'abbiamo dimostrata nell' occasione della pace d' Amiens, quando, disprezzando tutti i vantaggi che ci venivano offerti con quel Trattato, facemmo tutti i nostri sforzi onde restare uniti all' Inghilterra, e così rendere i nostri protettori padroni di un' Isola, la di cui centrale e vantaggiosa posizione, la formidabile ed inespugnabile sua fortezza, i suoi stupendi porti ed i suoi vasti comodi, tutto insieme d' un valore inestimabile, dava ad essi l' intiero comando del Mediterraneo. Senza Malta la preponderanza dell' Inghilterra nel Mediterraneo, non ostante la sua gran forza marittima; verrebbe in qualche modo a soffrire, perchè le sue forze essendo isolate, e senza un punto d' appoggio e di ricovero così formidabile ed efficace com' è Malta, ove si ha un superbo arsenale, degl' ospedali spaziosissimi, depositi di vettovaglie, di munizioni da guerra, un luogo di riunione, di riposo, e tant' altre cose di somma utilità, la loro situazione non

sarebbe tanto piacevole e sicura, particolarmente in caso di guerra che a Porta Ottomana e l' Egitto. Ecco l' importanza di Malta all' Inghilterra, la quale, senza la circostanza della rivolta de' Maltesi, avrebbe volentieri pagato grossi milioni per possederla. Gl' Inglesi conoscono tutte queste circostanze, ammirano il procedere de' Maltesi, ed apprezzano il loro merito; ma quei che ne hanno il comando e la direzione, non fanno di noi alcun caso, e disprezzano le nostre preghiere, perchè si abusano della loro forza, e credono di poter fare ciò che vogliono contro di noi perchè siamo piccoli. La Nazione però non dice così, e se ne sorprende. Essa non vuole che la giustizia, e questa bisogna che si faccia. Non occorreva, per noi, che venissero le Potenze nel trattato di Parigi a cedere l'isola all'Inghilterra, voi che eravate i conquistatori, e per conseguenza i padroni, la cedeste prima formalmente nell' occasione della deputazione che portò ai piedi del Trono di Sua Maestà un memoriale coi voti del Popolo maltese, esprimendo il suo fervido desiderio di essere per sempre uniti all' Impero Britannico, ma governati colle nostre proprie leggi, e coll' osservanza rigorosa de' nostri sacrosanti diritti e privilegi. Cedendo l' isola, si è ceduto il locale; ma non già le nostre sostanze, il nostro sangue, i nostri diritti. E chi è quella Potenza che aveva il dritto d' ingerirsi negl' affari interni del nostro governo con nostro discapito? I nostri avversarj se ragionano diversamente perchè acciecati dal loro interesse personale, s'ingannano. Indipendentemente dal sacro dritto di conquista, che ci rese padroni dell' isola e delle sostanze de' nostri debitori, gl' inglesi coll' averci escluso dalla Capitolazione del 1800, in cui avremmo potuto obbligare i francesi ad indennizzarci di tutto ciò che ci avevano tolto forzosamente, non si resero risponsabili verso di noi per tutto il danno che abbiamo sofferto? Accertatevi, in poche parole, che nessuno ha potere sui diritti e sulle sostanze del popolo Maltese, popolo che non è conquistato, anzi all' opposto, popolo che ha secondato le viste di quelli che furono chiamati, e che vennero come protettori.

A voi ora ceto nobile dirigo la mia voce. Permettetemi di dirvi che fino l' anno 1811, vi vedevo tutti premurosi, pieni di zelo e di patriottismo, pronti a concorrere pel bene della patria. Nella Petizione al Sovran, l' anno suddetto, osservo con piacere i nomi del Barone Vincenzo Azzopardi, Cav. Paolo Parisio, Cav. Enrico Testaferrata, Marchese Saverio Alessi, Conte F. G. Teuma Castelletti, Vincenzo de' Marchesi Alessi, Marchese Gio. Ant. Apap, Dr. Francesco de' Marchesi Alessi, Marchese Dn. Mario Testaferrata, Dn. Pandolfo Marchese di San Vincenzo Ferreri e di Testaferrata, Marchese Nicolò Testaferrata, Marchese di San Vincenzo

Ferreri, Don. Gregorio A Testaferrata, Conte Martino Preziosi, Luigi de' Conti Teuma Castelletti, G.B. Cassar Desain Marchese di Testaferrata, Conte Ferdinando Teuma ed altri nobili distinti, tutti animati dall' amor della patria, e che faceste onore agl' antichi vostri colleghi i rinomati Nicola La Rocca, Stefano Serrera, Giovanni di Mazzara, Antonio Falzon, Francesco Gatto, Simone Mazzara, Manfredo Cassaro, Pietro Caruana ed altri, che spediti come ambasciadori dalla nostra Università, volavano ai piedi del Trono de' nostri Sovrani a difendere i diritti del popolo, e a domandare, ed acquistare grazie, privilegi e concessioni. O come Nicola La Rocca aveva ottenuto che il Castellano non potesse avere altra giurisdizione se non che quella entro il suo recinto che circondava il castello marittimo, senza punto aver ingerenza alcuna nei diritti degl' ufficiali e ministri della città e dell' Università. O come Francesco Gatto e Simone Mazzara avevano ottenuto che tutti gli ufficiali dell' isola fossero sempre Maltesi; e come Giovanni di Mazzara ottenne il pronto richiamo di un Governatore, ch' era stato nominato per Malta e Gozo, ed ebbe la solenne promessa che ciò mai più si sarebbe fatto essendo contrario al privilegio del Re Alfonso l'anno 1428, ed altri privilegi concessi ai Maltesi da tutti i Sovrani della Sicilia, e contrario ancora agl' istessi diritti naturali dei nativi. O come Pietro Caruana aveva ottenuto che nessun Capitan d' armi, o altro ufficiale, dovesse essere sofferto ad emanare proclami, o insinuare cosa alcuna che fosse contraria ai privilegi della città; e tant' altre grazie che sarebbe molto lungo il mentovare. O come questi nobili personaggi erano zelanti e pieni di fuoco pel bene della patria! Appunto, quello stabilimento nobile, utile ed onorevole dell' Università, che i vostri antenati occuparono per tanti secoli, a cui eravate così attaccati e che andavate così giustamente superbi di possedere, non vi spinge più al suo ristabilimento? Vi sembra forse difficile? Difficile, perchè lo volete voi; perchè non lo domandate. Scusatemi siete in un letargo che non saprei comprendere, nè a che attribuire. Cosa costerebbe all' Inghilterra il suo ristabilimento? Nulla. Era desso un corpo rappresentativo necessario. Chi ha scritto le lettere di ringraziamento al Conte Elgin, Ambasciadore Britannico presso la Porta Ottomana nel Mese di Marzo 1803 per aver ottenuta la liberazione de' Maltesi ch' erano schiavi in Costantinopoli? Sono stati i Giurati a nome del Popolo. Chi scrive adesso per il popolo? Ditelo voi, perchè io non lo so. Così vi siete scoraggiti? Dov' è lo straordinario patriottismo del Cav. Paolo Parisio, che un tempo spese tanto danaro in difesa dei diritti della Nazione? Eh scuotetevi una volta da questo

letargo, o da questo abbattimento d'animo, ed unitevi al popolo, lasciando da parte qualunque riguardo particolare: il solo interesse della partia dovrebbe essere la vostra guida e la vostra premura. Vorreste essere rimarcati restando in dietro in un' occasione di tanta importanza da cui dipende la liberazione di quella terra che vi ha dato i natali, alla quale un tempo eravate così attaccati? Fatelo pure se vi basta il coraggio.

Il Clero, quel corpo nobile e sacro, sarà dimentico, o sordo ai gemiti e sospiri di una intiera popolazione? Non concorrerà come tutti gli altri a supplicare pel bene e per la prosperità d' un' isola tenuta finora sotto il ferro dell' oppressione e della tirannia? E chi riparerà a tanti inconvenienti che continuamente si commettono nelle nostre chiese da gente insensata con grave offesa di Dio Onnipotente altro che il Consiglio Nazionale? Desso non sarà anche quello che darà riparo all' uso scostumato ed abbominevole delle bestemmie, che s'introdusse da qualche tempo nella nostra isola con scandalo e sorpresa della gente da bene? Non è vergogna che il santo nome di Dio e del Sacramento sieno continuamente vilipesi da giovani e da fanciulli che da per tutto si sentono, e fan cadere su di noi le maledizioni del cielo? E vero che l'uomo è libero, ma è libero sin' a tanto che non inquiete e non scandalizzi il terzo; facendo questo, il terzo ha tutto il dritti di farlo stare a dovere, ed è questo il piacere della popolazione, ossia di quella parte colta e da bene che vorrebbe vedere estirpato dall' isola quest' uso orrendo e peccaminoso. Nella petizione dell' anno 1811, ho avuto il piacere di osservare moltissimi ecclesiastici in essa firmati. In quelle del 1832 però non ho veduto nessuno di loro; e perche? L' istesso Nostro Signore non ci comanda di pregare per il bene del popolo? Perchè dunque non l'avete fatto? Si prega Iddio, e si può pregare il Monarca. Siete stati forse impediti? E chi può impedirvi senza mettersi addosso una risponsabilità la più grande innanzi Iddio ed innanzi al popolo? E forse delitto il sottoscrivere una petizione colla quale non si fa altro che domandare un sollievo ai mali che gravitano su di una popolazione afflitta, e che trovasi in estremo bisogno e ridotta alla mendicità? Io conosco centinaja di ecclesiastici che pensano come me, ma non ardiscono di mostrarsi perchè son tenuti in soggezione. È tempo però, Signori miei, che questa soggezione sia levata intieramente, e che ognuno s'impegni e lavori per la patria, che ha bisogno di un pronto ed efficace rimedio. Mettiamo dunque da parte tutti i riguardi personali. Chi vi ha impedito una volta spero non sarà a farlo più perchè ci approssimiamo al tempo quando la voce de' Maltesi sarà sentita con vantaggio, e questo fa pensare seriamente ad ognuno. Le apparenze son tali e non possono

ingannare. Il Parlamento sarà quello che confonderà tutti quei Signori che hanno voluto finora impedire il bene ad una popolazione oppressa e mal menata. Ottenendo il Consiglio, questo prenderà ancora in considerazione il vantaggio che hanno sopra di noi alcuni soggetti in Malta di altra nazione e contrarj alla nostra religione, i quali distribuiscono tra noi, cioè tra i deboli ed i miserabili, delle carte stampate in italiano ingiuriose all'estremo al nostro vangelo, insultando e calpestando così la nostra santa fede nel nostro proprio paese, dove la religione dominante è la cattolica, ed i patti sono che debba essere protetta; mentre noi siamo quieti e non insultiamo mai nessuno. Ho presso di me una di queste carte straordinarie, e so a chi era stata data, e la conservo per presentarla a suo tempo ove stimerò opportuno. Si vedrà ancora se soggetti di simile natura hanno dritto di predicare in maltese ad alta voce, inquietando così i vicini e la gente che passa dalla strada ove si randunano per tal oggetto. Quando Cortis (un fatto di pochi anni addietro noto a tutta Malta) diede qualche passo contro un ufficiale, venne immediatamente esiliato dal suo paese; e questi Signori credono di potere distribuire carte stampate così ingiuriose alla nostra religione, e si lasciano in pace ed in pieno arbitrio d' insultare un' intiera popolazione, e di più sono protetti dalla pulizia, che permette loro di predicare in maltese ad alta voce con estremo rammarico di tutto il vicinato e della gente che passa da quella strada. Avrei altre cose a dirvi, ma sarebbe tirarla troppo alla lunga.

Vi ripeto, miei cari compatriotti, unitevi tutti senza eccezione, clero, nobili e popolo, formate un sol corpo, e lavorate per il Consiglio Nazionale, perchè la vostra felicità dipende intieramente da esso. Cosa si può aspettare dall' attuale Consiglio composto di persone attaccare al governo, ed altre scelte dallo stesso? Non è questo l' istesso che voler ridersi di voi? È questo il Consiglio che avevate, e che vi hanno solennemente promesso di mantenervi? Uno di quegl' istessi tre Maltesi che hanno accettato il posto che venne loro assegnato nel medesimo, non conosce pienamente che questo non sia il Consiglio che interessa la Nazione, e che in questi trenta cinque anni non ha cessato essa di reclamare in adempimento delle stipulazioni e delle promesse a lui note a sufficienza? E non è egli compromesso colla Nazione, essendosi essa fidata in lui intieramente, riponendo tutta la di lei fiducia nella sua integrità, come uno de' capi principali nella memorabile rivolta contro i Francesi, avendo egli stesso stipulato coi rappresentanti di Sua Maestà le condizioni a nome del popolo, che formar dovevano la sua futura felicità? Non doveva egli in quest' occasione opporsi alla sua nomina

in detto Consiglio, dichiarando apertamente che la forma non essendo secondo i patti, gl' interessi e le continue preghiere del popolo, non poteva egli senza cadere in sua disgrazia accettare il posto che gli venne offerto? Ed il governo istesso nella Metropoli vedendo la sua fermezza ed il suo attaccamento verso il popolo, non avrebbe aperto gli occhj, ponderato le circostanze, e forse concesso un Consiglio giusto e conforme ai bisogni ed alle brame della popolazione? Credetemi, che non ho trovato un sol Maltese tra migliaja, co' quali ho parlato prima della mia partenza da Malta, che abbia approvato la formazione di questo Consiglio. È necessario che io faccia memoria a tutti quelli che sono occupati a scrivere l'istoria di Malta, cioè quegli uomini imparziali che hanno soltanto in vista il bene della patria, di lodare e decantare colle più belle espressioni i due Signori Inglesi, i quali, disprezzando l' ambizioso titolo di Onorabile, per non cadere in critica della popolazione, nobilmente ricusarono di accettare il posto offerto loro in detto Consiglio, e questi sono il Signor Southwood ed il Signor Christian, due de' primarj negozianti inglesi che abbiamo nell' isola. Fate elogio quanto più potete per questa nobile e generosa loro condotta, e dite pure che non furono nazionali, ma Inglesi, i quali non possono avere quell' interesse che dovrebbero avere i nativi; ma animati da sentimenti nobili e generosi apertamente ricusarono quel posto, che non potevano vedere di buon' occhio non essendo secondo i dettami della giustizia.

Ed il Signor Vincenzo Borg, mi sia permesso l' aggiungere, altro capo in tempo del blocco, perchè non si mette avanti apertamente ad opporsi all' attuale Consiglio? Egli medesimo che tanto ha lavorato fino ad una cert' epoca per il nostro Consiglio Nazionale, perchè soffre adesso, che v' è più bisogno di prima, che i diritti della sua patria sieno così calpestati? (Se egli crede di essere quell' uomo popolare che tanto ha figurato nel blocco, dovrebbe venire avanti colla sua influenza, colla sua firma e co' suoi mezzi onde mostrare ai Ministri di sua Maestà ed al Parlamento istesso l' inganno che ci è stato fatto promettendoci una cosa e dandocene un' altra contro gl' interessi della sua patria) Se non fa così la sua popolarità è perduta. (Dovrebbe ricordarsi d' essere anch' egli compromesso colla Popolazione. Essa si fidò in lui come uno de' capi. È suo dovere pertanto di difendere con tutto il suo potere i di lei diritti). La voce generale èquesta, e non può sfuggirla. Che lo domandi a tutta Malta e saprà la verità. L' isola nostra è stata mai così afflitta come lo è adesso? E in questa critica circostanza, che richiede la piu grande assistenza da parte di tutti i suoi figli, sarebbe capace

di abbandonarla, egli che è tenuto più di qualunque altro a sostenerla e a difenderla? Lo faccia pure se ha animo e coraggio.

Sento che un Piano nazionale sia stato fatto da un Maltese, e che sia stato consegnato al governo. Se quest' è vero, io direi a questo tale che sarebbe suo preciso dovere, sarebbe un atto di giustizia e di religione che lo pubblicasse, o in iscritto, o per mezzo delle stampe. Quando si tratta di una cosa nazionale, il pubblico bisogna che sia tosto informato, perchè non è giusto di trattare degli affari di una intiera popolazione quando questa è tenuta all' oscuro sul contenuto, il quale può essere buono e può essere anche nocivo. O come tutti questi abusi cesserebbero col ristabilimento del Consiglio Nazionale!

Conchiudo, miei cari amici, scongiurandovi di non perdere questa favorevole occasione, che il popolo inglese è tutto per voi, e vi attende. Correte in folla a sottoscrivere ciò che necessita per il Parlamento. Siamo arrivati adesso in un punto che ogni Maltese dovrebbe mostrarsi. Non servono mezzi termini, nè due figure in scena. Sarebbe necessario che ognuno si spiegasse. Se s' inclina in favore della Nazione, avrà fatto il suo dovere, se al contrario si dichiara contro di essa, sarà naturalmente rimarcato e mal guardato. La nazione dovrà presto trionfare, la riuscita di una causa nobile e giusta, com' è la nostra, è certa; un altro poco, e vedrete. Il celebre oratore Mr. D. O' Connell, membro nella Camera de' Comuni, mi ha assicurato, che nella prossima sessione due cento membri suoi colleghi scioglieranno la loro lingua per voi. E contro una forza sì imponente chi potrà opporsi al vostro bene? I maneggi de' vostri avversarj non potranno avere nessuna influenza in quel luogo di equità e di giustizia. La vostra causa parla da se stessa. O come la decantano diversi autori inglesi che hanno scritto sopra la nostra isola, e particolarmente sul trattamento che abbiamo incontrato; tra questi si può far menzione di William Eton, John Joseph Dillon, C.W. Pasley, E. Blaquiere, James Webster, ed ultimamente R. Montgomery Martin. I vostri meriti sono noti a sufficienza. Tutto dunque dipende da voi, la vostra felicità e quella de' vostri figli sono nelle vostre mani purchè usiate un poco di energia, un poco di fermezza, un poco di carattere nazionale. Non vi lasciate intimidire da falsi rapporti, da intrighi, e forse da minaccie. Queste nulla servono nel giorno d'oggi. Passò il tempo del dispotismo quando eravate menati e condotti per le orecchia da chi vi considerava schiavi del suo potere. Oh come tutto è ora cambiato, e chi ardisce più di molestarvi? Fidatevi della gran Nazione sotto la quale abbiamo l' onore di vivere. Il suo Parlamento

vi farà giustizia, ma è necessario che siate tutti uniti e che la petizione che manderete in questa Metropoli sia sottoscritta da migliaja di buoni compatriotti; e così mostrerete un sol interesse, un sol desiderio. Presto, ió son certo, avremo il contento di dire tutti insieme, Viva la Nazione Inglese, Viva il suo Parlamento. Giuriamole da questo momento istesso fedeltà per sempre, e siamo affezzionati e grati ad un popolo propenso e risoluto a liberarci dalla schiavitù e dall'oppressione.

Addio, miei cari compatriotti, compatite questa debole composizione perchè in essa nulla potrete rilevare di elegante; lo stile meschinissimo ed i termini semplicissimi; ma vi prego di accettarla di buon animo perchè sorte da un cuore puro, sincero e retto, e che arde d'amore per voi, per il vostro bene, e per il bene della Religione.

Vostro devomo ed ubbmo servitore.

GIORGIO MITROVICH.

DOCUMENT 24

A Proclamation establishing a Council of Government in Malta in 1835

PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency the Hon. SIR FREDERICK CAVENDISH PONSONBY, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Knight Commander of the Most Honorable Military Order of the Bath, Knight Commander of the Royal Order of the Guelphs of Hanover, &c. &c. &c. Major General in His Majesty's Army, and Lieutenant Governor of, and Commander of the Forces in the Island of Malta and its Dependencies,

Notifying the Creation and Establishment of a Council of Government within these Possessions.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, with feelings of high satisfaction, is pleased to notify and publish to the people of these Possessions, that HIS MAJESTY THE KING, in his anxious solicitude for the welfare and prosperity of his Maltese Subjects, and the other Inhabitants of

this Island and its Dependencies, has been graciously pleased, with the advice of his Privy Council, to create, constitute, and appoint a Council within these his Possessions, the advice and assist in the administration of the Government thereof; which Council is to consist of seven persons, exclusive of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Officer administering for the time being the Government of these Possessions; of which seven, four shall at all times be persons holding offices within this Island or its Dependencies, and the remaining Members shall be persons not holding offices. And HIS MAJESTY has been graciously pleased to declare and appoint the Senior Officer, for the time being in command of his Land Forces in this Island, not being in the administration of the Government, the Honorable the Chief Justice of this Island and its Dependencies for the time being, the Most Reverend the Archbishop Bishop of this Island for the time being, and the Chief Secretary to Government for the time being, to be such four Official Members as aforesaid. And HIS MAGESTY has been pleased further to declare, that the three unofficial Members of such Council shall be selected by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, two from and out of the Chief Landed Proprietors and merchants of this Island, being His Majesty's Native-born Subjects, and the third from and out of the Principal Merchants of this Island, being British-born Subjects, who shall have been actually resident for a period of not less than two years.

To the Members of this his Council HIS MAJESTY has been graciously pleased to grant the enjoyment of freedom of debate and vote, in all affairs of public concern that may be brought under their consideration in Council, and also to authorize them, whilst such Members, to assume the adjunctive style of *Honorable.*

HIS MAJESTY has also declared his will and pleasure, that a proper person be appointed to perform the duties of Clerk of the said Council, who shall attend and be present at the meetings and deliberations thereof, unless when otherwise directed by the Governor, or Lieutenant Governor, or in their absence by the Senior Member of Council presiding, but without voting or concurring in such deliberations. And HIS MAJESTY has signified his pleasure that the Assistant Secretary to Government be appointed to perform the functions of such Clerk.

Palace, Valletta, 1st May, 1835,
By Command of His Excellency,
FRED. HANKEY,
Chief Secretary to Government.

DOCUMENT 25

The Proclamation of Press Freedom in 1839

The Governor is hereby pleased to promulgate the following Ordinance, N°. IV, passed on the 14th day of March instant, intituled: *An Ordinance enacted by the Governor of Malta, with the advice and consent of the Council of Government thereof, for abolishing the Censorship, and for providing against Abuses of the consequent liberty of publishing printed writings;* which is to be observed as law within these Possessions.

Valletta, 15th March, 1839.
By Command of His Excellency,
H. GREIG,
Chief Secretary to Government.
God save the Queen.

H.F. Bouverie,
Governor.

ORDINANCE No. IV OF 1839.

An Ordinance enacted by the Governor of Malta, with the advice and consent of the Council of Government thereof, for abolishing the Censorship, and for providing against Abuses of the consequent liberty of publishing printed writings.

CHAPTER I.

Censorship abolished.

SECT. I.—Whereas printed writings, printed in these islands, are liable and subjected to the censorship immediately hereafter described; and other printed writings are liable to the same censorship, although in practice they are not subjected thereto: And whereas it is expedient that the aforesaid censorship should be abolished:—Now his Excellency the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council of Government, hereby enacts as follows:

From the day of the promulgation of the present

Ordinance, no printed writing shall be subjected or liable to the censorship which is now exercised in these islands by Her Majesty's Governorment therein.

Consequent liberty of publishing, and force of law given to provisions against abuses thereof.

SECT. II.—Whereas the aforesaid censorship will be abolished by virtue of the enactment in the first section of the present chapter: And whereas a liberty of publishing printed writings (printed in or out of these islands) will result from the abolition of the aforesaid censorship: And whereas it is expedient that the provisions against abuses of the aforesaid liberty of publishing printed writings (printed in or out of these islands) will result from the abolition of the aforesaid censorship: And whereas it is expedient that the provisions against abuses of the aforesaid liberty of publishing, which are contained in the second and following chapters, should be substituted for the aforesaid censorship, on the abolition thereof:—Now his Excellency the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council of Government, hereby enacts as follows:

From the day of the promulgation of the present Ordinance, the provisions in the second and following chapter thereof, shall have in these islands the force of laws.

DOCUMENT 26

Specimen of the first issues of uncensored newspapers in 1838: *Il Portafoglio Maltese* and *Lo spettatore Imparziale*

Il PORTAFOGLIO MALTESE

PREZZO 5*d.* SABATO 12 MAGGIO 1838. NUMERO 1.

PROSPETTO.

Dal primo istante in cui si è fra noi vociferata la nuova della concessione della libertà di stampa da parte del governo di S.M., noi abiamo formato la idea di redigere un foglio periodico sotto la forma come si dirà in appresso. Ci siamo anche di piu confermati in questa idea, quando abbiamo veduto

nella gazzetta di governo del 7 marzo p.p. queste precise parole: "sappiamo essere intenzione del governo di promulgare, tostocchè si saranno concertati i dettagli che si stan preparando, una legge per l'introduzione della libertà della stampa in Malta, che permetterà la libera discussione di ogni argomento connesso cogli affari ed interessi dell'isola. "Questo paragrafo ed il dispaccio di Lord Glenelg al nostro governatore, pubblicato in Londra col rapporto dei regj Commissionarj d' inchiesta, fecero più certa la nuova precedentemente divulgatasi, e ci resero sicuri che le difficoltà fin'allora esistenti sul proposito erano superate, cosicchè non attendevamo che la pubblicazione della legge per dare principio all' opera.

Che cosa però fin'oggi ha ritardato tale pubblicazione non è questo nè il *momento nè* il luogo d'indagare. Noi perderemmo forse il tempo in inutili congetture, e se potessimo anche giungere ad un risultato questo non sarebbe idoneo allo scopo nostro attuale.—La Libertà della stampa è concessa dal governo di S.M;—il rapparto dei regj commissionarji pubblicato; e non dubitiamo che non ne sarà anche pubblicata la legge al tempo opportuno.

Non era peraltro nostra intenzione di dare principio al giornale, se prima quella legge non si fosse pubblicata; ed a dire il vero sembravaci improprio, per un momento d'impazienza, assoggettare i nostri articoli ad una revisione che, per quanto mite, è sempre calcitrante colla pubblicazione di un giornale inteso a porre nella loro propria luce le materie da inserirvisi, e che inoltre presenta altre materiali difficoltà, come per esempio il ritardo nella pubblicazione di certi articoli; l'indifferenza quindi del pubblico per quegli articoli stessi; e simili.

Eppure molti dei nostri amici non hanno cessato d'incoraggirci continuamente a dare principio al foglio da noi ideato, consigliandoci di limitarci al momento ad articoli di generale interesse senz'attenerci a nissuna particolare polemica. Eglino hanno considerato che l'attuale amministrtazione locale non vorrà esercitare ora quella rigida censura che per lo passato si esercitava: e li fa credere così quanto di più si dice nella sopra citata gazzetta di governo e precisamente dove si fà menzione della legge per la stampa da doversi compire e promulgare in appresso. Eccone le parole: "ultimamente qui si sono aperte delle stamperie, e si sà molto bene che non incontrerebbe ostacolo alcuno la pubblicazione d'una gazzetta destinata a porgere al popolo un mezzo d'informazione ed osservazioni sopra quanto concerne l'isola di Malta ed i suoi abitanti."

Questi incoraggimenti e questi consigli ci hanno fatto cambiare dal

nostro primo proposito, e ci hanno determinato di dare mano al lavoro. La cosa che precisamente a ciò ci sprona è solo, che, vedendoci ancora impossibilitati ad essere utili nel modo da noi concepito originariamente, speriamo di potere esserlo provvisoriamente in parte, riservandoci di fare quanto altro bramiamo a tempo migliore.

Sotto questo punto di vista noi non abbiamo procurato di avere associati per questo nostro foglio. Ci siamo riservati di publicare questo primo numero, onde servire di modello, ed esternare intanto i nostri pensieri col presente prospetto. I lettori potranno così da per loro giudicare di quanto hanno da sperare per adesso da noi, e se vorranno quindi favorirci di loro sottoscrizione, le riceveremo di tutto buon grado, per una durata non maggiore però di sei mesi. In sostanza non è che una prova questo foglio periodico: l' avvenire potrà essere propizio, ma potrebbe anche forse essere contrario alle nostre vedute. L'avvenire sarà dunque quello che ci deciderà invariabilmente *sul da fare.*

Noi ora passiamo a dire che cosa ci ha indotto a dare il titolo di portafoglio a questo giornale e come pensiamo di condurlo.

La nostra idea primaria è quella di renderlo (per quanto è in noi) interessante ed utile sotto varj aspetti, e perciò dovrà racchiudere cose politiche, commerciali, letterarie, ecc. Il vocabolo *portafoglio* ci è sembrato sufficiente ad esprimere l'idea di un' accozzamento di varie carte, e di documenti compressi insieme.

Esso sarà diviso in quattro principali categorie.

La prima conterrà notizie estere.

La seconda conterrà notizie della Gran Brettagna. Sotto questa categoria sarà nostra particolare cura di calendare le discussioni più importanti del parlamento britannico, cosa che crediamo sommamente utile in quest'isola, giacchè molti fra noi anziosi di conoscere quel che di più importante si fa dai rappresentanti d' un popolo libero e che più di ogni altro popolo europeo marcia nelle riforme politiche e nella educazione pubblica, ignari talvolta della lingua inglese, sono costretti a ricorrere ai giornali italiani, in cui (forza è il dirlo) non sono che parzialmente, e malamente riportate quelle discussioni.

La terza categoria conterrà quanto è relativo a Malta. Pubblicata che sarà la legge per la libertà della stampa, questa sarà senza meno la parte più interessante del nostro giornale. Allora, a guisa di un perfetto portafoglio, noi v' inseriremo tutto ciò che stimeremo contribuire al pubblico bene, sia in articoli proprj, sia in articoli che vorranno comun-

icarci i nostri lettori. Conserveremo, è vero, per quanto sarà possibile, quella unità necessaria in un giornale, ma ciònonostante faremo ogni sforzo perchè ciascuno sia contento dell'opera nostra.

LO SPETTATORE IMPARZIALE

Num. 1. MALTA 23 APRILE 1838' Prezzo 7*d*

Spettatori imparziali delle importanti e rapide migliorazioni, che le istituzioni politiche ed il sistema sociale di tante nazioni riconoscono da una temperante e ben intesa libertà dei torchj, ed osservatori dispassionati nel tempo istesso dei rovinosi e fatali effetti, che produsse presso altre nazioni mal caute il sedizioso ed inflammatorio abuso di questa istessa libertà, qualunque esser possa la nostra individuale opinione circa la particolar influenza della libertà della stampa in Malta, noi non possiamo però non esultare, quasi invaniti, al vedere prossima a piantarsi su questa nostra rocca ed in mezzo ad altre nazioni mediterranee, invide di questa nostra (qualunque siasi) sorte, l'albero della scienza del bene e del male, trapiantatoci da una terra lontana. Nè sembranci destitute di solida base le nostre esultazioni: poichè qualora si volesse ammettere per incontrovertibile l'opinione di taluni, che in considerazione della picciolezza e della limitatezza dei mezzi in Malta, reputano questa nuova concessione inadequata allo scopo politico per cui si è domandata, frustanea per mancanza di risorse pecuniarie, rovinosa per chi vi fonda le sue speculazioni, e restrittiva non solo di quella libertà, che si è goduta finora di far circolare qualunque scritto publicato nell'estero senza ombra di responsabilità, ma pregiudizievole ancora al commercio dell'isola, per le rigide perquisizioni di una contumacia politica, a cui potrebbe assoggettarci qualche governo vicino; qualunque esser possa, diciamo, il peso di queste predizioni, il maltese potrà sempre però gloriarsi nel vedere concessa a Malta, prima che non fù ad altre possessioni inglesi non molto lontane, la libertà della stampa. Noi ci auguriamo da questo germe di tanta aspirata libertà frutti più solidi di quelli che alcuni si ripromisero da un altro albero di libertà, che nella sua corta vegetazione in Malta non produsse che

amarezze. La nostra penna intanto guidata da principj di moderazione, ma non mai prezzolata o ligia del partito, rispettosa verso le autorità legittime, ma non prostituita all'abuso del potere, amica dell'approvazione dei chiaroveggenti, ma sorda alle voci di qualunque fazione non aspetta le nuove leggi per conoscere il freno dell'abuso . . . E quali possono essere queste meditate leggi? Restrizioni per reprimere invirulenti attacchi contro l'allirne religuosa credenza? Pene per assicurare alle autorità costituite quella dignità che esige il loro carattere? . . Leggi che tutelano la fama individuale da qualunque attacco calunnioso? . . Queste leggi intimate dal sentimento morale e dai principj dei doveri sociali ce le prescrivamo noi stessi anche senza le nuove leggi, giacchè il violarle porterebbe seco, oltre la pena del rimorso e della pubblica redarguzione, le pene civili vigenti contro i violatori dell'ordine e della tranquillità pubblica. . . .

PART 3

1840—1887

The Constitution of 1849,
the first Council Election,
Electioneering and new political groupings,
the **Partito Nazionale** *of F. Mizzi*
and the attainment of Representative Government in 1887.

An Introduction to Maltese Political Development (3)

Just as the abolition of the censorship saw the birth of the various newspapers, so the introduction of elections to the council led to greater political activity and participation. We are showing here the first part of the 1849 Letters Patent enabling eight (out of eighteen) Councillors to be elected under a franchise.**(27)** The report of the electoral Commissioners announcing the result of these first constitutional elections in British Malta[1] is also being reproduced.**(28)**

A typical flysheet of the time**(29)** gives some idea of what electioneering began to take place. *L'Avvenire***(30)** is actually the mouthpiece of a political association that is established, the *Associazione Politica Maltese*: its programme and statute**(31)** indicate a certain awakening in political circles, as does the electoral address by its leading personality,[2] Dr Grech Delicata.**(32)**

As I have shown fairly exhaustively in the study *Party Politics in a Fortress Colony*, Maltese politics come alive much more fully in the late 1870s and early 1880s, over a century ago now, when British Imperial strategy and colonial methods become key elements in an assimilationist policy. A culture clash motivated by elements of collaboration and of resistance comes to the fore. The champion of an emergent nationalist movement is *Il Diritto di Malta*, a weekly. In its first number in July 1880**(33)** this sets out its policy and programme, not mincing its words about British hypocricy. It supports Gladstone, the Liberal leader, and consequently opposes his Conservative rival, Disraeli**(34)**, a fact never so far underlined in the history of Maltese nationalism, which in fact contains noticeable liberal streaks. A front-page commentary about working class needs in another number of *Il Diritto***(35)** again upsets aspects of the conventionally accepted stereotypes of "conservatives" and "progressives" or even of "nationalists" and "liberals" in the colonial context and especially in such Maltese historiography as exists so far on political development.

The leader of this novel party, or movement, known as *Partito Nazionale* is Dr Fortunato Mizzi. It grows in strength steadily and remarkably during the 1880s. I am selecting here just one piece by Mizzi, an appeal addressed from London in February 1887(**36**), which shows the stamina and the vision animating this leading figure in Maltese political history.[3] The following election resulted in a landslide victory for his party. In the interval, Malta acquires Representative Government: for the first time, the Maltese elected members constitute a majority in the Council. Mizzi is hailed as "Pater Patriae".

NOTES

1 As usual such documentation appears in the official gazette. Cf. the issues of 23 June 1849 and 23 August 1849 respectively.

2 Some of these loose prints were made available to us by Dr Albert Ganado from his private collection. Newspapers such as *L'Avvenire*, are normally to be found at the National Library in Valletta. The *Bibliotecha* has the issues of *Il Diritto di Malta* published in the eighteen eighties.

3 Mizzi's appeal is taken from *Malta*, no. 978, 11 February 1887, p. 1. "*Io vi dico che i vostri destini sono per un istante in mano vostra: voi ne siete gli arbitri*", he writes. See the whole text of this in(**36**).

DOCUMENT 27

THE MALTA GOVERNMENT GAZETTE.

No 1665.] **SATURDAY 23rd JUNE, 1849.**

PROCLAMATION OF THE COUNCIL OF 1849

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR is pleased to publish for general information Her Majesty's Letters Patent, granting and ordaining the Constitution of a new Council of Government in these Possessions, to which reference is made in the Proclamation by His Excellency under this day's date.

Palace, Valletta, 23rd June, 1849.
By Command of His Excellency;
HENRY LUSHINGTON,
Chief Secretary to Government.

VICTORIA by the Grace of GOD of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith. To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.

WHEREAS it is expedient with a view to the better government of Our Island of Malta and its Dependencies that there should be constituted therein a Body Politic to be called the Council of Government of Malta, and that the said Council of Government should enjoy and exercise such powers and franchises as are hereinafter mentioned. Now Know Ye that of Our special grace certain knowledge and mere motion We have granted and ordained and do hereby grant and ordain, that there shall be within Our said Island of Malta and its Dependencies a Body Politic to be called and known by the name of The Council of Government of Malta. And We do hereby grant and ordain that the said Council of Government shall consist and be composed of Eighteen persons all such persons being Our natural born or naturalized Subjects, and each of

them being of the age of Twenty one years or upwards. And We do hereby grant and ordain that the Governor of Malta for the time being shall at all times be one of the Members of the said Council of Government, and that nine other Members of the said Council shall always be persons to be nominated or designated by Us, and that the remaining eight Members of the said Council shall always be persons holding their places therein in virtue of Elections to be for that purpose made by the Inhabitants of Malta and its Dependencies, all which nominations, designations and elections of Members of the said Council shall be made in pursuance of and according to the provisions hereinafter contained and not otherwise.

DOCUMENT 28

Results of the first elections held under the constitution of 1849.

NOTICE

The following copy of a declaration made by the Commissioners of Revision, and deposited in the Registry of the Court of Appeal, is published for general information.

Translation.

Whereas under the authority duly conveyed to us by the provisions of a Proclamation bearing date the 23rd of June, 1849, we have proceeded to ascertain the names of the persons who have received the greatest number of votes at an election holden on the 16th, 17th, 18th and 20th of the present month of August 1849, and have ascertained that three thousand and fifty six (3056) electors for Malta and two hundred and fifty nine (259) electors for Gozo have voted at the said election, and that each of the persons hereinafter named has received the number of votes attached to their names in this return.

GIUSEPPE PULIS MONTIBELLO, seven hundred and sixteen (716);
DR DON FILIPPO AMATO, six hundred and nineteen (619);
MICHELANGELO SCERRI, six hundred and seven (607);
MONSIGNOR DR DON ANNETTO CASOLANI, six hundred and six (606);
MONSIGNOR DR DON LEOPOLDO FITENI, five hundred and twelve (512);
DR ARCANGELO PULLICINO, five hundred and eleven (511);

GIOVANNI BATTISTA VELLA, four hundred and twenty five (425);
DR ADRIANO DINGLI for Gozo, one hundred and seventeen (117);

which we certify to be a majority of votes. We therefore declare the persons aforesaid to be duly and lawfully returned to serve in the Council of Government of Malta; and we further certify and declare that we make this return without favor or affection or instigation of any party whatsoever.

In witness whereof we affix our names and seals. This twenty second day of August, 1849.

(L.S.) ANTONIO MARIA DEBONO.
(L.S.) G. PAOLO CAMILLERI.
(L.S.) TORTELL.
(L.S.) GIUSEPPE RANDON.
(L.S.) LORENZO XUEREB.
(L.S.) NICOLÒ BALZAN.

In accordance with the above return, and in pursuance of Section 21st of the Proclamation by His Excellency the Governor, dated the 23rd day of June, 1849, intituled *A Law to regulate and appoint the Election of Members to serve in the Council of Government of Malta*, the eight names aforesaid, to wit;

GIUSEPPE PULIS MONTIBELLO,
DR DON FILIPPO AMATO,
MICHELANGELO SCERRI,
MONSIGNOR DR DON ANNETTO CASOLANI
MONSIGNOR DR DON LEOPOLDO FITENI,
DR ARCANGELO PULLICINO,
GIOVANNI BATTISTA VELLA, and
DR ADRIANO DINGLI, for Gozo,

UNIVERSITY OF MALTA
MELITENSIA
MAIN LIBRARY

are hereby announced as the persons returned to serve in the Council of Government of Malta.

Council Office,
Valletta, 23rd August, 1849.
WM SIM,
Clerk of the Council.

DOCUMENT 29

Appello agli Elettori

Elettori!

Voi sapete bene come il governo di S. M. nel riconoscere la ragionevolezza dei nostri reclami per la Rappresentanza Popolare, non abbia saputo indursi a concederci che una semplice minorità nel Consiglio. Una assemblea di nuovo conio—una perfetta anomalia—doveva necessariamente riuscire questo Consiglio. Eppure, chi mai avrebbe supposto che una concessione cosi ristretta dovea ancor dispiacere al governo locale? Vi si disse che agli sforzi di questo è essa intieramente dovuta. Sarà. Ma allora perchè tanti maneggi del potere per renderla ancor più ristretta? Voi sapete, Elettori le limitazioni portate alle lettere patenti di S. M. col Proclama del Governatore; sapete come dalla lista elettorale furono esclusi moltissimi che potrebbero dare un libero voto; vi fu detto ancora che i messagieri della collettoria, gli ajutanti della campagna, i maestri e le maestre delle scuole primarie, e gli ufficiali di polizia furono tutti spediti ad accattare voti per gl' impiegati o loro aderenti. È chiaro pertanto che otto di questi vorrebbe veder eletti il potere: e se abbiano probabilità di esserlo non si potrebbe prevedere, perchè Dio solo sa quali altri maneggi occulti si siano adoperati.

Elettori! state attenti:—vegliate sulla sorte del paese; e non vi lasciate soperchiare. Il Proclama del 23 Giugno dice al § 12 che, fornita la lista elettorale, si dovesse procedere SENZA INDUGIO a preparare e SPEDIRE le polizze de' voti. Or le polizze sono pronte da vari giorni, e non si spediscono; e i Signori

PRESIDENTE SIR J. G. BONAVITA — W. LAMB. ARROWSMITH

GIUDICE GIACOMO PANT. BRUNO — MARCH. BARBARO DI SAN GIORGIO

VINCENZO LAPIRA — FREDERICK SEDLEY

e altri impiegati di Governo, e i loro adetti

MONS. ANNETTO CASOLINI — CAN. EMMANUELE ROSIGNAUD

DR. ADRIANO DINGLI — DR. IGNAZIO SCHEMBRI

van facendo ogni sforzo, van usando tutti i mezzi, per riuscire nell' elezione. Se il potere non volesse la costoro nomina, se non volesse dar loro il tempo di assicurarsene de' voti, procrastinerebbe più la elezione? Tutto pertanto è congiurato a vostro danno; e se non sarete guardinghi, la rovina del paese è compiuta.

Vegliate, Elettori, chè da voi dipende la nostra sorte.

Malta, 7 Agosto 1849.

DOCUMENT 30

L'Avvenire

GIORNALE DELL'ASSOCIAZIONE PATRIOTTICA MALTESE.

ANNO I. **MALTA, 22 DICEMBRE 1849.** **No. 4**

EXTRACT FROM *L'AVVENIRE* ON THE NEW COUNCIL

La concessione del nuovo Consiglio di Governo addimostra evidentemente come sia indispensabile un elemento rappresentativo nel maneggio della cosa pubblica: ma essa è un aborto incompatibile e colle più ampie libertà che in tempi più barbari ricorda la storia nostra , e cogli attuali nostri bisogni; ma essa non può soddisfare i desideri del Maltese, il quale scorge ad evidenza come tutti i suoi guai nascano appunto dalla mancanza di una Rappresentanza legislativa e di municipali corporazioni. Della prima assertiva fanno testimonio le Lettere Patenti della Regina, che il Consiglio concedevano, e le parole da More O'Ferrall pronunziate il 10 Agosto, là dove dice, essere desiderabilissimo che i cittadini acquistino abitudini d'*indipendenza* e fiducia in se stessi, siccome qualità essenziali per la conservazione e l'*estensione* del nuovo acquisto: le quali, se sincere, ti dicono per parte del governo istesso non doversi limitare l'ingerenza del popolo *nei propri affari* a soli otto rappresentanti nel Consiglio, e se da noi venissero raccolte giudiziosamente e tenute in conto, menerebbero fra non molto al conseguimento di una completa Rappresentanza. Che il Consiglio poi non sia l'instituzione richiesta dalle

nostre storiche ricordanze, nè dalle esigenze dell'epoca, nè dall'universale desiderio, è un tal fatto che non domanda pruova; poichè quegli stessi che vollero per un momento magnificare i benefici della nuova concessione, studiaronsi rappresentarla come un anello che rannodar deve il passato colle future nostre libertà, non come l'ultima delle conseguite guarentigie. E noi tali veri rammentiamo al solo oggetto di rilevare, essere un fatto importantissimo la convocazione che si farà in breve del nuovo Consiglio: comunque di esso diffidi il pubblico, e sia in sostanza l'eco dei voleri del governo più che dei desideri del popolo. Essa è importante, poichè, a parte per poco i Consiglieri nominati dal potere,il cui operato, come tali, non si meriterà certamente la maggiore pubblica attenzione, gli eletti dal suffragio si trovano in una posizione che non dovrebbero disconoscere, siccome a loro tocca non solo di sottostare alla censura contemporanea, la quale può di quando in quando essere raddolcita dalle adulazioni, che non mancano, ma di mandare il proprio nome al severo giudizio della storia, ove di essi bella o trista fama verrà serbata giusta le buone o male loro azioni. Tener devono essi presente che l'onore del rappresentante del popolo sta nel tutelare gl' interessi del popolo; che se lo spirito d'indipendenza e di patriotismo la cedesse a quello di cortigianeria, si potrebbe in compenso guadagnare la stima esteriore di chi naturalmente in cuore nutre per lei disprezzo, ma non isfuggire l'universale indegnazione: e quindi retta amministrazione, giuste leggi, indipendenza, amor di patria, essere i soli mezzi onde possa venire giovato il paese e decorato il proprio nome. Niuno dei Consiglieri negherebbe ciò, quando anchè fosse di quelli che al privato interesse posponesse quanto di più sacro v'abbia nel mondo; ond'è che non ne soggiungiamo altro, riservandoci di metterli a sindacato dopo cominciati i dibattimenti.

Ma, domanderà forse taluno, corrisponderanno eglino a così belle aspettative? Noi lo bramiamo davvero; ma non l'osiamo affermare, siccome non vogliamo neppure metterlo in dubbio; perocchè i precedenti degli uomini che sono chiamati a rappresentarci, se in alcuni sono poco lusinghieri, in altri non costituiscono a parer nostro sufficiente base per portar un giudizio. Questo non basta; ma diteli pure eccellenti, ei non sono il risultato della spontanea elezione popolare, sibbene l'effetto d'una ingerenza diretta del potere, la quale per quanto non abbia menato al trionfo di quegli uomini, che esso sovratutti preferiva, privò molti altri d'una maggioranza che a buon diritto teneano sicura. Non pertanto

vorremo di qualunque considerazione togliere vantaggio in questo momento; per la ragione che i Consiglieri eletti del popolo possono, volendo, far che tale prevenzione, d'altronde giustissima, venga per quanto li concerne dimenticata, per non dire diretta a meritare loro una maggior stima. Ad essi la cura di non ismentire il patriotismo che ci ha sempre onorati; noi intanto avviseremo qual sia la loro missione, onde il popolo non s'inganni sul nuovo indirizzo che vien dato alle cose.

Noi vogliamo essere giusti, e riconosciamo pertanto che i Consiglieri eletti dovranno essere vittima delle difficoltà che emanano dalla cattiva costituzione del Consiglio; là dove, se vogliamo eccettuare il governatore e il secretario, non v'ha uno dei nominati del potere che, per la speciale occupazione in cui passò una vita intiera, prometta dover possedere le ampie cognizioni volute in un Consigliere.

DOCUMENT 31

L'Avvenire

GIORNALE DELL'ASSOCIAZIONE PATRIOTTICA MALTESE.

ANNO I. MALTA, 1.° DICEMBRE 1849. No. 1.

ASSOCIAZIONE PATRIOTTICA MALTESE.

PROGRAMMA.

Il debito che ha ogni cittadino verso la patria—l'ultimo fine verso cui s'indirizzano gli sforzi di tutti i buoni—sono le due condizioni naturali di ogni associazione, e per conseguenza le caratteristiche onde l' Associazione Patriottica Maltese manifesta la sua tendenza precipua, lo scopo sublime che muove la sua costituzione. Promuovere il perfezionamento del popolo—concorrere a che si accordino ed armonizzino gli

ordini governativi locali con le nostre istituzioni avite, con la squisitezza della nostra topografica posizione, colla nostra dipendenza dall' Impero Britannica, col progresso dei tempi—sono pertanto due proposizioni, che, quasi in una sintesi, racchiudono il compito che la nuova Società si prefigge, e con le migliori sue forze promette di adempiere.

Per perfezionamento del popolo intende essa la coltura delle branche più vitali che regolano la grande macchina sociale—cioè, politica, amministrazione, e pubblica morale. Le quali parole restano vuote di senso, se come base non abbiano *la coltura é il progressivo estrinsecamento dei caratteri nazionali*—come mezzo non adoprino *la libertà*, dalla legge giudiziosamente accordata—come risultato non ambiscano (con una filantropia che rendesi più sentita quanto più sono derelitte le classi che si vogliono soccorrere) a migliorare le facoltà intellettive e morali del popolo, ad accrescere o rendere più feconde le sorgenti delle sue ricchezze:— nelle quali cose sta il vero progresso del l'umanità. L'Associazione Patriottica poi crede non potersi realizzare tali speranze prima che non sparisca ogni barbaro avanzo di monastico reggimento, e la anomalia indescrivibile prodotta da provvedimenti dettati, talor dall' inesperienza, talor dal capriccio, il più delle volte da minutissime considerazioni, e l'arbitrio di che possono far uso i nostri amministratori nella totale penuria esistente di franchigie rappresentative; ond'è che considera impossibile il nostro progresso nelle condizioni attuali del sistema governativo, e reputa avverso a quello chi volesse dichiararsi difensore di questo.

I termini generali in cui noi ci troviamo non tolgono però che i nostri governanti non possano operare bene: sarebbe follia il confondere l'uomo con la istituzione. Mantenendo saldi pertanto i principi poco anzi indicati, l' Associazione Patriottica giudicherà degli atti governativi giusta il loro valore, e quando fossero utili non la vedresti la pronta per oppugnarli ingiustamente.

Questa dichiarazione può servire eziandio come pegno della via che la nuova Società si propone di battere in tutti i suoi lavori.

L' Associazione Patriottica stima impossibile specificare maggiormente nella ristrettezza d'un Programma quanto si proponga di effettuare, e quanto da lei si possa attendere, massime nelle imprese scientifiche e letterarie; perocchè l'appoggio del popolo, più che la volontà de'suoi membri, deve portare a compimento il progetto di cui è parola.

Possano adunque i buoni apprezzare i sentimenti che motivarono l'

istituzione dell' Associazione Patriottica Maltese: chè allora soltanto i suoi membri potranno operare molto per la patria.

Malta, 5 Novembre 1849.

STATUTO DELLA ASSOCIAZIONE PATRIOTTICA MALTESE.

CAPO 1mo.

Scopo dell'Associazione.

§ 1. L' Associazione ha per iscopo il perfezionamento delle bisogne intellettive, morali, e materiali del popolo.

2. I modi pratici onde sarà attuato questo scopo indicati nel *Programma* che accompagna il presente Statuto.

3. I mezzi che conducono a esso scopo sono: 1mo. la pubblicazione di un foglio periodico: 2do. le discussioni: 3zo. le petizioni alle autorità competenti.

CAPO 2do.

Organizzazione.

4. I membri dell' Associazione si divideranno in Ordinarï e Onorarï.

5. Possono essere membri ordinarï i soli maltesi ed inglesi domiciliati in Malta.

6. La proposta di nuovi membri si farà dai soli membri ordinarï.

7. I proposti saranno annunziati ai membri dell' Associazione dieci giorni prima della convocazione per le ammissioni.

8. Le ammissioni si faranno in seduta privata, per ballottazione, a due terzi di suffragï, presenti almeno nove membri dell'Associazione.

9. Ne' processi verbali non terrassi conto dei nomi rigettati, nè del numero ottenuto dagli ammessi.

10. Niuno può essere escluso dall'Associazione, salvo gl' indicati nel §. 36, se il Presidente o due Membri ordinari non fanno la proposizione.

11. Dal giorno in cui questa vien presentato fino alla decisione deve correre il lasso di tre sedute ordinarie: talchè nella 1ma, si fa semplice lettura—nella 2da. si giudica se debba essere presa in considerazione—nella 3za. si delibera definitivamente.

DOCUMENT 32

Indirizzo del Dr Gio. Carlo Grech Delicata al Circolo Maltese Letto nella Seduta del 30 Luglio 1849.

Signori,

La candidatura alla prossima elezione de' membri del nuovo Consiglio di Governo, cui vi compiaceste promuovermi ad unanimità di suffragi nella seduta tenuta il 19 del cadente mese, mi rende doveroso un atto della maggior riconoscenza, e gratitudine verso di voi; atto, che tanto più in me diviene doveroso, in quanto che è stato meramente spontaneo in voi, e in quanto che dà una nuova, e pubblica testimonianza della confidenza somma che in me riponete; atto, che io mi affretto di eseguire in questa pubblica circostanza col presente rispettoso indirizzo.

Prima però di comunicarvi la mia volontà sul soggetto, amerei farvi alcune osservazioni che io stimo necessarie per l'intelligenza della mia determinazione.

Il nuovo Consiglio di Governo come è organizzato, non è il Consiglio che i Maltesi hanno reclamato da molti anni; che le loro bisogne esigono; e che le circostanze, e i tempi vogliono. Il cennato Consiglio con la maggiorità numerica a favore del Governo, e per le nomine, e per le persone nominate, è un Consiglio, che non tutela gl'interessi del paese, non limitando il dispotismo governativo, anzi potrebbe riuscire sostegno del medesimo, e rendersi così dannosissimo al paese; checché altri pensino sul soggetto. Di fatto se le brighe, e gl' intrighi, che i governatoriali stan praticando per fino con pubblici ufficiali per farsi eleggere, conseguissero il loro scopo, il Consiglio risulterebbe composto tutto di persone attinenti al Governo, e si renderebbe facilissima la sanzione di leggi contrarie agl' interessi del popolo coi deputati del medesimo. Tale danno che potrebbe risultare dalla nuova concessione non è compensato dal vantaggio voluto nascesse dalla medesima, in quanto che revoca un atto che ci valeva necessariamente preclusi da ogni rappresentanza elettiva; atto che era una semplice opinione di un Ministro, e non già una deliberazione del corpo legislativo.

Per ovviare tale inconveniente però il popolo possiede un possente rimedio. Non lasciandosi soverchiare nelle sue elezioni, la minorità numerica che lo rappresenterebbe in detto Consiglio, verrebbe formata

di veri patrioti, di persone che all'*onestà e alla fermezza di carattere*, accoppiano le necessarie conoscenze per il maneggio della cosa pubblica; e costituirebbe un valevolissimo baluardo al dispotismo governativo. Essa in vero presterebbe il suo sostegno alle misure giuste, ed eque proposte dal governo, e disapproverebbe le ingiuste, e quelle che fossero contrarie agl' interessi del paese: dimostrerebbe al popolo di non aver preso parte nella sanzione delle ultime succennate misure; e reclamerebbe presso il governo superiore, sollecitandolo a sospendere il suo voto in tali casi. Per tal riflesso unicamente a mio credere il popolo dovrebbe accedere all' elezione in discorso.

Quando dunque l'elezione riuscisse nella sua maggiorità contraria agl' interessi del popolo, e la minorità della medesima risultasse di veri patrioti, questi sarebbero di verun utile al popolo, i loro lavori sarebbero vani, ed essi si sacrificherebbero inutilmente a pro della patria.

Premesse queste considerazioni io dichiaro di accettare ben volentieri, e con riconoscenza la vostra candidatura. Comecchè però tale candidatura dà qualche probabilità alla riuscita nell'elezione, io dichiaro che l'accettazione della prima non mi obbliga di accettare la seconda. Io accetterei la nomina nel solo caso che la maggiorità dell'elemento popolare fosse composta di persone non impiegate di Governo, nè ad esse devote, o di persone conosciute pei loro principï non retrogradi.

Ora prima di por fine al mio dire, e dopo di avervi rilevato alcuni difetti dell'istituzione del nuovo Consiglio; dopo di avervi annunziato il rimedio da apporvisi momentaneamente, io vi sollecito a reclamare immediatamente, con tutto ardore, e con tutta costanza presso il Governo superiore, l'istallazione della rappresentanza legislativa tutta popolare: e vi scongiuro caldamente a rinunziare qualunque vantaggio personale, e di tenervi guardinghi contro la male arti che di continuo si van tendendo contro di noi.

Illmo, Signore,

Ho l' onore d'accusare la ricezione del suo biglietto di jeri, nel quale mi da annunzio, che il Circolo Maltese nella seduta delli 19 corrente mi ha nominato candidato a membro del nuovo Consiglio di Governo, affin di propormi al pubblico in occasione dell' elezioni pel medesimo.

Io attesto verso i membri del Circolo i più profondi sentimenti di gratitudine per avermi manifestato la fiducia che in me hanno riposta.— Sebbene la riforma di esso Consiglio è lungi dall'esser quella

reiteratamente richiesta dal Comitato Nazionale Maltese, di cui io son membro, pur nondimeno mi credo in dovere, se mai sarò eletto, di cooperarmi in quella carica colle deboli mie fatiche in prò della mia cara patria, senza però mancare d'insistere nel pregare al Governo di S. M. la nostra graziosa Sovrana pel ripristinamento della Nazionale Rappresentanza, verso cui noi tutti Maltesi abbiamo sempre rivolti i nostri voti.

Le piaccia di gradire i sentimenti della mia alta stima, dichiarandomi

Suo Umo. e Devmo. Servitore
G. B. VELLA.

Valletta 25 Luglio 1849.
Illmo Signor E. NAUDI
Seg. del Circolo Maltese.

Malta ai 25 Luglio 1849.

Illmo. Signore,

Favorito del pregiatissimo suo viglietto, in data di ieri, nel ringraziarla delle cortesi espressioni che, al di là di ogni mio merito, contiene a mio favore, la prego di voler esser l'interprete, presso l'incliti membri di cotesto Circolo, dei sentimenti di riconoscenza che in me ha destato la sua deliberazione che il mio nome fosse iscritto sulla lista di colore che, a suo giudizio sono idonei a rappresentare il Popolo Maltese nel nuovo Consiglio di Governo.

Intimamente persuaso che la vera lode sia inseparabile dall'approvazione dei proprj concittadini; e conoscendo d'altronde il credito di cui gode il Circolo Maltese presso il pubblico; io riguardo la deliberazione di cui si tratta, come una vera decorazione popolare, da esser da me tanto più gelosamente custodita, in quanto è stata a me spontaneamente conferita; non avendo io fatto, siccome non intendo di fare, un sol passo onde guadagnarmi i suffragi dei votanti nella presente occasione.

Perchè mi parea—nè a me solo—che noi altri membri del Comitato Maltese, siccome il nostro mandato è di procurare una giusta franchigia rappresentativa per questo paese, avremmo fatto bene di rimanere fermi al nostro posto, e, lasciando altri fungere da Consiglieri, sotto l'ombra di franchigia che viene di esser concessa, sempre insistere e presso il ministero, e presso il Parlamento, perchè venisse conceduta una rappresentanza ragionevole e giusta;—l' ottenimento della quale ci avrebbe coperto di onere perenne nei fasti di queste isole.

Ma, comè è noto ad ognuno, ciò non ha incontrato l'approvazione di

alcuni del comitato, se non in quanto volessero essere e deputati, e consiglieri, a costo, come si vede, dopo di aver esplicitamente colla maggiorità, od implicitamente colla minorità, votato una legge nel Consiglio, di trovarsi nel caso di dover esaminare, criticare, e forse condannare quella stessa legge nel comitato;—cose che non possano conciliarsi con quella libertà d'opinione che nel comitato si richiede, non essendo gli uomini ordinariamente giudici equi degli atti loro proprj.

In tale stato di cose, altro non posso dire se non che il primo mandato avuto dal Popolo, ho, coi miei colleghi, procurato religiosamente d' adempire; ed ora che il Popolo ha il mezzo di far conoscere la sua volontà, aspetto le sue determinazioni. Se mi vuole nel Consiglio io vi anderò. Se mi vuole nel Comitato resterò nel Comitato, purchè quelli che saranno fatti consiglieri cessino di esser deputati.

Ho l'onore di essere con profondo rispetto

Di V. S. Illma.
Umo. e Dev. Servitore
J. GRIFFITHS

Al S. S. Illma.
Il Signor ENRICO NAUDI
Segret. del Circolo Maltese.
ec. ec. La Valletta.

DOCUMENT 33

Anno I. Malta, 1 Luglio 1880. Num. 1.

IL DIRITTO DI MALTA *Auspicium melioris aevi.*

"Il titolo d'un giornale deve rappresentare di per sè stesso un programma": dice il filosofo della libertà.

Noi crediamo che *Il Diritto di Malta* esaurisca il sano precetto del Mamiani.

È un titolo consigliatoci dalla cristiana considerazione che se i cittadini d'ogni patria conoscessero tutti ugualmente i loro diritti, cesserebbe ogni odio internazionale, ogni piaga sociale verrebbe rimarginata, nè avreb-

bero più ragione di essere i re assoluti d'Asia e di Europa, i senati ereditarii di certi paesi *liberissimi*, le mandrie umane dell'India e gl' infelici *fellah* dello Egitto: tali mostruosità non sarebbero più che una parola, come pur troppo sono ancora un fatto. Si vedrebbe iniziata quell'era di beata civiltà in cui i diritti fossero per tutti in modo equivalente distribuiti, in cui la catena dei dritti e delle obbligazioni non fosse quella che lega la debole navicella allo scoglio irremovibile, ma si l'altra più equa che vincola insieme due prigionieri di cui l'uno non agisce senza che l'altro reagisca a sua posta (Filangeri).

È un titolo che consigliato dalla più umana delle considerazioni, da quella che attingendo fede ai miracoli della civiltà prevede assicurata nell' avvenire la libertà a tutti i popoli senza distinzione di razza, diventò un obbligo subito che quegli stessi che si vantano propugnatori di teorie identiche alle nostre non si fecero alcuno scrupolo di conculcare i sacrosanti diritti di questo popolo di Malta.

Si capisce che intendiamo parlare della Democrazia inglese fattasi sentire riguardo a noi per mezzo del *Cobden Club*.

Il Diritto di Malta s'impone l'obbligo di provare ai sedicenti liberali d' Inghilterra che noi quanto loro, e forse molto più che essi non vogliano, amiamo la libertà; ma è solo il prendere—che essi fanno—a pretesto l'ignoranza di un popolo, per esser talvolta giustificati nel non rispettarne la volontà, che non incontra la nostra approvazione, che anzi minaccia di provocare la più seria delle proteste.

Se il *Cobden Club* intende farsi strumento di civiltà a questo modo, non fa che fornire nuovi argomenti a quei pessimisti i quali affermano che la libera Inghilterra, quella che, secondo loro, ha venduto Parga alla Tigre di Tebeleni, e col terrore impose il veleno agl'infelici Chinesi, ha finora coonestato i suoi atti di frasi abbastanza filantropiche e rugiadose perchè si abbia diritto a credere che *gl'interessi della civiltà*—mentre in casa propria conserva il feudalismo (*),—*la causa dell'Europa oltraggiata*—mentre sugl' Indiani grava la più espilante amministrazione,—*la vittoria dell' industria*—mentre nelle colonie la soffoca,—*il vessillo della civiltà spiegato sulla barbarie*—mentre nega vita alla classica Grecia,—non siano altro che il mantello di Jafet sulle vergogne del padre.

Noi non intendiamo essere tanto pessimisti, né potremmo esserlo senza una certa ingiustizia, ove solo ci ricordassimo della nobile figura di Gladstone, ma certo non possiamo far a meno di credere che ben altro che un sentimento di filantropia deve aver mosso coloro che in onta alla

storia ci battezzarono Saraceni, in onta al diritto vogliono spenta una lingua che esprime la nostra civiltà, in onta al buon senso ci vogliono redenti dalla nostra ignoranza colla lingua inglese: e forse non errerebbe chi dicesse che tanta vernice umanitaria è intesa solo a coprire la iniqua volontà di chi, ben conscio come non sia del volere di Dio che gl' istinti del bene e le intuizioni del meglio s'oscurino per troppo lungo tempo nel cuore delle moltitudini, cerca di generare la confusione, figlia primogenita della barbarie, per allontanare l'alba di un giorno che teme troppo vicina a sorgere sulle storiche onde del Mediterraneo.

Se ciò fosse vero non si avrebbe che a fare un supremo appello a tutti i patriotti, perchè forti dei loro diritti, lottino contro i malvagi propositi di chi subordina i più sacri interessi d'un popolo all' avvenire dei suoi cannoni, pur deplorando nello stesso tempo che si trovino individui o popoli tanto ciechi da presumere con mezzi umani di fermare il sole come Giosuè.

Lo sa Iddio se sia in noi il fermo proposito di veder nero per tutto del resto è nel generoso carattere dei Maltesi l'aver fede nei proprii governanti, e questo solo basterebbe a nostra discolpa; ma una così repentina carità dei fatti nostri, tanta premura d'illuminarci e . . . nello stesso tempo spingerci) verso l'Africa, non è certo la più adatta ad ispirare fiducia.

Ignoranza!!! si – l'hanno detto – l'unica nostra colpa è d'essere ignoranti.

Ma intendevano parlare del governo o del popolo?

Se del governo, hanno ragione; ma la colpa è tutta loro, avendolo creato assoluto e reso, per natura sinonimo di regresso per abito parodia crudele del sistema rappresentativo.

Se del popolo, sono ingiusti.

La nostra classe colta supera quella di qualunque altro paese; e ciò non si deve punto all'istruzione che s'impartisce, ma, parte alla svelta intelligenza del Maltese e alla grande concorrenza ai gradi universitarii (per mancanza d' altro), parte alle facili relazioni coi popoli del Mediterraneo.

Si obbietterà di certo che il popolino non sa leggere: ma si noti che quando si taccia d'ignoranza un popolo non si guarda affatto al popolino, che non è stato mai depositario di civiltà e che in fin dei conti anche quando non è analfabeta rimane sempre ignorantissimo.

Ignoranza!!!

Non vorremmo che tutta la crassa ignoranza da cui s'intende redimerci sia la coscienza troppo attaccata a Roma. Però, se mai si pretendesse di farci succhiare coll'imposizione della lingua inglese le insinuazioni di cui sono ricolmi i loro libri, sarebbe il caso di ricordare un esempio eloquentissimo della nostra storia per convincerli dell' opera vana, quello cioè dei Maltese, che tiranneggiati dai Saraceni e costrette a dimenticare il loro dialetto greco-latino per l'arabo, mantennero nonpertanto incorrotta la prisca fede.

Bene è vero che se la condizione politica d'un paese è relativa al grado a cui poggia la sua civiltà, in altri termini se un popolo si merita quel governo che subisce, noi dovremmo essere indietro di molto.

Ma non è meno vero che prima che la coscienza popolare giunga a trovarsi espressa nel Governo—come è necessario che in ultimo succeda perchè si costituisca quell'unità morale che è tanto indispensabile al benessere dello Stato — rimane per lungo tempo in collisione con esso, formando così l'una e l'altro la più deplorevole dualità.

Ecco il caso nostro.

Quale Maltese non sa anche troppo quanto pesi un Governo militare?

Quale che non si faccia vivo alla grande verità che al popolo non solo compete il diritto ma incombe l'obbligo di governare sè stesso?

Dove trovare fra noi chi s'illuda quanto alle miserevoli condizioni della nostra istruzione (superiore e inferiore), del nostro commercio, della nostra industria che non esiste e che non si cerca di creare?

Forse non tutti siamo profondamente convinti che mentre le libere istituzioni attecchiscono e producono i loro frutti nella più parte d'Europa, da noi non hanno pure avuto un primo inizio?

E non è progresso che un popolo pensi così liberamente?

D'altronde non errerebbe chi dicesse che malgrado sì profonde convinzioni della moltitudine regna anche negli animi la più desolante apatia, tale che sembrerebbe quasi opera vana invocare l'impeto ai nervi, al sangue le agili correnti, al cuore le vigorose contrazioni.

Pare che i due sentimenti si escludano.

No – imperocchè quell' apatia non è colpevole indifferenza alle vitali questioni del paese, ma lo sconforto di chi, secolarmente deluso nelle sue aspirazioni, diventò scettico in politica.

È colpa dei Maltesi se non credono più al loro Governo? se disperando di correggerne la malvagia natura, d'ottenerne altro che illusorie e spesso draconiane riforme, cercano d'obliare l'increscioso presente, per vivere

almeno col pensiero in un avvenire che sperano meno triste, più degno del loro passato?

DOCUMENT 34

Anno I. Malta, 8 Luglio 1880. Num. 2.

IL DIRITTO DI MALTA *Auspicium melioris aevi.*

COSE DELL' ALTRO MONDO

Diverse lingue, orribili favelle, Parole di dolore, accenti d' ira, Voci alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle, Facevano un tumulto. . . .

DANTE.

Il Diritto di Malta venne fuori senza rimprovero e senza paura. Venne fuori sotto l'egida della libertà che la costituzione inglese dà ad ogni suddito britannico di manifestare le sue politiche opinioni. Venne fuori colla fiducia d'un avvenire reso a noi migliore da chi regge le nostre sorti, colla coscienza della giustizia della nostra causa, colla speranza di vedere realizzate le nostre aspirazioni.

Il Diritto di Malta vide il giorno senza pompa e senza pretensioni, sperando ajuto dagli intelligenti, compatimento da tutti. Sapeva che avrebbe destato simpatia e avversione; ma sapeva ancora che l'avversione, fra un popolo benigno e svegliato, non gli si sarebbe parata innanzi collo stile dell'assissino. Ciò che previde se avverò, perchè l'eccezione conferma la regola. I più l'accolsero con segno di favore, per cui si crede nel debito di essere loro sentitamente grato; i meno lo sfiorarono di piacevoli frizzi, a cui può sorridere con benevolenza.

Un solo essere, un essere nero come Satana, letale come la morte, raro come la peste, mostruoso come le Erinni, un solo essere, il *Risorgimento*, senza motivo apparente gli scatenò sopra come valanga le furie infernali raccolte nella sua venefica penna.

Ebbene, il diritto della difesa è inalienabile. Soltanto, se l'avversario è un gentiluomo, lo si tratta come tale; se è un vile, gli si solca il volto a colpi di scudiscio.

Se il Direttore del *Risorgimento* sia un gentiluomo piuttosto che un vile, lo sanno tutti. Lo sa chi lo seguì nelle colonne dei suoi polverizzati giornali l'*Appello al Tribunale* ecc., la *Fenice*, la *Cassazione*; lo sa chi gli tien dietro in quelle del suo decrepito *Risorgimento*.

Tutti hanno avuto l'agio di schifarsi delle nefandezze di cui ribocca come insultatore di ciò che vi è di più sacro al mondo, i penetrali della domestica vita. Il giudicarne noi stessi non è nostro assunto; noi dobbiamo semplicemente rintracciare la causa della sua rabbia d'inferno.

Chi lesse il suo numero del 28 giugno, e non capì che egli, scrivendo, era infestato dalla desolante larva, che in noi vedeva, della sua temuta distruzione? Chi non s'avvide del suo terrore? Chi non se lo immaginò davanti irti i capelli, illividite le labbra, tremante il cuore? Tutti compresero che primo, unico, vitale suo scopo nel calunniare due cittadini, era la tremenda paura di non riuscire nel suo intenso desiderio di sedere, per la terza volta, nel Consiglio di Governo; fra quell'onorato consesso a cui i nostri padri seppero mandare un Portelli, uno Schembri, un Sciortino, d'onorata memoria, non solo chiari per vera sapienza e forte intelletto, ma anche non servili, non venditori dei loro concittadini per levarsi in alto stato, aventi non le ignobili qualità del bifolco, ma l'essenziale dote del gentiluomo, il cuore.

Erano tempi di regresso quelli, non è vero? Non si sa, ma leggiamo insieme una pagina di storia. Erano tempi, in cui si respingeva l'elemento inglese, il quale avea fino a un certo punto sfruttato il fertile campo degl'impieghi più lucrosi, campi soltanto usufruttabili da Maltesi. Erano tempi in cui niun uomo pubblico s'erigeva a despota per imporre la sua unica opinione ad un'intera popolazione renitente ed avversa. Erano tempi in cui nessun pubblico flagellatore era comparso a segnare, per ispirito di vendetta, i suoi connazionali all'esecrazione delle plebi, per crearsene l'idolo. Erano tempi in cui nessun pubblico carnefice mentiva col pianto la sua segreta gioja al mirare il funebre corteo delle vittime sacrificate. Erano tempi in cui nessuna tigre a volto d'uomo, fingendo compassione, insultava la prole di quelle vittime infelici coll'offrir loro in derisione il pane della miseria. Erano tempi in cui verun indegno pubblicista, invidiando la bella fama acquistatasi da un cittadino, benemerito della patria per un caritatevole istituto fondato a spese enormi, lo induceva con perfidi raggiri, per abbassarlo fino a sè stesso, ad insultare l'onore di rispettabilissime persone.

Erano tempi di regresso quelli, non è vero? Si, lo erano. Pure

consoliamoci, eleviamo canti di grazie al cielo, che i tempi del progresso sono venuti. Sono venuti colle riforme dei Maltesi, signori Savona e De Cesare, e colle riforme degl'inglesi Messrs. Rowsell, Keenan, Penrose, Potter, Anderson, Hicks Beach, ed altri sommi nostri amici.

E la riforma trionfa, e ci strappa a viva forza la nostra lingua italiana che non vogliamo che ci si tolga, e ci trasforma in affricani, e ci fa scimmie di ufficiali e di soldati inglesi, i quali se ci onorano del loro cordiale disprezzo oggi che li ricambiamo d'una uguale, ci sferzeranno allorquando si saranno convinti che aspriamo a comparire di fronte a loro come ottentotti ed indiani.

E in mezzo alla riforma che ci stringe, ci soffoca, ci demoralizza, ci annienta, grandeggia l'immane *Risorgimento*, che posa a paladino della patria, a campione delle nostre libertà; ma che intanto trema come foglia dinanzi al piccolo *Diritto!!*

All'erta! grida il novello Don Chisciotte, all'erta popolo, all'erta Governo! unitevi tutti, armatevi di mazze e di bastoni, di picche e d' alabarde; chiudete le porte delle quattro città, barricate i venticinque casali, proclamate lo stato d'assedio, marciate alla testa di 10,000 bajonette, arrestate . . . arrestate *Il Diritto di Malta*, dilapidatelo, torturatelo, afforcatelo. Si, afforcatelo, perche ha un nome tratto dal *Diritto*, giornale ministeriale d'Italia, perchè ha per motto: *auspicium melioris aevi*, perchè cita un passo del Mamiami ed un altro del Filangieri, perchè dice che la Democrazia Inglese fusa nel *Cobden Club* conculca i dritti di questa popolazione, perchè afferma che la politica figura di Gladstone è nobile, perchè osserva che non è colpa dei Maltesi se non credono più al loro Governo, perchè pensa che i Maltesi, (come testè tuonavano *ex cathedra* i signori Savona e De Cesare,) non hanno finora ottenuto altro che illusorie e spesso draconiane riforme, perchè infine, o enormità senza esempio! opina che sotto tali sconfortanti circostanze, i Maltesi non possono che vivere, almeno col pensiero, in un *avvenire che sperano meno triste e più degno del loro passato.*

L'imbecille!

All' erta Governo, all' erta popolo! Si vuol sovvertire lo Stato, si vuol organizzare una vasta cospirazione, si vuol consumare un secondo vespro siciliano, si vuol massacrare un esercito di 20,000 soldati chiuso in 20 fortezze di prim'ordine, contro cui non basterebbero 100,000 granatieri della Vecchia Guardia; e lo si vuol massacrare colle toghe degli avvocati,

coi bistori dei chirurgi e gli stetoscopi dei medici, colle sottane dei teologi, cogli utensili dei lavoranti, cogli stigli degli agricoltori, capitanati dal foglio volante così detto *Diritto di Malta*, sotto il vessillo della supposta segreta società così detta dell'*Italia irredenta!* Badate, Maltesi; badate Governo! *sventate l'insidia* prima che non sia troppo tardi! Evitate, evitate che si cospiri contro di voi, contro lo Stato, contro l'armata, contro la flotta, contro la vita del Governatore, contro i giorni della Regina, contro la stessa esistenza dell'Inghilterra! . . . Evitate, per carità: per queste lagrime che sgorgano dal mio cuore più pietoso di quello del boja, per questa mia desolazione maggiore di quella del coccodrillo che teme di fallire la preda: evitate la nostra perdita, la nostra rovina, la nostra distruzione!

L'impudente!!

Ma chi è che parla di sovversione di governo, di massacri, di incendii, dell'ira di Dio, del giudizio universale; e si arrabbia, s'affoga, si dibatte, e implora, e piange, e si dispera?

È Francesco Saverio De Cesare!!

Colui che una volta, per certe ragioni (di divenire Consigliere), fu Direttore dello scomunicato *Appello;* poi, per certe altre (di divenire Consigliere), Direttore della non iscomunicata *Cassazione*; poi, per certe altre (di divenire Consigliere), Direttore della scomunicata *Fenice*; infine, per certe altre (di divenire Consigliere), Direttore del non iscomunicato *Risorgimento:*– dall'effetto delle quali scomuniche l'esimio personaggio s'è comodamento liberato con un voltafaccia di nome, e di forma, e di figura.

Ahi, che reale progresso! che santo amor di patria, che sacro sentimento di religione!

Notate, Maltesi, notate; e in premio di meriti così grandi, così straordinariamente piramidali, mandate ancora una terza volta quell'eroico campione al Consiglio di Governo.

Ma v'è nel *Diritto di Malta* un'ombra di ciò che il *Risorgimento* gl'imputa? Nemmeno per sogno! E la prova di ciò più manifesta la fornisce egli stesso, colla sua propria penna, poichè *quod Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*

Invero, egli stesso non esitò a pubblicare lo squarcio del *Diritto di Malta* che fulminò come sovversivo del Governo, come incitante a cospirazioni, a massacri, ad ogni più stupido eccesso.

DOCUMENT 35

ANNO II. MALTA, 1mo. SETTEMBRE 1881. NUM. 60.

IL DIRITTO DI MALTA *Auspicium melioris aevi.*

IL PROGRAMMA ECONOMICO DEL GOVERNO INGLESE IN MALTA.

È svolto in due parole: raccogliere le imposte, pagare gli impiegati, il resto mandarlo in Inghilterra.

Questo non è un programma economico, questo è soltanto il mezzo di perpetuare in Malta la miseria, di aumentarla in ragione diretta dell' aumento della popolazione.

Un programma economico sarebbe, per esempio, quello che il principe di Bismark si propone di inaugurare in Germania seguendo in parte le orme della Francia.

Anzitutto il gran cancelliere intende di favorire, per ogni mezzo, la rigenerazione industriale agricola e commerciale della Germania. E comprendendo perfettamente che lo Stato non può restare passivo come in Inghilterra, egli aspira a rendere la Germania indipendente dall'estero col mezzo del sistema protettore.

Indirizzando i suoi sforzi a mantenere per quanto possibile la pace, egli opererà, gradatamente, il versamento di porzione delle imposte nello sviluppare le risorse del paese. Le forze finanziarie dell'impero così si moltiplicheranno, poichè il popolo sarebbe il primo ad avere l'interesse di pagare le imposte, vedendole versate in utilità comune.

Questo medesimo interesse i Maltesi avrebbero, se vedessero le loro finanze volte a sviluppare le risorse del paese, e non invece mandate in Inghilterra. Prima che i Maltesi potessero accorgliere una ripartizione più intelligente e più equa delle imposte, specialmente collo sviluppo delle contribuzioni dirette, dovrebbero vedere restituite a Malta dall' Inghilterra le annue somme che, provenienti dalle attuali imposte, Malta paga indebitamente all'Inghilterra fino ad oltre £60,000 annue.

Se noi avessimo quell'annuo ammonto che è nostro, su cui l'Inghilterra non ha nessun diritto, e che l'Inghilterra ci usurpa colla legge del più

forte, noi potremmo vedere, giusta il programma di Bismark, il miglioramento di sorte delle classi operaje, secondo i principii "del cristianesimo pratico".

In quel programma, si vuol venire ad una rottura definitiva colla dottrina economica del lasciar passare, lasciar fare—dottrina la quale, se è stata, forse, utile all'Inghilterra, non ha potuto riuscire, per mille riflessi, più dannosa a Malta, avuto riguardo alle speciali condizioni della isola.

Il lasciar fare, lasciar passare, distrusse fra noi molte industrie. Il permettere, per esempio, la costruzione d'una macchina a farina rovinò tutti i campagnuoli maltesi per arricchire *una sola* casa estera.

E fra breve, due lancie a vapore rovineranno non si sa più quanti barcajuoli, colle loro famiglie, di Marsamuscetto. Tre mila persone saranno gettate nella miseria. Ma potranno andare in Queensland.

Nel programma di Bismark v'è una parte che, se messa in pratica in Malta, avrebbe impedito che vi fossero stati mali simili a quelli di cui si è fatto cenno. Infatti "lo Stato, che avrebbe preso coscienza dei *suoi doveri*", avrebbe inaugurato "la parte veramente cristiana di moderatore delle forze sociali, e di *protettore* del *debole* contro il *forte* nel *dominio della produzione*".

Il programma economico inglese, applicato a Malta, non ha nulla da fare con quello di Bismark. Ma Bismark, oh, Bismark, non è Savona. Savona, e quei testoni di Penrose, e Keenan e Rowsell, hanno un altro programma: 1mo. una calunnia lanciata a tutti quelli che vogliono difendersi dalle usurpazioni inglesi, calunnia vigliacca perchè fa derivare la giusta opposizione dei Maltesi ad accettare la lingua dei dominatori, da una cospirazione intesa a cambiare, del più presto che fosse possibile, la bandiera inglese, per mezzo d'un plebiscito, e 2do. il far parlare a tutti l'inglese, come mezzo di essere calendati, coi *sepoys* dell'India, come schiavi confessati, avviliti, della Inghilterra.

Ma questo programma politico anglo-savoniano sarà sempre opposto, e i Maltesi si manteranno Maltesi. Quando accettarono l'alleanza inglese, contrattarono come tra popolo libero e popolo libero.

Le nuove pretensioni anglo-savoniane rimarranno un pio desiderio, simile a quello che ebbero gli inglesi Slade, Webster, Sedley, ed altri. I giovani studenti vedranno che è un programma anti-maltese servile—tale che non può essere accettato se non da chi avesse ricevuto *oro inglese* per propugnarlo.

E lo disprezzeranno, e manterranno saldo il dritto di conservare la lingua italiana, come la loro lingua scritta, a dispetto di tutti i gridi di rabbia dei loro inglesi calunniatori.

LE CLASSI LAVORATRICI E L'ASSOCIAZIONE.

E' in tale stato la "Classe Operaia", che forma la più terribile piaga sociale; questa piaga vuole essere curata e sanata—I lavori pubblici che danno anima e vita alle classi lavoratrici si trascurano, quasi ve ne fosse di troppo; l'agricoltura, il bonificamento di terre incolte rimangono nel pensiero di molti e non si pensa a procurare a questa il primato su tutte le altre come di natura le spetta—E' o non è la nostra isola agricola? Se è, perchè dunque tenerla per vasti tratti infruttuosa, mentre potrebbe dare continuo lavoro a migliaia di operai, ed essere sorgente di grandi guadagni per tutti? Ridotte a coltivazione tante terre, si eviterebbe l'*emigrazione* di tante braccia robuste, di tanti operai che abbandoneranno Malta per la miseria, in cerca di pane e lavoro, e i più dei quali non troveranno sventure e tribolazioni. Questi miglioramenti però non sono che un sogno pel popolo... Sarebbe una colossale intrapresa, e quando si dovesse porre in esecuzione, le leggi ordinano gli appalti che vengono deliberati al *maggiore e migliore offerente*, a quelle sanguisughe che sfruttano la misera classe, impinguendo le proprie tasche.

Il mezzo unico per ottenere buoni risultati, per avere terre fruttifere ed in breve tempo, il mezzo unico, sarebbe quello della *cessione* ai lavoranti stessi di queste terre, fornendo loro gli strumenti e il bestiame necessario, ed obbligandoli quindi al pagamento di comode rate annuali, da renderli anche proprietari degli annessi utensili. In tal modo si avrebbe la certezza di vedere in breve ridotta la nostra isola a *vero giardino*, con grande vantaggio dell'industria, del commercio ed in ispecial modo delle classi *operaie ed agricole*. Siccome dalle condizioni in cui versano l'Industria ed il Commercio nasce la miseria e per questa si commettono furti, delitti ed altri reati, e perfino l'adulterio, la prostituzione, prendono vita dalla stessa madre miseria; così tutte queste brutture, aggravanti la condizione del popolo svanirebbero, o per lo meno diminuirebbero e di molto, quando questo popolo cui tutto si attribuisce e tutto si fa pagare, avesse il suo continuo lavoro retribuito da giusto ed eguale guadagno. Giusto ed

eguale guadagno, perchè l'operaio che impiega il suo tempo e la sua opera lavorando da mattina a sera con grande travaglio, *ricava appena da comprare il pane che lo disfami*, mentre il suo padrone ne ritrae lauti guadagni senza punto fiaccare le sue membra. In tal modo i privilegiati della fortuna, con l'opera mal ricompensata dei diseredati, si arricchiscono sempre più, mentre i miseri operai languiscono nelle tribolazioni e terminano la loro vita negli ospedali e negli ospizi. Risponde un tale stato di cose alle *leggi dell'Egualianza* predicata dalla Religione e dalla Società? No!—L'utile netto dovrebbe essere ripartito fra operaio e capitalista, perchè l'*operaio si deve considerare come socio*, quale esso è infatti e non come schiavo del privilegio, cui ogni sforzo diretto a liberarsi dalla mano dell'ingiustizia non fa che accrescere le pene. Purnonostante e per quanto sia evidente la grande disparità delle condizioni fra la classe operaia e l'agricola, non si pensa al loro miglioramento, e le vigenti leggi non danno ad esse nessuna garanzia, ma garantiscono invece l'ingiustizia e il privilegio.

L'operaio che, lottando coi pericoli, colle fatiche, coi dolori, non trova mezzo di sodisfare a' suoi più imperiosi bisogni, vedendosi abbandonato dagli uomini e perseguitato dalla sfortuna, stanco di soffrire si ribella alla sua sorte, si dà al vizio ed all'ozio che lo trascinano alla galera. L'odierna società, quella stessa per la quale egli si trova ridotto alla perdizione e al disonore, lo maledice, lo ripudia—Quanti non sono coloro che vanno soggetti a subire condanne gravi e pene insopportabili per avere commesso reati; ai quali solo la fame, i patimenti ed il diritto dell'esistenza li hanno spinti?—E quanti altri che sprezzano il povero, e vivono d'una vita agiatissima? I privilegiati dicono agli operai: non vi date al vagabondaggio, al delitto; lavorate!—Ed è ben detto; è dovere d'ogni buon cittadino il lavorare; ma intanto se vi presentate per domandar loro quel lavoro che essi stessi vi predicano, vi rispondono negativamente e con mal garbo, e minacciano di deferirvi alla pubblica sicurezza come sospetti, se continuate le vostre istanze, oppure vi abbassate a stender ad essi la mano come mendicanti—È inutile illudersi; ne abbiamo la prova evidente; i privilegiati vogliono che l'operaio viva e muoia povero, e finchè li lascerete fare da padroni, e mestare nel paiolo.

DOCUMENT 36

Anno Quarto Malta, Venerdì 11 Febbrajo 1887 Num 978

MALTA
CORRIERE MERCANTILE MALTESE

APPELLO AGLI ELETTORI

Maltesi!

Dalle notizie, che raccolgo quì piuttosto tardivamente, giungo a sapere che i nemici della patria riuscirono a seminare, fra qualche piccola frazione di voi, certi dubbi sul valore del progetto di riforma alla Costituzione fatto dal Conte Strickland e da me, dubbi che possono lasciare taluni fra voi perplessi se dobbiate o no tale schema approvare nelle prossime elezioni, o rigettare. Coloro che accolsero i dubbi, se appartengono al Partito Nazionale sono certamente in buona fede, giacchè ben conosco io con quanto patriottismo si è fin oggi combattuto per la santa causa del popolo, e con quanto ardore si è lavorato per veder rovesciato un sistema di burocrazia, dal quale fin oggi la nostra cara patria non ha risentito che onta e danno.

Ma rassicuratevi, o maltesi, sebbene da voi lontano duemila miglia, il vostro ben essere mi sta a cuore, e persuadetevi pure che il mio desiderio non è che preparare a veder sorgere un avvenire migliore, per la nostra diletta patria.

Ed eccomi a sciogliere i vostri dubbi—quei dubbi che son giunti a mia congnizione.

E in primo luogo taluni di voi temono che il progetto di riforma Strickland-Mizzi dobba per sempre obbligarvi a tale riforma, e che il Governo, inducendosi a sanzionarlo, possa credere d'avere interamente e per sempre soddisfatto i nostri desideri d'autonomia, togliendoci ogni speranza di perfezionare, quanto più presto sarà possibile, il proposto sistema di Governo.

Maltesi!

Voi vi ricorderete bene che fu questa appunto la ragione per cui io mi sono lungamente opposto agli inviti, che il *Malta Times* ci faceva per

devenire a proporre uno schema di riforma: e se adesso mi sono indotto a ciò fare, si fu perchè l'opera del Conte Strickland era giunta al punto da richiedere imperiosamente questo passo. Ma appunto nell'aderire a fare le mie osservazioni sull'originario progetto del Conte Strickland ed a permettere l'incorporamento di esse nel progetto più recente, sono stato esplicitissimo nel protestare, che il giusto desiderio dei maltesi è di avere completa autonomia nell'amministrazione del loro Governo locale, e che l'attuale progetto, nelle sue modeste proporzioni, non è inteso a servire che come esperimento al Governo medesimo per poter giudicare se l'accordarci completa autonomia possa creare qualche pericolo per cui diminuito sia, o pregiudicato, il valore della Fortezza Maltese e della Stazione Navale, non ho mancato di esprimermi chiaramente nelle mie osservazioni che tale progetto debba considerarsi unicamente come un primo passo verso una più ampia costituzione. Quanto a voi, nell' appellarmi al vostro patriottismo perchè approvate, in principio, il nostro progetto, vi pongo per espressa condizione che la vostra approvazione non s'intenda ad esso accordata se non come ad un primo passo sperimentale verso un più perfetto sistema di Governo—di guisa che, nell'aderire voi (come io spero che vorrete aderire) a tale progetto, non dobbiate intendervi obbligati se non colla clausola suddetta, che riservi de nostre giuste aspirazioni ad un migliore avvenire.

Elettori!

Non date troppo ascolto a ciò che vi insinuano i vostri nemici, per quanto esso possa avere l'aspetto di ragionevolezza: ricordatevi che essi vi hanno sempre ingannato—e sebbene io non possa, a cagion della lontananza, sventare tutte le loro trame, credete pure che io cercherò sempre il vostro miglior vantaggio e che ascolterò ben volentieri ogni vostra correzione ed osservazione.

E questo primo vostro dubbio si dilegui pure della vostra mente! Ricordatevi come il *Risorgimento* in occasione della ultima elezione, vi diceva che la costituzione si deve riformare a poco per volta "a passo, a passo"—ricordatevi come egli vantava "i gran passi riformativi" che dicevano fatti dal 1849 fin oggi, che egli magnificava come cosa di altissima importanza—i quali poi non consistevano in altro se non nel dispaccio Cardwell revocato prestissimo dal dispaccio Carnarvon—nel dispaccio di Derby che escogitò la mostruosa "UNANIMITÀ", e nella riforma della legge elettorale. Ebbene: ora il *Risorgimento* trova essere un passo da nulla il fare consistere il Consiglio di 30 Membri, di cui 22,

indipendenti ed elegibili da Cittadini, e soli 8, ufficiali!—trova essere un passo da nulla il mettere tre degli elettivi nel Consiglio esecuttivo, a vedere come il Governo vada cuocendo la minestra governativa, e il fare sì che tali tre elettivi possano essere cambiati quando la fiducia del popolo viene meno! Miserabile! Per amor del Cielo, non vi lasciate deludere, non vi lasciate deludere! Oggi il *Risorgimento* sa benissimo che la maggioranza approverà tale riforma, in principio; ma lavora, lavora, lavora, perchè spera persuadere un certo numero di voi ad astenersi dal votare, per poter dir al Ministro delle Colonie che la popolazione non accetta il progetto e impedire così la sanzione.

Maltesi!

Io vi dico che i vostri destini sono per un istante in mano vostra: voi ne siete gli arbitri: agite come avete fin ora agito—con tutto patriottismo e con tutta saggezza, chè altrimenti avrete a sopportare voi medesimi la pena d'aver prestato fede a chi vuol sostenere gli attuali vostri oppressori e d'aver chiusa gli orecchi alla voce di chi non ha mai cercato il proprio interesse. È questa forse l'ultima volta che avrò ad indirizzarmi a voi: permettete che io vi dica essere pago d'aver agito sempre, dacchè ho messo piede nella vita pubblica, colla massima delicatezza di coscienza, senza desiderare di più:— se voi, rendendovi responsabili dell'avvenire della patria, credete proprio di non rompere adesso le catene che vi legano mani e piedi e fianchi, siete pur padronissimi di farlo:— a me basterà la coscienza d'aver fatto sempre il mio dovere, malgrado le ingiurie, gli oltraggi, gli improperi che i nemici mi versarono addosso. Rientrando nella mia vita privata, potrò tener alta la fronte e dire che non è mancato da me se la schiavitù s'impone ancora alle nostre azionì, alle nostre parole, perfino al nostro pensiero!

Un secondo dubbio angustia taluni di voi: non so chi vi ha insinuato che gli estimi, o taluna parte di essi, debba essere sottratta al Controllo della Assemblea legislativa. Mi ricordo, o almeno mi pare, d'aver letto qualche cosa di simile nel *Malta Times*. Mi si dice ancora che taluni spargono la voce che debbano essere sottratti alla competenza dell' Assemblea legislativa gli stabilimenti pubblici e che si debbano rendere inalterabili i Capi del Governo. Io non potevo capacitarmi come tali idee abbiano potuto esservi insinuate, e solamente jeri una lettera del signor Castaldi mi spiega la cosa. Il Conte Strickland ha parlato degli estimi di prima necessità nel suo programma elettorale—ma sappiate che le sue parole si riferiscono unicamente alla lista Civile, che è riservata anche

oggi sotto l'attuale costituzione, ed alla quale non intende proporre alterazione, se non col diminuirla (nel caso che ci riesca) in qualche parte dove è troppo ingiusta. Jeri gli mandai copia dei telegrammi che ho ricevuto, ed egli mi scrisse confermando ciò che io già sapevo, cioè che egli alludeva solamente alla lista Civile, di cui io gli avevo fatto copia colle alterazioni, in meglio, che ho creduto proprio di proporre. Prego il direttore ed i collaboratori del *Malta* di spiegare chiaramente in che consista la lista civile.

Un altro dubbio ancora venne sparso. Noi abbiamo proposto che il *Casting vote* fosse abolito e che invece di esso il Governatore, come rappresentante della Sovrana, avesse il *veto* assoluto. Taluni dicono: il *veto* non equivale al *Casting vote*? E il Governatore non potrà egli abusare del *veto* come abusa del *Casting vote?*

Maltesi!

Il *Casting vote* ed il *veto* non sono affatto la cosa medesima, ed il Governatore, che abusa del *Casting vote*, difficilmente abuserebbe del *veto*, il quale gli getterebbe sulle spalle una responsabilità assai grande. Chi è pratico di queste cose può meglio persuadervene. Ma, se noi possiamo sperare di abolire il *Casting vote*, non possiamo certo sperare di togliere al Governatore, come rappresentante della Regina, il *veto* assoluto: oggi il Governatore tiene, virtualmente, l'uno e l'altro, inquantocchè i Ministri del Governo dipendono tutti da lui, e quando egli dice *non voglio*, nulla realmente ed effettivamente si può fare. Anche sulle decisioni del Parlamento imperiale la Regina può opporre il *veto*: Come possiamo noi impedirglielo in Malta? Non so che vi sia alcuna costituzione in cui il Governo non abbia tale diritto—e quelli che vi insinuano l'idea di sapprovare la proposta, v'insinuano cosa che, nel nostro secolo almeno, non può avverarsi di certo. Possiamo noi pretendere ciò che neppure la Camera dei Comuni ha preteso? Contentiamoci dunque di fare il possibile per abolire il *Casting-vote*, e non attentiamo di impedire il *veto*, perchè è impresa ineseguibile.

Ma, a dirvi quanto difficile sia d'abusare del *veto*, vi sottometto, che durante i 50 anni di regno della attuale Regina, il *veto* non fu mai apposto alle decisioni del Parlamento. Vi si disse poi che il *veto* non ammette reclamo, e che tutto ciò che viene votato dal Governatore non può essere portato innanzi il Parlamento: ma chi ciò disse non conosce abbastanza la costituzione, o almeno non ha avvertito che tutte le azioni dei funzionarî di Governo, dal primo all'ultimo, sono soggette alla censura del Parlamento, di guisa che in caso di abuso a noi rimane

aperta la via di reclamare presso la Sovrana e presso il Parlamento. Ed è appunto quì, quì, e sempre quì, che bisognerà sostenere i nostrì dritti!

E un altro dubbio ancora. Taluni di voi osservarono, che come è concepito lo schema si verebbe a dare al Clero, ai nobili, ai Proprietarî ecc. il diritto di votare per tre volte ad anche più.

Questa è quistione di dettaglio, e se ciò è riguardato da voi come un male, vi si può facilissimamente rimediare col dire, che chi ha più di una qualità non può votare che in una sola di tali qualità, a sua scelta. Per esempio: mettiamo che un tale, oltre all'essere nobile, è anche proprietario: egli, invece di votare una volta coi nobili, ed una coi proprietarî, avrà il diritto di votare una volta sola, o coi nobili o coi proprietarî, come gli garba, dovendo perciò fare una dichiarazione innanzi la corte di revisione delle liste elettorali. Un altro è per esempio, Nobile, Avvocato Medico, e proprietario: non avrà dritto di votare con tutti i corpi, ma con uno solo a sua scelta. Se questa correzione non sarà considerata come buona, se ne troverà un'altra; ma essendo questa una quistione di dettaglio, non è ora il tempo di parlarne.

Notate bene, che qui non si tratta della elezione dei rappresentanti del popolo, nella quale ogni elettore avrà un voto solo: ma trattasi dei sette membri rappresentativi, che debbono formare il Senato. In talune colonie britanniche il Senato si elegge dai proprietarî, cioè da coloro che hanno un censimento più alto: per esempio, elettori dei rappresentanti del popolo sono quelli, diciamo, che pagano sei lire di annuo fitto od hanno sei lire di rendita—ed elettori dei senatori sono quelli che pagano lire cinquanta (diciamo) di fitto, od hanno lire cinquanta di rendita. Noi abbiamo proferito di proporre che il diritto di scegliere i senatori sia distribuito fra varie classi del popolo che sono più illuminate e che nello stesso tempo hanno più interessi pubblici nel paese. Quindi proponemmo che il Clero, i Nobili, il commercio, gli Avvocati, i Medici, i proprietarî potessero votare ciascun per un membro.

Ma se, nel discorrere dei dettagli, si troverà ciò potersi perfezionare, si accetterà ogni migliore suggerimento.

E notate bene:

Quanto al rappresentante del Clero in Consiglio, noi staremo interamente alla decisione del Vescovo.

E chi lo crederà mai, che oltre ai risoluti dubbi vi debba essere anche un altro, in riferenza appunto al lato più importante e più liberale del nostro progetto? Eppure, si vuole da taluni anche sapere che ufficio avranno i tre membri elettivi che dovranno prender parte nel Consiglio

esecutivo? Al signor Evaristo Castaldi, mio buon amico, ho dato molte spiegazioni in proposito, che quì sarebbe troppo lungo ripetere: egli però-illuminerà su di ciò tutti coloro che sono meglio nel caso di capirlo. Quì basti dire che essi avranno voto nel Consiglio esecutivo, e che quello che oggi si fa nel bujo, alla insaputa di tutti, con un mistero sepolerale, comincierà a farsi coll'intervento di tre elettivi, i quali troveranno tutto l'appoggio dell'Assemblea legislativa finchè faranno le cose in modo da meritarne la fiducia, ma cadranno immediatamente se si rendono indegni di tale fiducia, sia col mostrare disonestà di carattere, sia col dar prova di incapacità a governare. È forse ciò poco? Col tempo quando l'Inghilterra si persuaderà che non ha pericolo alenno nell'affidare ai maltesi tutta la responsabilità del Governo, questo ministero sarà tutto responsabile ed amovibile—tutto composto di elettivi: per ora non possiamo sperare che di introdurre un elemento. Ma io domando a voi, maltesi patriotti; qual'è il miglior partito—lasciare le cose come stanno ed escludere l'elemento elettivo dal Consiglio esecutivo—oppure fare un passo ed accettare, pel momento, che, alcuno in parte, il Consiglio esecutivo sia composto di membri elettivi? Mi pare che la prudenza suggerisca ai veri patriotti, di stendere una mano per pigliare ciò che possiamo sperare d'ottenere oggi, e di stendere l'altra per domandare il di più. Ma ritirare tutte due le mani sarebbe cosa da imbecilli—e, vivaddio, imbecilli non siamo!

Maltesi!

Andiamo un poco alle strotte per venire ad una conclusione. Io avevo già l'intenzione d'indirizzarmi a voi per dirvi in che modo possiate discutere i dettagli del nostro progetto: ora, che son venuto in cognizione dei dubbi che si spargono ad arte, e che incautamente si accettano da pochi, noti pel loro patriottismo, credo di dover rassicurarvi con proporvi uno schema più conducente al fine.

E in primo luogo io non domando l'approvazione dello schema Strickland-Mizzi, con tutti i suoi dettagli—ma soltanto in principio: i dettagli saranno lavoro da vedersi più tardi, nel modo che vi dirò più appresso. E il programma che vi propongo è il seguente:

1. *Il Consiglio legislativo da consistere di trenta Membri.*
2. *Quindici di questi membri da essere eletti dalla popolazione; la franchigia elettorale da modificarsi nel senso da ammettere al voto tanti cittadini delle classi istruiti, che oggi ne sono esclusi.*

3. *Sette altri membri da essere scelti da talune classi della cittadinanza, come sarebbe il Clero, la Nobiltà, gli Avvocati, e simili, da essere designati quando si verrà a giudicare dei dettagli.*
4. *Otto altri membri da essere nominati dalla Regina, la quale potrà, o nominarli personalmente, o destinare certi uffici, in virtù dei quali gli occupanti di tali uffici saranno membri del Consiglio.*
5. *La Assemblea nominerà il proprio Presidente.*
6. *Il Governatore avrà il VETO assoluto, come rappresentante della Sovrana.*
7. *Tre elettivi formeranno parte del Consiglio esecutivo in qualità di Ministri, e saranno responsabili ed amovibili, nel modo come è detto nel mio schema originale.*
8. *Il voto di sfiducia non s'intenderà dato ai Ministri responsabili, se, nella maggioranza assoluta della Camera, non si comprenderanno 2/3 almeno dei rappresentanti del popolo presenti in seduta.*
9. *La lista civile da non aggravarci più di quanto lo è attualmente, dacchè il salario del Governatore ed altri Capi sono stati diminuiti.*

L'attuale elezione si faccia su tale programma, che in principio è l'identico di quello già pubblicato, ma che pure mette da parte i dettagli, il cui giudizio si deve rimettere a tempo più opportuno, cioè quando si saprà se gli elettori avranno davvero accettato il principio, che ora sta sotto il loro giudizio.

E quanto ai dettagli, facciamo ancora così:

Un Comitato di poche persone intelligenti, fra i quali vi siano coloro che più scrissero e si interessarono della quistione, si riunisca, raccolga le osservazioni di tutta la stampa locale, esamini tutte quelle che ciascun Cittadino crederà proprio di trasmettere, e, discussi tutti i dettagli, esprima a noi le correzioni che si vorrebbero fatte allo schema nostro. Noi per parte nostra faremo il possibile perchè l'opinione pubblica sia dal Governo imperiale favorevolmente accolta, e son contentissimo di poter dire che lo stesso si mostra disposto a concessioni e non sembra voler altro se non assicurare l'azione propria in ciò che è di interesse della fortezza e della Stazione Navale.

Maltesi!

Al vostro patriottismo mi appello. Guardate la costituzione che oggi avete, ricordatevi quante lacrime vi ha fatto versare—portate innazzi i vostri occhi i tradimenti, le corruzioni, gli avvilimenti di cui essa fu madre—schierate come in ordine di battaglia tutte le memorie delle

pessime leggi sanzionate, del danaro sperperato, del favoritismo canonizzato; e poi mettetevi la mano sul cuore e domandate alla vostra coscienza, se il nostro progetto, comunque esso sia, non sia infinitamente migliore della attuale costituzione, che voi da tempo volete o riformata o abolita. Se esso è migliore, ebbene, accettatelo pure: che nessuno vi impedisce di continuare a domandare il di più—anzi, esso stesso vi metterà sulla via più costituzionale verso l'autonomia perchè il Governo imperiale avrà occasione di sperimentare col fatto, che voi siete maturi a migliori istituzioni ed a maggiore libertà. Ascoltate le parole di chi vi vuol bene, perchè non abbiate un giorno a pentirvi di non averle ascoltato—perchè i vostri figli non abbiano a lagnarsi di voi e a tenervi responsabili delle conseguenze funeste della vostra apatia. Chiudete gli orecchi alle maligne insinuazioni di chi fu vostro nemico sempre—di chi difese con calore il tradimento di Savona ed oggi combatte per impedire la sua caduta e la caduta della burocrazia ché ci sgoverna: anzi, appunto perchè questi tali alzano tanto forte la voce contro la sperata riforma, voi dovete persuadervi sempre più che essa li detronizza, che infrange gli idoli nel momento stesso che rompe le vostre catene, che essa è la vostra vita perchè è la loro morte!

Maltesi!

I nemici combattono colla certezza di essere vinti nelle prossime elezioni—ma essi non vogliono essere schiacciati: non temono una piccola maggioranza—temono una maggioranza formidabile; son felici se potranno provare al Ministro esser pochi coloro che accorrono alle urne. Accorretevi dunque numerosi: nessuno manchi di coloro che sanno leggere e scrivere—e se gli avversari minacciano imporsi sugli analfabeti, allora anche i nazionali cerchino l'elemento analfabeta e lo persuadano di sostenere la Causa Comune.

Maltesi,

Nelle vostre mani stanno, per un momento, i vostri destini. O vi approfittate della occasione—o altrimenti chi sa quanti anni ancora avrete a rimanere nello stato politicamente deplorevole in cui vi trovate. Pensateci bene!

Londra, 23 Gennaio 1887.

DR. FORTUNATO MIZZI.

Nota della Direzione—Questo APPELLO del Capo dei Nazionali fu da noi ricevuto col postale di jeri.

PART 4

1888–1903

The Claim for Self-Government and the Revocation of Representative Government.

An Introduction to Maltese Political Development (4)

After the attainment of Representative Government we find Savona, who had previously been pro-British, critisizing the new Constitution as insufficient and requesting Responsible Government – what is better know to Maltese as "Self-Government". I have selected one of his better speeches on this delivered in November 1895(**37**); his main challenger during the course of this debate is Mgr. Alfredo Mifsud, an historian in the Council on the elected side who clearly doubts Savona's credibility. Malta, said Savona, was governed "on garrison principles". The aspiration is that Malta obtains a constitutional status similar to that conferred on Western Australia. Interruptions and personal remarks are a useful indicator of the level of discourse in the House, hence their inclusion here.[1]

By the turn of the century the political situation is tense as the 1887 constitution is slowly dismantled at the time that Count Strickland is the regime's general factotum, in office as Chief Secretary. Objections centre mainly on issues of taxation and language, tied as these are seen to be to constitutional rights. Historic meetings are held outside Floriana in 1901, addressed by Fortunato Mizzi, his lieutenant Francesco Azzopardi and Canon Ignazio Panzavecchia, among others.(**38**) The texts incorporated in this volume are in the English translations done originally for the benefit of the Colonial office.[2] The mobilization of popular support for the occasion may be seen from Mizzi's special appeal of 4 April(**39**) prior to the meeting, as well as from a notice of 6 April announcing a "Special Train" to convey supporters from the countryside.(**40**)[3]

In 1903 Representative Government is revoked altogether. The nationalist leaders regard this as an outrage; and indeed it is not too often that such draconian measures were employed by Imperial *fiat*. The revocation was preceded by Strickland's transfer away from Malta to a remote colonial governorship. Our first document on this is an unanimous protest signed by all elected members, Mizziani and Savoniani, on

23 June 1903.(**41**) The second is an editorial of 20 June 1903, translated from the P.N. organ *Malta*.(**42**) The main culprit, in Maltese eyes, is the imperialist zealot Joe Chamberlain, whereas at the local level the *bête noire* is generally held to have been Strickland, described here as Chamberlain's "*alter ego*".[4]

The new Letters Patent, published in the Gazette on 23 June 1903, speak for themselves: Malta's constitutional status is severely mauled and sent flying back to half-a-century earlier.(**43**)

Notes

1 Official and elected members present in council (this sitting was no. 4 on 8 November 1895), under the presidency of the Governor, were the following:–

Chief Secretary.	Mr. S. Grech, M.D.
Crown Advocate.	Mr. E.L. Vella, L.L.D.
Collector of Customs.	Mr. S. Savona.
Comptroller of Char. Institutions.	Mr. G. Bencini.
	Mr. G.E. Bonavia.
Superintendent of Public Works.	Mr. G.C. Mallia Tabone.
Receiver General and Director of Contracts.	Mr. F. Wettinger, L.S.
	Mr. C. Darmanin.
Monsignor A. Mifsud.	Rev. A. Caruana.
Baron R. Testaferrata Viani.	Mr. P. Sammut, M.D.

2 These papers were printed for the British Parliament as *Further Correspondence relating to the Political Condition of Malta* (Cd. 715, H.M.S.O., London, 1901), pp. 120–26.

3 Cf. the *Gazzetta di Malta* of 6 April and of 4 April 1901, translation in *ibid.*, pp. 126–28.

4 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 6–8 and pp. 11–13. The protest of 23 June was also adhered to by veteran Councillor Salvatore Cachia Zammit (who had been indisposed). His letter of 27 June 1903 to Lieutenant Governor E.M. Merewether refers, *ibid.*, p. 8.

DOCUMENT 37

1895 Speech by S. Savona requesting Responsible Government

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

RESOLUTION

MR. SAVONA—Sir, I beg to move "that an address be presented to the Queen, praying that Her Majesty may be pleased so to alter the Constitution of the Council of Government of Malta that all the members of the Executive Council may be selected from among the Representatives of the People and be made responsible to the Legislature of this country, in all matters concerning the administration of the civil affairs of the population and the expenditure of the public money". At the last meeting at which I was present the hon. and learned gentleman, the Crown Advocate, stated that the question of a Responsible Government or a Permanent Government is the first party question that has arisen in the political annals of this Island. I cannot quite agree with that statement, but I must say, at the same time, that this is a most important question, perhaps the most important question ever brought before this Council. It is a question in substance between Responsible Government and government on garrison principles. What I mean by Government on garrison principles is that the final decision concerning any question concerning the civil affairs of the population rests with the Head of the Government, who is the Commander-in-Chief of the fortress. That is what I mean by Government on garrison principles. That description has not been invented by me. I found it in a despatch of 1811 in which it was stated that the people of these island were governed on garrison principles. That was a straightforward and honest way of saying things. At present, although the Government is still conducted on garrison principles, we are supposed to have a representative Government. But whatever constitution may be granted, so long as the permanent advisers of the Governor continue to be appointed by the Secretary of State, and to be responsible to the Secretary of State and to the Secretary of State alone,—so long as both the Legislative and the Executive Council

continue to be mere consultative bodies whose opinion and advice the Governor is bound on certain occasions to ask, without being bound to follow that advice, any constitution based on such principles must necessarily be a government conducted on garrison principles and nothing more. And that is not the government that the people of these Islands, the free and loyal subjects, but not the vassals, of Her Majesty the Queen, have a right to claim. There was a time when the people of these Islands did govern their country. When they did enjoy the benefits of responsible government, and that time dates from a very remote period—the time of the Romans. But I will not dwell on those early times. I will come to the advent of Count Roger,—to the time when the people of Malta rose in insurrection against the French, without the aid of any other power or potentate. Long before the Knights of St. John came here there was in this Island a "Consiglio Popolare", and this "Consiglio Popolare" appears to have had very large powers entrusted to it. Recently there were published several documents,—and I think whoever caused these documents to be published has deserved well of this country–we have had published among other very important papers, the reports of two sittings of the "Consiglio Popolare" one held on the 16th May and the other on 17th June 1530, and the subject treated of was not a municipal subject—voting a few lamps for Casal Chircop or Casal Dingli. At that time, more than 365 years ago, the Council was composed of a very large number of persons, a much larger number than the present Council and a much larger number than would be required under Responsible Government. The "Consiglio Popolare" had met to protest against a grant made of the island by the Emperor Charles V as a fief to the Knights of St. John. And they did protest and sent Ambassadors to Charles V, and the Ambassadors they sent were not without effect, because although the Emperor confirmed the grant to the Knights of St. John, when they were about to take possession of these Islands, he insisted on the Knights promising that they would maintain intact all the liberties and privileges that were enjoyed by the Maltese; and, not only the liberties and the privileges but also the usages of the Maltese. I take these facts, not from the writings of any hot-headed Maltese, nor from the writings of some demagogue, but from the Reports on the Laws of Malta by Sir John Stoddart Chief Justice of Malta. In his first Report he says that:

"the privileges granted to the Maltese by King Alphonsus were

confirmed by several successive Sovereigns, but at length, in 1530, Charles V, as King of Sicily, granted these islands in fief (or useful domain) to the religious Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The grant itself, which is set for *verbatim* in Bosio's History of the Order, provides that the Knights shall hold the fief of the Kings of Sicily on the tenure of presenting to them annually a falcon in recognition of their superiority, and performing certain other conditions therein specified, with an express prohibition of alienating the islands without the consent of the feudal lord direct, and under a penalty, in case of such alienation, that the island shall return, in full right, to the Sicilian crown.

Bosio goes on to state the formalities with which the Grand Master and Knights took possession of the islands under the grant, and as this historian was born not many years after the event, as his family had been for some generations connected with the Order, and as his work was published under the auspices of the Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt, there is no reason to believe that this representation is in any degree unfavourable to the Order. He, however, admits that there were three parties to this transaction: first, the Maltese Council, assembled by its proper officers; secondly, the Commissioners of the Emperor, as King of Sicily; and thirdly, two great officers of the Order, acting as its procurators. The Maltese Council asserted their privileges, as obtained from King Alphonso, by purchase, but they gave a formal consent to the infeudation; the King's Commissioners, on the other hand, exacting, and the procurators of the Order taking, a solemn oath, on behalf of the Order, to preserve to the people of Malta, for ever, all their "privileges, immunities, liberties, franchises, rights and good customs"; nor was the Grand Master admitted into the capital of the island until after he had reiterated the same oath".

I think the Consiglio Popolare, more than 365 years ago was such a Council as we might have under Responsible Government. The Knights of St. John although they had taken a very solemn oath when first admitted into these Islands—although each successive Grand Master took the same solemn oath before being installed as Grand Master—the Knights of St John, I say, like so many other Knights and Sovereigns forgot the oath they had taken, and usurped the privileges of the Maltese; so much so that by the time the Knights of St. John had become the Knights of some other saint, they deprived the people of these Islands of all the privileges they had possessed; and when they were ignomin-

ously expelled from Malta by Napoleon, the Maltese did not enjoy any of the benefits they had derived under the Consiglio Popolare. But, as soon as the French interfered with the religion of the Maltese, our ancestors asserted their rights, as masters of the Island, and without waiting to contract alliances with foreign powers, rose in arms, and, unaided, compelled the French to shut themselves up in the fortified towns and kept them in that position, with the assistance afterwards afforded them by the fleets of the British and other Governments, for two years. And the prowess and the patriotism displayed by the Maltese during those two years, perhaps the most eventful years in the history of Malta when a small population was in arms against a powerful army—the veterans of Napoleon's army—the admirable qualities displayed by the Maltese, were recognized by British Officers in the name of the Sovereign of Great Britain. General Graham, who was at that time in command of the British troops, addressed the Maltese in the most flattering terms. Of course some of us know all this, but there are some people abroad who do not know it. There are some people in the United Kingdom who, when speaking of the population of these Islands, refer to them as all but a savage people, as a motley population, as a mercurial people. These persons ought to know what the Maltese are and what the Maltese have done. General Graham addressed the Maltese in the following terms:

"Brave Maltese! You have made yourselves conspicuous to the world. History does not show a more surprising example. In the hands of your invaders without any means of resistance, eternal slavery seemed to be your inevitable destiny. The oppression and sacrilege of your tyrants became unbearable. Without heeding the consequences, you determined to avenge your wrongs. Without arms, without the resources of war, you shattered your chains. Your patriotism, your courage, your religion supplied all wants. Your energy secured victory, and a formidable enemy, with the best disciplined troops of Europe gave way on every point to your incomparable efforts, and hid its misfortunes behind the ramparts. The courageous battalions of the country have kept them there, with their vigilance and patience, worthy of the cause of liberty. You asked for help. The Powers allied to support society and religion, hurried to your rescue. Arms, munitions, money, wheat were supplied to you, and their ships prevented your enemies from being succoured. My master, the Sovereign of a free and generous people, has sent me with a handful of men to support you, till a formidable army is got ready to take

Valletta. But circumstances of war have as yet delayed it. This is a precious moment and must not be lost. To arms, Maltese! For God and Country!"

This was proclaimed on the 19th June of the year 1800. On the 4th September of that year, the French garrison surrendered to the Commander of the British Force here. The French garrison surrendered to the Maltese, although the Maltese were not represented in that capitulation. And the day after which the surrender took place the Maltese were treated like a conquered people and to the present day in histories of England and in other papers as well as in almanacs, we find it recorded that the Maltese were conquered on the 4th September! Conquered by whom? By whom were they conquered, if, on the fourth September they were fighting side by side with the English, for their rights and for their religion? After they had fought for their religion and their liberty on the exhortation of the British, how could the Maltese be said to have been conquered on the very same day on which the sacrifices made during two whole years crowned with the most complete success. The absurdity, not to call it by a harsher name, of such a conclusion is shown very clearly in the same report from which I have quoted. If the Maltese had been conquered on that day, then the Catholic Religion would have been prohibited in Malta. If the Maltese had been conquered on that day, the Laws of Queen Elizabeth's time against the supremacy of the Pope in England, would *ipso facto*, have come into force in Malta. But the Maltese, after fighting against the French, on the exhortation of their English allies found themselves deprived of their privileges, after they had succeeded in expelling the common enemy from Malta. It is a fact which cannot be disputed, that, during the two years of the siege, the Maltese governed themselves. They placed themselves under the direction of Captain Alexander Ball, just the same as, if Responsible Government were granted to us, the Maltese would be under distinguished British Officers, more distinguished perhaps than that Naval Commander. No one ever dreamt of claiming independence. It is not a question of claiming the right of appointing the Governor of these Islands. At the head of the Government would always remain the Representative of Her Majesty the Queen. But after the Maltese had, during two years, been administering both the Civil and the Military affairs of the population, and providing not only for civil contingencies but also for the support of the fighting body, they were deprived of all power. Nor was that all. The

Maltese were about to be transferred to the Knights of St. John, as if they had been a flock of sheep, without taking any notice of the feelings, of the sentiments of the people. And the Maltese would have been transferred to the Knights of St. John, if they had not sent a deputation to London, which, insisted strongly that, if the English had no intention to remain in the Island, they might go away, but should not give up the people, to their hated masters, and they should not be replaced either under the Knights or the French, whom they had been instrumental in expelling from Malta. The treaty of Amiens was broken. The Maltese, at their request, remained under the British rule; but they had a right to expect greater benefits than those enjoyed under the Consiglio Popolare. But it was only as late as the year 1835 that some kind of Council was nominated, which held its discussions with closed doors, and of which the public knew nothing till the laws so made were published. After the Council of 1835 came the Council of 1849. The Council of 1849, although it contained a representative element, conferred no power on the representatives of the people. It was based on the official majority of one—it was nine or rather ten (because the Governor had a vote, besides the casting vote) against eight. And I remember myself that we had many divisions of 9 against 8. In reality there was only one official vote, because the official members had to vote straight as per instructions or order. Thus the vote of one man overruled the vote of the eight representatives of the people, elected by the people according to law. That was the time of the official majority—*eight* against *one*. And 9 against 8 always and invariably carried the day. Other changes were made in 1887; but the change that was made in 1887 was a change only in appearance, because the supreme power was still left in the hands of the Head of the Government. And we have seen what was the Constitution of 1887. We have seen the Head of the Government and the permanent advisers of the Government disregarding and setting aside completely the opinions expressed by the whole of the electorate—general and special—at the election of 1891. In 1891 there was a general election, and all the members returned—both special and general—belonged to one party and were of one colour, representing the views of the electorate. The Government candidates everywhere remained in the cold, each and everyone of them! Not one of them succeeded—not even one—and some members on this Council remember the fact very well. After that election we came here, not a numerical majority of seven or

eight members but a compact majority of fourteen elected members; and we had been returned on a pledge of bringing forwarded a scheme for the amendment of the Constitution of 1887. The elections took place in June 1891, but the Council never met until the following January. And before the Council met, before the Council had had an opportunity of bringing forward the amendment of the Constitution, before they had had an opportunity of stating the reasons that had induced them to bring forward that scheme, Her Majesty's the Queen, was advised to change the Constitution, not in a liberal sense, but in the sense of mutilating the Constitution. I refer to the Letters Patent of the 19th August 1891. Those Letters Patent were published here in September: and whatever may have been said by the Secretary of State in defence of that mutilation of the Constitution, neither the electorate nor the elected members had given any cause to the Secretary of State—or to those who advised the Secretary of State—to mutilate the Constitution in the way in which it was mutilated. When discussing the same subject the other day, I said that the resolution that had been passed would leave the Constitution as it was after the despatches of the 5th of April and of 20th March 1890,—as it was after the Letters Patent of August 1891. In fact what was the alteration asked for? The only alteration was that the three non-official members of the Executive Council should be selected from among the elected members. Now as it is, those members who had no other desire than that of being selected by the Head of the Government to form part of the Executive Council might have had their desire satisfied without troubling Her Majesty's Government to alter the Constitution, because the Secretary of State, Lord Knutsford, the same Minister who had first granted the Constitution and mutilated it afterwards stated in the last paragraph of the Despatch of the 23rd September, covering the Letters Patent of the 19th August, 1891, paragraph 5 that:

"under the amended clause the field for selection of Executive Councillors will, as in most other colonies, be unrestricted, but whenever it is found practicable seats in the Executive will continue to be offered to some of the elected members of the Council of Government". Consequently, under this despatch, His Excellency the Governor may tomorrow select any three members for the Executive Council, without the necessity of having the Constitution altered. That is all that is asked in the resolution we had been discussing some days ago so far as the elected

members of the Executive Council were concerned. Although both the local and the imperial Government clearly showed their intention of disregarding, not only the result of the general election and the programme on which the representatives of this people had been returned, we came here with an Ordinance to amend the Constitution. That was a perfectly constitutional way of proceeding—that was the way which the hon. and noble gentleman recommended the other day: "If you want to reform the Constitution", he said, "draw up an Ordinance, lay it before the Council and let it be discussed". Well, Sir, that Ordinance was laid before the Council. That Ordinance was discussed. It was discussed on the first and second reading; but, before it had been read a second time,—I say this just to show what is the Constitution under which we are governed—an announcement was made which is unprecedented in the history of all the Parliaments in the world. The Chief Secretary to Government had received instruction to convey a message to this council and it was to this effect: "You had better withdraw this Ordinance of yours; for although you may pass it through each and every stage, although you have passed it a first, and may pass it second time, discuss it in Committee, and read it a third time—the Governor will assent to it"! Now, Sir, it is the law in all Parliaments that the head of the State is not to interfere in any way with legislation until that legislation has passed the third reading. Then it is presented to the Head of the State for his assent, and then is the time to assent or to refuse to assent to that legislation. But in Malta,—which we have been told is not governed on garrison principles, but according to a liberal Constitution which has been called a great step towards autonomy, for they spoke of autonomy in those days and not of responsible government—in Malta, I say, that Ordinance was vetoed before it had passed through the second reading stage! In spite of that menace, however, we proceeded with the Ordinance in all its stages, and after a time we received a message to the effect that Her Majesty had not been pleased to assent to that Ordinance,—which means that the permanent advisers of the head of the government in Malta had advised the Secretary of State to advise Her Majesty not to assent to that Ordinance for—the Queen is bound to follow the advice of the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of State follows the advice of the local officers of the Government. When that Ordinance had been passed a third time, the Council had been elected for one year. Another general

election followed in 1892 and at that election the same members presented themselves for election, with the same programme, and they declared that though the Ordinance had been vetoed, they would again present that Ordinance in the very same form, in order to show that the elected members and the electorate were still of the same opinion and still desired the amendment of the Constitution. And, Sir, we did present that Ordinance over again and we did pass it through each and every stage. In the end we received the same message, and again the Ordinance was vetoed. But this was not enough. The Ordinance was brought forward for the third time and passed the third time and again vetoed for the third time! And after all this, if one says that the people of these Islands are governed on garrison principles he is told —

"Oh! you have a Constitution; you have a majority; the elected members are fourteen against six; and having all this, you complain of being governed on garrison principles! What more could be done under a government on garrison principles, than is done under the present Constitution? If we had no Council at all, the people of Malta would still have the right to present a petition to the Governor who would reply "that he very much regrets that he cannot comply with your request". And if the petition were sent to the Secretary of State, he would reply "I am very sorry, but I have not laid your petition before Her Majesty because, in my opinion, it ought not to have been made! And this would have been nothing new because when certain addresses were passed by this Council to be presented to the Queen, the Secretary of State said that this and that could not be granted, and that he did not think himself justified in laying that address before the Queen! We have heard since the opening of this session a great deal of the majority. We have been told if it is the wish of the majority of this Council that the Constitution should be altered in the way in which you state, we hope that Her Majesty will assent to your wishes. So long as the views of the majority fall in with the views of certain parties, all goes on well, but when that is not the case, the majority is entirely ignored; and I defy any one in this Council to point out one single occasion in which the elected members of the Council have behaved in a way which could have justified the Government of these Islands to treat the representatives of the people in the way in which they were treated. We never attempted to interfere with the security of the fortress or with any Imperial interests. As to the

Consitution Amendment Ordinance, it was simply a prayer to grant us,—not anything impossible—but the reality of what the Secretary of State had declared he had given, but which, in truth, he had not given. And yet that was the way in which we were met. When the majority was not a majority like the present, when it was a majority of at least 12 out of 14, then that majority was not treated with the deference with which the present is apparently treated now. The Constitution was mutilated, as I stated. The Constitution was reduced to one thing—there was in this Council a majority of 14 elected members against 6 official. That is what was left of the Constitution of 1887. That was a great deal, but when that majority voted an address to the Head of the Government for the production of a letter which had been addressed by the Director of Education to the Senate or to His Excellency—when that majority asked the Head of the Government to lay on the Council Table a copy of the proceedings at enquiries—enquiries concerning most serious matters,—concerning serious faults which were said to have been committed by the Police and by other Government officials—what notice was taken of those addresses and of other resolutions of the Council, although passed by a majority of 12 out of the 14 elected members? We heard the Clerk to the Council read a piece of paper, in which it was written that His Excellency the Governor regrets he does not think it right to lay those papers on the Table! But that is not governing the people of these Islands on garrison principles! What remains of the Constitution? And what will the Constitution be, if it be re-integrated not in accordance with the resolution that has been passed recently, but if it is re-integrated *ipsissimis verbis* as it was in 1887? There would be the same power in the hands of the Governor of vetoing any law, any resolution, any vote that may be passed by this Council! If such a Constitution pleases hon. Members let them take it. As far as I am concerned, I will not. And I speak in the name not only of the six representatives of the people that were elected on the programme of Responsible Government—I speak not only in the name of the other candidates who presented themselves to the electorate on the programme of Responsible Government, gentlemen that cannot be charged with being illiterate or inexperienced, there being amongst them Canon Panzavecchia and others whose names are well known. In protesting against the present Constitution, a Constitution which some of the members of this Council wish to perpetuate for who knows how many more years, I speak in the name of the thousands upon thousands who

flocked to the meetings held in Valletta, Floriana, Zeitun, Cospicua, Senglea and other centres. I speak, and I claim to speak in the name of the Honesty, the Intelligence, and the Independence of the country, (Crown Advocate, Hear! hear!) for I can hardly imagine that any man in his senses should prefer the farce under the present Constitution and be opposed to the attainment of Responsible Government. Under Responsible Government the Head of the Government would have the power of disallowing any vote or resolution of the Council. The Governor would have the same power of veto that he has at present. But there would be this difference—that, whilst the Governor would then be advised by ministers who would be responsible to this Council, to the people of this Island, at present the Head of the Government is advised by permanent officials, who do not care a straw about the views of the representatives of the people or of the people, but whose only care is to please the authorities to whom they owe their appointment. That is the difference. And that is what some people want to make me and the people believe, that the great majority of the people prefer the present permanent Government—a government on garrison principles, a government under a constitution such as I have described, and that they are against Responsible Government! Perhaps we shall be able to learn this afternoon what are the reasons that have induced hon. members to oppose the motion for Responsible Government. It is simply a prayer, it is simply a first step that I propose to take, it is with the view of sounding the opinion of the members of this Council as representing the people of this island, that I bring forward the resolution which I have just read. And before proposing that resolution, I did my best to find out which was the best way to proceed in a matter of this kind. If I had drafted an ordinance, we might have been told: Who is this Mr. Savona who pretends to impose his views upon the people? What does he know about constitutions? These are things of the highest importance, matters that should be dealt with by experienced persons in such matters and learned in the law and not by people who are outside the profession. I knew all this, and for that reason I proposed to follow the example of persons who are supposed to be better informed, of persons whose prayers had been listened to by the Secretary of State and by Her Majesty's Government. And I studied the movement which arose in Western Australia for the attainment of Responsible Government. I studied the measures taken, measures which were attended with complete success. If I had drafted an

ordinance, nothing would have been easier than to pick any number of holes in that ordinance, by those who were disposed to pick holes. And that is the reason why I did not present an Ordinance. Recently I have been looking over the proceedings that preceded the granting of the constitution of 1887. There were meetings held consisting for the most part of between 30 and 40 persons, including several boys. I have very good authority for saying this. The Constitution was drafted by a Committee of Eleven. After that, an interview took place between two delegates out of the eleven who had drafted the Constitution and the Head of the Government, and observations were then made, and concessions likewise were made on one side and on the other. For instance the salary of each elected member in the Executive Council was raised from £200, as originally proposed, to £300. Then these observations were sent to the Secretary of State, who selected what he thought fit, and left our what he did not quite like and embodied them in Letters Patent when the people were told:— That is your Constitution! That Constitution, however, was not the one that had been asked for. Some very important points were left out of that Constitution. The original scheme—the Mizzi-Strickland scheme—contained many points which were not embodied in that Constitution. I have in my hand the Blue-Book (although the cover is white), that was laid before the House of Lords on the motion of Earl De la Warr on the 6th May 1887. That scheme contained four important points—1. The Speaker to be elected; the Executive Council to be composed of an equal number of *responsible* ministers and official members. So this term *responsible* is not used for the first time in connection with our Constitution.—I have not invented the locution of "responsible ministers", that phrase is to be found in the second point of the original scheme. We all remember that, instead of an equal number of official members and of "responsible ministers" members in the Executive Council there were only three, and they were not responsible, but only *quasi* responsible ministers, and seven official members. The third point was, that the Governor was to take the advice of the Leader of the Assembly in selecting his colleagues for the Executive Council; and there was to be a two-thirds majority of the elected members voting to be necessary for defeating the responsible element in the Government. There was another important point in the original scheme. All questions affecting Malta principally as a Fortress or as a Naval Station to be beyond the control of the Legislative Assembly. But,

as I have said, although all these things were proposed, when those proposals came before the Secretary of State, he did not consider himself in any way bound by any principle, but selected what he thought fit, and made such modifications as he thought proper; and then he gave us this constitution though the demands made in 1886 were persevered in. I have been quoting from a letter by the hon. and noble gentleman on the 12th December 1886. These principles were persevered in, as I find in another Blue Book. In the constitution drafted by the Eleven and sent to the Secretary of State we find again that:

"The Governor is assisted in exercising the aforesaid power by an Executive Council composed of an equal number of official and unofficial members.

The other unofficial members of the Executive Council will be selected from the 14 elected Members of the Council of Government, if they belong to the same political party of the leader of the 10 representatives of the people".

Then there is a note signed by Dr. Fortunato Mizzi and Dr. Salvatore Castaldi.

"It is understood that these two articles cannot be included in any Letters Patent. They are intended to make it clearly understood that the Governor will always select, as his advisers, gentlemen who possess the confidence of the majority of the electorate, and of the majority of their colleagues in Council, and we should be glad if some instruction to that effect could be included in the depatch forwarding the Letters Patent, for the guidance of future Governors".

This was the opinion of the gentlemen I have mentioned, and that opinion was embodied in the despatch of the 14th December 1887. But that despatch was nullified by the despatches of the 20th March and the 5th of April, 1890. I wish here to observe that on the 5th of April 1890 I could not have made any of the savage attacks against the Constitution, of which I am accused. I was elected in September 1889, and the Council never met, except once, till the 14th May 1890. In proposing now to test the opinion of this Council, as to the propriety of our having self-government, instead of being governed on garrison principles, I was guided by the views of the hon. and learned gentleman (the Crown

Advocate) who enlightened the students of the University, and a very large party of ladies and gentlemen on the "*Scienza della Politica*" on the 1st of October 1894. Of course I take it that the principles laid down by the Crown Advocate are applicable to us as well, otherwise there would have been very little use in expounding them to an assembly of that kind. The hon. and learned gentleman said:

"Il capo dello Stato deve necessariamente essere il principio dell'uno e dell'altro potere, ma la sua ingerenza nell'uno e nell'altro deve essere controllata per mezzo di certe limitazioni; l'una è che qualunque atto da lui fatto nell'esercizio di alcuno di quei poteri, non debba essere imputato mai a lui, ma ad uno dei ministri che sono responsabili ad una legislatura popolare, l'altro che l'autorità legislativa non possa essere mai esercitata in opposizione alle decisioni dell'assemblea legislativa la quale così, ha l'agio di esercitare critica costante e controllo illimitato sull'esecutivo".

"La scelta dei Ministri deve appartenere necessariamente al capo dello Stato, ma egli è costretto a scegliere persone che possano avere la fiducia della maggioranza dell'assemblea legislativa. Nella pratica la scelta offre qualche difficoltà, specialmente quando la divisione dei partiti non è sufficientemente delineata. Ma la tendenza alla conservazione del proprio potere, anzi a dominare il potere esecutivo, suggerisce ai vari gruppi del corpo legislativo di farsi seguaci di taluni fra essi che, distinguendosi per speciale abilità ed energia, si mostrano degni della loro fiducia. Ciò facilita al Capo del Governo la scelta dei suoi Ministri fra i pochi designati del Corpo Legislativo—i quali all'oggetto di ottenere e conservare il potere esecutivo, cercano di rendersi padroni dell'opinione dell'assemblea legislativa. Questa gara fra i migliori, temperata dalla fiducia della maggioranza, controllata dall'opinione pubblica per mezzo delle elezioni, garantisce la bilancia dei poteri contro ogni possibile usurpazione o conflitto. Essa in oltre ha il positivo vantaggio di creare la vita politica, alla quale persone necessariamente di abilità superiore dedicano la mente ed il cuore, acquistando per sè e gli altri quel carattere politico e quella esperienza che sono indispensabili al buon governo".

"Ogni ramo dell'amministrazione viene così assoggettato alla sorveveglianza diretta della autorità ossia assemblea legislativa.—Ne è eccettuata l'amministrazione della giustizia, la quale per ragioni ovvie deve essere assolutamente indipendente da qualsiasi potere. Questo principio da lungo tempo proclamato dalla Costituzione Inglese è ormai riconosciuto dalla maggior parte delle Nazioni. Mi gode l'animo di ricordare

che insin dal 1814 il Capo del nostro Governo Civile, nella memorabile Costituzione dei tribunali, non solo confermava l'assoluta indipendenza dei guidici, ma abdicava a taluni poteri giudiciari, che le leggi di quei tempi riservavano al Capo dello Stato".

E più oltre vi è un'altra osservazione dell'onor. e dotto signore che mostra che egli aveva in mente lo stato del nostro paesa, perchè ci ha descritto come dovrebbe essere la polizia, cioè ha detto tutto quello che la nostro polizia non è.

"Dall'altra parte però è indispensabile che si impedisca che la Polizia si costituisca uno Stato nello Stato; che applichi lo spionaggio a beneficio di partiti politici, e, senza bisogno, a detrimento della libertà individuale e della pace domestica, incorrendo nel sospetto e la sfiducia della opinione pubblica. Bisognerà dunque trovare anche quì un mezzo di bilanciare le esigenze della polizia coll'obbligo dell'assemblea legislativa di salvaguardare i diritti di ogni classe della popolazione, anche quella che per disgraziate circostanze si tiene nell'oscuro. Tali mezzi sono di organizzare la Polizia con buone leggi, in modo che non vi sia un concentramento superfluo di forza pubblica—che l'innocenza sia sufficientemente protetta contro ogni abuso di autorità, mediante l'amministrazione della giustizia da parte di una magistratura indipendente che eseguisca i suoi doveri in pubblico, e di portare a cognizione del pubblico ogni atto abusivo della polizia—censurando l'autorità esecutiva che avesse la responsabilità del corpo".

It is not anything fantastic that I propose to-day, it is in accordance with the principles deliberately laid down by the Crown Advocate in his responsible position of Professor of Law in the University. I need not say anything more with reference to the absolute necessity of doing away with the present Constitution based on the principle that the permanent advisers of the Government are appointed by the Secretary of State and are responsible to the Secretary of State alone. If that alone remains, whatever else may be granted, will be entirely useless. We shall always continue to be governed on garrison principles. I have said that the motion I make to-day is simply a first step. I have said it in another place and I repeat it here. If this motion is approved (and when I said so I had great hopes that it would have been approved) by the local legislature and by the Imperial Authorities, then the time would come for the draft of an Ordinance to be prepared by the local Government in consultation

with the elected members; and that draft, after receiving the approval of the Secretary of State, would have to be brought before this Council that the Council may express their opinion on the provisions of that Ordinance; and after that draft Ordinance shall have reached the second reading or third reading stage there should be a dissolution of the Council to put the matter clearly and distinctly before the constituencies as was done in Western Australia. It is not to be left to the Secretary of State or to any other authority to alter the Constitution after it has been approved by the legislature. That Constitution would have been approved by the Constituencies, as well, not by any caucus or assembly of eleven, but by the whole electorate, and when so approved Her Majesty would be asked to give Her assent to that Ordinance. That is the scheme I lay before the Council to-day. I don't speak in my name alone, or in the name of the four members present to-day. I speak in the name of the six members elected to support the motion for Responsible Government and in the name of the honesty the intelligence, the independence of the country. And unless I have proofs positive against it, I cannot believe that any honest and intelligent man should prefer Government on garrison principles to Responsible Government. A great deal has been said as to the result of the last general election and the triumph of those who wish the Government of these islands to be conducted on garrison principles. Now I say that the majority of the people, even at the last general election, has declared in favour of responsible government and nothing else. I will not quote or rely very strongly, for instance, on the Gozo election. Certainly the Gozo election was not fought on the grounds of Responsible Government, *versus* Permanent Government. I know very well how it was won. With regard to the District in which the hon. and rev. gentleman (Rev. Caruana) was elected, all know that the difference between the two candidates was only of eleven votes, and we all know that when, after the election, I went to Zeitun to announce the result, I and the defeated candidate were carried in triumph so that I had occasion to tell the electors: If you receive us in this way after we have been defeated what would you done had we been victorious? It is easy to say that the people do not understand these questions. We are not in the days when one paper alone was read: there is a Maltese "Public Opinion" now, and people in the country are sure to tell you about these matters more than you expect. But setting aside this and another country district, let us look at the result of the election

in the chief centres of population, where the intelligence of the country is known to reside. Let us look at the result of the election in Valletta, where after many efforts a candidate was found to oppose me. In spite of the furious war declared by all my personal enemies, who did their utmost to favour the Government candidate, the victory was not with them. Then if we go to Senglea, I believe the people of Senglea know something about these matters, whatever the hon and rev. gentleman may think.

MONS. MIFSUD—By my interruption I was referring to the fact that the greater part of these people generally have no other public interest than that of their feasts and churches, about which they know a great deal. So that often by flattering their religious feelings many votes are gathered without their questioning Responsible Government. And if the hon. member wants a proof I am ready to give it—reminding him of the bouqet or something else presented by him to their Church.

THE PRESIDENT—(To Mr. Savona) You have made an excellent speech but if you keep away from personalities it will be better.

MR. SAVONA—I was only speaking of the result of the election at Senglea, of the election of the hon. member for the Fifth District. I said that the people of Senglea know a good deal about it. I don't know what the hon. and rev. member meant to say as to how the votes were won. Perhaps he means that some of the candidate's agents went near the Electoral Office to remind electors to keep their promise to vote for them, but I believe that is not done in Senglea alone; candidates wanting the votes of special electors do the same: they go a begging for votes from door to door, and on polling day they take up a position near the electoral offices and remind the special electors for whom they should vote. Then at Cospicua there was a very strong Government candidate who was in possession of the fortress, not of Santa Margherita, but of Cospicua and Zabbar. Well, what took place there? A young priest just came from Rome, who had never said a word about politics, simply because he approved a certain principle, was elected with a large majority and defeated the candidate who was known to be a staunch friend to the present administration. And now for the Special Electors.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—The Second District has been left out.

MR. SAVONA—There were two candidates for the Second District and both candidates had signed the Programme for responsible government. Two or three days before the nomination took place Dr. Agius had

signed the programme for responsible government as the candidate for the Fifth District, so that all the votes given to both candidates may be taken as votes given for responsible government. As to the Special Members the question was between responsible government and permanent government, and, as a large number of Special Electors are Government officials of high standing or Government officials of medium standing, who expect all of them to get to the top of the tree, they saw, that responsible Government meant their being deprived of the chance of becoming or remaining Heads of Department: it was therefore a question of life or death with them. It is not therefore to be wondered at that all the Government officials did their utmost to keep out the candidates pledged to Responsible Government. I have no doubt, however, that they repented or will repent when they will see the result of what they have done. I will now say no more. I shall hear what hon. gentlemen have to say about this most important proposal. With regard to the honourable gentleman and his colleagues, they cannot be expected to be in favour of the motion; and, therefore, even if they should deem it convenient to speak, they will, I hope, abstain from voting on a question of this kind.

MR. DARMANIN—Dirò quattro parole, e sarò breve e conciso. Mi pare superfluo ragionare dei vantaggi del Governo Responsabile. Ovunque il Governo Responsabile è stato adottato—e fu adottato da tutti i popoli, dagli Svizzeri, Inglesi, Francesi, Italiani, Spagnoli, Portoghesi, quasi da tutti i popoli di Europa—abbiamo veduto i benefici effetti che ha prodotto. Sicchè mi pare superfluo parlare in suo favore. Intendo invece dimonstrare in quattro parole che quei membri che non votassero in favor del Governo Responsabile renderebbero il più brutto servizio al Governo Imperiale. Noi abbiamo la vicina Sicilia governata a Governo Responsabile. Se i nostri avversari dicessero che noi siamo immaturi per aver un Governo Responsabile—e sarebbe la sola loro difesa—come spiegherebbero essi che nella vicina Sicilia c'è il Governo Responsabile? Da chi era stata educata la vicina Sicilia prima di aver avuto il Governo Responsabile? Era stata educata dal Governo del Borbone, quel Governo Autocrata che dal più grande statista del mondo, il Gladstone, venne chiamato Governo "Negazione di Dio". Or dobbiamo mai dire che il Governo Inglese in 95 anni ci avesse educati peggio del governo negazione di Dio? Questo sarebbe il maggior torto che si potrebbe fare alla grande nazione che ci regge. Abbiamo avuto altri popoli che hanno

ottenuto il Governo responsibile, come la Grecia, la Rumenia, la Serbia, la Bulgaria. Questi erano stati tutti sotto il Governo irresponsabile della Porta. Forse che il Governo Inglese educa peggio i suoi sudditi di quello che li educhi il Governo Turco? Non credo mai. Sicchè da queste ragioni deducete che chi voterà contro il Governo Responsabile verrà a dire che il Governo Inglese ci ha educati peggio del Governo "Negazione di Dio" ed anche peggio del Governo Turco. Nè questo solo. I nostri avversari diranno ancora che non ci si vorrà concedere il Governo Responsabile perchè siamo una della primarie fortezze che ha l'Inghilterra. Per questa ragione appunto dico però che ci doverebbe essere concesso più volentieri. Novantacinque anni di lealtà verso la grande nazione sotto il Governo Permanente sono abbastanza prova di quanto sarebbe più assicurata quella lealtà sotto il Governo Responsabile. Dateci quella libertà: ogni nuova libertà fu sempre rimedio a sè stessa. Dateci quella libertà e noi sapremo tenerci all'altezza della situazione meglio di qualunque altro popolo d'Europa. Noi domandiamo infine il Governo responsabile come dritto dovuto ad ogni popolo civile, come dritto inalienabile. E non potrà esserci negato.

MR. BONAVIA—I will not, sir, repeat the many words of the hon. members who have just sat down, but I fully concur in the views expressed by them. I wish to be brief and therefore to uphold their argument, will assert that Responsible Government is a beneficial Government. I quote the words of a most distinguished British statesman and that is Lord Derby. In one of his written despatches, he stated that wherever Responsible Government had been introduced it has proved to be a very beneficial sort of Government, and on the strength of that declaration I cannot but with all my strength, with all my heart, sustain and uphold the motion made for a prayer to grant us Responsible Government. The question now arises whether we are deserving of that beneficial sort of Government. Just in front of this palatial building which your Excellency honours by occupying, stands the arch tablet which begins with the words "Melitensium Amor". These words were engraved and posted in that most conspicuous part of the Island, somewhat more than three fourths of a century ago. If the British Government approved of that expression at that time, I am not aware that the Maltese have committed any deed since that time that has rendered them undeserving of being called loyal and loving subjects. We have always proved faithful, submissive, obedient subjects and therefore

if we now venture to ask for a change in our form of Government, from permanent to Responsible Government, I think no objection can conscientiously be raised to combat our prayer. Responsible Government has been granted to other Colonies of the great British Empire. As we have been told over and over again, it has been granted to Colonies inhabited almost exclusively by a class of people much inferior to us Maltese. Of course, amongst us there are dishonest and not very honorable individuals; but I believe that no gentleman here present will dare assert that amongst the population of Malta he can find, relatively speaking, a greater number of evil-disposed, non-respectable people than are to be found in other inhbited small States. I have read that a majority of the population of Western Australia are either themselves criminals or descendants of criminals (oh, oh).... Am I in order, Sir? as the hon. and noble gentleman who is always disposed to call others to order, does not seem to approve of my statements. But I receive no instructions except from Your Excellency, and from no one else....
THE PRESIDENT—There is I think nothing out of order in your speech; but I hope you will endeavour to state your case without hurting the feelings of any hon. members.

MR. BONAVIA—I have not stated it from personal acquaintance I said already that I have read it. It may be true, and it may not be true, if it is true. I think that such things cannot be said of us Maltese. If Responsible Government has been granted to the population of Western Australia, even if they are as loyal and faithful subjects as we are, why should we not be treated in the same way? If there is any special reason for denying it to us, I should like to hear it, in order that I may be possibly enabled to form another opinion on the subject. Now another question arises in my mind and it is this: I cannot reasonably expect any elected member to vote against the motion. Although I took no active part in the late elections, still I have read the papers as it is my custom always to do, and from these papers I have learnt that if not all, at least the majority of the elected members now present in this Council have declared themselves to this effect, viz: that Responsible Government is their greatest wish; that it is to that they aspire, and that all loyal subjects wish and expect to obtain it; and therefore if those sentiments were expressed and those declarations were made *bona fide* and not to deceive the electorate, I hope that on the strength of those declarations these gentlemen will do honour to such declarations and support what they declared by voting in favour of the

motion. Now what is my object in upholding this motion? It is simply one: that of avoiding, if possible, the repetition of abuses that are very often resorted to in this administration. We have heard, and not only heard but we are convinced, of the existence of two weights and two measures in Malta. And I believe that, if Responsible Government were introduced, those double weights and measures would be done away with. There is another reason, and it is this: Why should the official members object to Responsible Government? Why should they object to be responsible directly to the people? We know what class of people are supposed to be irresponsible. Irresponsible people are people who are not of age, or incapable to form an opinion on any subject, full grown people or people who are fond of oppressive measures and autocratic ways of governing. These opinions however nowadays should be considered obsolete and worse than obsolete, as deserving to be censured and condemned. Other peoples have obtained Responsible Government; and if we venture, not to ask but to pray for a change of Government. I hope no surprise will be expressed. There is an hon. Member of this Council who has personally experienced the effects of Permanent Government or Government shaped on Garrison principles. I allude to the hon. the Representative of the Graduates of the University (Dr. Grech). That hon. Member will be able to tell Your Excellency the way in which he was treated at the hands of the Police, who, when the hon. Member deemed it inhuman, most dangerous, to expose a patient of his labouring under fever in connection with small pox in the latter end of December, insisted upon having that patient carried from Cospicua to Lazaretto at night time. And the hon. gentleman as a Christian, as an honest man, as a clever physician, protested against the conduct of the Police. And for his meritorious conduct, in what way was he remunerated? Only a few quarters of an hour after his verbal protest had been made, he was dragged from his dwelling house at night time, conducted to the Courts of Justice; a magistrate, who was not on duty that night, was called in; and when the hon. gentleman stated that he had witnesses to produce in his defence he was prevented from producing them. Then and there, à tambour battant, as the French say, he was convicted condemned and carried to Prison. Now I believe—I may be mistaken, but I am conscientiously convinced—that if we had Responsible Government, that gentleman would not have been treated so brutally. The Secretary of State for the Colonies himself declared in the greatest parliament of the

world that Dr. Grech had been harshly and brutally treated. Under Responsible Government such things cannot take place. How then can an honest man fail to support this motion? I contend that under Responsible Government we would fare much better; of course we cannot be more faithful, and more loyal, but our minds would rest more tranquil and secure.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—I rise to beg permission to ask a question. As I was not in Malta when some such case occurred which happened more than ten years ago.

MR. BONAVIA—This case of oppression and cruelty occurred under the administration of autocratic permanent officials. . . .

THE PRESIDENT—I don't think that the matter is relevant to the question before the Council.

MR. BONAVIA—I did not in any way refer to Your Excellency's administration; for Your Excellency, in whom I see the representative of my Sovereign I have the deepest respect,

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—Sir, I rose to ask a question. . . .

MR. BONAVIA—Order! order!— Is the hon. gentleman in order?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—As is it important in this debate to record the date of this grievance I beg to ask:— Was the occurrence referred to anterior to the Constitution of 1887 or not?

THE PRESIDENT—I think we should now proceed with the discussion of Mr. Savona's resolution.

MONS. MIFSUD—Nella seduta passata abbiamo avuto una risoluzione davanti a questo Consiglio colla quale la maggioranza dello stesso chiedeva a Sua Maestà una certa forma di Governo. Indirettamente, dunque, io credo che questo Consiglio già si è espresso sul proposito.

MR. BONAVIA—Question! question! The question is 'Responsible Government' and nothing else just now!

THE PRESIDENT—(addressing Mr. Bonavia) A certain amount of latitude must be given in a question of this kind. I hope the hon. and rev. member will not be interrupted.

MONS. MIFSUD—L'onor. signore crede che questa questione non abbia nulla che fare colla precedente, però al contrario io credo che essa ha molto da fare. Se questo Consiglio ha già preso una decisione sul proposito, non so come oggi si possa far prendere allo stesso una risoluzione diversa quante volte questa sia diversa da quella già decisa dal Consiglio. Non credo che l'onor. rappresentante il Quinto Distretto

possa dire che io sia fuori d'ordine nel fargli ricordare questo fatto. Abbiamo inteso una storia più o meno lunga del Governo Costituzionale di queste isole. Fortunatamente non si è incominciato dai tempi di Adamo; ma principiando da quelli dei Romani si giunse ai tempi dell' Ordine ed altri governi susseguenti. Io non so se il paragone dedotto possa reggere, specialmente quello coi Romani; nè potrei dire che coll'allegare come eravamo costituiti sotto l'Ordine si voglia in qualche modo insinuare che allora stavamo meglio, oppure che si desidera ritornare a quei tempi. Certamente se una tale idea si volesse accogliere, anche momentaneamente, si dovrebbe prima cercare di studiare la storia di quei tempi. Si parlò di privilegi e di franchigie godute nei tempi degli Spagnuoli, nei tempi dell'Ordine; ma sono sicuro che fino adesso pochi conoscono il contenuto, o almeno il valore del contenuto di siffatti privilegi; perchè studiandoli bene si trova che erano non ben poca cosa, ma quasi nulla addirittura. Non erano altro che il dritto di poter estrarre grano, mantenere imperitura la provvista ed esser giudicati in Malta in certi casi. Perciò credo che l'allegare la storia antica per avere un governo migliore e rispondente alle idee moderne, sia completamente fuori di luogo, ciò che ci farebbe piuttosto indietreggiare di molto, perchè ove il ministro volesse studiare i tempi antichi e farci a quelli ritornare noi saremmo ad essere tirannicamente retti. Se il Governo inglese ha voluto reggerci meglio di quel che hanno fatto i governi antecedenti e specialmente l'Ordine, noi lo troviamo nello stesso Thiers, al volume quarto, della sua opera "Il Consolato e l'Impero". Costui ci fa sapere che il 12 Aprile 1803 i Plenipotenziari inglesi avevano proposto allo imperatore Napoleone due offerte, cioè:— o tener essi, gli Inglesi, la possessione dei forti dell'isola a perpetuità, lasciando il Governo Civile all'Ordine, oppure di lasciare queste possessioni dopo dieci anni alla condizione che non tornassero dopo in mano allo Ordine, ma in mano ai Maltesi. Questo nel caso che si volesse confrontare, si trova al volume quarto dell'opera citata pagina 327. I Maltesi avevano chiesto meno di quanto proponeva di dare il Governo Imperiale. I Maltesi presentarono una dichiarazione nel 15 Giugno 1802 nella quale si chiedeva che il dritto di legislazione e tassazione appartenesse al Consiglio Popolare col consenso ed assenso del rappresentante di Sua Maestà. Più tardi formularono meglio le loro domande, e quando presentarono al Generale Ball una spada in segno di ringraziamento, essi presentando quella, presentarono ancora una specie di trattato o Capitoli che essi avrebbero

desiderato di avere col Gran Maestro qualora l'isola fosse ritornata a costui in seguito al trattato d'Amiens. In questo trattato si voleva un corpo legislativo permanente ed i membri sarebbero immovibili ed a vita. Tale corpo sarebbe composto di quattro membri, scelti da qualunque delle tre classi del Convento Gerosolimitano, uno dei quali doveva essere sempre Maltese; di quattro del corpo dei possidenti maltesi e di un legale. In altri termini la tendenza degli stessi Maltesi era di aver un corpo permanente, e più confacente a quanto l'onor. rappresentante del Primo Distretto citava dai Blue Books essersi voluto dal Principal Segretario, cioè si voleva un elemento misto. Ma, comunque sia, io come già mi sono espresso l'altra volta, non sono in principio opposto a che ai Maltesi,—ed a me come Maltese,—sia concesso il dritto di regolarci da noi nelle materie locali. Però, lo faccio osservare all'onor. rappresentante il Primo Distretto ed a quelli che hanno parlato prima di me che da tutti quanti si desidera in tempi più o meno futuri un governo completamente in mano delle persone elette dal popolo. Noi abbiamo chiesto la Costituzione del 1887, perchè crediamo che coll'ammettere gli elettivi nell'Esecutivo si sarà fatto un primo passo verso quanto chiede l'onor. rappresentante del Primo Distretto. L'azione di una maggioranza che voleva tutto ostruire senza prendere la responsabilità che accompagnava. . . .

MR SAVONA—Non è vero.

MONS. MIFSUD—È verissimo. Ostruendo tutto si venne allo stato attuale che desideriamo correggere colla risoluzione già passata in questo Consiglio. L'onor. rappresentante del Primo Distretto ha parlato a lungo sulla risoluzione da noi passata ed ha detto che quella lascia le cose come stanno. Non so che cosa intenda dire, benchè abbia molto parlato, colla sua espressione "che lascia le cose come stanno, e forse anche li peggiora". La risoluzione da noi proposta, mi si permetterà osservare, ha due parti e che se nella prima non si è detto che i tre dello Esecutivo debbano essere scelti dalla maggioranza; nella seconda si parla del passaggio di denaro di progetti di tassazione ecc. da una maggioranza elettiva semplicemente. Ora quando si presenta una risoluzione che ha due parti, sarebbe criterio di ogni logica—e certo per chi è stato capo della Istruzione Pubblica ne deve conoscere alquanta—di non disgiungere la seconda parte dalla prima nè la prima si deve considerare la seconda. Ed è un fatto che se i tre membri elettivi non godessero la fiducia dei membri elettivi, il Consiglio rigettando i voti di denaro renderebbe

impossibile il governo dell'isola, e li obligherebbe a dimettersi. Questa non è teoria, mi baso su un fatto citato cento volte dall'onor. rappresentante il Primo Distretto, la dimissione dei tre dello Esecutivo nel 1891. E poi dico io, se in questo Consiglio, come in tutti i Parlamenti del mondo, invece di due partiti, ci fossero tre o quattro senza che alcuno formasse una maggioranza sullo altro, oppure non ci fosse nessuno, come forse è il caso presente, si fosse impossibile distinguere la maggioranza elettiva come si vorrà mettere a disposizione del governo tre elettivi scelti dalla maggioranza? Che cosa succederebbe in questi casi quando per legge fosse obbligato il Governatore a scegliere sempra i tre elettivi per l'Esecutivo da una maggioranza elettiva? Unità di programma oggi hanno solo 4 membri, gli altri non hanno programmi fra loro simili—il Governatore dunque dovrebbe chiamare per l'Esecutivo i primi? avremmo il contrario di quello a cui ci vorrebbe far giungere l'onor. signore col ripetere cento mila volte che abbiamo ommesso la parola maggioranza. Si è parlato anche del veto; noi abbiamo lasciato le cose come sono; cioè, qualora ci si concedesse ciò che nella risoluzione abbiamo chiesto, avremo il veto nella posizione in cui era nel 1887—checchè si dica in contrario—perchè non sta in nostra autorità di farlo. Chi conosce dritto Costituzionale, o almeno nel fatto mostra di voler conoscere troppo di dritto Costituzionale, dovrebbe certamente sapere che il veto è una prerogativa sovrana, che si esercita per mezzo del Governatore, e rimane lo stesso in tutte le colonie, sia che vi siano sei o dodici o trecento o cinquecento elettivi nell'Esecutivo! Questo lo vediamo dappertutto—non solo in un paese come il nostro, ma anche nella Sicilia e negli altri paesi che sono stati tanto esaltati dall'onor. rappresentante l'Ottavo Distretto. È poco tempo che un ministro nato e vissuto, per lungo tempo, nella vicina Sicilia, ha creduto contro l'opinione di gran parte del proprio paese di prorogare il parlamento, e nessun ha mai creduto di negare alla autorità sovrana il dritto di esercitare tanto questa prerogativa quanto quella del veto. Ora sarebbe pure da considerarsi se sia seria la domanda per maggiori franchigie di chi rifiutò di aver nel Governo una piccola responsabilità, quella che gli offriva la Costituzione del 1887.

MR. SAVONA—I could not refuse what had not been offered to me.

MONS. MIFSUD— Se ben ricordo l'onor. signore aveva firmato un programma che metteva il Governo nella impossibilità di chiamarlo a formar parte dello stesso—anzi, se non si dovesse accettare una respon-

sabilità siffatta. Inoltre, si può accordare di simili domande a chi, quando aveva il potere in mano—piccolo, se si vuole—non fece altro che governare in un modo dispotico!

MR. SAVONA—Non è vero! è falso! (Order, Order!)

THE PRESIDENT—I think that is not a proper way of speaking, Mr. Savona.

MR. SAVONA—Sir, I say that what the hon. and rev. member has just said is false. (Order! Order!)

THE PRESIDENT—I must say that that is not the way to speak to the hon. and rev. gentleman; you might say that he is mistaken; but to state that what he said is not true is, what in English is called, "to give him the lie".

MR. SAVONA—I heard Lord Salisbury give the Earl of Derby the lie in the House of Lords.

THE PRESIDENT—I would surely have ruled him out of order if I had been in the Chair.

MONS. MIFSUD—L'onor. signore nega, ed io, per cortesia, lo debbo credere—certamente però la sua condotta aveva tutta l'apparenza di un dispotismo; ed è egualmente certo che tutta la popolazione gridava e strillava e non voleva il sistema che da lui s'adottava—se avesse ragione o torto non è adesso il momento di vedere. Inoltre è un fatto che quelli che domandano ulteriori franchigie sono costoro che non vogliono mai rispettare le opinioni di chi non pensa come loro; ora sarebbe buono che, prima di chiedere qualunque governo responsabile, s'impari a rispettare anche le opinione altrui; chiunque non pensa colla testa di costoro, diventa tutto quello che volete; basta dire che si è arrivato al punto di chiamare con un titolo poco rispettabile coloro che diedero il loro voto agli eletti dagli elettori speciali. Ora dico io sarebbe prudente affidare il governo in mano di costoro? Non terrò più a lungo questo Consiglio; ma osserverò in quanto alle osservazioni fatte sul progetto una volta presentato dal Principal Segretario, quando egli era semplice cittadino, e in quanto quello presentato allora dal mio amico il Dr. Fortunato Mizzi,—che quei progetti non sono quelli che si vorrebbero in questo momento presentare a questo Consiglio. Certamente se si fossero presentati quei progetti la nostra condotta sarebbe ben diversa—o almeno la mia condotta sarebbe oggi ben diversa. Già mi sono espresso altre volte che a maggiori franchigie io non sono opposto; ma voglio tutto gradatamente; oggi, secondo me, sarebbe rendere il maggior servizio a tutti coloro che

sono opposti a che noi ci governiamo da noi stessi, il chiedere siffatta cosa. È chiaro—senza bisogno di molti ragionamenti—che se fosse concesso quello che adesso si domanda di darci, cioè, il governo nelle nostre mani, dall'indomani gli errori commessi condurrebbero il governo imperiale a ritirare la concessione e a ridurci—come una volta gli fu suggerito—ad una "colonia del tipo più severe"! (*Mr. Savona.* Non è vero). Si confermi o si neghi, sta ad ognuno di decidere a suo tempo. Imperocchè i nemici nostri si prevarrebbero degli errori che necessariamente si commetterebbero, e forse il provocherebbero essi medesimi per conseguire il loro sinistro scopo. In quanto al merito della risoluzione avanti al Consiglio, credo che poco si sia detto. Però come sta la stessa secondo me è molto difettosa. Si propone con questa mozione che tutti i membri dello Esecutivo fossero membri elettivi—cioè sette membri tolti dalla maggioranza. Tolti sette membri, che ne rimarrebbe? Si potrebbe allora dire d'aver un altro governo permanente con differenti persone. Sarebbe dunque questione di persone—si tolga un dato numero di persone dal governo e si sostituiscano altre persone, e il tutto sarebbe accomodato. Ora se si deve giudicare dalle apparenze, certamente un governo tale sarebbe secondo me molto e molto peggiore dello attuale. Nelle attuali condizioni a me pare che non rimane altro che lavoro alacramente; e quando giungerà il tempo in cui le opinioni di altri si rispetteranno, come pure le persone che si mettono a capo dell' azienda pubblica chiaramente non fanno nascere alcun dubbio sulle loro intenzioni, certamente anch' io, mutate le cose, sarei il primo a chiedere una siffatta alterazione nella Costituzione. Pel momento però sono del tutto opposto.

MR. BENCINI—La questione che abbiamo innanzi, Eccellenza, involve un principio di gravissima importanza, il quale principio dovrebbe essere gelosamente custodito da ogni Maltese cui ancor rimane sangue nelle vene. (Hear, Hear!), principio però che dovrebbe essere cautamente applicato (Hear, Hear!) Non voglio entrare per ora nel merito della questione. Pregherei il Consiglio perchè mi usi dell'indulgenza nel fare poche osservazioni sul passato, e spero che quest'indulgenza non mi sarà negata, essendosi dato ad altri l'agio di esprimere le loro idee; ciò onde venire ad una matura conclusione sul voto da darsi su questa importantissima questione. Insin da che io mi ricordo, la precipua causa delle agitazioni politiche in Malta, è stata sempre la questione della Costituzione— cioè se sia buona o meno. Nel 1881–82 si formò un partito

che chiamossi Nazionale, inteso ad emendare la Costituzione del 1849. Il paese per sei o sette anni era in preda ad una continua agitazione. Dopo tanti trambusti, tante grida, tanti schiamazzi, il Governo Imperiale nel 1887 ci concesse una Costituzione. La regione che indusse il Governo Imperiale a darci quella Costituzione, fino a questo momento, non saprei dirla. Fatto stà, che la Costituzione ci fu concessa; però, come si è ripetutamente detto in questa sala, non saprei dire se fu concessa in realtà o altrimenti. Tanto è vero, che due dispacci—della cui provvocazione ancora non saprei rendere ragione—uno del 18 Agosto 1889 e l'altro del 5 Aprile 1891, distrussero completamente la Costituzione del 1887. Di nuovo si diede mano alle agitazioni—di nuovo si diede principio a lavorare per emendare la Costituzione, od averne una nuova. Ultimamente ebbero luogo le elezioni generali, e la popolazione si divise in due fazioni politiche—l'una voleva la ripristinazione della già menzionata Costituzione del 1887, e l'altra voleva il self-government, oppure, Autonomia. Si formarono i partiti, si presentarono i candidati, alcuni per l'una forma di Costituzione, altri per l'altra. Tra i candidati ci sono stato io. Però io mi sono attenuto alla parte dell'indipendenza, vale a dire, nè all'uno nè all'altro partito. Tanto è vero che mi sono dichiarato nel mio manifesto elettorale nel senso che avrei lavorato strenuamente pel maggior sviluppo delle nostre franchigie costituzionali. Mi si diceva allora: ma di questa guisa vi troverete tra il martello d'un partito e l'incudine dell'altro. Io rispondeva: Amico di tutti, schiavo di nessuno (hear, hear!). Cosicchè io sono stato eletto in base alla mia promessa di dover lavorare strenuamente pel maggior svilappo delle nostre franchigie costituzionali. Ciò premesso, entro nel merito della questione che abbiamo innanzi. Portate due proposte quasi simultaneamente, l'una dall' onor. rappresentante del Clero e l'altra l'attuale mozione, era mio dovere, era naturale che io mi afferrassi alla prima proposta intesa al maggior sviluppo delle nostre franchigie costituzionali—purchè però quella risoluzione venisse incorporata in un'ordinanza e presentata sotto questa forma al Consiglio per essere discussa. Ora io sarei stato da bel principio a favore di un Governo Responsabile, perchè come ho sentito dire e ripetere quì, non credo che ci sia un Maltese il quale potrebbe ricusare o non lavorare per la propria autonomia. Però bisogna prima stabilire se sia il momento di proporre una risoluzione simile quando gli animi sono per così dire, straziati tra loro, quando la politica è così diversa tra un individuo ed altro. Una risoluzione simile avrebbe dovuto

rimanere sepolta almeno fino ad un tempo propizio (hear, hear!), perchè una proposta simile, conoscendo io il carattere, l'indole, e la politica del Governo Imperiale, avrebbe richiesto, avrebbe esatto che tutta la popolazione come un sol uomo avesse fatto tale domanda. Per me, non credo che si avrebbe dovuto fare nè sottomettere al pubblico risoluzione di questa fatta, quando le agitazioni non sono ancora calmate, quando vi sono in campo tante discrepanze di opinioni. Si dovrebbe, secondo me, aspettare che la promessaci Ordinanza si portasse avanti del più presto possibile onde essere discussa dal Consiglio. Votata e passata l'Ordinanza, io credo che si potrebbe allora lavorare più pacificamente, con maggior calma e serenità di mente, ove la Costituzione fosse emendata nel senso voluto dalla maggioranza della popolazione (hear, hear!). Faccio breve menzione del risultato delle ultime elezioni. Dal numero dei voti riportati, compresi quelli da me ottenuti, rilevo la differenza di 774 voti a favore del Partito per la ripristinazione della Costituzione del 1887. Ora come furono riportati, quali mezzi si usarono nelle elezioni, è una questione che non mi interessa; so vedere solamente il fatto—e il fatto è lì (hear, hear!). Se vi sieno stati degli intrighi, si vi sia stato il timore da parte della maggior parte degli elettori speciali, i quali al dire di alcuni, consistono di impiegati di Governo o connessi col Governo, io non saprei dire; posso solamente dire che vi è una maggioranza di 774 voti a favore della ripristinazione della Costituzione del 1887. Sotto queste circostanze, io mi azzarderei a suggerire all' onor. proponente di riservare la sua proposta per un tempo più propizio, anzicchè mettere la stessa a una divisione, nella quale da parte mia avrei il sommo dolore di votare contro. Dopo avuta risposta dal Governo Imperiale sull'Ordinanza che sarà per essere messa avanti del più presto possibile, allora sarà il tempo di pensare all presente domanda.

DR. GRECH—Eccellenza,—Quest'oggi abbiamo avuto il piacere di sentire le idee dell'onor. rappresentante il Primo Distretto riguardo il governo responsabile. L'ideale è bellissimo: tutti lo vogliono, tutti ardentemente lo desiderano. Ma vi sono alcuni che domandano: è giunto il tempo per chiedere il Governo responsabile? Il tempo è giunto; noi siamo pronti, siamo capaci di governarci da noi stessi. La storia del passato, e la storia presente, ce lo dimostrano. Chi sono stati finora i membri del governo, se non Maltesi? Chi sono i membri attuali del governo, se non Maltesi? Chi sono i membri anuali del governo, se non Maltesi? Non sono essi capaci a governare? Del resto, neppure è necessario di ricorrere

ad argomenti di storia; noi stiamo in casa nostra; noi altri ci siam messi sotto la protezione della Grande ed Invitta Britannia semplicemente per amore. Perchè non ci si deve accordare quello che domandiamo? E che cosa è che nella passata seduta abbiamo chiesto approvando la risoluzione dell' onor. e rev. rappresentante gli Ecclesiastici? Noi altri reclamando che i tre membri dello Esecutivo siano scelti dal seno dei membri elettivi, non abbiamo voluto far altro col escludere gli estranei dal Consiglio Esecutivo—che stabilire il principio che il governo non debba mai—ammennochè non voglia rendersi ridicolo—scegliere tre per l'Esecutivo che non godino la fiducia della maggioranza. Abbiamo asserito i nostri diritti col domandare la ripristinazione della Costituzione del 1887, nel senso e nello spirito in cui quella Costituzione è stata accordata—e davvero, non solo secondo me, ma secondo fin'anche l'onor. rappresentante del Primo Distretto non si poteva avere una Costituzione migliore—una Costituzione secondo la quale noi avremmo il potere di amministrare le nostre sostanze e di spendere il nostro denaro. Infatti, al volume XV dei Dibattimenti di questo Consiglio a pagina 775, Seduta No. 52, trovo che quando si discuteva l'Ordinanza per la riforma della Costituzione il sig. Savona si è espresso in questi termini; "E veramente si il Governo avesse voluto governare consienziosamente e costituzionalmente, il Governo dell'Isola in questioni locali sarebbe stato in mano dei membri non-ufficiali dell'Esecutivo, perchè sebbene in quel Consiglio vi fossero sette ufficiali contro tre elettivi, pure se il Capo del Governo fosse andato contro le opinioni di quei tre, l'appoggio degli altri sette membri non gli sarebbe valso per nulla, in primo luogo perchè uno dei membri ufficiali dell'Esecutivo non è membro di questo Consiglio, secondariamente perchè se il Governo andasse contro la decisione dei tre elettivi, nel caso che questi tre avessero l'appoggio della maggioranza, con tutti quei sei membri ufficiali il Governo si sarebbe trovato in minoranza in questo Consiglio, e non avrebbe potuto far prevalere le sue intenzioni. In questo modo i tre membri non-ufficiali dello Esecutivo, nominati secondo la lettera e lo spirito delle Lettere Patenti e le prescrizioni del dispaccio del Segretario di Stato del 14 Dicembre 1887, avrebbero veramente in mano il Governo dell'Isola".

THE PRESIDENT—What is the date of that, please?

DR. GRECH—The 24th of February 1892. Ora noi domandando la ripristinazione di una Costituzione siffatta; noi non facciamo altro che insistere che la Costituzione venga applicata secondo la lettera e lo spirito con cui è stata concessa;—e noi saremo forse ad ottenere anche il

Governo dell'isola, secondo la forma desiderata oggi dall'onor. rappresentante del Primo Distretto,—tutto quello che si vuole è coscienza; lavorare con coscienza;—coscienza da parte dei membri elettivi, coscienza da parte dei membri ufficiali. Coscienza vuol dire onestà. Ora, in questo punto, non sarei entrato in dettagli qualora l'onor. rappresentante del Primo Distretto, non ci avesse sfidati, dicendo:—"I defy any person"—a dire per quali ragioni la sua Ordinanza non era stata approvata dal Governo di Sua Maestà,—per quali ragioni è stata vetata per tre volte di seguito. Giacchè sono stato apertamente sfidato, sono nello stretto dovere di dare la mia opinione. Da parte mia sono d'opinione che questa risoluzione è stata al Consiglio presentata in mala fede, e non senza ragione. Infatti chi per entrare in questo Consiglio ha dovuto promettere di non accettare impieghi, ed appena entrato li accetta, può dirsi onesto e coscienzioso? Può dirsi, forse, onesto e coscienzioso chi appena salito al potere, sostiene certi principï e poi perduto il potere li combatte? Può dirsi onesto e conscienzioso chi della stampa si serve per terrorizzare i suoi avversarj, per spaventarli dal mettersi avanti a prendere parte nella nostra politica? (Order! order!) Può dirsi onesto e coscienzioso .... (order! order!) .. chi della stampa si serve per denegrire l'onore di pacifici cittadini e di innocenti ragazze (Order! order!). Può dirsi onesto e coscienzioso chi non ha il coraggio di scrivere in inglese quello che poi spiatella ed insinua in vernacolo fra il popolo? Può dirsi onesto e coscienzioso chi non spiega le cose nella propria realtà. . . . . .

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—Sir, I rise to a point of order. The hon. member representing the Graduates of the University is making unpermissible personal allusions. . . . . .

DR. GRECH—I am speaking in general . . . .

MR. SAVONA—No Sir. He is alluding to me. He is speaking straight at me . . . .

DR. GRECH—I mentioned no names. . . . . .

THE PRESIDENT—Order! Order! The hon. member must not make personal reflections. . . . . .

MR. SAVONA—I was waiting to see how long he would be allowed to continue in that strain. . . . . .

THE PRESIDENT—Order! Order! Will you allow me to speak . . . .

MR SAVONA—And I will insist on replying to every word he has said. . . . . .

THE PRESIDENT—Sit down Mr. Savona, please.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—If Dr. Grech continues to make allusions to members of this Council, it will be my duty to ask the Council to take steps to prevent his continuing in that strain. The hon. member is speaking in Italian, in a manner which may appear to make it somewhat difficult to call him to order nevertheless it is my duty to insist that he shall not continue to use any expressions offensive to another member (Hear, hear!).

MR. SAVONA—And impute bad motives.

THE PRESIDENT—I must ask you, Dr. Grech, not to say anything that will hurt the feelings of any other member, and that the other hon. gentlemen will do the same. (Hear, hear!).

DR. GRECH—I am not imputing motives. I am speaking of the conscience and honesty of people in general. . . .

MR. SAVONA—He is doing nothing of the kind. He has been alluding to me, from the beginning, and I shall answer every word he said.

THE PRESIDENT—I think it is quite unnecessary for you, Mr. Savona, to speak in that way. . . . .

MR. SAVONA—Your Excellency has not perhaps understood the allusions. (Order! order!)

DR. GRECH—I am following up my argument. I am only saying that before supporting such a proposal at this, we are bound to look at the conscience and the honesty of the proposer. What I said, Sir, was merely this. I asked, is it honest and conscientious to write in vernacular what one has not the courage to write in English? is it honest to promise not to accept employment and then afterwards to accept it?

MR. SAVONA—There are many like that!

DR. GRECH—You are one of them! (order, order!)

MR. BENCINI—Sir, I rise to order. We come here to work for the good of the country, and not to hear discussions of a nature which are fit for another place altogether, (Hear, hear!) It seems that some elected members have been elected for the purpose of coming here and insulting one another . . . . (order, order!)

THE PRESIDENT—That is saying too much. I hope the debate may now proceed without further interruption.

DR. GRECH—Dunque dicevo, è onesto e coscienzioso chi aizza la popolazione contro la legge sui legati di maritaggio e chi alletta i fanatismi religiosi del popolo?

MR. SAVONA—The hon. member is going on in the same way. As he is

being allowed to speak in this way I shall claim the right to reply to this issue of falsehoods. . . . . (Order, order!)

THE PRESIDENT—You really must not speak in that way.

DR. GRECH—I do not say that the hon. member excited the prejudice and fanaticism of the lower classes in regard to the question of legacies; many persons did that—mostly priests! What I say is this, that it is neither honest nor conscientious to oppose that law because it was beneficial to the poorer classes.

THE PRESIDENT—Yes, but you must keep aloof from painful allusions.

DR. GRECH—Dunque si chiamerebbe onesto e coscienzioso—almeno nel dire questo spero che sono in ordine—chi ha messo in berlina in Febbrajo scorso una idea lontana di franchigie costituzionali sostenuta da un indipendente avvocato, ed oggi viene in Consiglio a proporre il Governo Responsabile—quando la maggioranza elettiva ha già votato una risoluzione stabilendo i principii sui quali la Costituzione debba essere emendata. È questa coscienza? Insomma è l'onestà e la coscienza che si chiede da parte degli elettivi; ma, dallo altro canto, anche il Governo dovrebbe mostrare onestà e coscienza nella sua amministrazione. Però, se il Governo fin'oggi ha, in apparenza, transatto colla sua coscienza, esso può forse in qualche modo giustificarsi, essendosi mantenuto forte contro le pretensioni egoistiche di qualche onorevole personaggio. Se il Governo però dopo di aver visto oggi la manifestazione di questo Consiglio, continuerà ad opporsi alle aspirazioni del popolo ed a negare benevole accoglienza alla Ordinanza che saremo a proporre—allora il governo potrà essere attaccato di mala fede e di disonestà. Spero però, che il governo, sentita l'opinione di questo Consiglio e veduto l'esito eloquente delle recenti elezioni e veduta la buona volontà della maggioranza di accelerare i lavori dell'amministrazione non mancherà di dare appoggio alla nostra domanda. Prima di sedere faccio osservare, che quanto ho già detto non è altro che la conferma del mio programma elettorale al quale l'onor. signore (Mr. Savona) ha avuto l'agio di rispondere. In fatti, in data del 16 Agosto 1895, nel mio manifesto elettorale ho scritto:

"In quanto al grido frenetico pel Governo responsabile, grido emesso sforzatamente da Savona, dopo che un eminente avvocato maltese, il quale esercita brillantemente la professione in Londra, si era messo a propugnare questa causa dimostrando che era ormai giunto il tempo in

cui i membri elettivi dovessero partecipare direttament nella amministrazione locale; in quanto a questo grido, io vorrei che il desiderio della maggior parte dei maltesi venisse appagato—Le persone però che schiamazzano per l'autonomia sono per me un grande ostacolo per il conseguimento dello stesso.—Io bramerei lavorare alacremente sul proposito con persone di sentimenti diversi—Savona che patrocina questa causa non è per me in buona fede.—Egli insin dal 1887 lotta per gelosia e per interesse personale", (Order! order!). . . .

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—Sir I think it my duty to intimate to the Council that if the Representative of the Graduates of the University again defies the injunctions and ruling of the Chair I shall have to move that he be suspended from further attending at this sitting of the Council.

THE PRESIDENT—There must be no mistake about it. (to Dr. Grech) You must not say things, or read things, injurious to your brother members.

DR. GRECH—Io credo di aver detto abbastanza. (*A voice.* Troppo,) in sostegno del mio argomento cioè che per lavorare la costitutione non si vuole altro che buona fede ed onestà. E perciò non posso accettare una proposta per una Costituzione che viene dall'onor. membro del Primo Distretto e non posso che votare contro la stessa oppure differirla alle Calende Greche.

REV. CARUANA—In sentire i begli argomenti in favore del *self-government* e i bei colori coi quali è stato dipinto, mi gode l'animo di constatare ch'io non sia in errore credendolo che esso è cosa profittevole alla popolazione. E devo fare i miei complimenti agli onor. signori che hanno parlato prima di me in favore suo, ed i miei omaggi a quelli che hanno mostrato un patriottismo vero e leale proponendo una tale risoluzione. Ma, Signori, è venuta forse l'ora di poter sperare con fiducia che noi potremo ottenere dall'invitta Brettagna il *self-government*? (Hear, hear!) . . Se vogliamo dire il vero, bisogna dire che no.—Si disse in questa Assemblea che dal 1891 a questa parte le cose andarono molto male ed i fatti sono lì a provare questa verità. Si cercò far di tutto per legar le braccia a chi in mano ha il governo della cosa pubblica; si fece di tutto per suscitare la popolazione contro le leggi in vigore; si adoperarono anche altri mezzi poco gentili con iscopo di far credere che la costituzione del 1887 era difettosa, era cattiva, era una farsa. Si andò più oltre, si cerco di mandare in Consiglio a rappresentare la popolazione, caratteri, e persone, non idonee a quello scopo, nel fine chiaro

di rendere questo Governo, ed i membri che sostenevano con onore le loro cariche in Consiglio, ridicoli. In somma tutto si fece per denigrare il Governo e poter dire di poi: ecco, ciò che non vien da noi non val nulla, è una bella farsa." Ora, dopo simili fatti ed altri ancora possiamo sperare che il Governo Imperiale voglia, debba, possa accordarci il *self-government*? Non abbiamo avuto prove le più eloquenti di quello che potrebbe succedere se a quest'ora ci si concedesse il *self-government*? Quando taluno fu messo in posti alquanto alti, costui diede una prova non molto raccomandabile della sua capacità pel *self-government*; e una stampa idecorosa, in questo paese, non dubitò dire che la popolazione di Malta debba essere governata come una colonia di tipo il più severo. Or dietro tutto questo sono di opinione che non solamente non ci conviene domandare al Governo Imperiale il *self-government* nelle attuali circostanze, ma ancora che ove ciò facessimo le altre potenze sarebbero in diritto di crederci gente che ha perduto il cervello. Dappoichè persone abituate da lungo tempo alla politica del paese non possono con senno e serietà credere che nell'attuale circostanza possiamo domandare, con fiducia di ottenere, il *self-government*. Io dunque sono di umile parere che ci studiamo con tutta alacrità ed energia in questa legislatura a renderci degni di favori maggiori e quando avremo terminato questa legislatura con onore e vantaggio della popolazione e gloria nostra, allora si che potremo sperare con fondate ragioni di ottenere il *self-government*. Ma come dissi nelle attuali circostanze non sono di opinione che possiamo dimandarlo con speranza di ottenerlo.

DR. VELLA—Dirò solo qualche parola e non sarò a rivedere la storia. È vero che la storia del passato sarà quella dello avvenire. Però noi vediamo che il difetto non sta nella forma di governo. Osserviamo repubbliche che hanno progredito e quasi raggiunto un grado di perfezione nell'incivilmento e commercio: stati eretti a costituzione monarchica come l'Inghilterra, imperi come l'Austro-Ungarico. Il tutto stà negli uomini, nel carattere delle dramatis personæ—Se gli Elettori mandano membri elettivi di una qualità scadente, di probità dubbia, di intelligenza limitata, compreso me stesso, che cosa volete?—Io vedo che anche nell'ultima elezione l'elettorato ha scelto alcuni di noi perchè non aveva di meglio. Chi ha una certa rendita, ama la sua famiglia, chi ha i suoi affari privati e si trova in uno stato più o meno conformabile si infischia della politica; sa che i nostri "grievances" non sono sostanziali, sa che da noi si combatte per la forma di governo. Non è la forma che si deve cambiare, è il carattere degli

uomini. Tra i Maltesi vi sono molti onesti, amanti della patria, ma venendo quì devono essere scevri di idee spinte, o di obbiezioni studiate. Abbiamo osservato che quando un membro elettivo parla l'ufficiale non risponde con quella dignità richiesta. Anche i fanciulli della prima liceale si accorgono che il governo perchè vada bene 'there must be good-faith and good will." Noi altri abbiamo umiliato innanzi a Sua Maestà una domanda per la reintegrazione della Costituzione del 1887. La storia dice che fintanto che quella Costituzione era ben lavorata, lavorata in buona fede, e fin tanto che gli stessi membri continuavano con armonia ed erano di un sol principio differendo soltanto in materie secondarie, quella Costituzione camminò bene. E perciò ho sostenuto nell'ultima seduta la risoluzione dell' onor. e. rev. rappresentante il Clero. Pendente questa domanda, non potrei votare in favore della presente. Avuta il Governo Imperiale una prova della nostra attitudine a ben regolare le nostre faccende, sarò il primo a spalleggiare l'onor. membro del Primo Distretto per ottenere maggiori franchigie alla popolazione Maltese.

THE CROWN ADVOCATE—Sir, I think the time has now come when it is my duty on behalf of those members of this Council who are against Responsible Government in Malta to sum up what has passed in this debate; but I owe it is a duty which I look forward to with uneasiness and which is difficult to perform, owing to the extreme meagreness of the arguments that have been alleged in support of the resolution now before us. The hon. member for East Valletta has started by saying that government has become impossible in Malta, that so long as the adviser of the Governor will be permanent members chosen by the Secretary of State, bound to vote according to the instructions they receive from the Secretary of State—so long as they continue to be responsible to the Secretary of State alone,—the good people of Malta will continue to be governed on garrison principles. A very serious statement for an hon. member of this Council to make! Sir, I denounce that as a statement which should never have been made in this Council. The hon. member has also been a member of the Government. He also had his appointment from the Secretary of State. But I believe he has learnt by experience that a member of the Government is highly mistaken if he thinks that he is only responsible to the Secretary of State, or if he ever attempts to advise the Governor to govern the good people of this Island on Garrison Principles. I am not aware that any one of Your Excellency's predecessors has ever been advised to govern Malta on garrison principles except once,—and that was, when an adviser of the

Governor at a time when his policy did not agree with the views of the public proposed that

"as he believed that it would be detrimental to the interests of the people of these Islands so to alter the Constitution as practically to entrust the Government of these Islands to five elected members, the Letters Patent of 1849 might be revoked or suspended and other provisions made to secure the just and efficient administration of the Government of these Islands."

But the Governor did not take that advice, nor did the Secretary of State approve of it. The Governor and the Secretary of State on the contrary and those who at that time had an opportunity of approaching the Secretary of State on the subject followed what appeared to be at the time the opinion of the public, and a Constitution was granted by which three elected members were to be admitted to the Executive Council, thus enabling them to prevent any permanent member of the Government from advising Governors to govern Malta on garrison principles. If the hon. member thinks that the members of the Government consider themselves as being only responsible to the Secretary of State, he is greatly mistaken. Our responsibility to the Council of Government is as great as our responsibility to the Secretary of State. Indeed I am unable to draw a definite line between one responsibility and the other. We advise the Governor in the Executive Council without consulting the Secretary of State; the Governor decides local matters without consulting the Secretary of State. Both the members of the Government and the Governor consult only their conscience, and go by the opinion of the public, as regards local matters. We are in an absolute minority in this Council, and we must come to the Council to be furnished with the means to carry on the administration of the Government; the power of the purse is exclusively in the hands of the representatives of the people. We must go by the opinion of the public also for the reason that the Colonial policy of the Imperial Government rests on the principle that whenever in a Colony there is self-government the local administration of affairs is never to be unnecessarily interfered with. But the hon. member has utterly failed to prove the main point in this statement He has failed to prove that the Government has become impossible and that the people of these Islands are goverened on garrison principles. He has given us variations of different kinds upon a tune which has now become too old. He has told us again the Council was prorogued three or four times and that a certain number of resolutions and ordinances

were vetoed. That point has been discussed over and over again here, and it has been proved to the hilt that those prorogations were invariably prompted by the conduct of some of the elected members, and that the action of the Governor at the time being in proroguing the Council or in vetoing resolutions, and the action of the Secretary of State in advising Her Majesty to withhold Her assent to certain Ordinances, has always been within the limits of constitutional principles. I may add that since some time the National Party, has had a long dispute with the Reform Party, with the Party of Order, as to which of the political leaders was, or should be considered to be the "Inimicus Homo", the man guilty of attempting to destroy the Constitution of 1887. One party accused the leader of the other party of that responsibility. Is it not reasonable to infer that the blame for the prorogations of the Council and the vetoing of resolutions and ordinances must fall entirely on the politicians who could not agree about the administration of municipal interests? I am well aware that public affairs in Malta are not administered in accordance with the view of the hon. member for the First District. He has stated both here and outside the Council, since a very long time, that our administration of the Government was so bad as to deserve the epithet of a "Blundering and Plundering Administration". I am not going to enter upon examining if the hon. member was justified in applying that name to our administration; but I may say—and the hon. member will not be able to contradict me—that that Blundering and Plundering Administration has always been supported by a majority of the elected members. The elected members have disagreed on some particular point of administration, or on the conduct of the Government in connection with some special question, but it is a fact that the administration of the Government has been at all times approved since 1887 up to the present day by a majority of the elected Members. I have no hesitation to state that, if the hon. Member were to decide—and I think it would be a great blessing for all parties concerned that he should decide—upon impeaching us on a specific charge of having plundered the Treasury, or of having interfered with the liberty of thought and action of the people and with the other rights of the citizens, he would not have a single supporter in this Council even amongst the members who have signed his programme. I am amply justified in saying that, and I do not rely on the personal regard in which any of us may be held by one or more members of this Council. I rely on stronger grounds. The intelligence and the integrity of the country, which for some time allowed themselves to be

misled in the opinion that our administration was a Blundering and Plundering Administration, which under that impression have supported the hon Member, so that he could boast of a majority, have learnt by experience and have changed their views as regards our administration. But the hon. Member has refused to acknowledge the real cause of this political change and has wrapped himself up in his blind political prejudices like the unregenerate Sinner, described in the Methodist Hymn,

> Wrapped up in self conceit and pride,
> I shall have peace at last he cried.

But the hon. member, like the sinner, has not found peace; and he was driven in trying to do something. And what has he done? He has proposed that there should be responsible government in Malta. That was a clear and definite proposal by the adoption of which the hon. member would have found peace as administration of the Government would come to an end. That such would be the effects of the adoption of that proposal was explained to the people, both in the English and in the Italian newspapers and also in that newspaper which, as we have been informed to-day, printed as it is in Maltese, is doing such a great deal of good in developing political ideas, and in inculcating moral principles among the lower classes. It was explained to all the classes of the people, that if the proposal of the hon. member were adopted the Blundering and Plundering Administration would come to an end. This was also explained at the several public meetings gathered by the noise of hired musical bands. It appears, however, that that announcement has not excited any interest; and the person, who made that very important announcement, was unable to form a complete list of candidates who would support his proposal and had to have recourse to a gentleman, who is respected by many for his personal qualities, but who was known by every body, including the person who put him on his list of candidates, to be a foreigner, owing to his having changed his nationality of a British subject. The elected candidates in their endeavour to vindicate the old liberties of the people, tried to stir up the feelings of the rising generation and to induce them to look up to this great reform that had to take place as a political redemption. I think the proposed reform was called redemption. I am sure that one of the candidates, I do not remember whether he was not a member of the Clergy, posed as a redeemer. In order to give courage to young people to keep up agitation for the proposed reform the great exploits of our forefathers

against the Turks and the French were recorded in the newspapers with an intimation that we should show ourselves equal to our ancestors. It was very interesting to read such appeals to the people although they were not very serious. Another means was resorted to which was neither interesting nor serious in itself, but which was simply disgraceful, in any opinion; the holiness of oath was exposed to ridicule, when it was administered to some of the candidates on a platform for the purpose of better assuring the electors that those who promised to support the demand for responsible government would not go back from their undertaking. Well Sir, what was the result of all that? What came out of those very grand preparations? How did the electors take the promise of redemption? The result was that the Special Electors elected four members who had promised not to support the demand for responsible government; the result was that in the Third District the election of a gentleman whose opinions against that demand were well known was secured.—Although he published no manifestoes—all those who knew him and were aware of his common sense, and of his practical way of dealing with administrative and political questions felt sure that he would oppose the motion for responsible government. The result was that in the other districts were the election was contested out of 6650 votes polled over a total of 10,000 registered electors, only 2959 votes were given to the party advocating responsible government. In the Second District, if the votes which were given for one of the unsuccessful candidates, Mr. M.A. Mizzi, be added to those then obtained by Dr. Agius,—(both gentlemen were opposed to self-government)—the alien candidate would not have been elected. Well, then, what is the legitimate inference to be drawn from that result of the general election? The inference is that the intelligence and the integrity of the country has expressed itself in a most clear, in a most positive, in an unmistakeable manner, against responsible government. I am sure that the hon. member for the first District will not contradict me on that point. I have learnt from his speeches and from his writings that the Special Electors represent the integrity and the intelligence of the country. They were considered by him to be such when they returned candidates supporting his views on previous elections. These classes have not been changed. The change must have only taken place in the views of the members belonging to those classes; such change should not by itself make them liable to forfeit their title to intelligence and integrity which on former occasions the hon. member was pleased to admit that the special electorate possessed. I think that the honesty and

intelligence of the country ought to be congratulated on the result of the elections, because it has shown that—the people of Malta—are not so ignorant as some persons must have considered them to be—and that, when a question of principle was put before them, they were able to decide it in the way they should have decided it. They have shown to have understood that responsible government, however good and desirable it may be from a theoretical point of view, is not, at least for the present, suitable for this Island. They have shown that they are a serious people; that they, rather than be disguised as Secetaries of State, preferred to partake in the administration of the Government business in a proper and practical way. Well Sir, if that is the case, it would hardly seem necessary to add anything else to induce the Council to vote against the proposal made by the hon. member for the First District, because the majority of Elected Members were sent here by the people with the mandate of opposing Responsible Government. But I consider that it is my duty to prove to the Council that the proposal of the hon. member should be rejected, even if he had not been unsuccessful in the late elections, as one which is unreasonable and unjust in itself. Indeed, Sir, I must say that the proposal before us fails to fulfil any of the conditions with which any legislation should comply to be beneficial and to be approved. It is not founded on precedent and practice; the machinery by which it is proposed to work its provisions is not adequate to the ends in view, and in the third place it has no promise of finality. Take the first point—the question of precedent and practice. The hon. member has felt the necessity of quoting a precedent to justify his proposal; he said that the Constitution which was granted by Her Majesty's Government to Western Australia might be extended to Malta. That is the only precedent he quoted. I feel justified in thinking that as he did not mention as precedents the case of New Zealand, New South Wales, Victoria and other colonies, he considers that such precedents would be altogether inapplicable to Malta. Let us therefore consider whether there is such similarity between the political, economical and social condition of Malta and of Western Australia would work satisfactorily here. The hon. member will probably say that the area of Western Australia is larger than that of Malta, and that the revenue and expenditure are also greater. That, I believe, would be correct.

MR SAVONA—What it was in 1890 when the concession was granted.

THE CROWN ADVOCATE— But the political conditions are widely different. In Western Australia the population is composed of two sections,

one is that of the aborigines, the other is that of the settlers. I find here in the Foreign Office List of 1894 . . . . .

"The native population is not large, and in the more settled districts it is fast disappearing."

The aborigines are not treated like the settlers under the Responsible Government.

"There is now a Board of Management appointed by the Governor, which deals with all matters connected with the aborigines."

So that the only care of the Government of Western Australia is simply to accommodate 58,674 persons, as they were put down in the Census taken in 1892, over an area of 975,629 square miles. That appears to be a most enviable position for any Government to desire. But, Sir, over an area of 95 square miles in Malta—and of about one mile in Gozo—nothing less than 164,692 inhabitants, as they are put down the Census taken on the same date, have to be provided for. It is, at the same time, the duty of the Government to provide for the ordinary requirements of about 10,000 troops and their families, and of as many persons employed in Her Majesty's Naval Service. It is an important duty of the Government, not only to provide for the requirements of so many people, but also to combine the interests of both sections of the population,—to make the Maltese and English not only contended, but to make them live together as brethren belonging to the great British family, under the Government of Her Majesty the Queen. Now take into consideration other difficulties, which arise from the geographical position of Malta, as compared with Western Australia. Malta is just in the centre of the Mediterranean Sea, on the track of the Steamers travelling between Great Britain and India; consequently the requirements of trade, and the legitimate demands of the neighbouring places, and of persons calling at these Islands, have all to be taken into consideration and to be provided for. Western Australia has been placed by Providence in the best of positions. Forming part of the great Australian Continent, it lies undisturbed at the bottom of the Indian Ocean, very far away from any power in the world. Has the hon. member considered, as he should have considered, if he has at heart the interests of his countrymen, that, if it were not for the co-operation of the local Government, the costly arrangements that have been made by England to enable the biggest fleet

in the world to dock, repair, and replenish here would not enable Great Britain to derive the benefit of that immense expenditure and that it is a great enterprise for the Government to combine the requirements of such a numerous army and navy with the freedom to which an immense population is entitled to enjoy on this very small island, of which military and naval works occupy such a large portion? The hon. member is aware that if the local Government does not take care to prevent the requirements of the freedom of the people from clashing with the requirements of the Imperial service, Her Majesty's Docks in Malta might not continue to give, as they do now, bread to thirty thousand of our countrymen every year. To combine the Imperial with the local interests on this point appears to me to be the greatest service that we can render to the country, inasmuch as it tends to secure that principal source of income to the people. Indeed, Imperial interests have become so mixed up with local interests, that, I think, it would be a hard task even for the ablest administrator to draw the line between them. But such a work cannot be performed by responsible government in Malta, as I shall show later on. Thus I believe I have proved that the precedent of Western Australia is no precedent in point; and that consequently the hon. member has not been able to quote any precedent on which to support his resolution. The same hon. gentleman in endeavouring to quote precedents made an allusion to what he considered to be a very identical proposal made by my hon. and noble friend (the Chief Secretary) before he was a member of the Government, as also to an address which I delivered some time ago at the Public Library on the occasion of the opening of the Schools. Because the phrase "responsible elected members" occurs in the original scheme submitted by Count Strickland to the Secretary of State, and upon which, in reality, the Constitution of 1887 was based, the hon. member (Mr. Savona) inferred that Count Strickland meant to suggest a form of responsible government for Malta, such as is demanded in the resolution before us. Any person of common sense, however, would readily perceive that this is a great mistake. How can be the hon. Member think that my hon. and noble friend intended, in using those expressions, to suggest responsible government in the way it is proposed in this motion, when, at the same time, he also suggested that permanent members of the Government should sit with responsible elected members in the Executive Council? I am sure that Count Strickland never dreamt of suggesting to the Secretary of State to grant to the people such a form of responsible

government as would be absolutely inconsistent with Imperial interests. The word "Responsible" applied to unofficial members of the Executive Council may mean that they should be responsible to the Council of Government; that is to say, that they should not hold their office, when they cease to enjoy the confidence of their colleagues. That, I believe, is the correct interpretation that should be given to the word "responsible" as used in the proposal made by Count Strickland. The same word may also have the meaning attributed thereto by the hon. member (Mr. Savona) namely of perfect independence from the Imperial Government. But this is not the meaning of Count Strickland's expression. I will not detain the Council in showing that what I stated in the Address, referred to by the hon. member, has nothing to do with the present or any other kindred question. That was an Address, made to the students of the Lyceum, and to the Ladies and Gentlemen, who were gathered to see their sons taking prizes. I never dreamt on that occasion of making any reference to what the Constitution of this Island should be. Now I shall pass to the main point of the question, to show that the machinery by which it is intended to work the provisions of this proposal cannot produce the effects which are expected of it. The Hon. Member for the First District and the hon. the Representatives of the Graduates of the University said: Why cannot the same work that is being, at present, performed by the permanent members of the Government, be done by the elected members? Why do you pretend that the very complicated work of administering the Government of this Island, cannot be performed by any one else, except yourselves? Sir, I am quite ready to admit that there are many persons who would be capable to perform the duties of my office in an equal spirit, with an equal sense of their duty, and likewise with greater ability and with greater advantage both to the Government and to the public: and I hope that, when my colleagues will prefer to withdraw into private life, persons of equal ability will be found ready to give their assistance to Government. But that is not the point. The point is, whether any man of ordinary ability will be found willing to accept the administration of a department, under the precarious circumstances of being turned out of office whenever it pleases his colleagues or his electors to do so; and in the second place, whether, under such circumstances, the requirements of Government would be met. I maintain that this would be perfectly impossible. In Malta there are no political parties, and there will never be political parties, because

we have no definite politics and even no grounds for politics. This is a great obstacle to the possibility of there being, at any time, persons able and willing to occupy the place of a head of department, unless they be permanent members of the Government. There will never be in Malta, as there is in other countries,—a set of persons who devote themselves exclusively to politics and out of whom ministers and members of parliament may be chosen.—If, in the absence of political parties, Malta had to be governed by responsible government, the Government might become a monopoly on behalf of a certain section; disorder would follow, because, in such a case, there would be no balance of power. I venture to give some details on this point. The new Responsible Government will require a Crown Advocate, a Collector of Customs, a Receiver General, &c. Do you think it probable that any advocate of some standing would abandon his clients, in order to take the responsibility of my office, when he is aware that he runs the risk of being, after six months, or perhaps even before turned out of office and of having then to fetch again his clients?. . . .

MR. BONAVIA—We will never see that in Malta!

THE ADVOCATE—I believe, Sir, that when we consider that in Malta a man can safely walk in the roads with his money in his hand, at twelve o'clock at night, in the remotest part of the country,—that persons may express their views with the greatest liberty, and that, in reality, the cry is against the abuses of the press,—there is nothing that the press does not say,—when I say, we consider that everybody enjoys civil rights, and that independence of each other is the foremost feature in the national character, when we consider all this, Sir, we are bound to admit that the demand for self-government cannot be urged on the plea of the bad government of the people. That demand may be pressed by those who desire us to make room for them in the offices we have the honour to hold. We could willingly make room for them if we could; perhaps it would give peace to many. But we cannot on quite different grounds do it. Let us therefore, instead of attempting to obtain what is impossible, work together to do what is practicable. Let us endeavour to administer the affairs of this small, but very dear island, according to our best ability. By so doing, we will render a greater service to the country, than by raising big discussions on big reforms, which exceed the limits of our requirements and of possibility I beg to thank hon. members for the patient and attentive hearing they have given to my speech.

MR. SAVONA—Sir, I am sorry to observe that the discussion of so important a question has turned principally on personal grounds, especially as there was no occasion for the personalities which we have had, because this is not a question of persons; it is a question of principle. Even if the representative of the First District had been the equal of "Old Nick" himself, this would not have influenced the question in the least, because if Responsible Government were granted, it would not depend upon the Member for the First District whether he would occupy the first, or second, or any seat in the Executive Council. I shall, therefore, take no notice whatever of the spiteful attacks made against me; but there is one statement made by the hon. and rev. gentleman and other members who have spoken, and which was repeated by the Crown Advocate also. I refer to the allusion to the Crown Colony of a severe type! It has been said that I had advised that this Island should be governed as a Crown colony of a severe type. That, Sir, was a misrepresentation—not to call it by a stronger word; and as the hon. and learned gentleman has felt himself justified in repeating it, I shall explain what the facts were in connection with the statement that was made by Mr. Hely Hutchinson at a time when he was under great excitement—a statement which is not borne out by the facts of the case. In making some remarks on this subject, I regret to have to say that I find myself very heavily handicapped. The Government have thought fit to publish one portion of the Minutes of the Executive Council, after a dispensation from the Secretary of State. There was an oath taken that nothing should be revealed of what takes place in the Executive Council; but the local Government obtained a dispensation from the Secretary of State, and they published a mutilated portion of the Minutes of the Executive Council. The paragraph of the despatch in which the expression referred to occurred has been made use of and printed and reprinted times without number. That paragraph was written after I had addressed a somewhat unpleasant letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies; on the 20th of June 1887, a letter which caused considerable irritation among the members of the Government here. In the despatch of the 30th of June, addressed to Sir Henry Holland in reply to my letter of the 20th June, I find that:

"on the 28th October 1886, the question of the constitution was under discussion in the Executive council. Mr. Savona stated that "as he believed that it would be detrimental to the interests of the people of these Islands so to modify the Constitution as practically to entrust the Government of

these Islands to five elected members, particularly after what had occurred since the elections held in 1883, he thought that the Letters Patent of 1849 might be revoked or suspended, and other provisions made to secure the just and efficient administration of the Government".

Sir Walter (then Mr.) Hely-Hutchinson, or the writer of this despatch,—which was signed by Sir Lintorn Simmons — jumped at the conclusion that those words amounted, in his opinion, to an advice that Malta should be made a Crown Colony of a severe type. Now there are papers which were addressed by me to the Secretary of State and to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies which abundantly show what my views were concerning the way in which the Government of these Islands was to be conducted. With regard to the suspension of the Letters Patent—I never said that that suspension ought to be permanent. It was the time when the elected members who were making a factious opposition to the educational policy of the Government and resigned and were preparing to send to this Council the common hangman! I had had it from one of the party; in the presence of witnesses he had told me that he had already interviewed the hangman with a view to his coming forward as a candidate for the Council of Government. It was then that I said in the Executive Council: What are you going to do? These people are preparing to send the common hangman to sit beside you in this Council; suspend the Letters Patent. By suspending the Letters Patent I simply meant that there should not be any elections held at the time: "until other provisions should be made to secure the just and efficient administration of the Government." What were those provisions? They were not provisions intended to make Malta a Colony of a severe type. What those provisions were was well known by the writer of that despatch, because they had been made on the 28th February, following, when it became necessary to propose what changes should be effected in the Constitution of 1849. I then proposed the Constitution which I reprinted in my letter to the Secretary of State of the 20th June. So that the idea that by proposing to suspend the elections, I was suggesting that Malta should be governed as a Crown Colony of a severe type, was simply an appreciation of his—an appreciation, contrary to facts—an appreciation which has been seized upon by my personal enemies,—an appreciation which is entirely false, which has been repeated in English, in Italian and in Maltese and printed and re-printed over and over again. The words, a Crown Colony of a severe type, were in the despatch par 6, placed within inverted commas, as if to imply that they were a true and

faithful reproduction of my words. But it was nothing but a falsehood . . .

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—Sir, I am bound to rise to order. The hon. member (Mr. Savona) is accusing my predecessor Sir Walter Hely Hutchinson of responsibility for a "falsehood"—a falsehood, which, it is insinuated, Sir Lintorn Simmons had endorsed by signing the despatch. Before referring to this breach of order I beg to remark that Mr. Savona has given to the Council an example of great moderation when in a most temperate part of his speech he declared that he would pass over the personal attacks which had been made on him by other members during to-day's discussion. It is therefore with regret that I now feel it my duty to rise and protest against the imputation which Mr. Savona has just made. Neither Sir Lintorn Simmons nor Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson required to be defended by any one and I need not give reasons for contradicting the imputation because that contradiction the imputation becasue that contradiction has been given to us by Mr. Savona himself, in assuming that Mr. Hely-Hutchinson had written that despatch in a moment of irritation, and in stating also that Sir Lintorn Simmons, the representative of the Queen, had signed it. I hope that Mr. Savona will continue his speech in the temperate spirit in which he began, and not make contradictory accusations of falsehoods against the Queen's representative and other officers who are not present.

MR. SAVONA—Not only that. Instead of a falsehood, I shall say it was an inaccurate statement, not in accordance with the facts. I had no intention of attacking any of the persons mentioned, particurarly as they are not present. But the hon. and noble gentleman will I am sure make allowance if I have displayed some little heat considering the provocation to which I have been subjected to-day.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—I beg to bow to that statement; Mr. Savona has this evening been subjected to the greatest provocation, and it was therefore with regret that I felt it my duty to call him to order.

MR. SAVONA—With regard to that point I think it is sufficient to state that, after my behaviour in this Council, both as an official and an elected member, and my conduct after I left the Government, no one can be justified in stating that I has proposed that the Government of Malta should be carried on as crown Colony of a severe type, or on garrison principles. But this is only the personal part of this question, and *I* will take no further notice of much of what has been said—as it might be necessary to enter into recriminations which should not be entered into

in this Council. I will only reply to the observations made by the Crown Advocate. The Crown Advocate has defended the Government, including the present administration, by saying that the Government has always been supported by a majority. How that statement could have been made, I am sure I feel absolutely unable to understand. There was a remonstrance signed by twelve elected members—and this was as early as the 31st of December 1891—when twelve out of fourteen elected members protested against the violation and the mutilation of the Constitution. And besides that we have divisions without number in which all the elected members, or a majority of them, voted in direct opposition to the official members. The election of 1891 was a censure on the Government; it disapproved of the conduct of the Government. The general election of 1892 was another pronounciation in the same sense. That is why I cannot understand on what grounds the hon. and learned gentleman bases that assertion. It is matter of history that the opinion of the majority of the elected members was disregarded, it was obtrusively made nothing of in this Council—and it was then that I came to the conclusion that it is impossible for us to have any control over the administration of local affairs so long as the official element remained permanent and responsible to the Secretary of State. Before the prorogations, and the repeated votes, it had never entered my mind to think of Responsible Government. But when it was seen,—even when the Constitution of 1887 had been strictly complied with by the Government—that the Government had the power, at all times, to set aside the opinions of the elected members of any question—even on a trifling local question—I became fully persuaded that the Constitution could not be called a Constitution but a farce; and the hon. and learned gentleman will, I trust, concur with me when I state that if the prayers contained in the resolution which was passed the other day were to be granted, and if the Government were to revert to the behaviour which was characteristic of them from 1890 to 1894,—then, I say, he will concur with me that the Constitution is only a frace. So long as the elected members concur with the. Government, then of course everything will go on smoothly; but when that is not the case, the majority of the elected members have not the power of controlling the action of the Government. This is what has produced the movement for Responsible Government. The hon. and learned gnetleman says that the people have pronounced it again. Even taking that for granted—though if they have done so—they may

pronounce in its favour to-morrow—I say here that so long as I am a member of this Council, I shall continue to endeavour to bring about the realization of the motion I have made to-day. With reference to the applicability of the precedent that I have quoted of Western Australia, the hon. and learned member will excuse my differing from him on that point. I shall not quote the statements made in that colony itself, but the statement of the Secretary of State, Lord Knutsford, the same Minister who granted our constitution of 1887. In moving in the House of Lords the second reading of the "Western Australia Constitution Bill", Lord Knutsford anticipated the effects of the measure in quite a different manner. He stated:

"By that Bill, which is scheduled to the Imperial Bill, a great change is made in the Constitution of the colony, and responsible Government is substituted for representative government. If this change is made, Western Australia will be placed upon the same Constitution footing as the other great colonies of Australia. The present Constitution is, as I have said, a Representative Government, and consists of a Governor, an Executive Council, and a Legislative Council, 26 in number, nine of whom are nominated and 17 elected. This system is an intermediate stage between the Government which obtained in a Crown Colony pure and simple, and Responsible Government. In a Crown colony pure and simple the Crown is responsible for the government of the colony; but it has a majority by which it can secure the passing of such measures as are necessary for the good government of the colony. On the other hand, in a colony under a responsible Government the Ministers are responsible to the people, and command a majority in the Colonial Parliament. The disadvantage of the intermediate stage of representative Government is that the Crown remains largely responsible for the Government of the colony, but it cannot command a majority. The system places an insuperable power of obstructing and delaying measures in the hands of the Colonial Legislature, which is not responsible for the conduct of affairs."

(*The Chief Secretary* Hear, hear!).

I should like to know from the hon. and noble gentleman who says hear, hear! in what way the elected members have ever obstructed the Government or the passing of any measures in this Council. I have heard that stated, but I do not believe that a single instance can be quoted in

which the elected Members or the majority thereof have obstructed the Government.

"That system may work smoothly enough in smaller colonies and in quiet times; but when burning questions arise, and there are matters of difference between the Executive and the Legislature, it leads to complications, and a considerable amount of friction. For this reason it is admitted by those who have had the control of colonial affairs that that system is suitable only for an intermediate stage; and that when a colony is fit for responsible Government the sooner it is given the better. This view is strongly confirmed by what has passed in Western Australia. A Representative Government was granted to Western Australia in 1870, and in 1873, only three years later, a movement was made in favour of responsible Government and the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Kimberly), who was then Secretary for the Colonies, replied that, while the Governor himself ought not to take any steps towards disturbing existing arrangements, Her Majesty's Government would not be disposed to resist any widespread and sustained desire which might prevail in the colony for responsible Government. In 1874 the Governor, at the request of the Council, sent over a draft Constitution Bill; but the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon), the Secretary for the Colonies, rightly decided that the colony was not ripe for the change. There is one passage in his despatch of November 18 which, as it has a direct and important bearing on the case, I will read to your Lordships. Lord Carnarvon wrote—

"I am and can be actuated by no feeling of indisposition towards those principles of responsible Government which have had full play elsewhere on the Australian Continent, and have reproduced the free institutions of the Mother Country in no unworthy form. Those institutions are the proper and desirable end to which the colony tends, at which it must in time arrive, and towards which all those, whether there or at home, who are concerned in the administration of its affairs, ought to direct their measures."

Thus far, as to the impossibility which has been alleged. Now with regard to figures.

"It is urged, continued Lord Knutsford, against the charge that the population of Western Australia is small, and that sufficient progress has not been made I prefer to concur in the view that, with a population of

40,000, with an increasing revenue of upwards of £137,000, with a large development of goldfields and other industries, and increase of construction of railways and telegraphs, and other proofs of progress, it cannot be said that Western Australia is not sufficiently advanced to be capable of managing her own affairs if she be so inclined."

Of course we have here no gold fields and no great industries; the task of administration is therefore much less difficult. It is a mere matter of municipal arrangement here, and consequently, although people may not have been baptized by the Secretary of State, they may nevertheless acquire, in the course of time, the practice and experience that is required for the administration (*Crown Advocate.* When they are turned out of office in a fortnight?) I do not know what the hon. and learned Member means by rapid and frequent changes in the administration. These changes take place in every country's Constitution; and I do not see why a population of 160,000 souls may not furnish, if not at first, but in the course of time, a sufficient number of experienced administrators. There need not be seven Ministers at first; three or four might control the administration, and of course it would be in the interest of all the elected members to avoid these frequent changes. But we know that even in very large countries, such as France, Italy and even in England, where the benefits of Responsible Government have been experienced for centuries, there are frequent changes of administration But these are only exceptional cases. And as there are big ministers in big places, so there may be small ministers in a small place like Malta; and considering our small interests, I do not know why a small people could not administer their own small affairs. The Secretary of State says in continuation:

"We are not without precedent for this course. No one can doubt that the Colony of Queensland has greatly flourished under Responsible Government; but when Queensland was separated from New South Wales, and was given Responsible Government, she had only 28,000 inhabitants; as against 40,000 in Western Australia, and it was not until years after Queensland had received Responsible Government that in other points she attained to the position of Western Australia."

And I contend that both as far as our population and our revenue and expenditure are concerned, we are not in a worse position than when Responsible Government was granted to Western Australia. Of course the movement for Responsible Government was there initiated in 1873, and

they got Responsible Government in 1890. It is not a question to be granted on the asking; but I hope that with patience and perseverance, we shall be able to overcome all difficulties. Besides, on the 28th May 1888 there was transmitted from Western Australia a petition to the Secretary of State against the granting of Responsible Government, and in that petition certain statements were made, which show that not only in Malta are there opponents of Responsible Government but also in Western Australia. One of the reasons stated in that petition, and the petitioners were reported by the Governor to be persons who had a very large stake in the Colony—was, that the electorate was not more than 4,500 and was composed for the most part of ex-convicts or the descendants of ex-convicts. This was just two years before Responsible Government was granted to Western Australia. And with reference to the social condition of the people of Western Australia, to which the hon. member (Mr. Bonavia) had referred unfavourably contrasting it with the social condition of Malta, I must say that the social condition of the Colony of Western Australia was greatly inferior, and could not but the greatly inferior to that of the population of this Island. I derive my information from the same volume of the Colonial Office List from which the hon. and learned gentleman has been quoting. I find here that

"the Colony was founded in June 1829, with the towns of Perth and Fremantle. Large grants of land were made to the early settlers, and agricultural and pastoral occupations were pursued by a small population with varying success, until, in 1850, the Colony was in a languishing condition, and the inhabitants petitioned it might be made a penal settlement. This was done and up to 1868, 9718 convicts were sent out. Since then no more have been sent and the number in confinement has been lessening, until on the 30th June, 1886. Only forty Imperial prisoners remained. The Imperial convict establishment was transferred to the Colonial Government on the 31st March, 1886,"

only four years before Responsible Government was granted to them. And with regard to the population of the country, on the 31st December 1892 it was estimated to be 58,674 consisting of 36,095 males and 12,579 females, excluding the aboriginal natives. The number of Chinese was 918 of whom 912 were males and only 6 females. The chief towns were Perth 11,117, Fremantle 5,867 Albany 2,858 Grealdton 1,252, York 1733, Bunbury 644, and Guildford. These are the principal towns that elected the

members of the Legislature, and from among whom the responsible ministers had to be chosen. So I do not think that any argument can be drawn against Responsible Government either from the number or the social condition of the population of Malta. Some person has stated outside this Council: But the people of Western Australia were Englishmen, and, therefore, they were fit for Responsible Government. Although the Maltese are not English,they have given proofs of their fitness for Responsible Government long before the colony of Western Australia was founded. I wish to say that, on this point, I do not speak on my own experience, because my statements might be questioned; but I base my argument on a letter addressed by the hon. and noble gentleman to the Secretary of State on the 14th January 1887, that is at the time when the Constitution was being discussed.

"The capacity of the Maltese people for Responsible Government, to which they have an historical and a contract right, is not therefore to be gauged by the present condition of things, or by the efforts of the bureacracy to throw upon the people the blame of their own mistakes."

And further on in a letter addressed from Trinity College, Cambridge, 2nd March 1887, to the Colonial Office, I find:

"As to the fitness of the Maltese for political responsibility, I need hardly remind you of their past history; but even the events of the last few months, show that they can bring forward their just requests by the same dignified and constitional expedients that have been in use in this country; and that if given a fair chance, instead of being systematically made nothing of, they and the empire would be benefited by a restitution of political rights, and a fulfilment of solemn gurantees for which it is our duty to agitate as it was of our forefathers for Magna Carta."

These are the opinions that were entertained by the hon. and noble gentleman, and he must have written this "con cognizione di causa". But the hon. and noble gentleman is not the only person who wrote in this strain as to the capacity of the Maltese for Responsible Government. (*Chief Secretary* What about systematic agitation?) But you promised to agitate until the Maltese prayers were listened to, and if any fault is found with that, I have simply followed the example set by the hon. and noble gentleman. And as to the ridiculous elections, it is quite a fact that, under certain circumstances, I did recommend that certain ridiculous persons

should be sent to the Council. But then I had the approbation of the hon. and noble gentleman. The hon. and noble Member had stated, that although he did not approve of the measure of sending infamous candidates to the Council, as was done by Dr. Mizzi, yet he declared that that was a speedy way of calling the attention of the Imperial Government to important questions.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—I beg to thank the hon. member for his candour in stating plainly in regard to myself his knowledge and that I did not approve of the sort of elections alluded to. Now we may hope for an explanation about a foreigner being presented as a candidate and returned at the last election.

MR. SAVONA—The hon. the Crown Advocate has stated to many things that I cannot refer to them all at a time. Dr. Grech Mifsud, in a letter addressed to Cont Strickland on 31st July 1887, insisted likewise on the fitness of the Maltese for Responsible Government. He states:

"If, at the close of last century, the Maltese had not taken up arms, and, if instead of fighting the French, they has clung to them, as they certainly do now to Great Britain, it is doubtful, to say the least, whether the French would have been dislodge from the fortress of Malta.

"It is therefore preposterous to hold the safety of the fortress is inconsistent with the granting of liberties to the Maltese, I really fail to understand where this incompatibility lies."

The argument has some resemblance to this, that the extention of our franchises would be incompatible with imperial interests. Now these interests have been excluded from the sphere of responsible government. The same gentleman goes on to say:

"So long as England's supremacy at sea is unquestionable, it is of no consequence whether the Maltese govern themselves, or be governed in a more or less summary way by their Governors. On the other hand, if Her Majesty's forces are momentarily checked, the British may perhaps find themselves in Malta, just in the same condition as the French in 1800. It is difficult to foretell what might ensue if such an event came to happen at a time of discontent amongst the natives. But if there be no cause for complaint between English and Maltese, we would heartily join in defending the British flag upon that fortress, which, it should well be borne in mind, our ancestors strenuously co-operated to hand over to England.

Colonies such as Newfoundland, with a population of less than 160,000; Tasmania, with 126,000 inhabitants; the Cape, with about 200,000; are allowed a Responsible Government; why then should we be deprived of same?

We were taught the arts of Government in ages by-gone, when those Colonies did not exist, at a time in which many of the present big European countries were in a state of barbarism.

The civil and political laws by which the Maltese governed themselves before the 16th century, and the struggles made by our forefathers to prevent the fall of the Island into the hands of the knights, as well as the manner in which the revolutionary Government conducted the siege against the French, and the important fact that, setting aside the offer from the king of Naples, we chose to entrust our liberties to the British nation (to say nothing about the constant endeavours made even since for self-government) are the best proofs of our political aptitudes.

Now then, how can it be argued that we are not fit for responsible government, or that the safety of the fortress may be imperilled, or British interests may be at stake if the claims of the Maltese are granted?

"The British Government being the most constitutional and the most liberal in the world, I cannot suppose but that all opposition originates with English and Anglo-Maltese officials in Malta.

"We must therefore persevere, and unite our efforts to whatever political party we individually belong, until we obtain that upon which everybody agrees, viz; responsible government".

This was written in July 1887 from Cairo in Egypt, Dr. Grech Mifsud said that all the Maltese wished for responsible government. But we have in Malta some Maltese, and even members of this Council, who declare openly that we are not fit for having responsible government! As to the allusion to the Government of the Bourbons made by the hon. member for the Eighth District, a government which had been justly described by Lord Gladstone as the Negation of God, the hon. gentleman never intended to make any comparison between that Government and others. What he stated was that if the Sicilians and Neapolitans, who had been under the Government of the Bourbons have been found fit for responsible government, why should the Maltese, who have been nearly 100 years under British rule, be deemed unfit to have responsible government? That was the argument used by my hon. friend. There is a paragraph in the letter from

which I have been quoting that refers to me, and although Dr. Grech Mifsud was living in Cairo and his views were not in accordance with mine, he wrote in a spirit quite different from that adopted by some of my colleagues:—

"Without endorsing Mr. Savona's views, especially those concerning the proposed reforms in the University which I consider highly advantageous to the same, and without examining his past and present conduct, I think we ought to follow the advice which has been giving in England, as stated in his letter of 20th of June, to join the other British Colonies in the movement they are trying to make to obtain self-government—*Vis unita fortior.* If more than one Colony urge the Ministry to grant them self-government, our joint complaints will rouse such an outbreak of indignation that it will be impossible for any Secretary of State to uphold any longer the present wretched system of Colonial administration. If the movement could be seconded by the press in England, a factor which you ought not to lose sight of, and which by all means should be gained to our just cause, the result cannot be doubtful.

If still our efforts will prove ineffectual we shall have to consider and resort to some other lawful, but perhaps more practical means of which international law and English history itself afford us many an example."

What was exactly meant by this, is not very clear, but the time has not yet arrived, I think, for asking what was meant exactly.—I wish now to say one word about the "blundering and plundering Administration" to which the hon. and learned gentleman (the Crown Advocate) has been referring.—I believe those are views that were discussed in this place long before the hon. and learned gentleman joined the administration; but these views have not been alluded to in recent times and, therefore, I do not see what was his purpose in alluding to them just now. The epithets "blundering and plundering" were not originated by me. They were originally applied by Lord Beaconsfield to the administration which had preceded him at a memorable election. It was no invention of mine but an expression used by a Conservative Minister. The "plundering" epithet did not mean that any member of the administration had put his hands into the public chest, but was used in allusion to the increased license fee, and the increases of rent.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—Will the hon. member disclaim responsibility for having recently repeated the accusation that the administration is a blundering and plundering one?

MR. SAVONA—After the vote of censure I moved in 1890, no more was heard of the blundering and plundering administration. (*The Chief Secretary* I am glad you now say so.) I say I have not used it. The hon. gentleman falling likewise into the personal groove, mentioned the "hired bands" that attended certain meetings. These things are made use of not only here, but also elsewhere. In political demonstrations and meetings and processions in Hyde Park hired bands take part. But in the meetings referred to there were no "hired" bands. The bands were simply invited to attend. The members of the bands are citizens like all other citizens and they were eager to attend the meetings. An allusion has been made to the election of Dr. Manara, which might well have been left out. I wish to repeat that the gentleman referred to, although he had taken the oath of allegiance to the King of Italy, when serving as surgeon in the Italian Army, after he had obtained his discharge from the army considered that he had returned to his former citizenship. The Minister had tried to keep him in the Army as an Italian subject, but Dr. Manara had stated that he was a British subject, being a native of Malta, and the Minister had thereupon said "accetto le vostre dimissioni". Dr. Manara thereby thought that he was altogether disconnected with the Italian nationality. (*The Crown Advocate.* The question is not what he thought but what you knew about it) That is what he told me.

THE CROWN ADVOCATE—I did not accuse Dr. Manara of having come before the electors when he knew that he was a foreigner. The point was that the hon. member for the First District in framing the list of candidates included in the list a person whom he knew to be a foreigner.

MR. SAVONA—I could not know more than what Dr. Manara told me.

THE CROWN ADVOCATE—I think I had read in the papers that the hon. member knew something about it.

MR. BONAVIA—Dr. Manara was given employment under this administration.

THE CROWN ADVOCATE—And it was then that the hon. Member accused Dr. Manara of being a foreigner.

MR. SAVONA—If I remember right I think I then said that Dr. Manara had sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. I think that by the law of Italy whenever an Italian subject takes service under a foreign Govenment, he ceases to be an Italian subject; but as Dr. Manara subsequently accepted employment under this Government at the Lazaretto, where, I may add,

he performed most important and most perilous duties very satisfactorily . . .

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—Quite so—that justifies the Government for having employed him.

MR. SAVONA—The question as to the nationality came up, after the protest was made and it was then that the Nationality Act of 1870 was first brought to my notice, in which it is stated that if a British Subject takes the oath of allegiance to any foreign power he ceases *ipso facto* to be a British Subject. Had I known that, I should not have placed Dr. Manara on the list of candidates. Dr. Manara's name was, besides, placed on the Electoral List by superior orders, and moreover I have been given to understand that proposals were made to Dr. Manara to come forward to contest the representation of the First District and I believe that these proposals came from the Government.

THE PRESIDENT—I do not think the Government has anything to do in the matter.

MR. SAVONA—The person who made the proposal to Dr. Manara was Mr. Musù, at the suggestion of someone else. Every one understood that Mr. Musù who prepared the nomination papers for all the Government candidates, was doing so at the suggestion of somebody else. The hon. member knows how these things are done. I do not say any person in the Government has had direct connection with these matters, but there are many people connected with the Government. But that is neither here nor there (*Crown Advocate.* Nowhere in fact.) There is another observation made by the hon. and learned gentleman which I did not expect from him, especially as it had nothing to do with the question before us. The hon. and learned gentleman may have his own opinions, but in my opinion and in the opinion of very learned ecclesiastics. There was no harm whatever in the form of oath that had been taken. I know that the hon. gentleman did not approve of it and had spoken to one of the candidates in the sense that the oath taken would not be valid, because it was not taken in the hands of any of the authorities empowered by the law for receiving oaths.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—Did the oath cover a promise to obstruct the estimates?

MR. SAVONA—What was in the programme was simply this, that before this vital question of Responsible Government was decided, we should not consider the estimates for 1896, and that was put in in order to obtain an early answer to the address in case the address had passed. It was simply

meant to postpone the passing of the estimates until the answer to the address had been obtained. With reference to the statements made as to the election of the Third District, I have only to say that I had been given to understand that Mr. Bencini would vote in favour of responsible government and of the measures we intended to include in the programme. I had been given to understand that Mr. Bencini had said that, although he did not sign our programme, he would be found in most questions to side with us. On that assurance Mr. Bencini was recommended to our friends in Floriana and Hamrun. The hon. and learned gentleman has dwelt at great length, on the immense difficulties of reconciling the interests of the Army and Navy stationed in Malta under Responsible Goverment, I believe these difficulties exist now, and as they are overcome by the hon. and learned Crown Advocate and his collegues, I don't see why they should not be overcome by those who would succeed them in case responsible Government were established. The Head of the Government would always be, as now, a distinguished Military Officer, and in the resolution and in the programme it is distinctly stated that all questions concerning Malta as a fortress or a Naval Station would be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Council. I don't think that my difficulties could be found with reference to that head. I have been in this Council for twenty years, and I don't remember one single occasion in which any member of this Council attempted to interfere with any question that concerned Malta as a fortress or naval station. Consequently I don't see why any difficulty should arise, in case the Government were entrusted to responsible ministers, instead of being entrusted to ministers who are responsible, not to this Council, but to the Secretary of State. As the Crown Advocate has referred to my experience as a Government Official, I will state that a very few weeks after my appointment to the post of Director of Education, I foresaw that the question of the Drawbacks would come before the Council. I went to the Governor and asked him to permit me not to vote the Drawbacks, or to absent myself from the Council when the vote for drawbacks should come forward. But the Governor said he could not do that, because he might have to give leave to many members who were of the same opinion as I was. He said, that, when an official member rose to vote for or against any measure, he simply rose to say that the Secretary of State wishes that official to vote in one way rather than in another way. That was the theory laid down by the Governor (Sir A. Borton).

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—Sir, I rise to a point of order. There is no witness

to this conversation; memories have been known to be fallacious; moreover if it a rule never to quote a conversation of that description; I submit, Sir, the hon. member is infringing one of the most sacred rules which are binding on members of a Government and the laws of debate.

MR. SAVONA—I made the statement on my own authority, and it will rest with the Council to take my word or leave it just as they please. Well, the Governor's answer did not satisfy me; so I went to another gentleman . . .

MR. BONAVIA—The Marquis Bugeja.

MR. SAVONA—And put the matter before him, asking whether, in his opinion. I had not better resign. He told me: If you resign, they will find another man to take your place, who would vote not only the Drawbacks, but anything, for the salary of £500 a year!

THE CHIEF SECRETARY—Everybody votes the Drawbacks now-a-days.

THE PRESIDENT—That is not the question.

MR. SAVONA—The last and most important objection raised by the Crown Advocate is that he does not think that in case he and his colleagues were to be requested to withdraw from this Council, the Government would be able to find persons properly qualified to succeed them. That is rather a personal question into which I will not enter; but I don't think the world would come to an end if such a change were to take place. Another statement made to-day is to the effect that, after I had turned into ridicule a scheme for Responsible Government proposed by Dr. Mattei, I now come and propose it myself! Now the proposal of Dr. Mattei was, in its details, ridiculous; and besides it proposed to lay a heavy charge on the Government of these Islands, which would not be justified in the present state of the Treasury, On the other hand the present scheme would not add a single penny to the expenditure of the present Government. I stated that most of the hon. gentlemen who now fill official positions in this Council have urged that they would much enjoy a pension if it were granted to them. I said also that at present the organization of each department would very much facilitate this, for we have a Deputy Chief who would perform all the duties he is now performing, and, instead of having a permanent chief, they would have a political chief. This would not in any way increase the burdens of the Deputy Officers; the responsible ministers for so small a place might be three or four and such Heads of Department as the Comptroller of Charitable Institutions, would merely forfeit his seat in this and in the Executive Council, and I am sure he would be very glad to be relieved of the responsibilities attached to these duties. As to the other

statement by the hon. and learned gentleman that any one has said that he wished the Maltese to return to the state they were in at the time of the Knights of St. John, or of the French, nothing of the kind was said. I simply asserted that the Maltese had given proofs of being able to manage their own affairs since the remotest times. Sir, I shall now conclude. I gather from the remarks of the hon. members who have spoken what the result will be. In bringing forward this question I have done my duty and although to-day I may sucumb, the day will come, sooner or later,—and if not in my time, in the time of somebody else,—the time will come, I say, when Her Majesty's Government will be obliged to grant Responsible Government—as I have proposed it—to the inhabitants of these islands.

Question put.

The Council *divided:* Ayes 4, Noes 13, Majority against 9.

AYES

Mr. Savona.	Mr. Bonavia.
Mr. Darmanin.	Mr. Wettinger.

NOES

Chief Secretary.	Monsignor Mifsud.
Crown Advocate.	Dr. Grech.
Collector of Customs.	Dr. Vella.
Comptroller of Char. Institutions.	Mr. Bencini.
	Mr. Mallia Tabone.
Superintendent of Public Works.	Rev. Caruana.
	Dr. Sammut.
Receiver General and Director of Contracts.	

Motion *negatived.*

Rev. Caruana and Mons. Mifsud left their seats.

DOCUMENT 38

A 1901 Meeting on taxation and language issues addressed by Mizzi, Azzopardi and Panzavecchia

Mr. Azzopardi said: Maltese, this is the first occasion on which I have the pleasure to address in public on the affairs of the country. But I am

afraid that my speech will not please you, because my remarks will be directed not only against the Government but also against you. I confess that at times I feel ashamed of myself, as a Maltese, to see the Government do what they like with the people—to see the Government trample on the rights of the people, and encroach on their liberties, while the people of Malta look on quietly and indifferently, as if their interests were not at stake.

Maltese, what have you become? Are you rabbits? When savage peoples are oppressed they take up arms and fight. Not long ago the savage tribes of Africa took up arms against English troops because the English Government wanted to raise a tax on their huts. The Turks, whom we generally consider to be ignorant and far behind the times, know how to conspire and prepare revolutions. We have the Russians, who, to-day, are rising against their Government. You have the example of the Boers, who, because Mr. Chamberlain (groans), the Minister who came to Malta to insult us, wanted to encroach on their rights, have declared war against England. And you, Maltese, are the only people who never move; you have not even the courage to cry. Of course, we do not expect you to engage in conspiracies or make revolutions (Applause). No one expects you to declare war against England. What the country expects of you is, that when you are oppressed you should make your voice heard, and protest, instead of tamely submitting to everything and remaining silent, and thus allowing the Government to say that your representatives are mere grumblers, and that you are satisfied with your lot. Do you know what the Government say? They say that the Elected Members only are not satisfied with the present state of things. Are you satisfied with what is being done against your country? (Loud cries of "no.") I feel ashamed when I recall to mind what our forefathers did for their country. They even fought the great Napoleon (applause), before whose troops Europe, and I might say, the whole world, trembled. We, their descendants, have not the courage to sign a petition drawn up in favour of the cause of the people. Whenever you take round a petition and try to collect signatures, you are generally told, "Bravo, this petition is very good; it will do much good if it succeeds. But I cannot sign it, because I hold a grog-shop licence, or because I have a son in the Government Schools, or because my brother is employed under Government". Now, these are mere excuses. I myself have relatives who are in Government employ; there are children in my family who attend the

Government Schools. And yet here I am, and I speak my mind as to the affairs of the country. The Government oppress the people because the people submit to everything; but if the people would shake off their torpor and come forward and show that they are against the Government, and that they do not mean to abandon their rights, the Government would refrain from what they are now doing. (Applause).

We have called you here to-day in order to ask you whether you are determined to do your duty and protest against the policy of Strickland and Chamberlain (groans), a policy which has reduced the country to a state of misery and humiliation. We have summoned you here to ask you whether you have not made up your mind to do your duty, and to protest as strongly as possible against the policy of Strickland and Chamberlain (applause); are you prepared to say that we Maltese are prepared not only to spill our blood, but also to lay down our lives for our country? (Applause.)

Now, at this meeting, we shall speak to you on two questions, the language question and the question of taxation. You will, perhaps, remember, and I say perhaps, because it seems to me that the Maltese very easily forget the past. You will remember that about two years ago the Government brought before the Council a project of law for levying new taxes. The Elected Members of the Council rejected that law; but the Government, setting aside the opinions of the Elected Members, referred the matter to England, and Mr. Chamberlain was pleased to pass the law himself, and imposed those taxes on the people of Malta. I am sorry to say that the Maltese people did not move a finger on that occasion, although, in my opinion, that law was illegal, and was a law which no Minister and no King had the right to impose, because nobody—be he Minister or Queen—has any right to dispose of our money (applause). When the Government saw that the people of Malta remained quiet, even when the Government laid a hand on their pockets, the Government took courage and proposed a fresh law, intended to raise other taxes besides those that have been imposed. The Elected Members declared that, according to their programme, they could not sanction any such law, and asked for time to consult their electors as to whether they wanted those new taxes. You know what the result of the last election was. The present Elected Members were returned uncontested, on a programme opposed to all further taxation. Now, according to the very elements of Constitutional Government, this meant that the

people of Malta had declared against new taxes. But all this notwithstanding, the Government, quite regardless of the result of the election, regardless of the opinion of the electors, and of the opinion of the people in general, again came forward with a new project of taxation.

What are the taxes now proposed? The Government propose to increase the taxes on wine; you all know that the poorer classes drink wine, and that they require a glass of wine because they have to work. The other tax is a tax on petroleum, which is consumed almost entirely by the poorer classes, for the rich people use gas and electric light. Then there is to be a tax on sugar (groans), a tax on tobacco, and a tax on beer (groans). There is to be another tax—an increase of the stamp duty. You all know what the stamp duty is; every receipt must bear a stamp; every contract, every cheque, must bear a stamp (a voice: Even for the cesspit); and even if you want to clean your cesspit (laughter) you must also pay stamp duty. By these taxes the Government expect to get from forty thousand to fifty thousand pounds. I think if this law is passed, the Government would get much more than that—about sixty thousand or eighty thousand pounds. The question now is, are these taxes necessary? (Cries of "no.") The Government say that these taxes are required (loud cries of "no") for carrying out certain necessary works, such as drainage, water works, the building of schools, the repair of streets, and so forth. Drainage is, no doubt, a good thing, and so is a supply of good water necessary from a hygienic point of view. But there is a very important fact which proves that these taxes are not necessary; and that fact is that the Chief Secretary to Government, in a recent report to the Secretary of State, stated that from the taxes which were imposed two years ago the Government expected to derive £20,000 a year, and from the stamp duty about £3,000. These two sums taken together make up £23,000 a year. Now, according to a law passed by the Council, with the assent of the Government, the Government are precluded from spending more than £15,000 a year upon the drainage works. There remains, therefore, a balance of £13,000 that could be dedicated to the water works. It is consequently untrue that any further taxation is required. (Applause). Moreover, the ordinary revenue leaves a surplus of £6,000, which could be utilized for such works as may become necessary in the course of the year. As regards the schools which the Government has become so anxious to build, I would ask, how is it that they have suddenly become so extremely anxious to provide new schools for the children of the poor?

They say that the present schoolhouses are not adapted for their purpose because they are ill lit, small, and badly ventilated. But then, I would ask, if you are so anxious about the health of the poor, why do you allow them to live in dwellings which are unfit for animals? (Applause). But the proposed building of new schools is only another excuse put forth by the Government in order to try and prove that more taxation is required. I have already proved that this taxation is not called for, but there is another argument to support my contention. Admitting that the works which the Government propose are indispensably required, which they are not, the Government could not be able to carry them out all at once, because there are not in Malta enough workmen. (Applause.) It was the Chief Secretary himself who stated in the Council last year that the Government could not find enough workmen to employ on the works the Government had in hand. How then, do they expect to find the workmen wanted to carry out the enormous works, costing £300,000? This is another reason which shows that the Government are only trying to hoodwink the people. But granting even that these works were absolutely necessary, and that they could be carried out simultaneously, are the people of Malta in a position to pay these taxes? (Cries of "no.") The poverty which exists in the Country is know to all; if you go to the Courts, as I do, every day, you will find that a great number of cases heard are summonses for payment of rent or for payment of debts for articles of food supplied on credit. Now, if so many people cannot pay their rent or pay for their food, you may well imagine in what a state of destitution the country must be! (Applause). Then, there is another index of the poverty of the country, the Monte di Pietà. Last year there were 18,000 persons who pawned jewellery at the Monte, and there were many thousands who pawned articles of clothing, and many more who pawned their under-clothing. In saying this, I am not drawing on my imagination, I am quoting the statistics of the Monte, published by the Government. Now, if the state of the country is such as I have described, is it right, is it equitable, to impose further taxation? (Loud cries of "no.") Nevertheless, the Government would like to burden the people with fresh taxes which, according to the estimate of the Government, would yield £50,000, but which I fully believe would produce no less than £80,000. But the object of the Government is not, to my mind, merely that of increasing the revenue to carry out certain public works. I have a shrewd suspicion that the Government have an alterior object in

view. You all know that at the present time England is in great straits, and hints have already been thrown out in England that the Colonies are expected to give financial assistance. The object of the Government is, I believe, to increase the local revenue in order that when Chamberlain may write to say that Malta should contribute its quota, like the other Colonies, they may be able to send out some £10,000 or £20,000. We are already contributing £5,000 a year for military expenditure, and £7,000 a year in the shape of drawback. But this is not all. The Military Authorities have the enjoyment of valuable property belonging to the Maltese, which the Military use as barracks, palaces, and messes, wherein young British officers kill time, smoking, drinking, and making love. (Laughter.) For the reasons I have stated, I think that the proposed taxes should be rejected, and I therefore propose the following resolution, which I will explain to you in Maltese.

(The purport of the resolution was that, in the opinion of the meeting, it was neither necessary nor expedient, under the present circumstances of the country, to impose new taxes or to increase those already in existence. The resolution was put to the meeting and carried, amid loud cheers, by a show of hands. When the Noes were called many of the audience, who did not appear to understand the procedure, raised their hands again.)

We now come to the language question, upon which we need not say much, as that question has been debated for the last 20 years, and whoever can read is well aware of all the bearings of the question. I am not here to speak on behalf those who can read, but I am speaking for those who cannot read, and who receive their information from interested parties. About 20 years ago the Government determined to spread the knowledge of the English language in these Islands. So far as that goes, I have no objection to make. A knowledge of any language may be useful, and the more languages you know the better, and I readily admit that English may be useful to us, once that we are under the British Government. (Applause.) But this is not what the Government desire. They want something else besides. They want to suppress the Italian language, which has been used by our forefathers for centuries, and which has been maintained to the great benefit of the country, because our own Maltese dialect cannot meet all our requirements. In the schools, in the law courts, in the churches, in our theatres, in our laws, in our contracts, and in our correspondence our

fathers have always used the Italian language. When the Maltese had occasion to write to kings and princes they always used the Italian language, and when they corresponded with the King of England himself, in order to ask for his protection, and not to have their liberties trodden under heal, as they are now (applause), they wrote to him in the Italian language, and the Governor of those times, who answered the Maltese in the name of the King of England, wrote in the Italian language, and communicated the Kings answer in that language. When it was a question of obtaining possession of our Island, they understood the Italian language very well. (Applause). King William IV was so convinced that the Italian language was absolutely necessary for the Maltese that he ordered the laws of Malta to be drawn up in the Italian language. (Applause.) But Strickland and Chamberlain (groans) do not care what the King of England may think. Once that the Maltese have used Italian ever since that language came into use, once that the King of Engand himself has acknowledged that the requirements of these Islands could only be met by the Italian language, once that for 80 years of British Rule we have always used the Italian language, there is not the shadow of a doubt that that language is the language which we require. (A voice: We want the Italian language, not the Italians.) You may be sure that our forefathers were not lunatics, and they knew what they were about; they chose the Italian language because it was the language best suited to the Maltese. (Applause.) The British Government, or, I should say, the Government of Strickland, tell us that they want the suppression of the Italian language for our own good. But I would ask, don't we know very well what is good for us and what is not? And, secondly, how can it be a good thing to know one language, rather than two? The more languages one knows the better. (Applause.) It is quite clear that the Government demand the suppression of the Italian language not for the benefit of the Maltese, but because it would suit Englishmen to have only one language known in Malta; and this is not said by me, it has been said by Englishmen themselves. After her many great victories in the Transvaal (laughter) England has offered terms of peace to the Boers, and among all terms offered was one to the effect that the English language should be used as well as Dutch in the new Colonies. The Boers did not accept the terms offered by England; nevertheless, these terms were considered to be far too generous by the English papers, who said that it would have been most unwise to allow

the Boers the use of their own language in their own country, and that the English Government ought to have imposed the English language on the Boers. And why? Because it was said the unemployed of England would have no chance to get a living in the Transvaal because the Boers knew both English and Dutch, and Englishmen knew no language but their own. (Laughter.)

We in Malta are in the same position as the Boers; the Government want to suppress the Italian in Malta because so long as Italian is used here, Englishmen will not be able to compete with the Maltese. If Italian is suppressed, they will get the upper hand. Some persons, either because they are sold to the Government or because they are ignorant, will tell you that this question only concerns lawyers, priests, doctors, and clerks, but that the lower classes have nothing to do with it, because they only want bread and work. I say, that for the lower classes, the language question is a question of bread and work, because even our labouring classes would suffer if confronted with the competition of Englishmen. Take, for example, the case of the overseer of workmen. At present these overseers are Maltese; but, as the proverb goes, "Blood is thicker than water," and if it were a question of choosing between an Englishman and a Maltese, to whom do you think would the preference be given? The Englishman, no doubt. But supposing for one moment that the language question concerned only one particular section of the community, is it not the bounden duty of each and every class of the population to help the particular class that needs assistance and protection? (Cheers.) Is there any reason why the different classes of the Maltese population should refuse to help one another ("no, no"), and if the poorer classes help the upper classes, will not the upper classes help the poorer classes? And what is there to prevent persons belonging to the poorer classes from becoming lawyers, priests, doctors, and clerks? (Applause.) Consequently, it is not true that the language question concerns only one section of the community. It concerns us all, and it behoves us all to support and maintain the Italian language in Malta. (Cries of "yes, yes.") If we learn English, it is because it suits our interests to do so, and not merely to be able to serve English soldiers and sailors. (Applause.) There is another question which is still of greater importance than those I have mentioned and it is this, that our religion is entwined with the language question. (Loud applause.) If you look around you, you will perceive that, wherever the English language is used, the prevailing

religion is Protestantism. English is spoken in England, and the religion of England is the Protestant religion. The Americans speak English, and Protestantism is the religion of America. Even in Germany, where the language of the country has much affinity with English, it is Protestantism that prevails. There may be some among you who still remember the attempt to render Protestantism the dominant religion in this country. And you also know that on several occasions we have had English clergymen in Malta, distributing Protestant books, printed in Maltese. (Applause.) I would also wish you to bear in mind another important fact. Before the Government had determined to introduce the study of English in Malta, the Director of the Government Schools was an ecclesiastic. There was Mons. Pullicino, and his predecessor was Canon Panzavecchia. That post is no longer held by an ecclesiastic, but by a layman, and I will not tell you how he thinks on religious matters. (Applause.) We must, therefore, be united upon this language question also, because, whilst the question of taxation refers to our material interests, the language question concerns our rights as a nation, and the future progress of our Education, because without the Italian language the Maltese cannot make any educational progress in Malta. I will now propose the following resolution:—

(The purport of the resolution, which Mr. Azzopardi explained in Maltese, was that, in the opinion of the meeting, it was useful for the Maltese to learn the English language; that it was prejudicial to the interests of the population to suppress the Italian language in Malta; and that that language should continue to have the same place it always had occupied; and that therefore the meeting desired to oppose, by all legal means, the substitution of English for Italian.)

The resolution was carried by a show of hands.

Mr. Azzopardi further proposed that copies of the resolutions passed should be forwarded to the Chief Secretary to Government, so that the Government may transmit them to the Secretary of State.

CANON PANZAVECCHIA, who was received with loud cheers, said that he had come to listen, and not to speak. But, having been invited to say a few words, he would willingly do so, as he was anxious to show that, although the priests had been driven out of the Council of Government, they were not going to abandon the people (loud applause); and although he (Canon Panzavecchia) was no longer allowed to sit in the Council, he would nevertheless always be found with the people.

(Applause.) He would always be found at his post, prepared to assist the people, to defend the people, and, to the best of his ability, to forward the interests of the people. (Applause.) In this respect, the Clergy of Malta were really admirable; when he spoke of the Clergy he alluded to the great majority of the Clergy, and not to a few unfortunate exceptions; and that was the reason why the Clergy of Malta had always been beloved by the people. (Applause.) He desired to say this in order that Strickland, and those who had brought about the exclusion of ecclesiastics from the Council of Government, might know that the Clergy were still to be reckoned with. (Applause.) Continuing his speech, Canon Panzavecchia said:—

I congratulate you on your coming forward to defend the interests of your families and of your country. I congratulate you on the two most important results achieved at this meeting, the two resolutions which were proposed by my friend, the Hon. Mr. Azzopardi (applause), on which your future well-being and happiness entirely depend; and if these two resolutions fail to take effect, you will have to abandon these Islands and go and live elsewhere. And this is just what the Government are aiming at. The Government want to reduce this population, they don't want to be encumbered in case of a blockade. (Applause.) We have in Malta two conflicting interests, the Imperial and the local interests, the interests of England and the interests of the Maltese, and, as we are weak and England is strong, it is the interests of England that finally prevail. But it will not always be so if we stand united (loud applause), for union is strength. Let us imitate the Boers. (Loud Applause.) They are a mere handful of men, and they have resisted the great might of England, and they are resisting her still. (Cheers.) Let us imitate them; we cannot, it is true, take up arms as the Boers did; but we can defend our rights with legal means—with the force of logic and the force of reason. (Applause.) Suppose, for instance, that war were to break out, and that Malta were blockaded. England has large quantities of grain stored in Malta. For who is she keeping that grain in reserve? Most certainly for the English soldiers, who are kept here to defend English interests. Of course, they defend us as well, but that is by accident, because we just happen to be here. (Laughter.) Therefore, in case of a blockade, besides her own soldiers, England would have to feed the Maltese population. They would be obliged to do so, otherwise, the people would rise in arms against them; for surely any man would prefer

to die of a bullet in his chest rather than die of hunger. England would therefore have to reckon with an enemy outside and another inside, and that is why she is endeavouring to compel you to abandon your own country. That is the truth; and I do not blame the English for seeking their own interests, for, as we are well told by St. Paul, charity must begin at home. (Applause.) But if they are so careful to look after their interests, let us look after our own. (Applause.) Let us stand shoulder to shoulder and fight for our language, and resist this attempt to load us with taxes. (Applause.) These taxes are but another effective means for driving us out of the country. If a man who earns 1s. 6d. a day be taxed to the tune of 1s. 6d. a day, he will naturally decline to stay here any longer (applause), he will go and live elsewhere; the population will be considerably reduced, and the Government will have compassed their ends. (Applause.) And this is the reason why one Governor after the other is always harping on the same tune; his advice to the Maltese ever is, Emigrate! Emigrate! Emigrate! If there is a prize-giving at St. Ignatius College, or at Flores's, or at the Lyceum, the Governor has only one thing to urge on his audience, the advantages of emigration! (Laughter.) Is that all you have to say, Mr Governor! Pray, do not say it any more! I have heard you, I have understood you and I am now thoroughly sick of the theme! (Loud applause.)

Dr. FORTUNATO MIZZI, whose appearance was greeted with applause, said that the heat of the sun would not permit him to detain the meeting with a long speech; nor was that necessary, because this was not the first occasion on which the people had heard of the proposed taxation or of the language question. The language question had now been under discussion for the last twenty years, and it would therefore be sheer loss of time to discuss these two questions any further at the meeting. But he would warn them that if they did not take an active interest in their own affairs the welfare of the country must perforce go to the bad. It had already been said that there are two interests concerned the military interests and the interests of the local population, and, very unfortunately, the local interests were at the mercy of the military. It was true that there was the Council of Government; but that was all a farce. England had pretended to behave very liberally and grant certain important institutions, but in reality those concessions were illusory. The people of Malta had worked hard, and by dint of great sacrifices had obtained a Constitution; but what happened just when the efforts of the

Maltese appeared to be successful? The Government bought up two or three representatives of the people, and thereby became enabled to do whatever they pleased. (Groans.) In the course of his speech Dr. Mizzi said: It is only a few months ago that we were told in the Council that the representatives of the people were only there to give advice, which the Governor could take or leave just as he liked! The first impulse of the elected members was to resign their seats, but, very fortunately for the interests of the country, they did not. (Applause.) Had we abandoned our seats, the Government would have proceeded with business just the same, by holding the Council with the six Official Members alone, and these obnoxious laws and taxes would have passed without any opposition. But we preferred to submit to all these insults and to all this mortification rather than leave the Council. (Loud applause.) We are also told that we are not supported by the country because the people of Malta want the taxes (cries of "no") and want the English language. It is for this reason that we have called you together here to-day, so that you may have the opportunity to say whether you are with us on these two questions. (Cries of "yes.") You must be prepared to put up with the trouble of leaving your villages and your families, and to come to these meetings and make your voice heard. (Applause.) And you must put your shoulders to the wheel. (Tmiddu ideicom.) There are two results which the Government desire to achieve, your impoverishment and your ignorance! For, if you are kept ignorant and poor, you will keep quiet, and allow them to do what they please. If you tie the cat by its paws the mice will come out and dance! (Applause.) The Government want to tie you down by keeping you in ignorance and in poverty, as if you were not quite poor enough already! You must therefore respond to our invitations by attending in large numbers, and by persuading your friends and relatives to come with you. Do not be afraid. There is nothing to be afraid of. The Government are like the Babau (Bogieman). It is very useful to frighten children, but when you come to see what is this Babau, you find that it does not exist. (Laughter.) You will now be addressed by the President of this meeting, Dr. Filippo Sciberras. (Loud applause.)

Dr. SCIBERRAS said: I have had the honour to preside at this meeting to-day, and it now my duty to close the proceedings. I am greatly pleased that you have unanimously passed two most important resolutions at this meeting, which, I hope, is the beginning of a serious agitation. (Loud applause.) If we have no guns, at least we have a heart!

(Applause.) And if it must be our fate to succumb to this despotism, let us die like men, and let our descendants say that we were assassinated, but were not assassins! (Loud cheers.)

DOCUMENT 39

Dr Mizzi's appeal for public support

Translated from the "Gazzetta di Malta," of April 4, 1901.

APPEAL TO THE MALTESE.

MALTESE,

By this time you all know that a grand meeting is to be held on Sunday next, at 9 a.m., outside Porte des Bombes, mainly on the question of taxation. The festivities in connection with the Royal Visit and the Holy Week have rendered it impossible for us to choose any other day or hour for this meeting; but I hope that all the classes of citizens, the clergy, which has always been the bulwark of the people's rights, the nobility, the learned professions, the commercial community, the arts and industries, and the whole people, will co-operate in rendering this meeting numerous and imposing, in order to place the Government in the impossibility of lessening its importance by means of its photographic cameras.

Maltese, the Elected Members who invite you to this meeting, do not wish to put you to this inconvenience in order to elicit your opinion on the taxation question; they know it very well, and they are not at all inclined to betray the promises made to you against the increase of the many taxes which are already burdening the Island; but your meeting together has become necessary for backing up the action of the Elected Members, and breaking, in the hands of the Government, the usual weapon with which it comes out to fight us, namely, falsehood. The Government pretends to be persuaded that the Maltese are in favour of taxes, and says that the Elected Members in rejecting the taxes, are acting against public opinion, which is demanding the necessary taxes and declaring its willingness to pay them.

The Government is not yet satisfied with the various elections which have followed one another since the latter half of 1898 to this day, which have all been fought over political programmes contrary to taxes; the Government goes on saying that the taxes are wanted by the population. Maltese, make it a point, then, to attend at the meeting on Sunday, in order to back up the action of your representatives, and so avert the storm which the squanderers of public money are willing to burst on the Island.

We are informed that, for reasons unknown to us, the publicity which we have endeavoured to give to the convocation of this meeting has not had the desired effect, and we are assured that there are villages to which the news about this important meeting has not yet reached. For this reason, we earnestly beg all the Maltese patriots who are aware of it to inform all their friends and acquaintances, and to solicit them to attend. Let everyone bestir oneself. Without a bit of sacrifice no people has, as yet, freed itself from the bondage in which those in power like to keep their subjects. We strongly recommend you, therefore, not to fail to attend at the meeting, however great may be the inconvenience you may have to be placed under in having to come over to town from villages, some of which are distant from the spot.

Maltese, this is a matter of no small importance; the Government is menacing you with an enormous number of taxes, it does not consider as sufficient those imposed on you two years ago; it is preparing for you a future which is calculated to further increase the difficulties of your life.

In a few years it has succeeded in squandering immense capitals in enterprises which have failed; it thinks it has not sufficiently impoverished the Island, and it is preparing to further impoverish it by increasing the imposts.

Maltese, in every country where taxes are paid it is the people, through its representatives, that administers the expenditure; here, however, is quite the reverse; Chamberlain, who on the one hand pretends to fleece you through his satellites of the Executive Council, denies you then the right of administering your own money; and, with a cruelty worthy of himself alone, tells you that you Maltese are not to hope for any further franchise, because Malta, being a fortress and a first-class naval station, must needs serve England, and that its population counts for nought.

Maltese, and for what object does the Government want so much money?

It is only a few days ago that in the Imperial Government a voice was heard declaring that the colonies must contribute with their money towards the expenses of the wars that must needs be waged for upholding the greatness of the Empire. It is evident that the Government wants to find our treasury well furnished with the money wrung from your blood in the form of taxes, when the decree shall have been given that Malta must contribute its share to the Empire. The £5,000 for military contribution which the Government takes out of our treasury every year do not appear to be sufficient; the drawbacks that we pay do not seem to be sufficient; nor appear to be sufficient the many and many buildings which the military have appropriated to themselves, the greater part gratuitously, and the rest towards a small expenditure; the works that are continuously being constructed merely in the interest of the military, but at our own expense, do not seem to be enough; nor appear to be sufficient all the wrongs we are continually suffering on account of the military regime we are subjected to. They want more: they want to crush us entirely under the burthen of a deluge of frivolous taxes.

Maltese, let us be united, because only through unity we can hope to save ourselves. Come all to the meeting on Sunday, and bear with resignation the inconvenience which this meeting might cause to many of you. Without sacrifice you cannot hope to make any progress; but you can only expect to continue suffering the ruin of your civil rights and to reach the bottom of the abyss, becoming a second Gibraltar.

Remember that the Government, always ready to minimize the importance of your political actions, will, on Sunday next, send their photographers in the hope of being able to show the Imperial Government that the meeting was a *fiasco*, and that few are those among the Maltese who take an interest in politics, even when these touch their purses.

Come then in great numbers—and let each of you do his utmost to induce all the populations of the towns and villages to come to the meeting. In this way the photographic machines of the Government will make a *fiasco*, while those of our friends will show the interest that Malta will have taken in this great question.

Then *au revoir* to Sunday next.

April 4, 1901. Avv. FORTUNATO MIZZI.

DOCUMENT 40

Publicity for the "Grand Meeting" in *Malta*

(From the "Gazzetta di Malta," of the 6th of April, 1901.)

A GRAND MEETING on the TAXATION and LANGUAGE QUESTIONS.

On Sunday, the 7th April, 1901, at 9.30 a.m., outside "Porte-des-bombes."

Attend, Citizens, Attend!
The Danger is Great, the Moment Supreme!
Let Us Awake!

THE MEETING.

In order to facilitate the attendance of people from the country at the Meeting which will be held to-morrow (Sunday), outside "Porte-des-Bombes," at 9.30 a.m., in connection with the Language and Taxation Questions, a Special Train, leaving Notabile at 8.30, has been arranged for, besides those leaving at 7.30 and 9.20, by which the public will also be able to be in good time for the Meeting.

Besides, during the same morning, all trains leaving Valletta and Notabile will stop at the Old Station, outside "Porte-des-Bombes," near the spot where the Public Meeting will be held.

We do not deem it necessary to lay stress on the point that the public should largely attend the Meeting, which is a most interesting one. We are aware that to many, indeed, to everyone, this means a sacrifice, as both the place and the hour are very inconvenient; but, as we have already stated several times, no people can, without submitting to some sacrifice, obtain the liberty to which they are entitled; and, as thousands of people took the trouble to stand for hours, at great discomfort, under a burning sun, merely to satisfy their curiosity in beholding the face of a Prince, much less should they mind the small trouble of appearing where duty and the individual as well as the essential interests of all demand our presence.

If the Maltese are not able to do as much as that, they should no longer blame the Government when, knowing its own chickens, the Government commits abuses of all sorts, and gives effect to all that caprice may suggest.

Few words need to be said to the listener!

The Elected Members have done their duty; let the people do theirs, if they want to.

DOCUMENT 41

A Unanimous Protest by the Elected Members against the revocation of Representative Government in 1903.

Sir, Valletta, June 23, 1903.

We, the undersigned, who up to the moment when the new Letters Patent come into operation, continue to be vested with the mandate of representing the population of Malta and Gozo, have the satisfaction of performing until the very last moment our duty, and it is in performance of such duty that we, in the name of the population of Malta and Gozo, raise our voice to protest not only against the new position in which we have been placed by His Majesty's Government, but also against a whole century of political slavery, in which we have been kept by the Government, which has always deprived us of any effectual participation in, and control over, the administration of our country, and which has always concentrated in its hands all power, even that of raising new taxes. Till 1849, the Government by itself, and without a shadow of popular representation, governed our country according to its will; in 1849 the Government framed a sham constitution, with a Council consisting of an Official majority, and of an elected minority, which was entirely powerless against superior numbers. This constitution, which only served to mask the despotism of the Government before Europe, remained in force till 1887, when a constitution was granted, which, if it had been honestly managed, might have satisfied the aspirations of the public, but that constitution was honestly managed only for ten months, until the two principal officials who had induced the Imperial Government to grant it, continued in office; after that period, the Government decided to have its own will, with the co-operation of a few Elected Members, when it succeeded in obtaining their votes; and to have its own will by means of "vetoes" and of "Orders in Council", when all the Elected Members happened to be honest. But seeing that honesty in Malta was not such a rare commodity as it thought, the Government decided to revert to 1849, and created a new constitution based on an official majority more overwhelming still. The Government, therefore, wants to return to that old detestable subterfuge, which is meant to depict us as a free people, in order to make us feel more ignominiously our unbearable state of slavery.

We, in the name of the Maltese people—which has been rendered a

stranger in its own country—emphatically protest against the deprivation, to which up to this day we have been unjustly subjected against our will, of all political liberty and of any official participation in the administration of our affairs—having been prevented from developing our own resources, and from endeavouring to improve our condition, and having been subjected to heavy taxation against our will.

We also protest against being deprived of the power to control public instruction, which is paid for with our money for the benefit of our children, and which is now monopolized by the Government with the object of paving the way for the substitution of English for Italian, which is so much desired by the Government.

We also protest against the absurd, unjustifiable, and preposterous pretension of the Government to impose on the Maltese the English language, against the determined will of the whole population.

We likewise protest against the pretext brought forward by the Secretary of State to justify the decision arrived at by the Government. The Government says that it has decided to abolish the constitution of 1887, and to revert to that of 1849 because the Elected Members have rejected the Education Votes, as if the Elected Members could of their own accord assent to having the will of the Secretary of State tyrannically substituted for their own will as regards the education of their children which is paid for with their own money. The Maltese are condemned to suffer the tyranny of the Government, but they cannot demean themselves to the point of accepting quietly the decisions of the Secretary of State in a matter which ought to be settled by them by right of nature. And after 26 years of unequal struggle, the Maltese had no other course open to them but to reject the education votes—and they are proud of having done so, and of having done so with the approval of every Maltese.

Sir,

We are in the twentieth century, and it seems that the Government is not aware of this, in respect to us.

All the world aspires to liberty, all the world agitates for liberty, almost all the world has won liberty. Only the Maltese people is here kept down in shameful slavery, which dishonours the flag which covers it. The Maltese population is too small to do what other peoples have done to break their chains; but it is necessary that Europe should know that

Malta does not suffer its slavery supinely and with indifference, and cannot consider herself deserving of the condition in which she finds herself.

Much less do the Maltese deserve this bad treatment at the hands of the Government. It is, indeed, astounding to the world to see how the "Melitensium Amor" is rewarded by England and how unworthily England corresponds to our loyalty.

Sir,

We request Your Excellency to send to the Secretary of State an English translation of this letter.

We Have, &c.,

ALFONSO M. MICALLEF.
AVV. BEN. BONNICI.
P. SAMMUT.
DR. AND. PULLICINO.
F. AZZOPARDI, L.P.
AVV. FRANCESCO CARDONA.
CESARE DARMANIN.
P. BARTOLI.
F. WETTINGER.
E. SEMINI.
AVV. FORTUNATO MIZZI.

To His Excellency
Sir Charles Mansfield Clarke, Bart., G.C.B., K.C.V.O.,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Malta
and its Dependencies.

DOCUMENT 42

***Malta* editorial against Chamberlain's colonial policy.**

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S NOTION OF THE LIBERTY OF THE PEOPLE SUBJECT TO GREAT BRITAIN

We speak of Mr. Chamberlain's notion; but Mr. Chamberlain will be the most arbitrary of past and future Colonial Secretaries. The difference, however, between one and the other of them, in that respect, is simply a question of degree.

One hundred years of fearful experience have elapsed, and is there anybody, by this time, who is not convinced that, in Downing Street, Malta is merely considered as a fortress and nothing else, and the Maltese as so many white snails, slumbering for six months of the year in the crevices of the bastions and fortifications, and coming out during the other six months to feed on the plants which grow out of the crevices themselves when the rain wets the porous stone.

One hundred years have elapsed during which England has held in its claws this gem of the Mediterranean, the value of which it does not deny, and yet she shamelessly declines to give to the people the right which belongs to them of governing themselves, simply for the reason that Malta is a fortress of the greatest value to the Empire.

One hundred years!

The life of the individual is short, but the life of nations is long: and the nation passing from one period to another, does not feel all the harm which has been done to it by the British rule during all this long time, and it must have recourse to history, and to contemplation of past events, in order to convince itself of all the horror of the situation.

What would have been the life of a patriotic man, who, having been in this island when the British arrived, with a knowledge of the circumstances at that time, had lived up to the present day, in the full possession of his mental faculties, to see Mr. Chamberlain destroy the Constitution which had already become a fraud and a snare for a considerable time?

One hundred years!

From the very beginning up to the year 1849 (over half a century) no Constitution, no representation!

From 1849 to 1887, a Constitution which gave a majority to the Government, and to the people—nothing!

From 1887 to this day, a Constitution which promises well, and can do nothing, as it is always annulled by "Vetoes", Orders in Council, closing of the Session, &c.

This is, in a few words, the political life of Malta for one hundred long years under the British flag.

And now?

Now Mr. Chamberlain gives vent to his rage on the unfortunate Maltese, and wants to reduce their political privileges. But the task he has undertaken is one of the most difficult which he has so far had to deal with. We have lately seen how England provoked the Transvaal in the hope of putting it in the wrong, and of being able to attack it with apparent justice. But the Transvaal knew well how to act so as to furnish no pretext to England for taking action—and England failed.

Thereupon our great man, in his indignation, despatched an expedition against the Transvaal, hoping, by means of a military excursion, to submit the country to his will: but he had a hard nut to crack, and had to work very hard in order to avoid dragging his country through the mire. We do not mean to say that he failed to subjugate the Transvaal against all justice, but we are certain that he does not wish to have a second victory at the cost of that which he gained over the brave Boer people.

Now he is attacking the principle of free trade: he will have to work hard, but he might succeed.

However, it is impossible to further curtail the liberties of the Maltese people, they having already been reduced to a zero, and, as we have been taught in our younger days by our teacher of arithmetic, from zero it is impossible to deduct anything, or, at the most, another zero, and the result will always be zero. If then science has not, within the last half-century, altered this principle of the most elementary arithmetic, which used to be taught in our days, it will be very easy to understand that our dear friend Mr. Chamberlain will not find it an easy task to deduct further liberties from the nothing which remains to us.

But his arduous labour and the sweat of his brow will not be altogether useless, as they will give rise to this dilemma: either the Constitution we had gave him the power to deny to us all that he has denied, viz., everything we wished—or it did not give him such power; if it gave him that power, the new Letters Patent are absolutely useless, as without them he could take, and he took everything; if it did not give him this power, then he admits that all he has done has been done wrongfully, by

abusing the rights which he did not possess. He cannot free himself from the powerful and tremendous horns of this dilemma; one of them must necessarily pierce him, and it only remains for him to choose the horn which must strike him.

But what can have induced Mr. Chamberlain to go to the trouble of establishing a new Constitution?

Evidently he wants to punish the people of Malta who have sent to the Council Elected Members who were determined to uphold the rights of the island, and, among such rights, its Italian language. In fact the threat has been made for some time past that if the Elected Members would not pass the Education Estimates, the Government would abolish, or curtail, or we know not what, the Constitution.

The language question, as is well known, reached the beginning of its last stage—or the beginning of the end—in 1878. Ever since then the Government has been resolutely advancing towards its ideal of anglicising the people: and the people began to struggle against this idea of the Government. If the people had from the beginning grasped the ultimate aim of the Government, the opposition would have been such as to block the way to the enemy at his first step, and then the victory would have been infintely easier than it is to-day: but, unfortunately, not everybody understood the antiphony at the beginning, and many believed, for a long time, that it was only a question of encouraging the study of English: and the cunning, hypocritical, and deceitful Government was doing all in its power in order that many people might not notice its ultimate aim, and the Council debates resound with lies on the part of the Government meant to reassure the people on this score.

For this reason the opposition was at first but little assisted by the people, who hoped that they had done enough in invariably sending to the Council persons who came forward with the promise of upholding the Italian language. This, however, did not allow the Elected Members to act with such energy as was the necessary, by refusing to vote the funds for every and whatever reform and for any *improvement*, were it even a real one, in the teaching of the English language, as it would have been very useful to do at that time.

There were some who tried to open the eyes of the people, and several persons came forward in defence of the people; but the latter, often betrayed by their very friends, knew not whether they should trust them more than their enemy, the Government.

It was for this reason that Dr. Mizzi resolved to dedicate himself body and soul to this question and to matters having reference to the Constitution of this country; and, with a view of securing the necessary confidence of the people, he barred his way to personal advancement by promising never to accept any employment under Government. This step was not, as a matter of fact, taken in vain; the question was becoming clearer to all every day, and we can to-day assert that there is no disinterested Maltese now who does not see the evil that will befall Malta by the change of the language, or who does not perceive the interest the Government having in effecting that substitution for the benefit of the English.

That the Maltese people have opened their eyes entirely is due in a large measure to Mr. Chamberlain himself and to his *alter ego* Count Strickland della Catena, because during the session which came to a close in May or June, 1898, they believed and were almost sure that the Council would end by sanctioning all they desired. The retirement of Mr. Savona from politics and Dr. Mizzi's refusal to re-enter the Council assured them that, in October of that same year, the Council would be composed of adventitious and clashing elements having no organization or discipline; and that it would be very easy for them to draw to themselves a sufficient number of these elements to legalize every injustice. They never expected to be faced by fourteen individuals on whom neither allurements nor threats could make any impression; and, therefore, when those fourteen members presented themselves in the Council, the Government, which had already cast off the mask, could do nothing but come down to open combat. Orders in Council, vetoes, premature closings of the Council, refusals to assent to Ordinances, everything was tried to intimidate the Elected Members. The threat of the abolition of the Constitution was repeated *ad nauseam*, but the same had been deprived of any effect by the frequent abuse of the Constitution itself which had been reduced *de facto* to nothing before it was abolished *de jure*; so that the new Letters Patent arouse to-day some curiosity, not because it is feared lest they should abolish, even totally, the Constitution, but on acount of the curious arithmetical operation that is necessary in order to deduct from zero a quantity that is not zero.

The fact, at any rate, will remain manifest to Europe and to the whole world, that Mr. Chamberlain wishes to punish this country simply because the Elected Members did not act in accordance with the wishes

of the Government, from which fact it is deduced that the Council in Malta can exist only on condition that it does what the Government wishes. And this is the strange notion that Mr. Chamberlain has of a Constitution for Malta. Hurrah for British Liberty!!

DOCUMENT 43

Letters Patent of 23 June 1903 following on the abolition of Malta's Representative Government

MALTA

LETTERS PATENT providing for the Administration of the Government of the Island of Malta and its Dependencies.

Dated 3rd June 1903.

Recites Letters Patent,—
25th June 1878.
20th June 1884.
12th Dec. 1887.
19th March 1888.
14th Feb. 1889.
19th August 1891.
6th Feb. 1893.
14th Feb. 1894.
16th Dec. 1898.
26th Sep. 1892.

Edward the Seventh, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India: To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

WHEREAS by certain Letters Patent bearing date respectively the Twenty-fifth day of June 1878, the Twentieth day of June 1884, the Twelfth day of December 1887, the Nineteenth day of March 1888, the Fourteenth day of February 1889, the Nineteenth day of August 1891, the Sixth day of February 1893, the Fourteenth day of February 1894, the Sixteenth day of December 1898, and the Twenty-sixth day of September 1892, provision was made for the administration of the Government of Our Island of Malta and its Dependencies as in the said Letters Patent is described and set forth:

And whereas We are minded to make further provision for the administration of the Government of Our said Island of Malta and its Dependencies and it is expedient that the aforesaid Letters Patent should be revoked:

Now know ye that We have thought fit to revoke the determine and by these Presents do revoke and determine but without prejudice to anything lawfully done thereunder the said recited Letters Patent, and every clause, article, and thing therein contained, and further know ye, that We, of Our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion have thought fit to constitute, order, and declare, and do by these Presents constitute, order, and declare as follows:—

Office of Governor constituted.

1. There shall be a Governor and Commander-in-Chief (hereinafter called "Our said Governor") in and over Our said Island, and the person who shall fit the said Office of Governor shall be from time to time appointed by Commission under Our Sign Manual and Signet. And We do hereby authorise and command Our said Governor to do and execute, in due manner, all things that shall belong to his said command, and to the trust. We have reposed in him, according to the several powers and authorities granted or appointed him by virtue of these present Letters Patent and of such Commission as may be issued to him under Our Sign Manual and Signet, and to such other powers and authorities, being still in force, as may have been heretofore given to any of his predecessors in his said command, and according to such Instructions as may from time to time to be given to him, under Our Sign Manual and Signet, or by Our Order in Our Sign Manual and Signet, or by Our Order in Our Privy Council, or by Us through one of our Principal Secretaries of State, and according to such Laws as are or shall hereafter be in force in Our said Island.

Governor's powers and authorities.

Office of Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Secretary to Government constituted.

2. There shall be a Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Secretary to Government in and over Our said Island, and appointments to the said Office shall be made by Commission under Our Sign Manual and Signet.

The Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Secretary to Government shall do and execute during Our pleasure all things belonging to his office according to such Instructions as may from time to time be given to him

by Us, under our Sign Manual and Signet, or through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

Public Seal.

3. And We do hereby authorise and empower Our said Governor to keep and use the Public Seal of Our said Island for sealing all things whatsoever that shall pass the said Public Seal.

Grant of lands.

4. And We do further authorise and empower Our said Governor, in Our name and on Our behalf, to make and execute under the said Seal grants and dispositions of any lands or other immovable property which may be lawfully granted and disposed of by Us within Our said Island, either in conformity with Instructions under Our Sign Manual and Signet, or in conformity with such Regulations as are now in force or may be made by Our said Governor in that behalf and duly published in Our said Island.

Proviso, Land grants to be made in conformity with the Laws.

Grant of pardons.

5. And We do further authorise and empower Our said Governor, as he shall see occasion, in Our name and on Our behalf, when any crime or offence has been committed within Our said Island, or for which the offender may be tried therein, to grant a pardon to any accomplice in such crime or offence, who shall give such information as shall lead to the conviction of the principal offender or of any one of such offenders if more than one; and further, to grant to any offender convicted of any crime in any Court, or before any Judge, Justice, or Magistrate, within Our said Island, a pardon, either free or subject to lawful conditions, or any respite of the execution of the sentence of any such offender, for such period as to Our said Governor may seem fit, and to remit any fines, penalties, or forfeitures, which may become due and payable to Us. Provided always, that Our said Governor shall in no case except when the offence has been of a political nature unaccompanied by any othr grave crime, make it a condition of any pardon or remission of sentence that the offender shall be banished from or shall absent himself from Our said Island.

Remission of fines

Proviso. Banishment from Colony prohibited.

Exception. Political offences.

6. And We do further authorise and empower Our

Suspension from office.

said Governor, so far as We lawfully may, upon sufficient cause to him appearing, to suspend from the exercise of his office within Our said Island, any person exercising any office within Our said Island, under or by virtue of any Commission or Warrant granted, or to be granted, by Us in Our name, or under Our Authority, which suspension shall continue and have effect only until Our pleasure therein shall be signified to Our said Governor.

Succession to the Government

7. In the event of the death, incapacity, removal, or absence of Our said Governor out of Our said Island, all and every the powers and authorities in Our said Letters Patent granted to him shall, until Our further pleasure is signified, be vested in such person or persons as may be appointed by Us under Our Sign Manual and Signet to administer the Government of Our said Island, and in case there shall be no person or persons within Our said Island so appointed by Us, then in the Senior Officer for the time being in command of Our regular troops on Our said Island.

Senior Military Officer.

Governor may appoint a Deputy to act during his temporary absence.

In the event of Our said Governor having received permission from Us, or though one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, to be temporarily absent from the said Island, he may, by an instrument under the Public Seal of the Island, appoint any person to be his Deputy, and in that capacity to exercise, during such absence or until Our pleasure be signified, such of the powers vested in the Governor shall think fit to assign to him.

Constitution of Council of Government.

8. From and after the coming into operation of these Our Letters Patent the present Council of Government in Malta shall cease to exist, and there shall be in and for Malta a Council of Government constituted as hereinafter mentioned.

Composition of Council.

9. The Council shall consist of the Governor as President, a Vice-President, the person lawfully discharging the dutis of Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Secretary to Government, nine Official Members, and eight Elected Members.

Vice-President: appointment and tenure.

10. The Vice-President of the Council of Government shall be appointed by Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, and shall hold his office during Our pleasure.

Official Members.

11. The Official Members of the Council shall be the person for the time being lawfully discharging the duties of the time being lawfully discharging the duties of the office of Crown Advocate, and such eight other persons for the time being holding public offices in Malta, and being members of the Executive Council as We may from time to time appoint by Warrants under Our Sign Manual and Signet, or as the Governor may from time to time by instrument under the Public Seal of Malta appoint, subject to Our disallowance or confirmation through one of Our principal Secretaries of State. The Official Members of the Council shall hold their places therein during Our pleasure.

Suspension of Official Members.

12. The Governor may be an instrument under the Public Seal of Malta suspend any Official Member of the Council from the exercise of his functions as a Member of the Council from the exercise of his functions as a Member of the Council. Every such suspension shall be forthwith reported by the Governor to one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, and shall remain in force unless and until it shall be either removed by the Governor by an instrument under the said Seal, or disallowed by Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

Provisional appointment of Official Members.

13. Whenever any Official Member of the Council shall be suspended as aforesaid, or shall be declared by the Governor by an instrument under the said Seal to be incapable of exercising his functions as such Member, or shall be temporarily absent from Malta, the Governor may by an instrument under the said Seal appoint some other person holding a public office in Malta to be provisionally an Official Member of the Council in the place of the Member so suspended or declared incapable or absent.

Every such provisional appointment may be disall-

owed by Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or may be revoked by the Governor by any such instrument as aforesaid.

Every person so provisionally appointed shall be to all intents and purposes an Official Member of the Council until his appointment shall be disallowed, or revoked, or superseded by the permanent appointment of an Official Member of the Council, or until the person in whose place he has been appointed shall be relieved from suspension, or declared b the Governor by any such instrument as aforesaid to be capable of exercising the functions of a Member of the Council, or shall have returned to Malta, as the case may be.

Division of Malta and its Dependencies into eight electoral

14. The Island of Malta and its Dependencies shall be divided into eight electoral districts for the purpose of the electionof members of the Council of Government.

Electoral districts defined in Schedule.

15. The aforesaid eight electoral districts shall be those described in the First Schedule hereto annexed, and each of the said eight electoral districts shall consist of the places therein mentioned, and the limits of the places mentioned in the said Schedule, where not otherwise defined therein, shall be the respective parochial limits.

Each district to return one Member, and each elector to have one vote.

16. Each district shall be represented by one Member, and each elector registered in each district shall have one vote at each election of a member for that district.

Elector to be registered in only one district, except under Clause 23.

17. No person shall be registered as an elector in more than one district, except in the case provided for in Clause 23 of these Letters Patent.

18. Every male person shall be entitled to be registered as an elector, and when registered to vote at the election of a Member of the Council, who is qualified as follows, that is to say:—Has attained the age of twenty-one years, and is a British subject by birth of naturalization, and either

Qualification of Electors

(1) is qualified by law in Malta and its Dependencies to serve as a common juror, whether he is or is not exempted by age, office, or profession from the obligation of serving as a juror; or

(2) is paying and has paid, for six months next before registration, rent for immovable property in Malta at the rate of at least six pounds by the year; or

(3) is, in his own right or in right of his wife, in receipt from immovable property in Malta of a clear income of at least six pounds in the year, and has been entitled to such income for six months next before registration.

Provided that no person shall be registered as an elector, or be entitled to vote for the election of a Member of the Council, who shall be subject to any of the disqualifications for being elected a Member of the Council, numbered (1), (3) and (4) in Clause 28 of these Letters Patent.

Registration of electors qualified as common jurors.

19. A person who is qualified to be registered as an elector by reason of his being qualified to serve as a common juror shall be entitled to be registered in the district in which he resides, or, if he resides in more than one district, in any of those districts at his option.

Registration of elector qualified by paying rent or by receipt of income from property.

20. A person shall be entitled to be registered as an elector in any district in which he possesses a complete qualification, either by paying rent for, or by the receipt of income from, property situated in that district.

Registration of elector where qualification made up from property in several districts.

21. A person who is qualified to be registered as an elector by paying rent for, or by receipt of income from, property situated in two or more districts, but does not possess a complete qualification in any one district, shall be entitled to be registered in any one of those districts at his option.

Registration of elector qualified for registration in two or more districts.

22. A person who, but for the provisions of Clause 17 of these Letters Patent, would have been entitled to be registered in two or more districts, shall be entitled to be registered in any *one* of those districts at his option.

Registration of elector who has complete qualification as owner of property

23. A person possessing in each of two or more districts a complete qualification in respect of income derived from immovable property situated in that district, of which he or his wife is the owner, shall be entitled to be registered and to vote in each of the districts in which he possesses that qualification; but he cannot be registered or vote in any other district in respect of any other other kind of qualification.

Persons ineligible for registration as electors in certain conditions.

24. No person shall be qualified to be registered as an elector in respect of the payment of rent for immovable property unless he is the occupier of such property; and no person shall be qualified to be registered as an elector in respect of the receipt of income derived from immovable property for which he pays rent, and which he does not possess on emphyteusis.

Governor to make regulations for registration, &c.

25. Our Governor in Our said Island and its Dependencies, or any person for the time being lawfully administering the Government of Our said Island and its Dependencies, shall, as soon as possible, after the promulgation of these Letters Patent, establish by proclamation such regulations, not inconsistent with these Letters Patent, as he may think necessary for defining and delimiting the boundaries of electoral districts, and for regulating the registration of electors and the election of Members of the Council of Government, and such regulations shall take effect and have the force of law in Malta and its Dependencies immediately on the proclamation thereof; and the provisions of any Letters Patent, Orders in Council, or Ordinances repugnant to the provisions of any such regulations shall be read subject to such regulations, and shall to the extent of such repugnancy be void and inoperative; but any such regulations may be repealed or altered by any ordinance or ordinances hereafter to be enacted by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council of Government, or by any Letters Patent, or Orders in Council which may thereafter be issued or passed.

Qualification of elected Members.

26. No person shall be capable of being elected a Member of the Council or, having been elected, shall sit or vote in the Council, unless he—

(1) is qualified to be registered as an elector, and either

(2) possesses and has possessed for at least twelve months next before the election, in his own right or in right of his wife, immovable property in Malta of the clear value of one hundred pounds, above all charges and incumbrances affecting the same; or

(3) rents and has rented for at least twelve months next before the election immovable property in Malta of the yearly value of ten pounds; or

(4) being the occupant of any room or lodging in Malta, has paid continuously for at least twelve months next before the electron for his board and lodging at the rate of at least forty pounds yearly, or for his lodging only at the rate of at least ten pounds yearly.

No person drawing salary from Malta funds eligible for election to Council of Government, or if elected shall not sit or vote in Council.

27. No person who is in receipt of salary payable out of the public revenue of Malta shall be capable of being elected a Member of the said Council of Government or having been elected shall sit or vote in the said Council. If any elected Member of the said Council of Government shall, after his election, become subject to the disqualification aforesaid, his seat in the said Council shall thereupon become vacant.

Any Member of Council incurring this disqualification, his seat thereupon to become vacant.

Disqualification of elected Members.

28. No person shall be capable of being elected a Member of the Council, or having been elected shall sit or vote in the Council, who

(1) has been sentenced by any competent Court for any crime punishable by death, hard labour for

any period, imprisonment for a period exceeding one year, or for any other crime against the peace or honour of families referred to in Chapter II. of Title VI. of the first part of the Second Book of the Criminal Laws of Malta, sentences for manslaughter or other crimes against the person excusable for any of the causes contemplated in Article 233 and Nos. 1 and 2 of Article 236 of the same Laws being excepted, and has not received a free pardon from Us for the crime for which he has been so sentenced;

(2) is an uncertificated bankrupt;

(3) has within five years before the election received charitable relief in Malta from any public source; or

(4) is of unsound mind.

Disqualification of Ecclesiastical persons.

29. No ecclesiastical person shall be capable of being elected a Member of the Council, or having been elected shall sit or vote in the Council, and any Member of the Council who shall become an ecclesiastical person shall thereupon be deemed to have vacated his seat in the Council.

Penalty for unqualified persons sitting or voting as Member of Council.

30. Every person who, having been returned as a Member of the Council, but not having been at the time of his election qualified to be elected, shall sit or vote in the Council, shall for every day on which he shall sit or vote in the Council, and every person who shall sit or vote in the Council after his seat shall have become vacant shall for every day on which he shall sit or vote after his seat shall have become vacant, be liable to a penalty not exceeding Fifty Pounds, to be recovered by action in His Majesty's Civil Court by any person who shall sue for the same.

Questions as to qualification of Members or vacating of seats to be determined by Court of Appeal.

31. All questions which may arise as to the right of any person to be or remain an elected Member of the Council shall be referred to and decided by Our Court of Appeal in Malta.

Seat of elected Member: how vacated.

32. If any elected Member of the Council shall, by writing under his hand addressed to the Governor, resign his seat in the Council, or shall be absent, except on the ground of illness, from the sittings of the Council for a period of two calendar months during the session of the Council without the leave of the Council, or shall for the period of one month be a party to any contract with the Government of Malta, for or on account of the public service, or shall become subject to any of the disqualifications specified in these Letters Patent, or shall take any oath or make any declaration of allegiance to any Foreign State or Power, his seat in the Council shall thereupon become vacant.

Writ for elections to supply vacancy.

Whenever the seat of an elected Member has become vacant, the Governor shall, as soon as possible, issue a writ for the election of a new Member in the place of the Member whose seat has become vacant.

Oath to be taken by Members of Council.

33. No Member of the Council shall sit or vote therein until he shall have taken and subscribed the following oath before the Governor, or some person authorised by the Governor to administer such oath:—

"I, *A.B.*, do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King Edward, His heirs and successors, according to law.

"So help me God."

Provided that every person authorised by law to make an affirmation instead of taking on oath may make such affirmation instead of taking the said oath.

Power to make laws.

34. It shall be lawful for the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Malta. Such laws shall be styled "Ordinances enacted by the Governor of Malta, with the advice and consent of the Council of Government thereof." But We hereby reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors, power to disallow any such Ordinance, either in whole or in part, and to amend any such Ordinance in such

Subject to disallowance or amendment.

manner as may be necessary or expedient, such disallowance or amendment to be signified to the Governor through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

Council may require the aid of the Judges.

35. And We do further direct that the said Council may require the aid of any one or more of the Judges for Our said Island and its Dependencies, in the discussion of any law.

Assent to Ordinances.

36. Nor Ordinance to be enacted by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Council shall take effect until either the Governor shall have assented thereto in Our name and on Our behalf, and shall have signed the same in token of such asent, or until We shall have given Our assent thereto by Our Order in Our Privy Council or through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

Presentation of Ordinances to the Governor for his assent.

37. And We do further direct that before any Ordinance shall be finally passed by Our said Governor, with the advice of the said Council, the same shall be taken to be presented to Our said Governor for his assent on Our behalf, and that the said Governor shall declare according to his discretion, but subject nevertheless to the provisions contained in these Our Letters Patent, and to such Instructions as may from time to time be given in that behalf by Us, Our heirs and successors, that he assents to such Ordinance, or that he refuses his assent thereto, or that he reserves such Ordinance for the signification of Our pleasure thereupon.

Disallowance of Ordinances.

38. When the Governor to an Ordinance he shall, by the first convenient opportunity, transmit to one of Our Principal Secretaries of State a transcript of the Ordinance authenticated under the Public Seal of Malta and by his own signature. If at any time within two years from the date of the Governor's assent to any Ordinance We shall notify to the Governor, through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, Our disallowance of such Ordinance, or any part thereof, so disallowed shall become null and void from and after

the day on which the Governor shall signify such disallowance by proclamation.

Time from which Ordinances are to take effect.

39. And We do declare Our pleasure to be, that all Ordinances passed by Our said Governor, with the advice and consent of the said Council, shall take effect, and come into operation as law, from and after the date at which it shall be enacted by Our said Governor, with the consent of the said Council, that such Ordinances are to take effect and come into operation as law.

Reservations of Ordinance.

40. The Governor may reserve any Ordinance passed by the Council for the signification of Our pleasure thereon, and shall so reserve any such Ordinance by which any provision of these Letters Patent is repealed, altered, or amended, or which is in any way repugnant to or inconsistent with any of the provisions of these Our Letters Patent. An Ordinance so reserved shall take effect so soon as We shall have given Our assent thereto, either by Our Order in Our Privy Council or through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

Enrolment of Ordinances.

41. And We do enjoin and require Our said Governor to transmit to the Chief Justice and President of the Court of Appeal of our said Island of Malta, to be enrolled in the said Court, a transcript, duly authenticated in the manner before mentioned, of every Ordinance to be passed by Our said Governor, with the advice and consent of the said Council, and Our said Governor is also from time to time to transmit to the said Chief Justice and President of the Court of Appeal, to be enrolled in the said Court, a certificate under his hand and seal, of the effect of every Order which he may have received from Us for confirming or disallowing, in the whole or in part, or for amending the provisions of any such Ordinance, which certificate shall in like manner be enrolled in the said Court, and there remain on record to the intent that the Judges of the said Court may without further or other proof take

cognisance of all Ordinances to be made and promulgated for the peace, order, and good government of the said Island and its Dependencies: Provided always, and We do hereby declare, that the Judges of the said Court have not, and shall not have, any right or authority to prevent or delay the enrolment of any such Ordinances, and that the validity thereof doth not, and shall not, depend upon such enrolment.

Governor or Vice-President, or Member to be appointed to Governor, tosproside.

42. The Governor, if present, or, in the absence of the Governor, the Vice-President, or, in the absence of the Governor and Vice-President, such Member of the Council of Government as the Governor shall from time to time appoint, shall preside at the meetings of the said Council. Neither the Governor nor the Vice-President, nor any Member for the time being presiding at a meeting of the Council, shall have either an original or a casting vote.

Voting.

43. All questions arising at meetings of the Council shall be determined by a majority of the votes of all the members present, except the Governor and the Vice-President or other presiding Member, and in case of an equality of votes the question shall be determined in the negative. Provided that the Governor may disallow any vote or resolution of the Council, and any vote or resolution so disallowed shall have no force or effect.

Initiation of money votes.

44. The Council shall not pass and the Governor shall not assent to any Ordinance, vote, or resolution, the object or effect of which is to impose any tax or to dispose of or charge any part of the public revenue, or to revoke, alter, or vary any such tax, disposition or charge, unless such Ordinance, vote, or resolution shall have been proposed by the direction or with the express sanction of the Governor.

Initiation of other votes, Ordinances, &c.

45. Every Member of the Council may, upon due notice being given, propose any Ordinance or resolution which does not impose any tax or dispose of or charge any part of the public revenue, or revoke, alter, or vary any such tax, disposition, or charge.

Council may transact business notwithstanding vacancies.

Quorum.

46. The Council shall not be disqualified for the transaction of business by reason of any vacancy or vacancies among the Members, but no business except that of adjournment shall be transacted unless there shall be present at least six Members besides the Governor or other presiding Member.

Governor and Council to conform to Royal Instructions.

47. Subject to the provisions of these Letters Patent the Governor and the Council shall, in the transaction of the business of the Council, and the passing of, assenting to, and enrolment of Ordinances, conform as nearly as may be to the directions as to the transaction of the business of, and the passing of, assenting to, and enrolment of laws enacted by the Council of Government constituted by any Letters Patent heretofore in force contained in any Instructions under Our Sign Manual and Signet heretofore addressed to the Governor, which shall not for the time being have been revoked, and to such further instructions under Our Sign Manual and Signet as may be hereafter addressed to the Governor in that behalf, but no Ordinance enacted by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, shall be invalid by reason that in the enactment thereof any such Instructions were not duly observed.

Power to make Standing Orders.

48. Subject to the provisions of these Letters Patent and such Instructions as aforesaid, the Council may make standing Rules and Orders for the regulation of its own proceedings, and until any such Rules and Orders shall be made, and subject to any Rules and Orders to be so made, the Standing Rules and Orders of the Council of Government now in force shall remain in force and apply, so far as the same are applicable thereto, to the Council established by these Letters Patent.

Sessions of Council.

49. The Sessions of the Council shall be held at such times and places as the Governor shall from time to time by proclamation appoint. There shall be at least one Session of the Council in every year, and

there shall not be an interval of twelve months between the last sitting of one Session and the first sitting of the next following Session. The first Session shall be held within six months from the promulgation of these Letters Patent.

Prorogation and Dissolution of Council.

50. The Governor may at any time, by proclamation, prorogue or dissolve the Council.

Duration of Council.

51. The Governor shall dissolve the Council at the expiration of three years from the date of the return of the first writs at the last preceding general election, if it shall not have been sooner dissolved.

Times of first and subsequent general elections.

52. A general election shall be held at such time within three months after every dissolution of the Council, as the Governor shall by proclamation appoint.

Civil list.

53. Sums of money, not exceeding the several sums specified in the Second Schedule hereto annexed, shall in every year be charged on and paid out of the revenue of Malta, under the several heads and for the services specified in the said Schedule. The said sums shall be paid by the Receiver General upon such warrants as shall be directed to him from time to time under the hand of the Governor.

Pensions to be charged on public revenue.

54. All pensions and gratuities which have been or may be hereafter granted by the Governor, with the sanction of one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, in accordance with the rules which now regulate the grant of pensions and gratuities in Malta, or with any law or rules which shall be for the time being in force regulating the grant of such pensions or gratuities, to persons who have retired or shall retire from the public service of Malta or whose offices in Malta have been or shall be abolished, shall be charged upon and paid out of the public revenue of Malta.

Constitution of Executive Council.

55. There shall be in and for Malta an Executive Council, consisting of the Military Officer for the time being in command of Our regular forces in Malta not being, in the administration of the Government, the persons for the time being lawfully discharging the

duties of the respective offices of Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Secretary to Government and of Crown Advocate, and such other persons holding offices within our Island of Malta as are now Members of the said Executive Council, or as We may from time to time appoint by Warrants under Our Sign Manual and Signet, or as the Governor may from time to time, by Instrument under the Public Seal of Malta, appoint, subject to Our disallowance or confirmation through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

All Members of the Executive Council shall hold their places therein during Our pleasure.

Officers and others to obey and assist the Governor.

56. And We do hereby require and command all other the inhabitants of Our said Island, to be obedient, aiding, and assisting unto Our said Governor or, in the event of his death, incapacity, removal, or absence, to such person or persons as may from time to time, under the provisions of these Our Letters Patent, administer the Government of Our said Island.

Interpretation.

57. In these Letters Patent, unless the context otherwise requires,—

The word "Malta" means the Island of Malta and its Dependencies.

The word "Governor" includes any person for the time being lawfully administering the Government of Malta.

The words "the Council" mean the Council of Government hereby constituted.

The expression "Ecclesiastical person" means any person being a member of any religious order in the Roman Catholic or any other Church, or being in Holy Orders (but not in minor orders) in any such Church, or being a minister of any religious persuasion.

The word "month" means calendar month.

Reservation of power to revoke, alter, or amend Letters Patent and to legislate by Order in Council.

58. We hereby reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors, Our undoubted right, power, and authority to make, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council, all such laws for the peace, order, and good government of Malta as to Us, Our heirs and successors, may

seem necessary, and all such laws shall be of the same force and effect in Malta as if these Letters Patent had not been made.

Power reserved to His Majesty to revoke, alter, or amend the present Letters Patent.

59. And We do hereby reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors, full power and authority from time to time to revoke, alter, or amend these Our Letters Patent as to Us or Them shall seem meet.

Publication of Letters Patent.

60. And We do further direct and enjoin that these Our Letters Patent shall be proclaimed at such place or places within Our said Island, as Our said Governor shall think fit and shall come into operation on a date to be fixed by such proclamation.

In witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent. Witness Ourself at Westminister the Third day of June in the Third year of Our Reign.

By Warrant under the King's Sign Manual.

MUIR MACKENZIE.

SCHEDULES.

THE FIRST SCHEDULE.

I. DISTRICT.

Valletta (East) including Strada Forni.

II. DISTRICT.

Valletta (West) St. Julian's
Sliema. Misida,

III. DISTRICT.

Floriana. Curmi.
Hamrun. Zebbug.
Pietà.

IV. DISTRICT.

Cospicua. Zabbar.
Vittoriosa. Marsascala.
Calcara.

V. DISTRICT.

Senglea.	Axiack.
Paula.	Zeitun.
Tarxien.	Marsascirocco.
Luca.	S. Giorgio a Mar.
Gudia.	Birzebbugia.

VI. DISTRICT.

Birchircara.	Gargur.
Balzan.	Naxaro.
Lia.	Musta.
Attard.	Melleha.

VI. DISTRICT.

Notabile.	Micabiba.
Rabato.	Zurrico.
Dingli.	Bubakra.
Siggieui.	Safi.
Crendi.	Chircop.

VIII. DISTRICT.

Gozo; together with Comino.

THE SECOND SCHEDULE.

	£
Governor's Establishment	3,536
Council of Government	150
Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Secretary	2,700
Auditor-General	550
Printing Office	50
Public Works	800
Water Works	300
Receiver-General	500
Customs	500
Ports	500
Post Office	750
Public Registry	150
Superior Courts	4,300
Crown Lawyers	865

Magistrates	2,100
Gozo Courts	500
Police	2,172
Prisons	230
Educational	900
Charitable Institutions	745
Monte di Pietà	120
Crown Agents	100
Clerical Establishment	5,000
Civil Contingencies	1,000
Drawbacks	3,500
Military Contribution	5,000
Public Health Department	790
	£37,808

PART 5

1904–1918

Refusal to sit in the Council of Government,
The formation of a Consiglio Popolare,
Growing opposition to British colonial rule,
Difficulties in making Maltese representations heard.

An Introduction to Maltese Political Development (5)

The political response to the unilateral revocation of Representative Government is a refusal to sit in the new Council of Government where Maltese elected members were in an absolute minority, as under the 1849 dispensation. In order to be able to speak in the name of a popular body, Maltese leaders form a *Consiglio Popolare.*[1] This gives the right to vote to just about every household and elaborate preparations are made for it to come into being.(**44**) The name is itself evocative of earlier, even ancient assemblies which influence later perceptions of history and of right. Data regarding the scope and organization of this early twentieth century *Consiglio Popolare* are given here. In addition, I am including a resolution and speeches during a public meeting of 20 May 1906(**45**) and another of 11 June 1906.(**46**) The police report on this is incorporated as it was sent to London.(**47**)

An editorial comment in *Malta* of 6 December 1906(**48**) describes the *Consiglio* as "a truly representative and really popular assembly" and "strong in the universal suffrage".

Elected members resign in protest as a sign of no confidence in the colonial government – their protest resignation of 9 May 1907(**49**) is typical of the prevailing mood. However, the 'state within a state' presumed by the *Consiglio Popolare* is morally and psychologically relevant yet politically and effectively rather impotent. This is what Mizzi's temporary successor, Azzopardi, means when he suggests that abstentionist policy could be revised, during a meeting of the *Consiglio* in May 1907: "one cannot swear to follow always the same way".(**50**) Azzopardi eventually falls out with the nationalist movement and by 1919 he is regarded as a foremost collaborator, so much so that he is shipped off by the British to Egypt. However, some of these earlier speeches show him as a socially conscious politician; later he made a *faux pas* in regard to the younger Mizzi and became closely identified with British colonialism during the Great War and the subsequent Peace Celebrations, before self-government.

As uncompromising as ever was Emanuele Dimech, a former convict who transformed himself into a populist journalist and teacher. I have chosen one of his articles, written in 1913,[2] in a series dedicated to publicizing the view that should Britain "leave us", Malta should go for independence from all other powers.**(51)** During the war Enrico Mizzi, Fortunato Mizzi's son, is court-martialled for alleged sedition – his house is invaded and his study ransacked by security officers. There is a serious charge and the regime certainly wanted to make life difficult for this emerging nationalist leader who did not lack courage. In protest at this Court Martial, the P.N., under the umbrella of a *Comitato Patriottico* led by Panzavecchia,**(52)** reaffirm their refusal to sit in Council or cooperate with the regime in any way.[3]

Some time before he was court-martialled and sentenced, Mizzi had made a speech in the Council of Government, where he had *inter alia* inveighed against "the proverbial English hypocricy".[4] The text of the relevant part of this speech forms part of this anthology.**(53)**

Notes

1 Data related thereto was printed for the British Parliament in no. 77 (Mediterranean no. 54), 1907; see especially pp. 2–8, 22–26, 27–30, 41–44, p. 48, pp. 53–55 and pp. 57–60 on this and what follows bearing on the *Consiglio Popolare.*

2 *Il-Bandiera tal-Maltin*, no. 389, 18 January 1913, pp. 1–2.

3 A period flysheet, from the Ganado archive.

4 The relevant sitting is no. 116 of 29 March 1917, and the most pertinent statements occur in column 2 on p. 653 when Mizzi seeks to explain why the British wished to substitute English for Italian in Malta.

DOCUMENT 44

The formation of the *Associazione Politica Maltese* in 1905

Translation of an article in the "Malta e Sue Dipendenze" of February 7, 1905.

MALTESE POLITICAL ASSOCIATION.

The second meeting of the said Association was held yesterday, at 3.30 p.m., at the Club "La Giovine Malta," and was presided over by the Acting President, Dr. F. Mizzi. In the absence of Dr. F. Caruana Gatto, the Acting Secretary, Dr. A. Mercieca was selected to act in his stead. The Minutes of the proceedings of the previous meeting were read, several inaccuracies were corrected, and the Minutes were confirmed; but as, contrary to the general practice, many details and explanations had been inserted in the Minutes, the President moved that, in future, the Minutes should be drafted in such a way as to show only the proposals which are made, the persons who take part in the discussion, and the result of the division; this proposal was carried.

The Report of the Commission appointed on the 23rd January, to revise Mr. Balbi's project and to suggest amendments thereto, was then considered. The Commission presented draft regulations, which were discussed at length, amended in certain particulars and finally approved. The Regulations which will henceforth govern the Association, are the following:—

General Regulations.

Article 1.—The Maltese Political Association, formed at the Meeting held on the 23rd January, 1905, at the Club "La Giovine Malta," has for its objects:—

(1) the consideration and the adoptation of the means best adapted to obtain a really liberal Constitution for the Maltese people;
(2) the maintenance and the defence of the rights of the people.

Article 2.—The Members of the Association shall contribute 10s. per annum, in advance, for 2 years, commencing from the day on which the Committee of the Association is elected.

Article 3.—The funds of the Association shall be called "The National Fund."

Article 4.—The first hundred Members of the Association who have contributed £2.10s. to the National Fund may claim the re-imbursement of £2; the other 10s. shall be retained in payment of their first annual contribution.

Article 5.—The re-imbursement, referred to in the preceding article, shall be made gradually to the contributors by the Committee, who shall set apart for that object one-fourth of the contributions of the Members mentioned in Article 2.

Article 6.—The Association, at a General Meeting, shall elect a President, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who, together with 18 Members to be also so elected, shall form the Committee of the Association, which shall be called "The National Committee."

Article 7.—The following shall be the functions of the "National Committee":—

(a) To admit new Members to the Association.
(b) To receive contributions to the National Fund.
(c) To govern the Association and to administer the National Fund.
(d) To consider and adopt the means best adapted to attain the objects which the Association has in view.
(e) To organise the holding of conferences and of private and public meetings, and to make use of the foreign and the local press.
(f) To lay before the Imperial Government the wants and aspirations of the Maltese people, and to interest, in its behalf, the Members of the British Parliament and the British and foreign press, and to correct all the false information about the National Cause which is circulated abroad.

Article 8.—The Committee shall elect a Vice-President and a Vice-Secretary from among its Members.

Article 9.—A general meeting of the Members of the Association shall be summoned by the President, or by the person acting in his stead, at least once every three months, or whenever he thinks fit, or when a request to that effect is made by not less than 20 Members.

Article 10.—The Committee shall lay before the general quarterly meeting a report of its work and the accounts of the administration.

Article 11.—The quorum at a general meeting shall be 40. If at a first sitting that number of Members be not present, a second meeting shall be

summoned, whose deliberations shall be valid whatever be the number of the Members present.

Article 12.—The meeting shall be summoned by a notice posted at the premises forming the seat of the Association, and published in a daily newspaper at least five days before the day fixed for the meeting, except in cases in which, in the opinion of the President, there is urgency.

Article 13.—The Committee shall meet at least once a month, or whenever the President shall think fit, or when a request to that effect is made by at least seven Members of the Committee.

Article 14.—Seven Members shall form a quorum at meetings of the Committee. The Committee shall be summoned by the President, by a circular signed by the Secretary and sent to the Members at least one day before the meeting; except in cases, in which, in the opinion of the President, there is urgency:

Article 15.—Decisions at general meetings and meetings of the Committee shall be taken by a majority of votes.

Article 16.—The Committee shall remain in office for two years, but any Member or the whole Committee shall vacate office on a vote of want of confidence or of censure being passed by a general meeting.

Article 17.—The Committee is empowered to form sub-committees, as well as district-committees, and persons not belonging to the Association shall, if the Committee considers it expedient, be eligible to serve on such committees.

Article 18.—The premises occupied by the Association shall be the seat of the Association.

Article 19.—The Association may have, as its organ, a periodical under the direction of the Committee, which shall be distributed gratuitously to all the Members with the object of keeping them informed of the work of the Association.

Article 20.—The Treasurer of the Association shall be the legal representative of the same.

Article 21.—When, in the opinion of the Committee, the National Fund can bear the expense, the Association shall appoint a delegate to represent the Association in London, for the attainment of the objects of the Association.

Article 22.—The Committee, in accordance with the Regulations which had already been approved, was then proceeded with, and the

following gentlemen were elected after a keen contest:—

Dr. Fortunato Mizzi, President.
Dr. Arturo Mercieca, Secretary.
Banker, Paolo Ellul, Treasurer.
S. Cachia Zammit.
F. Wettinger, P.A.A.
A. Pullicino, M.D.
B. Bonnici, LL.D.
Paolo Sammut.
Fco. Azzopardi, P.L.
Fco. Cardona, LL.D.
Raffaele Tabone, M.D.
Mons. Can. Cap. I. Panzavecchia, D.D.
O. Pellegrini Petit, N.P.
Alfonso Maria Micallef.
P. Bartoli, N.P., P.L.
Arciprete Don F. Mallia, M.D.
Antonio Dalli.
G. Caruana Mamo, LL.D.
Evaristo Castaldi.
Contino Alfredo Caruana Gatto, LL.D.
F.S. Bencini.

The Meeting which was held yesterday at the club "La Giovine Malta," shows once more that that vast political association which it is intended to form, and which is actually being formed, will before long become an accomplished fact, and will be permanently established for the defence of our down-trodden rights. Yesterday, the new regulations were discussed and approved; the first of which sets out the aim and the objects of the Association; that is, the consideration and the adoption of the means best adapted to obtain a really liberal Constitution for the Maltese people, and the maintenance and the defence of our down-trodden rights.

In the short space of a few weeks, a good deal of work has been accomplished, which seemed to require a much longer time to carry out. In fact, the first meeting was held on the 23rd January, and the Commission entrusted with the revision of the Regulations was in a position to present them at the general meeting which was held yesterday

at the Club "La Giovine Malta," to be discussed and finally approved. This shows that there is activity in the new Association, an evident sign of vitality and long life.

The Committee of Management has been formed, and Dr. Mizzi has been elected president, so that the work of widening the basis of the Association may be said to have been taken up, because all those persons who wish to contribute the sum of 10s. annually, for two years, can belong to the Association, after making a request to that effect to the Committee. The number of the Members of the Association has not been fixed either at a thousand, or at ten thousand, in order that the work may be taken up without loss of time, and that we may go straight to the goal without obstacles of any sort.

We are indeed glad to see formed amongst us this vast political association, which promises to have a long and healthy life. We therefore hope that no Maltese citizen who can spare 10s. a year will refuse to form part of this Association. Ten shillings a year are indeed a trifle, because ultimately they are reducible to a few pence a week, more than which we spend on cigars and coffee. On the other hand, the 10s. a year which we contribute to the National Fund will form the sum which will enable us to follow whatever line of political conduct we may choose for the defence of our down-trodden rights. In fact, the political Association which has now been formed, under the happy auspices of a display of energy worthy of a serious and lasting association, will, amongst other things, organise conferences and public and private meetings, will make use of the local and foreign press, and make known to the Imperial Government the wants and the aspirations of the people. All that involves considerable expense, which could not be incurred without a National Fund to serve as guarantee. The Association also proposes to interest in our behalf not only the British press, but also, and above all, the Members of Parliament, who can do a great deal in our favour. Finally, it is proposed to correct the erroneous information which is circulated abroad respecting our national cause.

The necessity of such an Association was evident, and it was for this reason that Mr. F. Azzopardi, L.P., and all those who take an interest in the affairs of the country, have insisted for a long time past on the necessity of establishing a vast political association for the defence of our down-trodden rights. Mr. Balbi has the special merit of having taken the first move in this direction, and of having urged the country to adopt this

project. We are therefore confident that no Maltese will refuse to belong to this vast political Association.

Before concluding these few remarks, we are pleased to notice that all our late representatives in Council have been elected as Members of the Committee by a very significant majority of votes.

This fact shows once more that the solidarity of the people with its late representatives has not been in any way shaken, and their political conduct will be followed and upheld also by the new Association.

A Maltese Political Association

It is proposed to form a Maltese Political Association—divided into a Provisional and a Permanent Committee—on the following lines:—

Provisional Committee.

The object of the "Provisional Committee" is to form a "Self-Government" nucleus of a few persons with an habitation and all necessaries which will take measures to expand itself into a "Permanent Committee" of the whole Maltese people, as will be shown later.

The following defines the functions of the said "Provisional Committee":—

1. The "Committee" shall consist of a 100 members, each subscribing £2 10s., which will be refunded, as shown in due course;
2. Out of those, a certain number, say, 20, will form themselves into a Governing Committee, in which will be vested all matters of organisation and finance;
3. As soon as constituted and in full working order, they will devise a scheme—such as here sketched—to form the "Permanent Committee" of the Maltese people;
4. As soon as the "Permanent Committee" is formed and subscriptions received, the "Provision Committee" will be merged in the same (the "Permanent Committee"), and, therefore, will cease to exist;
5. The original members of the "Provisional Committee" will be entitled to the refunding of their subscription of £2 10s. out of the collected funds of the "Permanent Committee," and become annual subscribers to the same at 10s. a head.

The Permanent Committee

This to consist of 8,500 subscribing members at different annual rates, according to the Group they belong to; they being divided as follows:—

Group A, of 500 members, at 10s. each per year, consisting of noblemen, gentlemen of independent means, barristers, notaries, solicitors, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, merchants, brokers, manufacturers, engineers, architects, &c., &c.

Group B, of 100 members, at 5s. each per year, consisting of shopkeepers, principally, and others similarly situated.

Group C, of 2,000 members, at 2s. 6d. each a year, consisting of commercial and other clerks, shop assistants, mechanics, farmers, cattle breeders, &c., &c.

Group D, of 5,000 members, at 1s. each a year, consisting of all the labouring classes, thus: coal heavers, masons, carpenters, domestics, &c., &c.

The Work of the Permanent Committee

Out of these 8,500 members, a certain number will be selected to form themselves into a "Constitutional Committee," that is, a Committee entrusted with the framing of a "Constitution," and all matters pertaining thereof. Ability and aptitude for the work shall govern such selection. This "Constitution Committee" will divide itself into "Fractional Committees" for the better study of all matters relating to the task. Thus, there would be:—

1. A Committee to be called "The Foreign Committee," for the study of certain Foreign and British "Constitutions,"—municipal and state—with the object of incorporating in the Malta "Constitution" all that is best (and would prove suitable) in these "Constitutions."
2. The "Literary Committee" to have charge of all the correspondence, local and Imperial; to revise all the writings that are issued in the name of the "Permanent Committee"; briefly, to exercise a literary supervision.
3. The "Lecture and Propaganda Committee" to deliver lectures on Sundays and week days on all matters relating to the governing of States; thus, the different forms of government in all ages and countries; the functions of governments; industries, taxation, finances, &c., &c.

4. The "Political Relations' Committee," to interest Members of the British Parliament in the Maltese cause; to select one of the London papers, say, the "Daily News," as its mouthpiece; to correct in the press—local and Imperial—all wrong impressions with regard to the cause; to draw up a pamphlet, in English and Italian, in which would be set forth all matters pertaining to the cause.
5. The "Financial Committee," which would have control over all the monies collected, make grants to the various "Committees" for their expenses, &c.
6. And various other "Committees" that will suggest themselves.

When all the necessary material has been collected, it will be submitted to the "Unit Committee," that is, a "Committee" composed of all the "Fractional Committees," and the work of framing the "Constitution" will be carried out by this "Unit Committee."

Once the "Constitution" is drawn up in all its details, the "Committee" will pass to the appointment of a "Permanent Delegate of the Maltese in London," whose main business shall be a further the granting of such a "Constitution" to the Maltese.

Note.—The members of each "Committee" shall not be less than 8 (eight); one to act as Chairman, another as Secretary. In Malta, it is essential to guard against the non-attendance of members; to this purpose, a certain number of "subscribers" shall keep themselves informed of the work of each and all the "Committees," so that at a moment's notice they could replace absent members of any particular "Committee." They would be called "Supplementary members." Further, every three months, an assembly of all the "Subscribers" will be held, when the President of the "Association" will give a résumé of the work done by one and all of the "Committees" during the period. The President's Report to be printed and circulate among "Subscribers." Thus, would be kept alive the interest in the "Association."

It shall, also, be the duty of the "Permanent Committee" to secure the support of Maltese, resident abroad.

J. L. BALBI.

Addenda

Further particulars with regard to the above-mentioned Committees:—

It is suggested that this movement do take the name of "The Maltese Political Association," divided into a "Provisional" and a "Permanent" Committee.

Estimate of expenses of "Provisional Committee" for one year:—

(A.)

Rent of offices	£60
Furniture	50
Attendance	40
Lighting, &c.	20
Stationery, postage, &c.	10
Foreign and local newspapers	10
Reference books	40
	£230

(B.)

Now, 100 members of "Provisional Committee" at £2 10s., give a total of £250, therefore there would remain for contingencies a balance of	20
Total	£250

(A.) The calculation is made for one year, since one cannot say, off-hand, how long it would take to form the "Permanent Committee." It stands to reason that, should this be formed in a few months, the estimate given would be reduced proportionally, since, as stated above, the "Permanent Committee" would substitute itself to the "Provisional Committee," taking up the expenses already incurred.

(B.) Included in these are the bank's commission on the subscriptions received, and the expenses incurred in connection with the temporary offices in one of the Valletta hotels, as will be explained hereafter.

The subscriptions to the "Permanent Committee" would be made up as follows:—

500 members at 10s. 0d. per annum	£250
1,000 members at 5s. 0d. per annum	250
2,000 members at 2s. 6d. per annum	250
5,000 members at 1s. 0d. per annum	250
8,500 members resulting in	£1,000

The following table is added in order to show to how little the different subscriptions come to per month and week; and yet, much could be accomplished for the good of the country, small as they are. It is to be hoped that none will refuse to contribute their weekly mite:—

10s. 0d. a year, equal 10d. a month, equal 2 1/3d. a week.
5s. 0d. a year, equal 5d. a month, equal 1 1/5d. a week.
2s. 6d. a year, equal 2 1/2d. a month, equal say, 1/2d. a week.
1s. 0d. a year, equal 1d. a month, equals 1/4d. a week.

The best way to collect the annual subscription would be to appoint a "headman" to every 50 persons thus:—

Group A, consisting of 500 persons, 10 "headmen."
Group B, consisting of 1,000 persons, 20 "headmen."
Group C, consisting of 2,000 persons, 40 "headmen."
Group D, consisting of 5,000 persons, 100 "headmen."

Note.—It is to be clearly understood that the classes named under each subscribing group serve only as an indication as to who should subscribe a high or low rate, since anyone, belonging to any class, whatever, of the community, can belong to any group he chooses.

Estimate of expenses of the "Permanent Committee" for one year (C):

Rent of offices	£60
Attendance	60
Lighting, &c.	30
Newspapers, reviews, Government publications, foreign and Local	30
Reference books	20
Printing, &c.	60
Delegate in London	500
Contingencies	30
	£820
Leaving a balance to serve as a reserve fund of	180
Total	£1,000

(C), see Note (A).

(D), the first year, and perhaps further, would be minus this expense of

£500, since the "Delegate" would not enter into his charge until the "Constitution" has been drawn up; and, therefore, out of this sum (£500) would be refunded to total amount (£250) subscribed towards the "Provisional Committee," or any proportion hereof that will have been spent. The balance resulting after deducting the above amount from the £700, will go to strengthen the Reserve Fund of the "Permanent Committee".

Important.—All those wishing to join the "Provisional Committee" are requested to send their contribution of £2 10s. (two pounds ten shillings) to Mr. Paolo Ellul, Banker, of 249, Strada St. Ursola, Valletta, who will give a receipt in his name for this amount, and assume full responsibility for the same. Where cheques are sent, they should be made payable to Mr. Paolo Ellul.

Once the full number of 100 (one hundred) has been reached, and the "Governing Committee" elected, each subscriber will notify the said bank to transfer his subscription to the credit of the "Governing Committee," so that the total collected, viz., £250 (two hundred and fifty pounds) shall be at the absolute disposal of this "Committee." Subscribers will meet in a place to be chosen to elect the "Governing Committee," which will then rent suitable offices, furnish them, &c. Until this is done, rooms in a Valletta hotel will serve as temporary offices.

Note.—All English people that choose to do so can belong to this "Association." It is evident, that of these, all those who are permanently settled in Malta must wish to have a hand in the administration of local affairs, following the home custom.

All communications on the subject for Mr. J.L. Balbi, should be addressed c/o "La Gazzetta di Malta," Strada Zecca, Valletta.

(Translation.)

PROJECT FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF A POPULAR COUNCIL.

Whereas it is necessary that the demands of the Maltese population for a real and efficacious Constitution should come to the notice of the British Authorities;

And whereas, owing to the violence of the Government the Maltese people is at present deprived of a real and efficacious popular representation;

And whereas such popular representation is required also to communicate authoritatively with both the Local and Imperial Authorities, on

the manifold questions regarding politics and the administration of the country, and to represent to the British Nation and press, and, if necessary, also to those of other countries, the wishes and the needs of the population of Malta and its dependencies;

The Maltese Political Association, trusting in the co-operation of all true patriots, intends to proceed to the formation of a representative assembly, to be called "Consiglio Popolare" (Popular Council), to be elected in accordance with the following regulations and provisions, viz.:

1. The inhabitants of each town, suburb, and village of Malta and Gozo shall elect one representative each to the "Consiglio Popolare."

The inhabitants of Valletta shall, however, elect two representatives, and the inhabitants of Gozo three, one for Victoria, Sannat, Xeuchia and Kercem, another for Nadur, Kala, Caccia and Ghainsielem, and a third for Zebbug, Carbo, San Lorenzo and Ghasri.

2. Every householder in Malta and Gozo shall be entitled to vote.

The following shall also be entitled to vote, provided they are over 18 years of age:

(a) Ecclesiastics.
(b) Members of the nobility.
(c) Graduates of the University of Malta and of any university abroad, provided they are British subjects.
(d) Notaries, legal procurators, land surveyors, chemists, public brokers, weighers, auctioneers, and clerks.
(e) Traders.
(f) Students, provided they are over 18 years of age.

3. Every male person, who is a British subject, and over 18 years of age, and is able to read and write Italian or English, may be elected a member of the "Consiglio Popolare." No one can be a candidate, or be elected a member of the Consiglio Popolare for more than one place, and if he is so elected, his election shall be void, and another election shall be held.

4. A polling place shall be established in every town, suburb, and village.

5. The Committee of the Maltese Political Association shall appoint, either from its own body or otherwise, as it may think fit, seven Commissioners to conduct the election.

In no case, however, shall a candidate for election be appointed Commissioner, and if he be already so appointed, he shall cease to be a Commissioner as soon as it is known that he is a candidate for election.

6. The Commissioners, with the assistance of one or more Notaries Public shall cause as many ballot boxes as there are polling places, to be sealed with the seal of the said Notary or Notaries.

The Notaries who have sealed the ballot boxes shall draw up a certificate, which shall be published, before the election, at least in two daily papers.

7. A Notary Public, or in default thereof another person, appointed by the Commissioners, if possible belonging to one of the professions, shall be in charge of the Poll; if he wishes to do so, the Parish Priest of the place may be present for or be represented by another ecclesiastic appointed by him.

8. Every Notary or other person appointed in this stead—in accordance with the preceeding clause—who is in charge of a polling place, shall receive from the Commissioners one of the sealed ballot boxes; a number of blank forms of ticket "B" annexed to this project, approximately equal to the number of electors of the place in which the polling place is established, and a book in which the voters will be registered.

9. At least ten days before that fixed for the poll, the Commissioners shall send to each of the persons referred to in Clause 2 of this project, a voting ticket denoting their right to vote.

Such ticket shall be of cardboard, in the form "A" annexed to this project; it shall be signed by at least one of the Commissioners, and shall be delivered at the usual place of abode of the voter, or in the place in which he ordinarily carries on his trade or profession.

10. Any of the persons mentioned in Clause 2 who does not receive the voting ticket, shall have the right to apply for it to any one of the Commissioners before the election, or during the election, until the last moment, to the Notary and other person in charge of the polling place where he resides, provided that if he is not known to the Commissioners, the Notary, or other person in charge of the polling place, he proves that he is one of the persons referred to in Clause 2, and that he resides in the town, suburb, or village in which he applies to vote.

11. The poll shall be held on a Sunday or other holiday, and notice thereof shall be given at least ten days before by public posters and notices inserted in at least two daily papers published in Malta.

12. On the day appointed for the poll, each polling place shall be kept open from 6 to 10 a.m., and from 4 to 7 p.m.

13. Every elector who may desire to vote shall present himself in the polling place where he resides, and deliver his voting ticket to the Notary or other person in charge of the Office. The Notary of such other person shall

note in a register the name, surname, and place of residence of the elector, and shall hand to him a blank form of the ballot paper "B" signed by the Notary or other person in charge of that Office.

14. If the elector is able to write, he shall mark on the said paper the name, surname, and, if necessary, other particulars of the person for whom he wishes to vote.

If he is unable to write, or on account of some physical infirmity or other casue incapacitated from doing so, the Notary or other person in charge of the polling place, or any other person enjoying the confidence of the elector may, at the latter's request, mark on the said paper the name, surname, and, if necessary, other particulars of the person for whom the elector declares to be desirous of voting.

15. The ballot paper, when filled in, shall be folded and placed by the elector himself in the ballot box.

16. The Notary or any other person in charge of a polling place, and any other person who accompanies an elector to mark his vote for him, may vote in the same polling place, whatever be his place of residence, but they must vote for the representative of their place of residence.

17. After the time fixed for the poll, the Notary or any other person in charge of a polling place shall close the opening of the ballot box with a paper sealed with his own seal or bearing his signature, and shall deliver the box to the Commissioners, together with the tickets delivered to him by the voters, and the register in which he shall have noted the names of the voters, as also the blank ballot papers that have remained with him.

18. The Commissioners, not later than the working day following that on which all the ballot boxes are delivered to them, shall hold a public sitting at a place appointed for the purpose before the election by a public Notary. At that sitting, they shall open the ballot boxes in the presence of the Notary or Notaries who sealed the boxes, and who must satisfy themselves of their identity, and that they have not been tampered with. After taking out the ballot papers, one of the Commissioners shall read aloud the name of the person which is written on the ballot paper, and at least two of the Commissioners shall record such names in separate lists as they are read.

19. Any ballot paper on which more than one name is written, or on which anything is written or marked by which the elector can be identified, or which does not contain a sufficient indication of the person to whom the vote was given, shall be void, and shall be neither read nor counted.

20. When all the ballot papers have been read, the Commissioners shall also in a public sitting compare the said lists, and having ascertained the accuracy of the same, shall count the number of entries of each same, shall count the number of entries of each name on those lists, and shall immediately draw up, and one of them shall read in a loud voice, a declaration containing the result of the counting of the votes recorded in every town, suburb, and village of Malta and Gozo, and the name of the person who, in each town, suburb, or village in Malta and Gozo, shall have obtained either the highest number, or the whole number, of the votes recorded.

Where two or more candidates are elected with the same number of votes for the same town, suburb, or village, their election shall be void, and the Commissioners shall hold a new election for that town, suburb, or village.

21. The declaration referred to in the preceding clause shall be drawn up in the form "C" annexed to this project, and the said Commissioner shall, on the working day following that on which it is made, cause it to be entered in the acts of a Notary Public, and published in at least two daily papers in Malta.

22. Any person, whose name shall have been declared by the Commissioners to have obtained the highest number, or the whole number of the votes recorded in any of the towns, suburbs, or villages of Malta or Gozo, shall be considered to be a member of the Consiglio Popolare from the time when the said declaration is read in the public meeting.

23. Any question or difficulty that may arise in the application of the clauses of this project, or with regard to any other matter relating to the election of the members of the Consiglio Popolare shall be determined, without right of appeal, by the Commissioners by a majority of votes.

24. The object and duty of the Consiglio Popolare shall be:

(a) To continue, out of the so-called Council of Government as far as possible, the work formerly performed in the Council by elected members, by communicating to the Local and Imperial Authorities the wishes and meeds of this population, and suggesting every measure calculated to benefit the country politically and economically.
(b) To safeguard the rights and interests of the Maltese.
(c) To obtain for these Islands an autonomous régime in the administration of local affairs, consistently with the true Imperial interests as regards the fortress and naval station.

25. The Consiglio Popolare, formed of the members elected in accordance with the preceding provisions, shall, for the first time, be summoned by a notice issued by the President of the Maltese Political Association or by the person acting in his stead, not later than ten days from the date on which the declaration referred to in Clause 20 has been read.

26. At its first meeting the Consiglio Popolare shall elect, by a majority of votes, from its own body, a President, a Vice-President, and eight Secretaries, and shall frame permanent regulations for the conduct of its proceedings.

27. The President, the Vice-President, and the eight Secretaries shall form the Executive Committee of the Consiglio Popolare.

28. It shall be incumbent on the President, with the assistance of the Vice-President, to take charge of the general policy of the country in relation to the Government, by corresponding direct with the Local and Imperial Authorities, and if necessary, also with other authorities.

Each of the eight Secretaries shall respectively take charge of the questions relating to that branch of the public administration with which he is entrusted by the Committee, by corresponding with the Local and Imperial Authorities in connection with such questions.

29. The Executive Committee of the Consiglio Popolare shall hold its ordinary meetings once a week, and extraordinary meetings whenever it is necessary, in the opinion of the President, to do so.

For the validity of the decisions of the Executive Committee five members shall form a quorum.

30. The Executive Committee shall decide all questions by a majority of votes, and in case of equality of votes, the President or other presiding member shall have a casting vote.

31. The President and the Vice-President, as well as each of the eight Secretaries, may propose laws or resolutions in the Consiglio Popolare, for submission to the consideration of the Local or the Imperial Government, provided that the Executive Committee be consulted beforehand with regard to such laws and resolutions, and any question of importance relating to the branch of politics or administration confided to his care.

32. Any of the Members of the Executive Committee, who, without a sufficient reason satisfactory to the Committee, absents himself from the meetings of the Committee for more than three times consecutively shall vacate his office, and the Consiglio Popolare shall, as soon as possible, be summoned by the President, or if the President himself has vacated his office, by any of the other members for the election of another member.

33. It shall be the duty of the President, or the person acting in his stead, to summon a meeting of the Consiglio Popolare at least once a month, and such meeetings shall be held in public.

In all questions dealt with by the Consiglio Popolare, decisions shall be taken by a majority of votes the members rising in their seats, and in case of equality of votes, the President, or the person acting in his stead, shall also have a casting vote.

34. Every member of the Consiglio Popolare shall have a right to put, after giving at least two days' previous notice, questions to any of the members of the Execitive Committee concerning all questions of public interest, and to propose resolutions in the said Council.

35. The Executive Committee shall consider, and, with the approval of the Consiglio Popolare, adopt such measures as may be necessary for establishing a popular fund for meeting the working expenses of the Consiglio Popolare and other expenses for the attainment of its aims.

36. The duration of the Consiglio Popolare shall be five years, unless it has, before the expiration of that term, attained its object.

FORM "A."

Voting ticket for the Constitution of the Consiglio Popolare, 1906.

FORM "B."

Consiglio Popolare.

election of the representatives of ..... (the name of the town, suburb, or village to be inserted here), 1906.

I vote for* .....

*The name of the person for whom it is intended to vote should be inserted here.

FORM "C."

We, the undersigned, Commissioners for conducting the election of the Constitution of the Consiglio Popolare, in Malta and its Dependencies, declare upon our honour that, having counted the votes in a public sitting held at (the place where the sitting has been held should be inserted here), on the (date to be inserted here), the following persons obtained respectively the number of votes hereunder stated for the representation of the towns, suburbs, and villages mentioned against each place.

Place.	Name and Surname.	Number of Votes.
Malta—		
Valletta 1st Section		
Valletta 2nd Section		
Sliema and St. Julian's.....		
Floriana		
Hamrun		
Misida and Pietà		
Cospicua.....		
Vittoriosa.....		
Senglea		
Calcara.....		
Zabbar and Wied il Ghain		
Notabile and Rabato		
Dingli.....		
Siggieui.....		
Musta and Imgiar.....		
Melleha.....		
Birchircara.....		
Balzan.....		
Lia		
Attard		
Naxaro and St. Paul's Bay		
Gargur		
Curmi		
Zebbug		
Luca.....		
Micabiba		
Zeitun and Marsascirocco.....		
Tarxien.....		
Paula.....		
Gudia		
Chircop.....		
Asciak and Birzebbugia.....		
Zurrico		
Safi.....		
Crendi.....		
Gozo		

DOCUMENT 45

Scope and organization of the A.P.M.'s *Consiglio Popolare*

Resolved:

That this Public Meeting, representing all the classes of the Maltese population,

Expresses its deep regret for the unjust and illiberal treatment to which Great Britain, contrary to her most solemn promises, has subjected, for over a century, this loyal population that has spontaneously placed itself under her protection;

Rejects disdainfully the so-called Constitution of the 3rd June 1903, which is expressly meant to deprive of all authority the elective element of the Council of Government:

Protests energetically against the imposition of taxes and the substitution of the (English for the Italian) language against the express will of the people, and against the violence used by His Majesty's Government, at the instigation of the Local Government, in thus abolishing every real and efficacious representation of the people in the Government; and

Deplores the consequences of such violence which have resulted in the disordered state of public finances, notwithstanding the many taxes imposed by Orders of Her Majesty in Council; in the sanctioning of oppressive and ruinous laws; in our being threatened with further taxation and with all sorts of arbitrary acts by the permanent and irresponsible official element, for which reasons the general discontent is daily becoming more intensified;

And is of opinion and resolves:

(a) That a popular council should be constituted by the free vote of householders in each town, suburb, and village in Malta and Gozo, and of ecclesiastics, nobles, graduates, notaries, legal procurators, land surveyors, chemists, public brokers, weighers and auctioneers, clerks, traders, and students over 18 years of age—such council to represent the population of these islands before the Imperial authorities, with a view to obtaining a real and efficacious Constitution which may secure to the Maltese people a free administration of local affairs, consistently with the real interests of the Empire;

(b) That the said popular council should, when constituted, and with a view to better achieving the object stated, present to His Majesty's Government a request that Malta may be represented in the Council Conference to be held in London, by a person to be freely chosen by the electors in these islands;

(c) That a copy of these resolutions should be forwarded to His Excellency the Governor for transmission, together with an English translation, to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Malta—outside Porte des Bombes
May 20, 1906.

SHORTHAND REPORT of the Speeches delivered in Maltese at the Public Meeting, held outside Porte des Bombes, on Sunday, May 20, 1906, at 4 p.m.

Mr. F. AZZOPARDI, who was received with cheers, said:—

I propose as President of this meeting Count Caruana Gatto (cheers), one of the greatest patriots of our country, who comes also of a family of patriots. As Secretary, I propose Dr. Luigi Randon. Just a year ago yesterday, Malta lost its greatest defender in the person of Dr. Mizzi, the man who spent the best years of his life in the defence of the people's rights, the man who sacrificed his all for the cause of the people. It pleased God to call him away in a critical time for our country. Nothing is left to us but to cherish his memory, and I hope that in a short time a monument will be erected to his memory. Still, the greatest monument would be to continue his work and to defend our country, by following the example he set to us. We, Maltese, have many patriots, and have had many in past times who sacrificed, not only their property, but their life as well. This, however, is not required of you. It is not necessary now-a-days to give up your life in the defence of your property. We may safely say that there is not a single Government Department which performs its duty towards the people, although it is the people who pay thousands of pounds for the upkeep of those Departments. There is no class of the population which sides with the Government. Laws are made which are useless, and which are meant for the oppression of the people. We should only look at the men who carry on the Government to see how miserable the country is. Let us begin with the Governor. This gentleman has given

proofs of his incapacity in that he is not aware of what is done in the country in very important questions, such as that of the recent Protestant Mission, when, the Bishop having protested against it, he replied by saying that he knew nothing of the permission granted. This same gentleman has further shown his incapacity when, after about one year of his arrival in this country, he confessed that he was not aware, until then, of the existence of Flores College, an institution which is situated almost close to his Palace. He showed his incapacity even in England when, having been called to give evidence before the Transvaal War Stores Commission, he was unable to give any information. The Commission in their report qualified him, not as imbecile, but little less. There is also the Lieutenant-Governor (murmurs). This gentleman showed, too, his incapacity in this way. A little before he came to Malta the Government had taxed the people to the tune of £46,000 yearly; so that, on his coming, he found that much over the amount at the disposal of his predecessors. Yet, a few days ago, he told us that our revenue was not sufficient, and that more money was required; not much though—half a million pounds for the present. (Laughter and murmurs). In spite of all this the Lieutenant-Governor pretends to effect economies in the expenditure. I will tell you how. He recently found out that it was not fair that the Civil Government alone should defray the expense for the Governor's barge; he, therefore, decided that the expenditure should be equally borne by the Military Authorities and the Civil Government. Having effected this economy of a few pounds, that Lieutenant Governor increased his salary by £300. (Murmurs.) This is the sort of economy made by the Lieutenant-Governor. He is also so good an administrator of our finance that he requires £1,400 to build a house for the Veterinary Surgeon, and £250 to effect improvements in a Government tenement which he is going to rent for himself. I do not think it is necessary that I should say anything about the other employés of high position. They are Maltese and known by you. Take the Government Departments and see how they work. The Public Works Department is the ruin of the island revenue, half of which is spent by it. Take then the Post Office. Suffice it to say that a letter from Valletta to Birchircara takes more time than a letter from Malta to Milan would do. I need not say anything about the Electric Light Department; you know what it is. With regard to the Customs Department, we may say that at present many restrictions are put in the way of trade, due to the action of the Sanitary Authorities who

want to examine everything. This, of course, spells ruin to trade. Here in Malta the high Government employees are sent to us from England, as if it were not we pay for them. The only way, as you see, to have a good Government is to secure a Constitution which entrusts the administration of the country to the people. To attain this end, the Maltese Political Association has drawn up a project for a council of the people. You all know that some time ago we had a Constitution which gave us a Council composed of 14 Elected Members and 6 Officials. The 14 representatives of the people until then were in a majority, although the Government's will always prevailed. As soon, however, as the Government saw that the Elected Members were so honest and courageous as to oppose the Government in questions detrimental to the interests of the people, the Government reduced the people's representatives to 8 and increased its members to 10, in order to be always in a majority. Under these circumstances, it is useless to send our representatives to the Council of Government. The Maltese Political Association has consequently drawn up a project for the formation of a Council of the people, composed of gentlemen elected by the whole of Malta. The duty of the Council will be to see if things are going on well in Malta; in case they are not, it will communicate with the Local Government, and, if possible, with the Imperial Government. If we do not succeed in this, we will see then what to do. England should know that we are loyal subjects, and that we are ready to defend, in her interests, our island against any invasion, by offering even our bodies as wads to the English guns; provided however, that she has regard for our interests to look afte and we must live as it pleases us. The Government, until now, has always shown contempt for us by doing what it pleased. You all know how, recently, the Government not only gave permission to a Protestant Missioner to preach in a theatre, built at the expense of the population, but, after the Bishop's protest, it replied that it was the Bishop who was wrong, that there was no harm in the granting of the permission, and that it was for the Government to decide whether there was harm or not in the granting of the permission. This is evidence of the contempt shown by the Local Government to the Maltese people. I have finished. I will now propose the resolution which I will read first in Italian and then in Maltese. (Interruptions and cries of: "Read in Maltese.") I will then read it in Maltese and afterwards in Italian. (The resolution was then put to the meeting and passed by acclamation). I have something else to say

respecting the complaints which are made about foreign workmen who flock to our country. The fault, however, is with the Government. Govenment, being aware that the works at the new dry docks and the breakwater would require all our labourers, instead of postponing for the moment its own works, took them in hand, with the result that the number of Maltese workmen was found to be insufficient to meet all demands. It was, therefore, natural that foreign workmen should be requisitioned. I trust, however, that they will not settle in the island. (Cheers.) As I told you, the fault is not theirs, but of those who brought them here. I have mentioned this fact in order to show how necessary it is that our Government should be composed of persons who look after the interests of the people. (Loud cheers).

Mr. S. CACHIA ZAMMIT, who was received with cheers, said:—

I am pleased to see you here in such numbers—a similar demonstration I have never seen. I thank you, and should like you to thank the representatives of the Maltese Clergy (cheers), who are bound to us with the greatest tie of religion and country. This great concourse of people is evidence enough of your decision that your will should be respected and your wishes gratified. Do not let the Government usurp our rights. (Cheers.) In defending our rights we are defending the history and the traditions of our country. We ask for our rights because they were promised to us by the English in the face of the whole of Europe. I should like the Colonial Minister, Lord Elgin, to read the proclamations of Graham, of Cameron, of Pigot, and Ball; I should like him to read the despatches of Lord Grey to O'Ferrall, of Cardwell to Le Marchant, and of Knutsford to Simmons, instead of listening to his secretaries, Ommanney and Harris, who are disposed against us by our Governors and Lieutenant-Governors. Lord Elgin has lately said in one of his speeches that he listens only to the man who represents him in the Colonies. But suppose the man on the spot does not report the truth, what should the Colonial Minister do? He should, I think, see whether the people's remonstrances are well founded. Yesterday, I was reading a speech made by Mr. Churchill on the 13th of this month in which he said that he is for peace in the Colonies, and that the English Liberal principle is that all Colonies should be governed liberally. If, therefore, the Colonial Minister, instead of listening to our Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, would consult the Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Mr. Churchill, I

should not lose all hope that truth would at last triumph. The Colonial Secretary should not expect the population to stand still. (Cheers.) One thing only I ask of you, viz., that you should work together in complete harmony for ever, until you secure again your rights. I hope you will all vote for the Popular Council. (Cheers.)

Archpriest P. AGIUS, who was received with cheers, said:—

I think you all know that, without my deserving it, I represented you once in the Council of Govenment. I am, therefore, in a position to know whether what the other two gentlemen who preceded me said is the truth or not. I am convinced that it is the most sacred truth. Consequently, it is unnecessary for me to say anything on the subject. I should like, however, to add one thing, because it appears to me that it is my duty, as a minister, to do so. You have all heard that days ago a Protestant minister came here to Malta. To our great sorrow, this minister was granted permission by Government, or the Governor, to hold conferences on his religion in a public theatre, like a *pulchinello*. (Laughter.) The Bishop, on hearing of this permission, did his duty in order to have the permission withdrawn. However, from the correspondence which passed between the Bishop and the Governor, and which was published in the newspapers, it appears that his Lordship was not listened to. This is an offence against our religion. This is the second attempt made by the Government against our religion. The first attempt was this: You all know that connected with our religion are internal and external ceremonies; the former are those which are performed in the churches, and the latter are those which are observed outside the churches. In matters relating to internal worship the Government has not interfered; such, however, is not the case with regard to external ceremonies, which embrace processions, ringing of church bells, illuminations (a voice: fireworks), well, fireworks as well. If the Government thought that there were abuses in these external observances, it should have communicated with the head of the church in Malta, who would have certainly done his duty to put a stop to any abuse. (Cheers.) Government has already failed to keep the promises made to us when it took us under its protection. But this is no protection; this is persecution. Therefore, I ask you: Are you in favour of the resolution, already submitted to you, being confirmed? (Cheers.) I forgot to tell you one thing. You should know that this Protestant minister had recourse to the theatre (a *public* place, because

built out of our taxes, and not, as the Governor said, a *private* place) because he was refused permission to hold his conferences in Protestant Churches. Once that this missioner was not allowed to preach in Protestant Churches, why should we permit him to preach in a place which belongs to us? (Cheers.)

Canon L. DALLI, who was received with cheers, said:—

I had the intention of speaking about the permission given to the Protestant missioner, but, as that point has already been fully dealt with by Archpriest Agius, I do not think it is necessary for me to say anything more. I know that the Maltese are willing to offer up their lives for their religion. (Cheers.) I should like to say something about the Maltese Political Association. The Lieutenant-Governor has lately said that he does not recognize this Association. We should, therefore, see at once to the formation of the Popular Council (cheers), for which you have already passed a resolution, in order that that Council should take up the defence of our rights (cheers), and of our religion (cheers). This is the object of the Popular Council. When the times comes for the voting you should all of you record your votes for the candidates who would represent you in the Council. (Cheers.)

Mr. F. AZZOPARDI said:—

This meeting is now closed. Before you disperse, I should like to explain to you what is to be done in connection with the Popular Council. You will, shortly, receive a certificate entitling each head of a family to vote for the Council. At the appointed day, you should go to record your votes for the gentlemen who are proposed as your representatives. Do not fail to do this, because if the formation of this Council will come to nothing, Government will say that the Maltese do not take interest in their concerns. Remember that Government has taxed you and will tax you again. If you do not take interest in politics it will be the ruin of Malta. I am sorry to say that certain persons and societies make it a point not to take part in politics. This means that they renounce their rights, and they cannot, therefore, be patriots. In each district you will find the parish priest, or his delegate, who will be pleased to explain to you everything. When the Council will be formed, we shall see whether the Government will recognize it or not. (Cheers). I thank you heartily for having come to this meeting in such large numbers. Government will

now see whether the Maltese take interest or not in their own concerns. Now, disperse quietly and do not give cause for complaint to the Police. (Loud cheers.)

DOCUMENT 46

A Protest Resolution sent to the Governor in June 1906

ASSOCIAZIONE POLITICA MALTESE, Valletta,

ECCELLENZA ONOREVOLE, 19 Giugno, 1906.

Ho l'onore di acchiudere, per informazione di V.E. Onor. una risoluzione unanimamente approvata nel publico comizio da me ed atri membri della detta Associazione tenuto nella Città Vittoria al Gozo, il 10 corrente, pregando rispettosamente che copia della stessa, con una traduzione inglese, sia trasmessa allo Onorevolissimo Segretario di S.M. per le Colonie.

Ho l'onore, &c.,
F. AZZOPARDI,
L.P.

A Sua Eccellenza Onorevole,
Il Governatore di Malta
and sue Dipendenze.

(Translation.)

Resolved,

that this public meeting representing all classes of the population of the city (Victoria?) and all the villages in the Island of Gozo, in protesting against the reactionary policy pursued by the Government in imposing new taxes and the substitution of the language, in spite of the express will of the people of these Islands and of its legitimate representatives, and in arbitrarily suppressing all efficacious popular representiation,

and in rejecting disdainfully the so-called Constitution of 1903, which is regarded by the Maltese as a mockery and an insult,

Is of opinion,

(1) that a Popular Council should be formed, as projected by the Maltese Political Association, and with the objects assigned to it by that Association, and

(2) that such Popular Council, among its first acts when formed, should, in order that it may better attain its objects, ask His Majesty's Government that the Island of Malta and its Dependencies may be represented at the Colonial Conference to be held in London, by a person duly elected for the purpose by the Maltese according to law.

Victoria, Gozo,
June 10, 1906.

DOCUMENT 47

Police Reports to London on A.P.M. meeting and on Francesco Azzopardi's leadership

(Malta Police, Interior Branch, Head Office, June 11, 1906.)

The meeting advertized to be held in Piazza Reale, Victoria, Gozo, was duly held by Mr. Azzopardi on the 10th instant, at 8.30 a.m.

Mr. Azzopardi was supported by Messrs. A. Mercieca, L.L.D., G. Masini, L.L.D., Costantino Mallia, P.L., G. Mizzi, of the "Gazzetta di Malta," J. Gulia, M.D., F. Mallia, Chemist, S. Cachia Zammit, Paolo Sammut, Pasq. Calleja, P.A.A., the Canons of the Cathedral of Gozo, Tabone, L. Vella, G. Vella, Cutajar, Cauchi, Diacono, Cachia, Cordina, Grech, the Canons of the Collegiate Church of Caccia, Sultana, Attard, Scerri, of the Collegiate of Garbo, Cauchi, Grech, Galea, the Archpriests of Xeuchia and Sannat, the Parish Priests of Kercem, San Lorenzo, Ghain Sielem, and Kala, the Reverends J. Bugeja, S. Attard, L. Casha, R. Cutajar, F. Azzopardi and the Clerics Gauci, Farrugia and Portelli.

The area occupied by the assemblage was about 1,000 square yards.

At 8.30 a.m. the Archpriest of Sannat addressed a few words to the people saying that in consequence of the deplorable state in which the islands stand politically, a political association had been formed for the purpose of obtaining from the Imperial Government political concessions. He introduced Mr. F. Azzopardi, who, in addressing the meeting, explained the principles of representative Government, and to show that it was necessary that the Maltese should be governed on those principles he mentioned the language question, saying that although the Maltese, through their representatives in Council, had shown that the Italian language was necessary for the Maltese, the officials of the Government

decided otherwise; he said that the taxes which were levied at the rate of £2 a head were expended not for the sole benefit of the population, but to construct roads for the use of the military and the English residents. He said that works effected by the Public Works Department were costly, and that works effected by contractors under the Public Works Department were done by foreigners inasmuch as no clause was ever inserted in the contract binding the contractor to employ only Maltese. He mentioned that large sums of money were yearly expended to maintain the Charitable Institutions, but that out of these amounts a large proportion went to pay the salaries of unnecessarily large staff of employés and for luxuries for the officials. He said that although a breakwater was quite needful for the safety of passengers to and from Gozo, still the Government have not taken steps to complete its construction urging lack of funds. Nevertheless, he said, the Government have found the money to build a house for the Veterinary Surgeon, and to effect works in another house required for the use of the Lieutenant-Governor. He then said that the Maltese Political Association had decided to constitute a "Consiglio Popolare." He explained its constitution and its objects, and introduced the members designed by the Association to represent Gozo: Dr. A. Mercieca, Mr. P. Calleja, P.A.A. and Mr. G. Mizzi.

Dr. Mercieca spoke next, reiterating in more rhetorical language the arguments of the previous speaker, and mentioned that the Government had even refused a grant in aid of £20 a year to an individual who intended to plant in Gozo an ice-making machine.

Mr. Pasquale Calleja, P.A.A., followed Dr. Mercieca. He explained the mode of voting for the members of the Consiglio Popolare, and the expediency that all voters should record their vote.

Mr. Cachia Zammit spoke next. He dwelt on the forthcoming Colonial Conference, and said that Malta should have the privilege of sending representatives.

Mr. Azzopardi then addressed the meeting again. He put to the audience two questions: (1) whether the people approved of new taxes being imposed in the absence of the representatives of the people in Council, and (2) whether they approved of the policy of the Government in respect of the language question.

The meeting replied negatively.

A resolution was then passed to the effect that the "Consiglio Popolare" be constituted as representing the people of Malta, and that in such

capacity they do demand that political liberties be granted by the Imperial Government. Further, that the "Consiglio Popolare" do approach the Imperial Government asking that representatives of Malta may take part in the Colonial Conference, 1907.

Mr. Azzopardi concluded, saying that the Maltese Political Association at present desired only of the people that they do vote for the constitution of the "Consiglio Popolare", but should further action by the people be deemed necessary, eventually, the Association will duly explain their mind at public gatherings. At 10 a.m. the meeting was dissolved.

J. FRENDO AZOPARDI,
S. Assistant Superintendent.

The Superintendent of Police

1. The Superintendent of Police states that (a) Mr. Azzopardi is gaining ground, and (b) the Malta Political Association is gradually receiving increased support.

2. The Superintendent of Police does not state upon what grounds he has formed the opinion expressed in his report. We think, however, that it may be reasonably assumed that the statement of the Superintendent of Police is principally, if not solely, based on the fact that the meetings held by the Malta Political Association during the last three weeks have been numerously attended.

3. Nine meetings, including the General Meeting outside Porte des Bombes, have been held up to date. It is known that the number of people who attended the meeting at Floriana has been over-estimated by the "Gazetta di Malta", and that the concourse of people was not above 5,000.

4. It is possible that the meetings held in the Casals and at Gozo may have attracted a comparatively larger number of public. A meeting in a Casal may be expected to prove as much an attraction as any ordinary event which comes on to break the usual quiet and monotony of the place. It is, therefore, no wonder that the people of the Casals should flock to the square of the village on an idle day, to listen to what the gentleman hailing from the towns have to say to them, and which they cannot learn from their neighbours of the field.

5. But the "Gazetta di Malta," of the 15th instant, in giving an account of the meeting held at Siggiewi very candidly (and humorously) explained of what elements the audience at that meeting was to a certain extent composed. It says: "It may be said without fear of contradiction that all

the village was present, even the women attended with their babies they also (the women) being anxious to learn what is the real condition of the country".

6. If to the contingent furnished by the female section of the audience we add the number of youngsters, and those who go to the meeting because everybody else goes, or because there is nothing better to go to, it may easily conceived how the number of auditors and lookers-on at a meeting can readily reach a goodly figure.

7. It appears, also, from the account above referred to of the meeting at Siggieui that on the morning of the day on which the meeting was to be held notice of the event was given in church by the parish priest of the village. The following is another extract from the account of the "Gazetta di Malta:" "The parish priest of the Casal delivered a short but stirring introductory speech. He began by saying that, in accordance with what he had said that morning in church, all the gentleman who were around him come from town to hold the meeting and to expose the real state of the country; and that, therefore, everybody should listen to them religiously, in order to know what is to be done during the present position of the country."

8. It is known that parish priests are influential in their Casals, and if the practice, which appears to have been resorted to by the leaders of the present agitation in the case of the meeting at Siggieui(i.e., to make use of the influence of the parish priest over his flock) was also availed of on the occasion of the meetings held in other villages, as apparently has been the case, it is no wonder that such meetings should be largely attended.

9. Under these circumstances we do not think that the fact that the meetings of the Malta Political Association in the Casals are attracting large audiences is *per se* sufficient to suggest that the association is gaining ground.

10. We are not aware of any special facts that might support the view that Mr. Azzopardi's popularity is on the increase.

11. We doubt very much whether Mr. Azzopardi will ever succeed in securing the support of the intelligent section of the community. Apparently at the present moment he can rely on the support of the clergy. It is probable that by the help coming from that quarter he will succeed in forming up the "Consiglio Popolare." We anticipate, however, that the life of this assembly will not last much longer than the present tension

which will subside as soon as the question of Mr. MacNeill's mission, which lies at the bottom of this agitation, is forgotten. We, therefore, submit that we see no reason for any apprehension at this juncture.

V. FRENDO AZOPARDI,
Crown Advocate.
R. MICALLEF,
Comptroller of Charity Institutions.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor.
June 20, 1906.

DOCUMENT 48

A *Malta* Editorial noting popular support for the National cause, December 1906

(TRANSLATION from the "Malta e sue Dipendenze," of the 6th December, 1906.)

The Response of the Ballot Boxes.

After very hard work, after overcoming almost insurmountable obstacles, in the face of the opposition, ridicule and contempt of some people, with the tenacious perseverance of a handful of intrepid patriots, and thanks to the valid co-operation of the whole population, with God's help, we have accomplished a fact of such political importance as cannot be adequately measured at this moment, a fact of which there are only a few examples in the histories of small and oppressed, though not yet vanquished, nations.

Strong in the universal suffrage, with the vote and will of what is most elect, intellectual and solid in our Island population, in an imposing and serious election conducted by persons whose well-known character is a guarantee of probity, honesty, and respect, against the vacuous, illegal, and unconstitutional entity of the Council of Government, rises and stands forth that vigoruous and real body which has just sprung into life from the popular vote with the halo of victory, which recalls ancient traditions, and sets to itself new tasks, and which is called the "Consiglio Popolare."

If we reflect upon it a while, nothing was more logical, necessary and inevitable. For a false semblance of popular franchise and powers has

been substituted the only legitimate and natural institution for a civilized and free people; a truly representative and really popular assembly. To the amphictyonic council of public functionaries which, in spite of the law that calls to it the representatives of the people constitutes itself a parliament in their absence, and manipulates laws and the public money, and which, notwithstanding that, after its third session, it has forfeited all authority, and dissolved, by the operation of an essential condition of its existence, continues all the same to carry on legislative functions in the name and on behalf of the people, which takes no part in its doings, does not acknowledge it, repudiates it, and denies it all authority—to such a bastard body—to this organ of supreme abuse and power, the country districts, the towns, the suburbs of Malta and Gozo have opposed the only check. . . .

DOCUMENT 49

En masse Resignation of 9 May 1907 by the Elected Members of the Council of Government

MY LORD, Malta, May 9, 1907.

We, the undersigned—nominated as Candidates by the "Consiglio Popolare" in the last General Elections to the Council of Government—have been elected uncontested to represent the people of Malta. It is foremost of all our bounden duty to protest, on behalf of the Maltese people, against the present Constitution and the illegal manner it has been carried out by the Government. We also beg that a Constitution be granted to the Maltese, with the sanction of the British Parliament, which will secure to the popular representation a permanent and efficacious control over the administration and government of these islands.

2. The Constitution of the 3d June, 1903, was forced on the Maltese people, in substitution for what remained of the Constitution of 1887, as a punishment to the Elected Members, who were denounced by Mr. Chamberlain, in his speech delivered in the House of Commons on the 28th January, 1902, for having "refused absolutely necessary votes of money for purposes from which their constituents would derive the very greatest benefit, in order to defeat the decision of the Government in

regard to some other question." As a matter of fact, however, the Elected Members had done nothing of the kind. They refused the Education Votes and other votes connected with that Department, because all classes of the population were opposed to the system of education imposed upon them by the Government. Other votes quite unconnected with the Education Department were refused or reduced in the ordinary way and on their own merits. In so doing, the Elected Members were only exercising their "right to criticize the proposals of the Government and to oppose them as a last resort," which in his said speech Mr. Chamberlain declared he did not deny them for one moment. But even if the Elected Members had really done what they thus erroneously were charged with, Mr. Chamberlain said that they did not represent the majority of the Maltese population. If Mr. Chamberlain is correct, the franchise should have been extended and not restricted, as by revoking the Constitution he punished not the Elected Members held by him guilty, but the whole Maltese population, according to him not responsible for their conduct.

3. Such a measure, besides being contrary to the historic rights of the Maltese people, is also a breach of the promises of Great Britain.

Since 1090 A.D., when Count Roger of Normandy gave to the Maltese a "Consiglio Popolare," the Maltese people have ever enjoyed and exercised the right of making laws for the good government of their country and of administering their own public affiars according to their own wishes and requirements. Although often ignored under the Order of the Grand Masters, the "Consiglio Popolare" survived to the same Order, and the Maltese reconstituted it in 1798 by the "Assemblea Nazionale," which the British Royal Commissioner, Sir John A. Ball, elected as its President, afterwards called "Congresso." The People's Representatives, assembled in that "Congresso" on the 19th November, 1801, proclaimed the Union of Malta to the United Kingdom under the condition of the promises made by Great Britain's Representatives to the Maltese, in the name of King George III, that their religion, their property and their liberties would be maintained and protected. Notwithstanding the Treaty of Amiens, the British Government accepted the offer of the Maltese and the conditions thereof, contained in the Declaration of the Rights of the Maltese people, made in June, 1802, by the People's Representatives to the British Government.

It is, therefore, undoubtedly a fact that at the time of its union with

England, Malta was an autonomous and independent State, and so the promises made to the Maltese by the British Government's Representatives and the Declaration of their rights by the Maltese Deputies, are original and fundamental titles of the Maltese National rights, of which the Constitution of 1903 is a flagrant breach, and which justify the claims of the Maltese people for a direct and effective control over their own local public affairs.

4. We wish also to protest against the violation of the Constitution made by the Government, principally that of having summoned the Council by Proclamation of the 27th October, 1903, before the elected element had been secured in accordance with Clauses 8 and 9 of His Majesty's Letters Patent; and again that of having prolonged the Session of the Council for more than three years—from the 11th November, 1903, to the 28th March, 1907, when it was for the first time dissolved,—against Clause 51 of the said Letters Patent, which only allows it a duration of three years.

5. A reform is now become inevitable. At present the popular representation is but a shadow, with no efficacious control. The Maltese are overburdened with taxes, their public money is squandered, commerce and trade are hampered by useless and vexatious laws and regulations, and the people have no means of redress nor even of making known their grievances to the Imperial authorities independently from the local Government. The proverbial loyalty of the Maltese—again displayed lately on the occasion of the recent visit of Their Majesties—is being thus severely tried. Whatever concerns Malta cannot be indifferent to the Government and people of Great Britain, and we, the Elected Members, earnestly appeal to the sense of justice and fair dealing of the Imperial Government in order to free the people of these islands from the rule of a local oligarchy, and so give the Maltese ample cause to bless their union to England.

6. Therefore we, the Elected Representatives of the people of Malta, do protest (*a*) that we can and must not accept the Constitution of Mr. Chamberlain of 1903; and (*b*) that the promises made by the King's Representatives to respect and maintain all the dearest rights of the Maltese, among which is surely that of a real popular representation, have been and are still being violated; and we formally beg to be granted a Constitution, sanctioned by Parliament, which shall secure to the representatives of the people, such a specific and effective power to decide

questions of finance and other questions of purely local concern, as it was intended by Lord Knutsford's Constitution to confer.

We have, &c.,
ANDREA PULLICINO.
P. SAMMUT.
F. AZZOPARDI, L.P.
BEN. BONNICI, LL.D.
S. CACHIA ZAMMIT.
ALFRED MATTEI.
ALFONSO M. MICALLEF.
ART. MERCIECA, LL.D.

The Right Honourable
The Earl of Elgin, K.G.,
His Majesty's Secretary of State
for the Colonies.

DOCUMENT 50

Azzopardi's speech in 1907 suggesting a revision of the policy of *Astensionismo*

TRANSLATION of a SPEECH delivered by MR. AZZOPARDI at a meeting of the Consiglio Popolare held on the 21st May, 1907.

Mr. Azzopardi said:—This meeting was convoked before the date to which this Consiglio Popolare had been adjourned at its last sitting, because the executive committee wishes to offer the elected members an opportunity of giving any information which they may think necessary in regard to their work. As one of the elected members and President of the Executive Committee, it is my duty to set before you the political situation, a situation which is on all hands admitted to be the most critical that we have had to face. But the more is the situation critical the less can it be pretended that every single citizen should by himself resolve the problem which it presents, and assume the responsability on his way of thinking and with perhaps a limited knowledge of the circumstances and consequences. Certainly this Consiglio Popolare in selecting eight persons as candidates at the last elections, and the electorate in returning those eight persons to represent the people have placed their confidence

in those persons, and have entrusted them with the direction of the movement, throwing on them all the responsibility. It is then with the elected members that the responsability lies, who can best solve the problem which the altered circumstances impose.

Every one will admit that the electoral programme on which the last uncontested elections were based has considerably changed the direction of the popular movement. At first, our policy was absolute abstention; in no case, for no motive, under no circumstance, should the elected members enter the Council of Government. That programme, however, admits that, in certain cases, under certain circumstances, and on certain conditions that line of policy might be departed from and representatives be sent to the Council. In politics, as well as in other walks of life which lead to a goal, one cannot swear to follow always the same way. It would be much the same as navigating—by keeping to the same course throughout the voyage, or walking, or riding without heeding the necessary turnings of the road. This is the way of madmen, and generally these madmen lead themselves and those whom they pretend to guide over a precipice. When circumstances change, systems must always change, the principle of course being maintained, the realization of which is the goal. Now, in formulating the programme, the candidates had to take into consideration the changed circumstances of the moment. A few months before, I would not have signed that programme, and I am sure that none of my colleagues would have done so, as it would have been disastrous then to the interests of the people's cause to enter the Council. But certain events which followed in succession necessarily suggested a change. Governor Clarke, who, as is known by all, had asked for and obtained an extension of his service, resigned his office of a sudden . . . for reasons of health, or on some other pretext. Why such a sudden change? It might be said that Clarke's retirement had become necessary in view of the reforms which were in contemplation for the military organization of the Mediterranean. But this hypothesis could not be upheld. Clarke was himself a military man and could not be an obstacle to those reforms; he might have remained in his office until the appointment of his successor, without the necessity of any sacrifice. Then we might conclude that his retirement was imposed by the necessity of reforms in the organization of the Civil Government. Being responsible for the political situation of the country, as it was he who had suggested the repeal of the constitution of 1887 and the imposition of the present

one, it was not possible to change the situation by serious reforms without sacrificing him. And this explains perhaps the sudden retirement of Governor Clarke. It may or it may not be so, but from all appearance we may reasonably say that certainly something is maturing.

This is confirmed by the fact that, as the new Governor is to be vested with powers much more limited than hitherto and perhaps with powers of an entirely civil nature, new Letters Patent altering the Constitution become inevitable. And to this, other no less important circumstances are to be added. The Council of Government was dissolved much ealier than usual. Formerly, the Session was protracted to the whole of May and even to June, whilst, on this occasion, the dissolution took place at the end of March; moreover, the elections, for which the Government has three months, were conducted with extraordinary precipitation. What is the reason? Evidently something is brewing. I may add that we know for certain from private correspondence that the Maltese question is under the serious consideration of His Majesty's Government. It became necessary, therefore, not to let the occasion slip of doing something in order to try to obtain, if not the whole, a part of what the people has so long been asking for in vain. And this explains the reason of the new programme of the elected members, which was approved at an uncontested election. In that programme, we promised to ask for an interview with the authorities. The object was to test the ground. That interview was applied for, and obtained, and took place under favourable circumstances on the 15th instant. So long as Governor Clarke was here, it was no use hoping for anything; he who has been the cause of the whole situation, could never have been induced to belie what he had said, and to assist the Maltese in getting out of this situation. It was necessary, therefore, to profit by this sort of interregnum, now that Governor Clarke has abondoned his post and his successor has not yet been appointed, now that, at the head of the Government, as Deputy Governor, there is an officer who, as everybody knows, sympathises with the Maltese and therefore is a "persona gratissima" to them. The elected members therefore asked for an interview with General Barron. His Honour at first proposed that one of the elected members should be chosen by themselves to represent them all, but they submitted that as each member represented a constituency, they all desired to be present, especially as the electors of the other constituencies would have resented the exclusion of their representative from the interview. His Honour saw the justice of

these reasons, and agreed to receive all the members. Contrary to the usual practice in similar cases, he received them alone, that is, without the usual acolytes—the Chief Secretary and the Crown Advocate. The elected members were much pleased at this. General Barron showed his good dispositions from the outset, by mentioning that he had always wished the Maltese well, and that his conduct during the years he has passed here proves this. The elected members freely expressed their ideas and the aspirations of the people, and he heard them out very attentively. I could not repeat the whole conversation, which lasted an hour almost, because not even shorthand-writer was present, and it is impossible to remember all that was said, much less the order of ideas. I may assure you, however, that the interview made a very good impression on all the elected members. It is true that he did not make promises, or give assurances; on the contrary, he declared that he was unable to do so, and certainly no one could reasonably pretend as much from him or from any other Governor. Certain phrases of his were, however, very significant, and did not escape the elected members. He said that he did not know how long he would hold his office, but he assured them that so long as he did so, he would act as if he had to hold it permanently, which means that he is ready to assume full responsibility for his actions. He also said that he would keep an "open mind," that is, he would be unbiassed and unprejudiced, and that, although he was not prepared to approve of all the elected members had said, yet, as regards the methods of this Government, he had certain ideas of his own, which were not those of one who was in the Government, but of one who was outside it. These and similar phrases gave the elected members to understand that His Honour was well disposed to assist in bringing about a compromise between the Government and the people, such as is desired by all parties. Was an opportunity presenting itself under such favourable circumstances to be lost? There is, in the opinion of the elected members, enough to convince them that it is not their duty to lose the opportunity, but to make a trial and to change tactics for a while.

But some will say: In your programme you have promised not to enter the Council unless you receive an assurance that there will be a reform, and you have obtained no such assurance. In the first place, a programme should never be interpreted in a sense so restricted as to become a halter round one's neck, but should be interpreted broadly so as to allow the representatives of the people some little liberty of action

when the question at issue is not a question of principle but of means to an end—the adoption of a principle. Now it is known that in such cases no formal assurance can be obtained, but if such an assurance may be gathered not only from the words of the Deputy Governor—which by themselves do not amount to an assurance—but from all the circumstances that I have laid before you, it cannot be said that the elected members are going to violate the promise made in their programme. They are convinced that there is enough to lead one to conclude and hope that something under the present circumstances may be obtained: should they let this opportunity go? That is the question. It is certain that, unless we enter the Council, we shall obtain nothing. Not only did General Barron assure us of this but all those who have some experience in politics can understand this. No Government will ever confess that it is in the wrong; no Government will ever show that it compelled to yield to popular pressure. When Govenments give anything, they wish to make believe that what they give they give spontaneously and of their own free will. All the circumstances lead us to hope that if we are able to be practicable, if we know when to yield, if we offer the Government the chance of retreating honourably without loss of prestige and authority we shall be able to attain the end we have in view; whilst, on the other hand if we refuse to give way, if we expect that the Government should be the first to give way, if we wish to carry everything before us, we run the risk of losing all. For me, personally, and also for any colleagues, this is a sacrifice, but we must remember that we are the weaker party, and that whether we wish it or not, we must, for the moment, submit, and we willingly make this sacrifice for the good of the country.

It is certain that the policy of abstention has produced its effect. Today the Govenment is confronted with the problem "To end or to mend," as the English put it. Either to amend or to repeal the Constitution. Things cannot go on as they are. The Government is now convinced that it cannot go on with a constitution which cannot work, with a council which is not a council, and which while placing in an awkward position those, who by reason of their office, must take part in it throws ridicule on the institution itself. The Government, therefore, must decide, and take this opportunity of introducing the necessary alterations in the Constitution. If we give way a little these alterations may be favourable to us, if not, they certainly will be unfavourable. What should we do?

The problem is an arduous one, but, as far as I am concerned, I should not like to feel the remorse of having had an opportunity of doing some good to the country and have lost it, and I am ready to assume entire responsibility for my action. Even if eventually we should have to depart from our programme, which in this case I do not think [will happen], we should do it. We should not do it for ourselves but for our country's good. Had there been time we would have appealed to the electorate, to whom the programme exclusively belongs; but the council of Government is summoned for to-morrow week and we are, therefore, obliged to do what we think right and necessary at this juncture. This anxiety to summon the Council out of season may be a trap laid by the Government to induce us to do what it likes, and I also believe this; but it may be that as the new Letters Patent have now to be prepared the Government is offering us an opportunity of approaching it in order that we may pave the way for an honourable retreat, and so long as there is that hope we must not lost the opportunity.

On this embarrassing situation I have consulted all those persons who, I thought, could have given a competent and unbiassed opinion, and I am glad to see that most of them are of our opinion. We are going to play a card; we may lose, but we may also win. If it is a trap who can say that the Government itself will not fall into it. We have, therefore, decided to take our seats in the Council to make this new attempt. We hope that our action will be approved. Certainly everyone knows that we are acting in good faith and that it is a sacrifice which we are making. We are ready to assume all responsibility. Now let any member of this council who wishes to express an opinion do so freely because we are desirous to learn possibly the opinion of all.

DOCUMENT 51*

An Article by Emanuele Dimech on the possibility of Malta's independence from Britain

L'erbatax Il Sena ghadd 389

Is-Sibt 18 ta' Jan. 1913

Il Bandiera tal Maltin

GIURNAL TAD-DAUL

Johrog cull nhar ta Sibt, u actarx kabel. Xelin cull tliet xhur; fir-rhula xelin u tliet soldi. Ta barra tliet soldi izjed. Hlas bil kuddiem.

Malta, 18 ta Jannar, 1913.

Jecc terhina l'Inghilterra.

Sejrin nitchellmu ghal min jaf u ghal min ma jafx. U nitolbu il uiehed u l'iehor biex jakra bid-dehua collha il ghaidud taghna, u iteghmuh tajjeb, u jixtarruh, biex nghidu hecc, chif jixrak u jinhtieg.

Minn mindu deher dac il cbir babau tal Inghilterra msejjah Germania issemma actar minn darba il bżonn li l'euuel uahda tiġbor is sahha collha fil bahar tan-nort, jiġifieri fil kobor taghha: issemma bosta drabi il bzonn li l Inghilterra terhi xi artijiet, li illum ghaliha actarx ta tokol u xchiel: biex naktghu fil kasir, fejn dari l'Inghilterra chienet iżżomm il Malta bhala uahda mill ahjar artijiet li chellha, illum keghda turi ta sicuit li jecc icollha terhiha u thalliha ghal haddiehor xejn ma taraha hagia cbira. Dac li keghda tahseb u tghid xejn ma trid biex taghmlu, ghax l'euuel jigi il hsieb, u uara dan l'aghmil.

Issa deher Mr. Harrison, li bi cliem collu kauua kieghed juri lill Inghilterra dana il bżonn, li dina terhi il Malta; u m'hux il Malta biss,

* Texts in Maltese are being retained in their original form as there was no officially-recognised standard orthography of the language before 1934, and even so it took time before this orthography came to be generally utilized.

imma il Mediterran bl'artijiet collha li gio fih ghandha, jigifieri Gibiltà, Malta, Cipru u l'Egittu.

Fuk l'Egittu dana l'Inglis ilu ighergher 30 sena, jigifieri minn mindu uaka' taht is-setgha tal Inghilterra. Hua imur isejjah il dan il pajjis innassa tal meut tal Inghilterra, u isejjah ucoll il hsieb ta din li zzomm taht il hacma taghha dac l'imperu africhi (jew la italiana african) li jigi fin nofs in-nhar tighu (tal Egittu) u ighid li it-thollia ta 10,000, jeu 20,000, jonchella 30,000 suldat hemm (f'dauc l'artijet) hia bluha, u ghad tcun il kabar taghhom (tal Inglisi).

Ahna ma irridux nghidu li ghax is-sur Harrison jitlob il gvern biex jerhi il Malta, dana sejjer jaghmel hecc chif giè u lahak, sejjer jisma' minnu; imma daks chemm jista' ma jismax, jista' jisma': u jecc ifettillu jisma'?

Imma il gvern inglis jista' jahseb biex jerhi il Malta, u jerhila tasseu ghax isib ruhu fil bżonn li jaghmel dana il pass; u jecc jaghmlu?

Cullhadd jaf b'liema ghozza l'Inghilterra chienet izzomm Gibiltà dac il bieb tal Mediterran; u b'dana collu Inglisi ta mohh miftuh u mdauual u ghalhecc jafu tajjeb x'inhuma il bzonnijet ta pajjishom keghdin ighidu li dan imissu jerhi dic il bicca art spanjola. L'istess nies jixtieku li l'Inghilterra terhi l'Egittu, li kabel ma hatfitu chien ilha tista' tghid mitt sena (minn zmien Napuliun I) bil miclubin ghajnejha mixhutin fuku: xejn mela ma hi hagia cbira li tigi merhia Malta, li daks l'Egittu ma tisuiex sgur.

Biex ma ntaulux uisk nghidu li is-siegha tista' tasal, u actarx iva jeu le, li l'INGHILTERRA, JEU GHAX TCUN TRID HI, JEU GHAX MA TCUNX TISTA' TAGHMEL IEHOR, TERHI IL MALTA. Chif irheuha ohrajn, hecc ucoll ghal hagia jeu ghal ohra ghad terhiha din. U, narġghu nistaksu, u jecc terhiha?

M'ahniex naghmlu din il mistoksïa ghax ahna ma dauc li donnhom ghandhom f'rashom li minghajr l'Inglisi ma nistghux nghixu; le, m'hux ghalhecc, imma ghax nafu uisk tajjeb li ghad ma hsibna xejn x'naghmlu f'dac il jum, bie ma nsibux ruhna f'halk l'euuel uiehed li jilhakna, biex ma nehelsux minn morza u nakghu f'ohra.

Hsibna ghal din il haġa? Chif già ghedna, ghad ma hsibniex. Mela ghaliex ma nahsbux! ghaliex ma naghmlux bhal dac il bniedem taddehen li ghax jara l'airu ftit imsahhab, jiehu mighu l'umbrella ghalli jista' icun? Floc li nahlu iz-zmien u il hsebijet taghna biex ingieldu innies ta parroccia ma dauc ta parroccia ohra, jonchella banda ma ohra, ghaliex ma nahsbux biex inhejju ruiehna ghal dac il jum cbir, ghal dic il

ġrajja cbira, li ghalina u ghal uliedna tista' tcun bidu ta hemm jeu ta hena, bidu ta kaumien jeu ta uakgha, naktghu kasir, bidu ta hajja jeu ta meut? Ghaliex ma nkajmux il poplu b'ghajta kauuia, u nghidulu: "ghad jigi jum li fih inti issib ruhec fi ġrajja li ghaliha m'intix imhejji: hejji ruhec ghaliha mn'issa; ahseb mn'issa f 'dac collu l'icolloc bzonn taghmel meta dak il jum li jista' icun karib, jasal.

Dac il jum jixbeh il meut, li nafu li ghandha tasal bla ma nafu meta.

X'naghmlu meta jasal dac il jum, minn x'uhud mibzugh, minn xi ohrajn mixtiek? Naghmlu bhal dac il chelb li mchecci minn sid imur uara iehor? Jigifieri nibkghu dejjem lsiera, ghax minghandu sid ahjar minn ilsir m'hux.

Ahna ghalina nixtieku li din il hagia m'hux biss li ma naghmluhiex, imma l'ankas biss ma nahsbu fiha. Clieb m'ahniex, u ma nixtekux l'icollna sid biex immorru uarajh cull fejn imur hu, u nokoghdu ghal dac collu li hua icun irid, u meta icun irid jatina bis-siek jeu bil hatar, ihallina bil giuh u bil ghatx, u iheddidna li joktolna ucoll. Sjed le! le! le! elf darba le. Irridu ncunu sjed taghna infusna. Hadd fukna hlief minn halakna, hadd! hadd! hadd! Jecc katt terhina l'Inghilterra, irridu li MALTA TCUN TAL-MALTIN. Jecc xi Malti jarfa' lehnu biex ighid li Malta ghandha tcun ta din jeu dic is-setgha, il Maltin l'ohra collha ghandhom ighodduh bhala l'acbar ghadu taghhom, bhala it-tieni Giuda.

Nerhu ruhna f'idejn l'Italia? Ghaliex? ghax x'uhud m'humiex hlief ighajtu u iuerzku li ahna Italiani? Jecc joghġiob lil daun is-sinjuri l'icunu Italiani jistghu icunu sa mn'issa: ahna irridu ncunu dac li ahna: Maltin, u Maltin biss. M'ahniex nghidu dan ghax noboghdu l'Italiani, imma ghax nafu li meta Malta tcun taht il madmad tal Italia, titlef is-siui collu taghha u issir bhal uahda mill bosta gżejjer żghar ta' skallia. Jecc ahna irridu inbiddlu is-sid, nsibu uiehed li jokghod fil bghid minn Malta, biex icollu bżonnha u jibża' ghaliha u ighożżha, u m'hux uiehed li billi hdejha ghandu bosta artijiet ohra, cbar u żghar, xejn bżonn taghha ma ghandu, u ghalhecc xejn cont taghha ma jista' jati.

Imma, chif già ghedna, l'ahjar l'ebda sid; l'ahjar ma ncunu ta hadd, ncunu biss t'Alla u taghna infusna. Il jasar doknieh u x'toghma fih nafu bizzejjed: nhallu fil genb meta cull xorta ta jasar, u nobsru biss biex incunu xi hagia ahjar minn ilsiera. Sahta fuk min irid icun ilsir! Poplu hieles irridu ncunu ahna—jecc l'Inghilterra thallina.

Republica Gaulo-Maltia, il hsieb u ix-xeuka taghna, bid-destin taghna f'idejna, li naghmlu chif irridu ahna, u m'hux chif irid haddiehor, li

nimxu il fejn joghgiob lilna, u m'hux il fejn joghgiob jiġbed ir-riedni haddiehor. Taht haddiehor ma nicbru katt; taghna nfusna nistghu nicbru u bil bosta fuk il continent l'isued, l'actarnett billi lsienna jixbeh m'hux ftit il gharbi. Fuk dak il continent actar nistghu nicbru ahna jeu poplu iehor, ghal chemm minna bil bosta acbar.

Mela, poplu malti, li fil jasar ghamilt il callu, li drajt tghid dejjem: ma min immur jen? idra ghid: min jigi mighi? Tmur uara hadd iżjed, il hsieb li inti chelb checcih darba ghal dejjem minn gio rasec, u tghallem fl'ahhar tal ahhar tghodd ruhec b'nies. Jecc trid tista'. Biss taghmilx bhalma ghamlu misserijetec, li uara sentejn guwerra mal Francizi, ghad li rebbehin f'cull tkabida, marru irheu dirghajhom u sakajhom f'idejn il barrani, biex jorbothomlhom bil ctajjen jigifieri helsu minn jasar biex dahlu f'iehor, fejn chiecu riedu, satghu kamu darba ghal dejjem u chibru min jaf chem fuk dic il cbira Africa tant nieksa min-nies. Dauc chienu boloh: ncunu bhalhom ahna—jecc terhina l'Inghilterra?

Jecc dina il cbira takliba ghad tigi—u li ghad tigi hua sgur—xi Maltin minn dauc ta "dabbar rasec" ifittxu li jintrefghu huma u nieshom biha, billi jibdeu jahdmu ghal xi gvern iehor, jiżirghulu il partit f'Malta, kalb dan il poplu, li ried jibka dejjem vavu, u jaghmlu chemm jifilhu biex igiaghlu il huthom Maltin jahtru il dan il gvern, li min jaf x'icun uieghedhom u tahom! Did-darba il Maltin ihallu il min ibieghhom? ihallu il min jakbdilhom sakajhom u ikieghedhomlhom fic-cipp?

Il Malti ghandu icun shih u iebes fil hsieb u fir-rieda li jehles darba ghal dejjem minn cull xchiel u irbati; shih fir-rieda l'icun poplu hieles, indipendent, li fuku ma jahehem u ma jan.ar hadd; u malli jisma' il xi hadd—icun min ikun—ighid: "Nokoghdu taht dan jeu dac il gvern, ghandu jakbdu u jixhtu gio kiegh ta habs mudlam, mnejn ma johorgiux iżjed hlief mejjet, biex ma nghidux jixcubettjah mill euuel, u ichecci il familja tighu minn Malta.

Dauc li icunu iridu ibieghu il Malta u il Maltin jibdeu ighidu li Malta zghira, li ma ghandhiex migfna, li hi fkira, li ma tistax iżżomm ruhha bil bandiera tagha, u hafna cliem iehor bhal dan, biex jaktà kalb il poplu, u igiaghlu imejjel rasu ghal taht il madmad tal gvern l'icun xahhmu u ueghdu min jaf x'inhu. Il poplu ghandu ikun ghalih, ihebb ghalih, u jatih dac li jisthokklu bhala traditur. Fi huejjeg hecc cbar il poplu jehtieg li igib ruhu bil iebbusia, biex hadd mighu iżjed ma jissogra jicciajta. Din li f'cull ma icun sejjer jaghmel dana il poplu ghall hena tighu ikumu xi nies l'fixcluh ghax hecc jakbel lilhom hia hagia cbira uisk, u hemm

bżonn li dana li msejchen poplu vavu jitghallem jaghraf tajjeb li daun innies, u ma ihallihomx actar jindahlulu u ifixcluh.

Malta zghira? Ghalhecc ghandha thabrec u tithabat biex ticber.

Malta ma ghandhiex migfna? Ghalhecc ghandha thabrecc u tithabat biex ticseb il helsien, sabiex tcun tista' taghmel il migfna li ma ghandhiex.

Malta fkira? Ghalhecc ghandha thabrec u tithabat. Ghax fkira ghandha thabrec u tithabat biex tistaghna, billi floc tibghat iġġib collox minn pajjisi ohra, tahdem il huejjeg li jinhtiegiulha hia stess, u tfittex li minn daun il huejjeg tibghat f'pajjisi ohra, chif jaghmlu dauc l'artijiet collha fejn id-daul halleuh jidhol, fejn ma inkala' hadd biex jishet il min ried idahhal l'industrii, u ixeuuex in-nies ghalbiex joktluh.

Malta mehlusa minn cull madmad tal barranin ma iddumx ma ticber, u dan isir bil ghajnuna tal-lsien taghha, li jixbeh uisk li dac li jinsab imxerred tista' tghid mal Africa collha, il Gharbi.

Nafu li fostna jinsabu eluf ta' nies li f'dac li tista' issir Malta ma jahsbu xejn, ghax il hsebijet taghhom collha huma biss f'dac li jixhtu giol borma, u ghalhecc daun m'hux talli ma jaksmux l'idejet taghna, imma ucoll ifittxu li ighadduna bi mgienen, bhalma bosta karrekin ohra meta rauna sejrin inuakkfu Xirca ghall fidua ta Malta mill fakar, mid-dlam u minn dauc il guajjet collha li daun iż-żewġ huejjeg coroh igibu maghhom, riedu ighadduna b'mazuni, u b'eghdeuua tar-religion tajba, mkaddsa u vera ta Cristu, u mkabbdin, chif nahsbu ahna, minn min ried jehles minn'na, minn min irid izomm il poplu taht sakajh, ghamlu u tkanżhu tant u tant, u tant, u tant, u tant u tant biex ixeuxu il poplu-pupu, ghax injurant, ghalina u igiaghluh joktolna. Imma minn habba f'daun il ftit nies li jahsbu ghalihom biss, ma ghandniex nibkghu fil jasar issa ta din, u issa ta dic in-nazion.

Jekk terhina l'Inghilterra ahna irridu NSIRU NAZION. Bhalma già conna eluf ta snin ilu, meta nazionijet illum cbar u kauuïa ma ckienu xejn. Dauc in-nazionijiet saru dac li saru ghax ma halleux il min ifixchilhom, il min jifgahom sa mit-tuelid taghhom, bhalma sibna ahna. Naghmlu bhalhom mela sabiex bhalhom insiru ucoll.

Mela ghar-republica, ghar-republica, Maltin! ghar-republica, chemm il darba terhina l'Inghilterra. Ilna lsiera: malli nsibu ruiehna mehlusin, nfittxu li nibkghu mehlusin.

Fuk dan narġghu nitchellmu il gimgha id-diehla.

DOCUMENT 52

The Electoral Programme of Mgr Ignazio Panzavecchia's *Comitato Patriottico* in 1917

PROGRAMMA ELETTORALE dei Candidati del Partito Nazionalista raccomandati dal Comitato Patriottico Presidente Mons. Panzavecchia

ELETTORI,

Nel presentarci, sotto gli auspici del Comitato Patriottico, a chiedere il vostro suffragio, è nostro primo dovere di sottomettere alla vostra definitiva approvazione il seguente Progetto, che mira a dare una nuova forma ed un nuovo indirizzo alla politica d'astensione dal Consiglio di Governo.

Nella seduta del Comitato Patriottico tenuta il di 4 del corrente mese, il Comitato approvò ad unanimità il seguente Ordine del Giorno, che qui riproduciamo integralmente, poichè voi possiate valutarne con serena obbiettività di coscienza lo spirito che lo informa e lo scopo a cui tende:—

"Il Comitato Patriottico, rinnito in assemblea plenaria, il di 4 Ottobre, 1917;

"riaffermata la costante protesta popolare contro la vigente Costituzione, che costituisce già per sè stessa un ostacolo al progresso morale e civile del popolo;

"considerando, inoltre, che la recente, non contradetta dichiarazione dell'Avvocato della Corona, sanzionata da una sentenza della Corte Marziale—dichiarazione relativa alla libertà di parola in Consiglio ed altri privilegi del medesimo—rende ancor più critica la posizione dei Deputati del popolo in Consiglio, e più difficile la impari lotta fra minoranza elettiva, e la permanente maggioranza ufficiale, perchè sopprime le condizioni più essenziali al retto e libero funzionamento del mandato rappresentativo;

"deplorando che i reclami e le proteste dei Deputati del popolo, legalmente eletti, sono rimasti fino ad oggi inascoltati dalle Autorità competenti, e che perfino l'ultima protesta spedita al segretario di Stato per le Colonie, il di 22 Maggio 1917 è rimasta senza riscontro, ciò che offende i tradizionali sentimenti di lealtà del popolo;

"riaffermando le leggitime aspirazioni del padre ad un regime più conforme ai suoi sacri ed imprescrittibili diritti di Razza e di Storia;

"delibera di raccomandare nelle prossime elezioni generali la continuazione della politica d'astensione dal Consiglio di Governo, e di sottoporre alla definitiva approvazione dell'elettorato il seguento Progetto che mira ad un tempo a conservare al popolo la propria legittima rappresentenza, e a negare al Governo, per le premesse ragioni, la partecipazione popolare alle sedute del Consiglio Legislativo ed Esecutivo:—

Nuovo Progetto per continuare la politica del'Astensionismo

Art. 1. I Deputati eletti, prestato in Consiglio il giuramento di fedeltà richiesto dalla legge, e presentata una formale protesta contro l'attuale Costituzione, unitamente alla domanda di una migliore che dia al popolo piena facoltà di legiferare e di controllare l'amministrazione locale, si ritireranno.

Art. 2. I Deputati eletti conserveranno il mandato rappresentativo per tutta la legislatura senza partecipare alle sedute del Consiglio Legislativo, rimanendo inoltre stabilito che nessuno di loro possa accettare i posti nel Consiglio Esecutivo.

Art. 3. I Deputati si ripresenteranno nell'aula del Consiglio prima della scadenza del termine prefisso dalla Costituzione pel decadimento dei Deputati, limitandosi a rinnovare in ognuna di tali sedute, la protesta contro l'attuale Costituzione, e ritirandosi poi immediatamente.

Art. 4. I Deputati terrano incontri per disentere l'Ordine del Giorno, e qualora lo credessero necessario, comunicheranno le loro opinioni o deliberazione al Governo locale od imperiale.

Art. 5. Uno dei Deputati dirigerà le sedute, ed un secondo fungerà da Segretario, tenendo nota semplicemente delle deliberazioni prese.

Art. 6. Quando alcun provvedimento del Governo, sarà ritenuto tale da colpire il programma dei Deputati, e le aspirazioni e gli interessi del popolo, i Deputati, colla maggiore possibile sollecitudino, dovranno manifestare al Governatore, perchè la trasmetta senza indugio al Segretario di Stato, la loro opinione contraria in forma di protesta,

Art. 7. Il Deputato farà domande e proposte, per lettera, al Governo, informandone prima e dopo i propri colleghii.

Art. 8. Il lavoro espletato dei Deputat, sarà manifestato al pubblico senza indugio, e al Comitato Patriottico ogni tre mesi.

Art. 9. I Deputati declineranno, sotto la veste di rappresentanti del popolo ogni invito ufficiale che abbia relazione colla amministrazione locale, salvo nei casi previsti dagli articoli 1 e 3, e in quelli in cui, a giudizio della maggioranza degli elettivi, gl'interessi del popolo richiedessero l'accitazione dell'invito suddetto.

Art. 10. Nel corso della legislatura i Deputati dovranno iniziare pratiche presso il Ministro delle Colonie per l'ottenimento di migliori franchigie costituzionali. In caso di esito negativo, essi domanderanno la cooperazione di Deputati al Parlamento Inglese.

Art. 11. Qualora i Candidati sostenitori di questo Progetto saranno eletti in minoranza, si dimetteranno immediatamente in omaggio alla volontà deila maggioranza dell'elettorato.

Art. 12. Qualunque provvedimento necessaria al buon funzionamento di questo Progetta e in questo non previsto, sarà deliberato in appresso dai Deputati medesimi.

Elettori,

L'Ordine del Giorno, che vi abbiamo più sopra esposto, riproduce con chiarezza e brevità i principi che ci animano, le ragioni che ci muovono e il metodo che ci proponiamo di seguire nell'attuale periodo della nostra vita politica. Spetta, ora, a voi l'accordargli o negargli la sanzione del vostro voto, come spetterà a noi il relativo dovere, di rispettare, in questioni di tattica, il verdetto della maggioranza dei Distretti Elettorali.

Quanto all'azione che ci proponiamo di avolgere, nel caso che ci onorerete del vostro mandato, è inutele dirvi che adotteremo il solito Programma Nazionalista relativo alle questioni Linguistica Scolastica, Costituzionale, Finanziaria ed Economico Sociale, aggiungendo, oggi, anche la nostra energica protesta contro la recente tassazione approvata dal popolo, ed espressa anche nelle ultime elezioni. I capisaldi di quel Programma vi son già stati esposti, e voi li avete approvati nella elezione generale del Gennaio 1915, allorchè eleggeste a vostri Deputati i candidati del nostro Partito, raccomandati dal Comitato l'atriottico. Essi sono stati anche approvati della Sezione apposta al nostro Partito, nella seduta dei Delegati delle due Sezioni, che si tenne il 28 Gennaio 1916.

Elettori,

Vi abbiamo esposto colla massima sincerità le nostre idee e le aspirazione nostre, che sono le idee e le aspirazioni del popolo, il quale, pur mantenendosi fedele ai suoi tradizionali principali di lealtà verso il Governo, non cessa e non può cessare, entro i limiti impostigli dalla

legge, di invocare il pieno riconoscimento dei suoi diritti nazionali, promesso solennemente ai padri nostri.

1. DR. AND. PULLICINO
2. NOT. G. GABARRETTA
3. DALLI ANTONIO
4. DR. G.F. INGLOTT
5. GIOV. BENCINI
6. FARM. G. VASSALLO
7. CARMELO DEI CONTI SANT CASSIA
8. DR. G.F. INGLOTT

DOCUMENT 53

Dr. Enrico Mizzi's speech of 29 March 1917 on Liberty and Nationality

THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION—L'onor, signore vuol correggermi inquanto alla data alla quale ho fatto riferenza. Ebbene, per essere esatto, dirò che non sono stati 50 anni, ma qualche cosa di meno. Il fatto è che il primo esame di matricola fu tenuto nel 1882 ed i certificati che furono emanati per quell'esame erano redatti in inglese. Gli altri certificati scritti in latino furono preparati dal Dr. Caruana circa otto anni dopo, cioè verso il 1890. Quando nel 1904 fui nominato Rettore, io li trovai li, per cosí dire, sperduti in ufficio. Nessuno il voleva. Poi tutto d'un tratto alcuni studenti ne fecero domanda, ed essi li ebbero questi vecchi certificati; qualche giorno dopo ritornarono per ottenere ancora un certificato redatto in inglese. Fin a tanto che non siano esauriti questi vecchi certificati, noi continueremo a darli; ma non c'è niente nello Statuto che dica che questi certificati debbano essere in una lingua piuttosto che in un'altra. Solamente l'uso è quello di dare i certificati ordinari di studio, di frequenza e di condotta in lingua inglese.

Vote agreed to.

XVIII. LYCEUM AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

£4,696 as detailed in the Estimates.

Mr. AZZOPARDI—Al numero 4 c'è "Teacher of German", e poi una nota "(*c*) appointment under consideration". Devo comprendere che

l'abolizione della classe, oppure la persona che sarà nominata ad occupare la carica di precettore di tedesco, è sotto considerazione?

THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION—Formerly German was taught in the Lyceum as an optional subject. Since the war, however, the teacher has not been available, and therefore no class can be held. Whether that class is to be revived or not depends on circumstances to be considered after the war. Personally, I would say that Russian, Spanish or even Arabic might be useful as alternative subjects.

DR. MIZZI—Nell'interesse della coltura paesana, m'auguro francamente che l'insegnamento del Tedesco nel nostro Liceo non sia abolito. L'utilità della lingua tedesca è indiscutibile, ed io ne favorisco l'insegnamento come favorirei quello di qualunque altra lingua straniera.

Al numero 2 dell'Estimo del Liceo leggo: *Clerk unclassified.* Perchè questo scrivano non è classificato?

THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION—When the members of the Clerical Service were classified, there were two Clerks in the Education Department who were not included in the classification of clerks, the reason being that they had entered the Service without undergoing the recognised competitive examination. Of course this does not reflect upon the ability of the clerks concerned, but the fact remains that they did not enter under the same conditions as the other members of the Clerical Establishment; hence they do not belong to any of the three classes of Clerks of the Civil Service, but form a class by themselves.

MR. FALZON—Io devo dire qualche cosa sulla Classe commerciale che da poco tempo a questa parte si trova stabilita al Liceo. Recentemente io mi sono recato per vedere il progresso fatto in questa classe, e mi piace dire che l'ho trovata molto soddisfacente. Vi s'insegnano materie commerciali che più tardi saranno necessari pei nostri giovani che si avviano al commercio, non solo per quelli che rimangono a Malta ma anche per quelli che intendono andare all'estero ad occupare situazioni commerciali. Debbo dire, però, che per avere una scuola commerciale *ad hoc* occorre un professore speciale che s'intende bene di commercio. Siccome però far questo ci vogliono ben altre spese, per ora dobbiamo contentarci di quello che c'è. Sarebbe desiderabile che dopo finiti gli studi si desse agli studenti un certificato speciale degli studi fatti in queste materie commerciali, perchè questo potrà essere molto utile per quei giovani che volessero ottenere delle situazioni presso case commerciali, tanto qui che altrove.

DR. MIZZI—Quanto alla partita numero 9 che riguarda l'inseg-

namento della Storia Sacra e il Direttore Spirituale, debbo rilevare anzitutto una strana differenza. L'anno scorso negli Estimi figuravano due partite diverse, una pel Direttore Spirituale e l'atra per l'insegnante della Religione. Ora le due partite sono state assorbite in una, ma invece di *insegnante della Religione* in genere, vi si dice semplicemente *insegnante della Storia Sacra.* Ma a parte questa differenza, ch'è già per sè stessa sintomatica, abbiamo purtroppo un'altra e assai più grave innovazione che offende sanguinosamente i nostri più cari e gelosi sentimenti nazionali. L'insegnamento della Storia Sacra che prima si faceva in italiano, oggi, mi si assicura, si fa in inglese. Domando se le mie informazioni sono esatte. Se lo sono, come non ho ragione di dubitarne, vuol dire che il Governo non ha punto rinunziato alla diabolica idea di snazionalizzarci, sostituendo gradatamente la lingua inglese alla nostra lingua italiana. Ma sappia il Governo che esso troverà sempre nella nostra coscienza nazionale una barriera insormontabile. Noi abbiamo già sacrificato la nostra Costituzione, la nostra stessa libertà, alla tutela del nostro più caro e prezioso patrimonio nazionale, e siamo pronti domani a sacrificar la vita per la riaffermazione delle nostre secolari aspirazioni nazionali. Noi sappiamo che la libertà, una volta perduta, la si può riacquistare o riconquistare, ma la nazionalità, una volta distrutta o corrotta, non la si rivendica e redime più. E noi siamo troppo fieri ed orgogliosi della nostra nazionalità italica per permettere ad alcuno di offendercela o deturparcela e non denunziare al mondo civile l'ipocrisia del Governo che tenta coi mezzi più subdoli di distruggercela o corrompercela. All'erta, dunque!

THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION—The answer to the question put by the hon. member is in the affirmative.

MR. AZZOPARDI—Anche io mi levo a protestarmi contro questa nuova introduzione. Le ragioni date dall'onor. mio amico hanno maggior valore quando si tratta di materia di Religione. Noi apparteniamo alla Religione Romana, e non so perchè si deve insegnare la Religione in una lingua diversa dalla romana. La necessità pratica di insegnare la religione in lingua inglese certamente non si scorge, perchè una religione può essere insegnata in tutte le lingue del mondo, ma è meglio insegnata in una lingua che riesce più facile al popolo, che nel caso nostro è la lingua italiana. Di guisa che non c'è nessun'ombra di necessità perchè la Sacra Scrittura sia insegnata in lingua inglese. Spero che il Governo prenderà in considerazione la nostra protesta su questo soggetto.

MR. FALZON—Questo cambiamento non lo vedo punto necessario

perchè la religione da noi sempre si insegnava in lingua italiana ma non come soggetto di studio al Liceo. Però oggi che si è introdotta la classe di Religione, non vedo la necessità che sia insegnata in inglese.

THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION—With reference to the remarks made by the hon. member for the Second District, I beg to explain that in all the classes Religion is and will continue to be taught in Italian. What is now being taught in English is Sacred Scripture, which is a new subject and is not Religion. It seems there has been a misunderstanding on the subject which I hope has now been cleared.

MR. AZZOPARDI—Desidero sapere quale necessità si ha d'insegnare la Storia Sacra in inglese, mentre che la Religione si insegna in italiano. Se si vuol fare questo un soggetto di studio, lo si faccia in italiano come si faceva per l'addietro. Io non vedo la necessità di imporre lo studio di questa materia in inglese, e l'onor. signore non ha saputo dirci perchè questo soggetto s'insegna in inglese piuttosto che in italiano.

DR. MIZZI—L'onorevole mio collega del Primo Distretto deplora il silenzio dell'onor. Rettore dell'Università. Ma lo sa lui perchè quel signore non fiata? Perchè fortunatamente non può mascherare con pretesti l'unica ragione che spiega la misura odiosa della sostituzione della lingua. E l'unica ragione è questa. Il Governo britannico che in questa guerra e per questa guerra strombazza, ai quattro venti e in tutti i toni, il principio della nazionalità e della libertà di popoli, attenta alla nazionalità e soffoca la libertà di popoli, che gli sono soggetti—specie se questi popoli sono piccoli ed inermi come noi. L'unica ragione quindi che spiega quella misura odiosa è la proverbiale ipocrisia inglese. Questo però non ha il coraggio di dirlo l'onor. signore. Ma invece sua siamo qui a dirlo noi, smentendo ancora una volta la vantata lealtà inglese.

Vote agreed to.

XIX. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

£29,272 as detailed in the Estimates.

DR. MIZZI—Sento l'onor. Rettore dell'Università proporre l'Estimo delle Scuole Elementari. Ma dunque è già passato quello del Liceo? Il calore della discussione provocata dalla questione della lingua, non mi ha evidentemente permesso d'accorgermene e di sentire le parole del Presidente l'Onor. Rettore, però, avrebbe potuto avvertirmene. Egli sapeva che io avevo altre importanti osservazioni da fare sull'Estimo del Liceo, avendo io voluto avvertirlo a tempo. Ed ora egli ricambia così la

mia cortesia. Pazienza! Me la legherò al dito. (*The Director of Public Instruction*—Che idea è questa!).

THE VICE PRESIDENT—I must call the hon. member to order. The vote for the Lyceum has already passed.

DR. MIZZI—Propongo intanto che la discussione dell'Estimo delle Scuole Elementari sia differita alla prossima Seduta.

THE ACTING LIEUT. GOVERNOR—I should like to say that the Government has no desire to withhold any information which the hon. member wishes to have. If he was not paying sufficient attention when the vote was passed, I am afraid that he has only himself to blame. However if he will put a question to me to-morrow, I shall be very glad to give him the information at the next meeting and I am quite prepared to waive the notice required by our Regulations.

Vote postponed.

XX. PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

£675 as detailed in the Estimates.

DR. MIZZI—Anche nelle Biblioteche si va applicando gradatamente la politica italofoba; si dà sempre la preferenza ai libri inglesi e solo qualche rarissima volta si ha il piacere di vedere acquisato qualche libro italiano. Sono state poi soppresse tutte le Riviste Italiane, ad eccezione della *Civiltà Cattolica*. E'superfluo ogni commento, perchè i fatti parlano da sè.

Quanto al resto, mi permetto di ricordare al Governo la proposta ch'ebbi la cortesia di fargli un anno fa. Nella Seduta del Consiglio che si tenne il 3 aprile dell'anno scorso, discutendosi questo stesso Estimo della Biblioteca, io dissi:

"A proposito di quest'Estimo che generalmente passa inosservato, mi si permetta, pel momento, di formulare una proposta che, spero, sarà favorevolmente accolta dal Governo. Vorrei che nel Comitato di Direzione della Biblioteca Pubblica della Valletta fossero chiamati a formarne parte anche dei professori dell'Università, i quali comprendono assai meglio di altri le esigenze della cultura e si tengono per ragione della loro professione al corrente del movimento intelletuale".

Questa proposta, per quanto ragionevole ed opportuna, non è stata accolta: osservo infatti che nel Comitato di Direzione sono rimaste le medesime persone. Potrebbe almento il Governo giustificare la sua condotta?

THE ACTING LIEUT. GOVERNOR—The Committee of the Library is composed of a fixed number of persons. Perhaps I may be allowed to read the list of the gentlemen composing the Committee to show that it is a very strong one. I do not, however, subscribe to what the hon. member says as to the Professors of the University being the only persons competent to give an opinion on questions of literature. The Committee is composed of His Honour Sir V. Frendo Azopardi, Kt., C.M.G., LL.D., who, in the course of his very distinguished career, was at one time a Professor of the University; of the President of the Chamber of Commerce, Major H.A. Balbi, Mr. P.F. Bellanti, Mr. S. Cachia Zammit, C.M.G., Prof. S. Cassar, M.D.,—another Professor of the University—Mr. A.M. Galea, Prof. E. Magro, M.D., the Rev. V. Sammut, S.J., Prof. T. Zammit, C.M.G., M.D., and Mons. A. Mifsud, who acts as Secretary.

The suggestion of the hon. member which was made last year has not been overlooked. The fact is that the number of gentlemen of the Committee is, as I said, a fixed one and we cannot dismiss any of these gentlemen in order to put others in their place; but I can assure the hon. member that, as soon as there is a vacancy, his suggestion will be very carefully considered by the Government.

DR. MIZZI—Le giustificazione del Governo non mi hanno punto persuaso. Anzitutto io non riesco a comprendere perchè le illustri personalità che compongono il Comitato Direttivo della Biblioteca debbano essere, per cosi dire, inamovibili; e poi io mi ricordo benissimo di aver chiarito l'anno scorso la mia proposta dicendo che vorrei vedere rappresentati nel Comitato possibilmente tutti i rami della coltura. Ora dalla lista lettaci dall'onor. Agente Luogotenente Governatore, si rileva tutto l'opposto. Ci si dica per esempio da chi è rappresentata—o per lo meno, rappresentata degnamente—la Letteratura? Eppure (e lo dico con tutta la deferenza possibile per i Membri del Comitato) in Malta non mancano professori che potrebbero rappresentare assai più degnamente questo importantissimo ramo della cultura. A buon intenditor poche parole.

PART 6

1919–1942

The Sette Giugno,
Self-Government,
Constitutional Crises,
the return of Self-Government in 1932,
a move towards Dominion Status,
the revocation of Self-Government and
a non-representative Constitution after 1933

DOCUMENTS 54–71

An Introduction to Maltese Political Development (6)

In the wake of the first World War, Malta, as elsewhere in Europe and throughout the Empire, faced serious economic and political adjustment problems. Matters came to a head in the *Sette Giugno* 1919 when four Maltese were killed by British troops. So far no comprehensive history of these complex events has been written, so what I have sought to do in this work is to select two of the more representative testimonies given before the consequent commission of inquiry and to reproduce these textually. Both are informed eyewitness accounts expressing somewhat different view points. Count Caruana Gatto(**54**) was for various reasons one of the most knowledgeable leading personalities in the *Assemblea Nazionale* called to request Self-Government and to draw a constitution for it: this *Assemblea* was in session in Valletta when the disturbances erupted. The other, another delegate to the *Assemblea*, is Mr Hamilton, (**55**) who was President of the Imperial Government Workers' Union.[1]

As self-government approached, political parties lined up to prepare to contest the forthcoming elections. These used somewhat new names or represented splinter groups or amalgams of already existing political forces or trends. A relatively new formation was the Labour Party, originally known as *La Camera del Lavoro*. Two of the three speeches made at the opening of this party's club in Valletta on 9 December 1920[2] are reproduced here, i.e. that by the party's President, Professor Frendo(**56**), and that by its Vice-President and eventual leader, Major Savona(**57**). Social and working class concerns are not divorced from national political aspirations: on the contrary, the ideal at this time was that conditions and opportunities of workers be effectively bettered in order that workers would enter the mainstream of public life: "cultura integrale" was Frendo's choice of phrase. The general inspiration of the party was Christian, not Marxist, and we find no attempt to foment class struggle, although clearly there is a consciousness of class and station in Maltese society, hence the emerging *raison d'être* of the party.

The concern with freedom and citizenship, simultaneously with that for self-improvement and social justice, may be seen in an editorial comment by *The Labourer*, a newspaper opposed to the Labour Party's "Compact" with Count Strickland's Constitutional Party in 1926. "The real difficulty of our people", wrote *The Labourer*, "is that we do not realise enough that the matters we discuss, are matters of common concern; we talk as though we serve first this part and again that, this interest and again that interest, as if all interests were not linked together."**(58)**

The formation of a Compact between the Stricklandian and Labour parties, however, permitted a change of Government. The Nationalist alignment, after two electoral victories in 1921 and in 1924, was defeated in 1927. Strickland, a former Chief Secretary of the colony and afterwards a colonial governor mainly in Australia, became prime minister. Due to a number of causes his ascendency saw the breakdown of the existing constitutional order and in 1930 the self-government constitution attained in 1921 after a long struggle, was suspended. A "mountain out of a molehill" confrontation between the Catholic Church and Strickland's government was one of these causes. In his evidence before a Royal Commission instituted in 1931[3], Strickland makes various recommendations for constitutional amendments as well as comments about the still very recent past.**(59)** Testimonies by the Nationalist Party leaders, Ugo Mifsud**(60)**, and Enrico Mizzi**(61)**, as well as by the Labour Party leader Paul Boffa**(62)**, are also included here.

On the recommendations of the 1931 Royal Commission, Self-Government was restored in the following year and the Nationalists won a landslide victory. On winning office, the Government formally requested that Malta no longer report to the Colonial Office. Instead, it should fall under the Dominions Office. To press this point, a delegation goes to London and presents a memorandum in justification of this demand.[4] Its full text is reproduced in this volume.**(63)** So, too, are lead stories and comments about the Maltese mission in London that appeared in *Malta* of 16 July 1932**(64)** and in *Malta Taghna* of 23 July 1932. **(65)**

An editional comment on the meaning of imperialism published in *Malta* in August 1932 is also featured here. **(66)** "The history of British Colonies teaches us", wrote *Malta*, "that these had to fight, and to fight gallantly, to obtain what freedom they enjoy... that they owed their freedom to themselves (*che esse devono a loro stesse la loro libertá*) and to their

own struggles to aquire it." What had taken place in the period between the suspension of the Constitution in 1930 and its restitution in 1932 – an "inter-regnum" during which Strickland and his ministers remained at least nominally in office – was the subject of heated debate in the press and the parliament. Once back in office, the Nationalist representatives made a point of recalling and recording such happenings.**(67)** A motion about this was moved by Sir Ugo Mifsud and opposed by the Constitutionals and Labourites.[5] In 1933 the British revoked Malta's self-government constitution with much the same arbitrariness that thirty years earlier they had revoked Representative Government. So much, then, for Dominion Status; the entire Cabinet was dismissed! Subsequent constitutions in 1936[6] and in 1939[7] were non-representative and, so far as the generality of politically-conscious Maltese were concerned, heartily unwelcome. Still, I am giving here the positions adopted by the Governor, General Bonham-Carter, in an address accompanying the 1936 Letters Patent**(68)** and in another address accompanying those of 1939**(69)**, six months before the outbreak of war.

Even before Italy joined the Axis in June 1940 Maltese "pro-Italians" started being rounded up on suspicion of disloyalty or as a precautionary measure. Scores were interned and over forty of these were later deported without trial or change, under special emergency powers. The Nationalist leader Mifsud gave his last and most memorable speech in defence of the right of innocent citizens to live in their own country, and for those presumed guilty to be first tried. He collapsed during this speech, in the Council, and died shortly afterwards. Sir Ugo Mifsud was supported by one Maltese councillor, Dr Giorgio Borg Olivier.[8] The other nationalist councillor, Mizzi, was already under arrest. It is now fitting that Mifsud's speech, and indeed the entire sitting dedicated to it, should appear here *tale quale.***(70)**.

"Dear son of Memory, great heir of Fame,
what need'st thou such weak witness of Thy name?"

Thus concluded his tribute Borg Olivier in the following sitting. This time he was joined by the Lieutenant-Governor as well as by the exile-monger Lieut.-Col. Strickland of the Constitutional Party. They too paid their respects.**(71)** The governor who signed the deportation orders was General Dobbie.[10]

Notes

1 This Commission of Enquiry, called by the Government, was composed of Judge A. Parnis, LL.D. (as President), Dr. Max. Debono, LL.D., Magistrate L. Camilleri, LL.D., Col. E.W.S. Brooke, C.M.G., D.S.O; Lieut. Col. W.T. Bromfield. The transcriptions of the voluminous Minutes of Evidence, an indispensable source for any serious writing on the subject, were kept in the Palace Archives, Valletta (now transferred to Rabat).

2 The other rather more polemical address, delivered in Maltese, was by the party's treasurer and "Director General", Mr M.A. Borg. A period flysheet entitled "Labour Party Club" (again from the Ganado archive) published all three speeches to commemorate the occasion.

3 The Minutes of Evidence of the Malta Royal Commission of 1931 were published for Parliament as Cmd. 3993 (H.M.S.O., London, 1932). The following selections from these minutes are to be found in pp.2–23 (Strickland); pp. 48–58 (Mifsud); pp. 130–34 (Mizzi) and pp.59–66 (Boffa). In some cases witnesses would be recalled and reexamined but these selections here give a good gist of the various positions taken by the politicians at the time. The members of the Royal Commission were the Rt. Hon. Lord Askwith, K.C.B., chairman, Sir Walter Egerton, K.C.M.G., and Count De Salis, K.C.M.G., C.V.O. Mr A.J. Dawe was Secretary.

4 The original would be at the Public Record office but Nerik Mizzi's son, Fr. Fortunato Mizzi, had published this in a pamphlet. He had done so, appropriately enough, in September 1964. See F.P. Mizzi: *A Memorandum on the Dominion Status of Malta submitted to the Secretary of State for the colonies in* 1932 (Studia, Valletta, 1964) pp. 4–12.

5 The sitting referred to here is that held on 6 March 1933; the relevant pages in the local Hansard are 914–936.

6 Cf. the Letters Patent and Instructions of 12 August 1936 proclaimed on 2 September 1936 in the *Malta Government Gazette*, no.8206 of 2 September 1936, pp. 803–11.

7 Cf. the Letters Patent and Instructions of 14 February 1939 proclaimed on February 1939, *ibid.*, no.8534, pp. 243–57.

8 This took place during sitting no.11 of 9 February 1942. The relevant pages in the volume are 228–41.

9 Sitting no.12, 12 February 1942, p. 245.

10 The list of deportees and an overall analysis of the prevailing situation at the time is given in *Malta's Quest for Independence* (Valletta, 1989), pp. 199–203.

DOCUMENT 54

Testimony on the *Sette Giugno* events by Count Caruana Gatto

Contino A. Caruana Gatto LL. D., called and examined on oath.

92. (Chairman.) Are you leaving the Island immediately?—As soon as I obtain a passage on a boat.

93. You attended at the Military Enquiry and the proceedings are signed by you; is that so?—I was entitled to attend as civil representative.

94 Was the evidence taken on oath?—No.

95 Were you allowed to produce witnesses?—I asked for permission to take with me Dr. Serafino Vella to assist me, and we produced witnesses. We put questions and cross-examined the witnesses produced through the President.

96 The civilian witnesses produced at your request came forward voluntarily, or were they called by you?—We published in the papers an invitation to anybody who knew anything about what happened on the 7th of June (because the enquiry referred only to that day), and we also asked people to help us to find out people who knew something about the facts. Some were examined by us before and were found to know nothing. We were given facilities to examine witnesses at the Castille, and we examined about seventy or eighty there, and chose only those whose evidence we thought was of importance.

97 Now this question leads to another. We have to call those witnesses; have you got their names and addresses?—We will do our best to help you. It is very funny, however, because we gave two lists of these persons, one to the Military Authorities, and the other to the Police. It appears they were both lost.

98. Is it possible you kept no list for yourselves? If the Military find their list they will pass it on to us.—We will do what we can to help you if that list is not found.

99. Now, let us go to the events themselves. What do you know of the events personally? I mean all you know, what you heard, and what you did?—Everybody knew that there was a meeting to be held at the Club

"Giovane Malta" on the 7th of June. I was a delegate of the Chamber of Advocates and some other Society. I went first in the Casino Maltese. There were lots of people in the streets. They were not excited. Somebody came and was distributing red and white ribbons which were stuck in button holes. I went to the meeting at 3.30 p.m. There was nothing particular. At a certain time we heard rather a peculiar noise, and people came in the room saying that there was a great disturbance in the street. At a certain moment Dr. Augusto Bartolo left the room because he was told that the crowd was attacking the Chronicle Office which belongs to him or his family. Then someone said that troops had been called out, and we actually heard shots being fired. A little while after this a lad rushed in and said: "See what they are doing to us; they are shedding our blood". Of course this caused a certain amount of excitement in the meeting room. The order of the day was hurriedly carried, and there was a lot of panic. The disturbance in the street grew apace, and more firing went on. I remember going to the window and seeing pickets of soldiers in Strada Reale. Then somebody suggested that as the people had collected in connection with out meeting, it was our duty to see what was going on and to interfere. So we thought we should pacify the people. We were originally seven or eight in number; Monsignor De Piro, the Honourable G. Vassallo, Rev. Dandria, Mr. Zammit Hammet, some others and myself. We tried to go out from the club, but it was not easy to do this because firing was going on in the street.

We were at Strada Santa Lucia and had proposed to cross and go to the Courts because we had to see General Hunter Blair, the Officer Administering the Government, or Mr. Robertson, the Lieutenant-Governor. We passed through Strada Stretta. Wounded people were being carried about, and the people were very much excited. We tried to pass through the back door of the Police Office in Strada Stretta but it was closed, and we had to go up Strada San Giovanni and through Strada Reale. When we were midway near Borg's, we heard shots being fired. Afterwards we ascertained it must have been an accidental shot from a rifle which must have taken fire in the hands of the Troops stationed at the door of Police Station (Courts). There was again a rush of people, and we therefore went back to the Club "Giovine Malta". From here we telephoned to Mr. Frendo Azopardi, the Acting Commissioner of Police, and asked him where Mr. Robertson was; and we got a reply that

Mr. Robertson was in the Police Office. Escorted by the Acting Commissioner of Police who had come to us, we went out of the Club, and passing through Strada Santa Lucia and Strada Reale, we got into the Courts, where soldiers were barricading the gates. I must here say that at our first attempt to enter the Courts some of the people were rather hostile to us and particularly to Monsignor De Piro, and began to shout: "You are the cause of all this". Monsignor De Piro observed: "This is good, we are going to the rescue, and we are getting the blame". Eventually we entered the Courts and spoke to Mr. Robertson. We placed ourselves at his disposal to see what could be done to calm down the crowd. He thanked us and asked: "What do you think the people are asking for"? We had heard what the wild crowd in front of the Courts was saying. They said: "They fired at us when we were unarmed; this is not English; let them send the soldiers away and nothing will happen". We went outside and came in touch with the people to see what their demands were. They were very fierce, as they had got excited at the sight of blood. They asked that soldiers should be sent away and said that there would be calm on that day. So we went back to Mr. Robertson and said that we were assured that if the soldiers, at least part of them, were sent away everything would be safe. Mr. Robertson asked: "Will you take the responsibility"? and we said we were prepared to do so. Mr. Robertson said that he would do what he could. Another thing the people asked for was that those found guilty of having fired without warning should be punished. Mr. Robertson justly said that those found guilty of anything, whatever the party they belonged to, would be punished. So we addressed the crowd from a window, and assured the people that those found guilty of any fault on that day would be punished, at the same time warning the people that disturbances should not go on. There were Monsignor De Piro, Dr. Vella, and myself. At our assurances, it appeared that the people were satisfied and soon began to disperse. Unfortunately a company of Marines at that time arrived, and the people got angry again, and began to ask what that was. It appeared that those soldiers had received no counter orders. So we went to verify matters. Meanwhile the Officer in charge of the company was rather threatening the population. He took out a revolver and one of us heard him say: "A round will do them good". The soldiers were inside the Law Courts and the people were out. We advised the officer to get out of sight, and we went out to explain to people that it was a misunderstanding. We then

arranged with Major Sayers that the soldiers be withdrawn. We proposed that they should be withdrawn and that they should march between us so that if anything happened we should be able to explain things. Some of us walked in front and others at the back. The soldiers began to leave by small parties. Then we advised the closing of the doors of the Law Courts (Police Station), and the people dispersed, and the rest of that evening was calm. I went home rather tired. That is all I know of Saturday.

100. What about Sunday? — On Sunday morning I was feeling unwell, but about 8.30 a.m., Monsignor De Piro came to me and said that once we took the lead on the previous day, it was our duty to see what we could do to calm the people, some of whom, he said, were still excited. Something ought to be done on that day. I proposed that we should go to Dr. Sceberras – because we had no autority whatever – and brought him with us. When we arrived at the Casino Maltese a messenger told us that General Hunter Blair had asked for us, and was at the Palace. At the time there was a very big crowd in front of the Chronicle Office. It appeared that sacking and looting was going on very peacefully at the Chronicle Office, the looters being apparently unmolested in their work. We went through the back door of the Casino Maltese and actually heard the breaking of things in the Chronicle building, and saw smoke coming out of the window. From the Casino Maltese we went to the Palace. We found the front door closed, and we stopped there waiting over an hour until we could get in. During all this time the looting of the Chronicle was going in, and we saw people coming out with bundles very peacefully, as no one interfered. There was no Police. After half an hour we were seen by General Hunter Blair. He said that it was imperative that order should be restored. We pointed out that in order that this might be attempted with some success, it was necessary that an enquiry, in which several representatives of the people should take part, should be held into the events of the previous day. He promised that this would be done. To appease the people still more we also asked that General Hunter should address the crowd from the balcony. This he did through Dr. Sciberras, who said that an enquiry would be held and the people's representatives would be in it. He exhorted the people not to go on with the disturbances as there was no reason for them after the promise of the Acting Governor. He said that British Troops would not be called out again, as, after all there would be no necessity for military intervention. This took place at about noon or somewhat later. Shortly after this I remarked that looting

was going on at the Chronicle Office, and there was no Police to prevent it. Policemen were sent some time after this. Then we went to the Casino. Something happened there but it was of no consequence. In the afternoon I was dead tired, but Mr. Robertson sent a message through an Inspector of Police saying that he wished to see me. I went to the Police Office in the Court building. Mr. Robertson said that as the people were much excited, he should like to know where he could find me so that he might address the people with me. I told him that I was a nobody, and that I would at least get Monsignor De Piro and Dr. Serafino Vella to accompany me, so that the people could see the same faces they had seen before. We agreed that if anything occurred we should communicate with him at General Hunter Blair's house. Then I went to the "La Vallette" Club. When there, somebody said that Officers were then throwing pence from the windows of the Union Club, and that the people were very much excited because Marines had come, and fired shots. At first we did not believe, but people came in and told us that the coins had come near their feet.

101. Who were these people?—I do not know them, but perhaps people at the "La Vallette" Club know who they are. Dr. Vella and I then went to Mr. Robertson at General Hunter Blair's, and we told him what was reported to me. Mr. Robertson said that he knew that officers had appeared at the windows of the Club, and he had given orders that the windows should be closed. We remarked that that was not enough; and just then Monsignor De Piro came in and said that the crowd was then attacking Colonel Francia's house. He said: "Now it is time to go and tell the people not to go on with looting because otherwise that would mar our cause." Mr. Robertson insisted on coming with us to address the people, but we dissuaded him from doing this, as we could not hold ourselves responsible in case anything happened to him. He said that that was part of his duties, but after some more persuasions, he allowed us to go by ourselves. Monsignor De Piro, Dr. Vella and myself then went up the vestibule of the Opera House and saw the first attack of Colonel Francia's House.

102. What was that?—People with crowbars were trying to force open the front door which, however, did not give way. Monsignor De Piro spoke to the crowd and invited the people to desist from attacking that house. I must here say that the people on that day were different from those of the day before. I saw several faces familiar to me in the

Criminal Court. At first the people left off forcing the door and appeared to gather around us. I told them that the attack on that house had nothing to do with politics, and must be stopped if we were to succeed in our political claims. But, evidently, the criminal element of the crowd prevailed. They yelled, they sent us where we did not like to go, they took the money from our pockets and went to the back door of Colonel Francia's house. We told them that if they went on like that soldiers would come again, and there would be bloodshed. It appears that our words made no impression on them. At that moment a party of the R.M.A. soldiers arrived. At their appearance they were welcomed with clapping of hands. They were pushed aside to Strada Fianco and were kept there. We turned round and we said to those around us: "Now see, you are the people, prevent them from doing that, we are leaving. We guaranteed in a certain way that you would behave. This is not right, and it will prejudice the cause of all of us; so we leave you to your own destinies". After that I felt ill in the street and was put in bed. I know nothing of what happened that evening. Dr. Vella went to Mr. Robertson and explained that we could do nothing and could not, therefore, be held responsible.

103. Then the sailors were called out I suppose?—I did not see the sailors. That is all I know about the events of the 8th June.

104. (Lt. Col. Brooke). Was there no Police when the looting of Col. Francia's house took place?—There were some Policemen, but only a few; they were far between doing nothing.

105 At some point of your evidence you said that when you were going to the Casino something happened but it was of no consequence; what was that? — One of the members of the Casino said something to the crowd but he was ill treated by the mob. We pulled him in and the mob made a rush in the Casino. We intervened and succeeded in preventing a mischief. That was not the moment to provoke the people.

106. When the soldiers arrived, were they marching under an officer? —Yes.

107. Were they in formation in front of Colonel Francia's house?— They tried to form up in front of the door, but they were pushed aside.

108. (Chairman). Were you in front of Colonel Francia's house when the R.M.A. arrived?—I was there when the first batch arrived.

109. How many men were there?—about 25, but I cannot say exactly. It is very difficult for one who does not understand. There might have been fifteen or fifty.

110. Did you notice that the entrance of the house was protected from Strada Fianco?—I did not see that; I heard of it.

111. (Lt. Col. Bromfield). Was that when the R.M.A. company was there?—I could not say whether that was before or after.

112. (Dr. Debono). Did you leave the place after a certain time?—Yes, and I heard this when I was leaving.

113. (Chairman). Did the incident of the Union Club take place on Sunday?—Yes, that was the first incident in the afternoon.

114. Who was with you at the Governor's Palace when you went to see General Hunter Blair about noon?—Dr. Sciberras, Dr. Serafino Vella, Rev. Dandria, and Mr. Zammit Hammet, I think.

115. We will have to trouble you later on to take your evidence with regard to the causes of the disturbances.

The witness withdrew.

(33)

Contino Alfredo Caruana Gatto, LL.D. recalled.

(President) We are going to ask you about the causes that led to the riots. I suppose there are several causes. Would you like to give us a list of them, as far as you can remember?—Do you mean causes of the agitation or of the riots?

Let us begin by the riots themselves—The firing of the soldiers was one of the causes.

That cannot be. The riots began early on Saturday afternoon, and the troops had not yet fired then. They were called out afterwards.—But they were disturbances which happend, to a certain extent, on previous occasions. On a former meeting of the National Assembly, there were also some disturbances in the streets. Panes of glass of Mr. Azzopardi's windows and of Mr. Bartoli Galea's were broken on that occasion.

So that the Government or the Police, if they knew that there was going to be a crowd in Valletta, should have prevented that crowd?—Or at least prevented the crowd from behaving in a disorderly manner, because I do not think it would be possible to prevent a crowd.

Therefore one of the causes would be: Want of protection. What about the others?—The high pitch of excitement on the 7th of June was, in my opinion, due to the firing on the part of the troops.

But the soldiers fired after the Chronicle Office had been wrecked, and after Mr. Cassar Torreggiani's house had been broken into. So it is impossible to say that the excitement against Mr. Cassar Torreggiani or against the Chronicle was due to the firing of the troops?—

(Lieut. Col. Brooke) The firing was the result of the riots and not the cause of them—I do not mean this; I mean to say that the firing excited greatly the people.

(President) Yes, but they were already excited. The firing is the result and not the cause of the riots—A result and a cause at the same time.

It was not the first cause, anyhow—Yes, it was not the first cause.

Did you see any posters in the streets calling upon the people to come to Valletta on that day?—No, but I heard about them. The vernacular paper also invited the people to come in crowds on that day.

You followed the thread of the events and the circumstances of that day. Do you not see, an intelligent barrister as you are, that there must have been a plan formed beforehand to get crowds in town on that day? There had been a former meeting of the Assembly when a resolution was passed demanding a Constitution. Then after that first meeting the Secretary of State promised that the new Governor would grant a Constitution, or words to that effect. There was an extreme party that did not want to believe it and they were saying that the Secretary of State simply meant bluff. Is that so?—Yes, but I know nothing about any plan having been formed beforehand.

Well, there was another party which I will call the "Moderate Party", which wanted to take up the idea and to approach the new Governor. Am I correct?—Yes.

Do you not think that the crowd was called to the town to hiss the Moderates while attending the meeting of the Assembly?—Very likely they were called to support the extreme party.

Do you know that one of the members that had to attend the meeting was afraid at the last moment, and did not go?—Yes, Dr. Giuseppe Mizzi. There was a printed paper circulated attacking Dr. Mizzi in connexion with the resolution to be proposed at the meeting.

Where could we get a copy? Have you got a copy?—I shall look for it; but Dr. Mizzi himself must have got a copy.

Was Mr. Azzopardi unpopular?—He was the most unpopular man in Malta.

He had unseated Dr. Enrico Mizzi?—Yes.

Did that make him unpopular with the moderate class of the people?—It increased his unpopularity. Everyone thought that he was not holding his seat constitutionally, although legally.

He was made a Member of the Executive Council?—Yes

And people complained of that?—Yes, very much.

He was also made the Chairman of the celebration of the anniversary of the War on the 4th August, and this rendered unpopular those celebrations, and also Chairman of the Peace Celebration Committee, and this was bound to come to grief.

What do you believe induced the people to attack Mr. Cassar Torreggiani's house and Col. Francia's house. Did the people think that they had made large profits on the bread?—In my opinion the crowd of the second day had different motives from the crowd of the first day of the riots. In my view, the attack upon the houses of Mr. Cassar Torreggiani, of Mr. Azzopardi, the Lyceum, the Chronicle and Col. Francia's house may be grouped under two headings: Political and Economic. Of course, in attacking the Chronicle Office the people meant to protest against and to attack the extreme military party. When they attacked the Lyceum and pulled down the flag, I do not think that they had any subversive ideas; they meant only to protest against the military party against which they had a grievance at the time. Then there were the attacks against Cassar Torreggiani, Francia and Farrugia. These men were considered, rightly or wrongly, by the people as the starvers of the poor, and that is why they were attacked and their houses plundered and sacked. On the other hand, the attack on Mr. Azzopardi's house was also meant—from what I have been able to understand from the people with whom I have come in touch—as a protest against the Local Government and against the personal doings of Mr. Azzopardi. I say this because I have never heard that the people plundered or attacked any jewellery shop, or any Banks, or any grocery shop, in those days. The people were mentioning in the streets twelve persons to whom the attacks were directed. I was at the time in continuous touch with the people, trying to pacify them. So I heard what they were saying. I never heard any proposal to loot, for instance, Meli's Jewellery Establishment, in Strada Reale, or others, or any Banks.They had a political motive. This was on the first day.

Would you say that for the second day?—I would not say that. Still they did not pick the first person they came across. In Colonel Francia they also saw one of the starvers of the poor.

Col. Francia's house was attacked on the first day, and I do not believe people thought that of Col. Francia. He had a good name.—So had Baron Chapelle; and if the people had had a chance, they would have destroyed their mills too. They had flour mills as their object of attack.

What about the other causes?—I divide the causes, as I said, in political and economic. There was political unrest and widespread disaffection partly due to local causes and partly to external causes. Among the local I would put the discontent due to the working of a sham Constitution with a complete disregard on the part of the Government of the wishes of the Maltese, and of course also the treatment of the representatives of the people by the Government.

(Lieut. Col. Brooke) What was the complete disregard of the representatives of the people?—With the exception of Mr. Azzopardi, all the other members were not given any importance by the Government. This is at least the impression of the people.

293 Did they put forward their views in the Council and no attention was paid to them?—They were elected by the people under certain conditions, and they had to carry out that policy.

294 (President) You referred to the Constition which was bad—that is admitted. But you cannot say that the Government would not hear what the elected members said in Council, because they never attended, or at least attended periodically—I am saying that the complaints and protests of the elected members were not taken into account. Another cause was the sudden, heavy and irritating taxation, without showing what it was meant for. It was of a permanent nature.

295 So I take it from you that, if the people were told that this taxation was necessary during the war or up to two years after the war, when the whole situation would be reviewed, they would have willingly paid?—What the people expected was a square deal and fair play on the part of the Government. So we were in this position: "You are a Crown Colony and you must pay". I do not say that the people would have gladly paid the new taxes, but they would have had the merit of knowing for what they were paying. The people were tricked to contribute towards the expenses of the administration, without having the knowledge of what the taxes were meant for and without having any

control over the expenditure. That was hard lines on the people.

296 Were the terms of the legislation you are speaking of harsh?—Very harsh. Take for instance the Succession Duties Ordinance. It exempts the poor from paying up to a certain limit; but then to prove that to the Authorities, viz: to prove that they have not inherited that amount, they have to go through a lot of expenses, and this added to the hardships the war brought about, caused a discontent among the people. This taxation should not have been done so suddenly but by degrees. The second cause was the increase to the salaries of high officials and neglect of lower employes. The war bonus granted to the lower employees was almost insignificant and not in proportion to that of the high officials and this was very much felt by the people and was talked about in the street and in the newspapers. There was also the differential treatment between English and Maltese as is regard to wages. Take for instance the Dockyard. Maltese workmen working the same amount of work as English workmen were paid quite differently. The Maltese are prepared to admit that English workmen coming from England should receive a higher pay, but not to the extent they do now, compared with what the Maltese get. As to the external causes which brought about political unrest and disaffection, I think these three items contributed to a large extent: (a) foreign troops and crews; (b) Maltese Labour Corps; and (c) English workmen at the Dockyard. As to (a), there were several foreign men-of-war in Malta during the war to be repaired at the Dockyard: American, Japanese and French, and I know because I heard it even before the riots that men from these ships used to ask the Maltese workmen how much they were paid. When they were told that they were receiving 5s. a day, they used to tell them to go to, say, Marseilles where they would get £1 a day. Some of the best workmen tried to go to Marseilles and Bizerte and passports were refused to them during the war. This of course increased their grievance. They said: We are paid at 5s. a day and our work is worth four times that amount, and yet we are not allowed to leave the Island to improve our position. As to (b), Several of the Maltese Corps went, as you know, to Salonica, Mudros, Taranto, and when they came back to Malta, they were instilled with prevailing ideas, the microbe which was infecting all Europe, namely, minimum of work and maximum of wages. They spread these ideas among the people here. The third reason which contributed to the unrest and disaffection was the importation from England of a number of

English workmen at the Dockyard. These men brought with them Trade Union ideas and looked upon the Maltese labourers as men who were working more than they were paid for. I heard people from the Dockyard tell this: My English foreman to-day saw me working, and he reproached me for working too much. He said: You should work half of that and be paid the same wages. The Maltese labourers were astonished at these ideas. This happened when no one thought of the riots. I heard all this from people whom I had reason to believe, good honest workmen who had no reason to say untruths. Then as to the economic causes. Certainly the high cost of living—especially that of bread—and the poor quality of bread and other stuff was very much felt. I know that during the war several homes did not have sufficient nourishment.

I suppose the war affected more people living on small incomes than it did affect the working classes—But it affected also the labourers, because I do not think that there was always a proportion between the wages and the cost of living. I do not think, however, that agricultural people had any reason to complain.

They became rich—Not all of them, but a great number of them. As to the rest of the population, I think they had to suffer a lot. I am prepared to say that we in Malta suffered less than other countries; but on the other hand we had no moral support. Men in other countries were aware that they were suffering for their own country; but here in Malta no one taught the people that others were suffering a great deal more and that we were faring better than others. Another economic cause – and a very important one—was profiteering and undue discrimination on the part of the Government in selecting people to form part of the Pools. I am not vouching for the corrections of the facts, but I am repeating what I heard from the man in the street.

The Government did not select the Pools. The Government invited every section to meet and form certain Pools. People quarrelled among themselves, and could not form the Pools. Then the Chamber of Commerce formed them and submitted them to Government—But the Government did not care to inform the people about this. Then there was also the complaint about the potato seed. Specified charges were published in the press, and the Government was invited to make enquiries, but the Government declined to do that. What was the impression on the part of the people? That there was something unfair.

What is the real complaint?—The Government had given a monopoly for the importation of seed to certain people.

The Government issued a notice inviting tenders for the importation of potato seed. The first year it was given to one man, and the second year to several persons.—The complaint was that they imported the seed at a certain price and resold it to the country people at a much higher price than it should have been, and that is the reason why an enquiry was asked for. You will find all this in the papers. But the Government did something worse. First it did not allow anyone to export potatoes, and when these things appeared in the press permits were given to these people who had complained in the press and made a fuss about the matter.

You reckon among the causes of the disaffection that the Government is always ready to buy the people who shout most—Yes; you shout and insist upon enquiries, and you get something to hush up the whole thing. Another cause of the unrest is, I believe, the vernacular press. The language used in some of this class of newspaper was too subversive; there was no proportion in some of the vernacular papers between the grievances and the tone of "L'Unione Maltia" and "Malta Tagħna" and I was very much upset. They wrote about the people being crushed under the feet of the Government and how the high classes tried to put class against class. In fact I was called on the Crown Advocate to whom I said that the vernacular press was too much unlisenced. We agreed with me. There was no counter-propaganda on the part of the Government. Had the Government shown the people by means of publications how things were going on, the people would have seen that things were not as they were depicted in those cases.

Now they are doing better: they are publishing in each Government Notice the reason for the steps taken—I do not put all the blame on the Government. Even the press in Malta did not show the people that things were going on badly on account of the war; and so the people thought that hardships were being felt in Malta alone. It should not be lost sight of that the majority of the people in Malta are illiterates and they only know what is read to them, and in the varnacular press almost nothing was said about this. Then there was unemployment which also contributed to the unrest. It was said that people were being discharged from the Dockyard and that others would be so discharged in a short time; this must certainly have contributed to the discontent prevailing at the time. Then in the last days before the riots there was a tacit Police strike which also contributed to making people think that they could go to excesses without any fear. I do not think that the Officers, the

sergeants included, took part in this tacit strike. I think they were up to the standard.

(Dr. Max. Debono) Was there a real police strike?—No, it was a tacit strike. Virtually it was clear that the men could not be trusted.

(President)—From what you saw during these two days, you could say that the police, except the officers, did very little indeed—The officers did all they could and were really overpowered; but the men were sympathizing with the people. In my opinion there was also another cause—although not a direct cause—of the unrest. It is true that the people have not asked for it, but they felt the lack of a law regulating wages, fixing minimum of wages, and labour insurance.

That would appeal to you and me—But the people as I said felt the want of it. A man for instance loses his finger at work and is rendered partly unfit for work; still there is no law in Malta to protect the labourer in such cases.

But you could go to the Council of Government and correct the law; we must take the actual causes—I am not putting this on the shoulders of the Government or anybody. I say that it is a thing which should be done to help towards the welfare of the island and the people. Civil Servants were also very dissatisfied, because they could not make both ends meet.

Did you hear that they have joined the Union now?—I am not aware.

Was this dissatisfaction with regard to salaries only or because preference was given to A. over B.?—Both.

What was the dissatisfaction in regard to the Law Courts? Was it because the Courts had been kept closed for a considerable time? Practically we had no Law Courts for a long time, owing to death of judges and certain epidemics, and the consequence was that cases could not be dealt with. The reduction in the number of Judges and Magistrates was also a cause of complaint. Everybody knew when a case was brought before the Courts, but they never knew when it would come to an end, if it ever did. Before concluding, I should like to correct what I said about certain facts the other day. When we went to General Hunter Blair, I mentioned the names of Dr. Giuseppe Mizzi and Dr. A Pullicino. That is not correct. We were six in all: Dr. Sciberras, Dr. Serafino Vella, Dr. Enrico Mizzi, Mons. DePiro, Mr. Zammit Hammet and myself. This was on Sunday morning.

Is it a fact that on Sunday when the Navy was employed and on

subsequent days, everybody praised the action of the Navy?—The action of the Navy was compared with that of the Army. In fact several people came to me and wished to show their appreciation of the work of the Navy.

The witness withdrew.

(108)

Contino A. Caruana Gatto, LL.D., recalled.

The evidence given by this witness on the 19th and 21st August 1919 was read over and confirmed by him with slight verbal alterations.

687 (President) What class of people did you notice the first day? You said that the people you noticed on the first day were quite different from those of the second day.—They were people who are generally soon in big demonstrations.

688 What people do you usually see in big demonstrations? All sorts of people, workmen, and also people of a certain standing. I saw people of all conditions; but certainly not the roughs I saw on the second day.

689 What is the "Giovine Malta", a Club?—Yes.

690 Who is the President? You knew that Dr. Enrico Mizzi was the President of that Club?—He was, but I do not know whether he was at the time of the riots.

691 Was the choice of the place a fortunate one?—In my opinion and in the opinion of the generality, it was not.

692 Have you ascertained from the "La Vallette" Club who were the witnesses present at the events mentioned by you in your former evidence?—Yes. John Borg "Tad-dik", of Strada Levante, Valletta.

693 You said that you heard from the crowd that 12 persons were going to be attacked. Who were these persons?—They were the following: Mr. Azzopardi (who headed the list), Col. Francia, Mr Cassar Torreggiani, the Daily Malta Chronicle Editor, Mr. Farrugia, Professor Magro, the Crown Advocate, Mr. Lancellotti, the Honourable Mr. E. Bonavia, Assistant Secretary to Govt., Dr. Giuseppe Mizzi and his Printing Press, and two other persons whose names I do not remember.

694 When did you hear this, on the first or second day?—I heard it on the Sunday, but it referred to what was meant to be done on the first day and what was intended to be done after.

695 Do you remember the students of the University going on strike?—Yes, I was counsel when they were summoned for throwing eggs at the Hon. Mr. Azzopardi, at the entrance of the Law Courts.

696 Do you remember that these students were taken to the Law Courts in motor cars?—Yes, and they took also with them their counsel: Dr. S. Vella, Dr. G. Degiorgio, Dr. Ugo Mifsud, and myself.

697 (Lieut. Col. Brooke) What was the resolution passed at the meeting on the 7th of June?—About the Constitution. It has been published in the press: it is rather a long resolution, because it embodies a part of the resolution proposed by Dr. A. Bartolo.

698 Does it represent what the moderate party wanted?—I think that ultimately it embodied what that party wanted.

699 (Lieut. Col. Brooke) Was the resolution of the extreme party adopted?—No, the resolution of that party was not carried.

700 Was the meeting notified beforehand?—Yes.

701 Were the crowd invited to attend in order to have the resolution adopted?—Yes, but not by invitation.

702. But did they assemble for the purpose of hearing what was the resolution by the Assembly?—Very likely. They had already assembled on a former meeting of the Assembly.

703. They therefore attended to hear what would be the resolution and to endorse it and give it their approval?—Yes, as a public endorsement.

704. Was that what induced them to come to Valletta?—I do not think there was any other reason. On a former occasion they had come and insisted upon the shops in Strada Reale being closed.

705. When the deputation of which you formed part guaranteed to the Government that if the soldiers were removed, the crowd would be pacified, why did you think you had the power to calm the crowd?—I took that responsibility personally upon my shoulders.

706. It is a very heavy responsibility to guarantee the behaviour of the crowd in Strada Reale, the Palace Square and opposite Col. Francia's house?—No, we guaranteed in regard to the first day only. On Sunday we could take no risks. On Saturday as I did guarantee and the other gentlemen forming part of the deputation backed me.

707. Anyhow, that was a good deal to guarantee, to be able to quell a mob—Yes, I thought at that moment I could use my influence in that direction, and the result has justified me. On the Sunday we failed

altogether. On that day Mr. Robertson wished to come with us to try and persuade the people not to go on with the disturbances. I must add that I took upon me that responsibility after I had addressed the crowd from the door of the Law Courts and from the windows, telling them that if they went home and dispersed, everything would be quiet, and after ascertaining what their intentions were.

708. (Magte. Camilleri) Did you find the paper which was being circulated against Dr. Giuseppe Mizzi?—No, but I spoke to Dr. Mizzi about it. He had to look for it, he told me that he had it.

The witness withdrew.

DOCUMENT 55

Testimony on the *Sette Giugno* events by Mr J. Hamilton

(127)

Mr. J. Hamilton, called, sworn, and examined.

860. (President). Are you the President of the Workers' Union at the Dockyard?—Yes, Sir, I am the President of the Imperial Government Workers' Union which is affiliated to the United Government Workers Federation, Dorothy Street, London.

861. What do you know about the events of the 7th and 8th June?—I presumed that my evidence will be taken as President of the Imperial Government Workers Union. I may state that I do not wish to be prejudiced on account of my evidence.

862. As a person you have the permission of all your superior officers to state what you think proper. Both the Mililtary and Naval Authorities have been good enough to give permission to all these serving under them to say what they knew without any restriction whatsoever.—Well, then, on the 7th of June, at 3.30 in the afternoon I left my residence at Floriana to go with five other delegates of the Union to Valletta. I was a delegate at the Assembly. At 3.40 p.m. I entered the Circolo "Giovine Malta" together with the other four delegates to take part in the proceedings of that Assembly which was presided over by Dr. Sceberras. At 4 o'clock the proceedings were opened. Everything prevailed with perfect order until 5.30 when considerable commotion was heard outside.

The proceedings went on until we heard that the soldiers were firing on the men in the street.

A short time after a young lad was brought up with a severe wound on the right side. He passed near me and I assisted him to a sofa, and I asked Dr. Inglott whether he would render first aid. After that we heard that the Chronicle Offices were being attacked by a mob and that also Mr. Azzopardi's house had been broken into and the furniture was being thrown out of the balcony. I heard that in the hall. Then the proceedings terminated rather abruptly because I saw a man wounded in the head being carried from Strada Santa Lucia towards the Police Station. On the termination of the proceedings all the gentlemen cleared away, and I remained there till about 6.30 p.m. When I left the hall I proceeded to Floriana via Strada Stretta. Arriving at home I remained indoors until the following morning.

863. You did not accompany Dr. Caruana Gatto then?—No, Sir. On the following morning I went to carry out my religious duties, and after that I went to witness the damages at the Lyceum and the Chronicle Office, and afterwards I went home and remained indoors all the day.

864. So you saw nothing of the events of the 7th and 8th June?—Only what I said.

865. Can you give us your opinion about the circumstances that may have led to the events?—Speaking from a Dockyard point of view and from my own personal experience I think that the grievances are manifold. We have had grievances for many years in the Dockyard and with all due respect to our Officials, I can say we have done all in our power to have these grievances redressed. I should say that the principal cause is the high cost of living, and secondly, the wages earned by local workers as compared with English workers coming out from England. The cost of living has gone up practically three fold; and the disparity of wages between the local men and the English men coming out from home is enormous. The wages and emoluments of the latter are practically 250 or 300% more than those of the local workmen. This, naturally, is very keenly felt at a bench where workmen are working side by side and doing equal work.

Is there any other grievance?—Another grievance is the dismissals which were anticipated in the Dockyard slight before the 7th June. In fact discharges were contemplated to an extent that I acted on my own initiative and asked for an interview with His Excellency Lord Methuen, and I fully explained to him the gravity of the approaching situation for

the workmen, which was indeed very black. The interview had a beneficial effect to the extent that His Excellency, I understand, corresponded with the Colonial Office and the Admirality, and the Admirality sent work to Malta which prevented the discharges which were to take place.

When was that?—On the 27th of April.

So that after that date dismissals were stopped for a time?—After the correspondence that had taken place between His Excellency and the Colonial Office and the Admiralty further work to prevent discharges was sent to Malta, and thus the anxiety felt by the workmen that they would be thrown out of employment with their dependants clamouring for bread, which would have been a catastrophe to Malta, was prevented.

I understood you to say that on the 7th of June discharges were anticipated?—Discharges took place just before that day, in fact discharges began to take effect in June. Another point which has caused many grievances in the Yard is the non-participation of local workmen in certain privileges granted to English serving under agreement.

(Magistrate Camilleri.) What are they?—For instance Englishmen get a bonus of 12½ per cent on their earnings which the local men did not participate in. As a matter of fact local workmen get only a bonus of one shilling per week. The men protested and, after they went on strike they got six shillings per week. The fact is that whereas a local man did not get more than £3:10:0 to £1:0:0 a week, an Englishmen got from £8 to £9 a week. After the 12½ per cent bonus the Admiralty further gave the Englishmen serving under agreement another 5/- a week which, with overtime work, would total to 10/- per week. This was practically more than local workmen could tolerate and I, acting on my own initiative, approached the Admiral Superintendent stating that this blow was not deserved by the local workmen. In the course of the interview with Admiral Ballard who was then Admiral Superintendent .....

(President) was that remedied?—It was remedied to a certain extent only.

I should like you to understand that the Commission is not here to redress grievances, but to inquire into the causes which may have led to the events of the 7th and 8th June.

—What I have stated are actual facts which may have led to the disturbances.

Do you mean to say that the Dockyard people may have caused the

disturbances?—I do not mean that, but the workmen have given vent to their feelings by participating in the hostile demonstration.

So, if I understood you well, you say that the Dockyard people may have been the first to take part in the hostile demonstration but not in the pillage?—I am not in a position to say that. Personally, I think that after a hard day's work at the Dockyard, a labourer would not come to Valletta in a broiling sun to participate in disturbance; yet, I heard that several workmen took part in the demonstration.

Did you hear that?—I heard a rumour in the Dockyard to that effect.

Did you hear that in the Dockyard there were papers on the walls calling upon the men to come to Valletta "culhatt il Belt"?—I heard that they put up an inscription on the wall " Il-leila culhatt il Belt" (Go all to Valletta this afternoon), but I did not see it myself.

Whom could we call here to say that had seen that inscription on the wall?—I do not know, but I think everybody will tell you that.

What is your general idea of other causes besides that?—I should think that the principal grievance is the high cost of living and the amount of alleged profiteering going on at the time.

Do you read the vernacular press?—I do not.

I do not suppose you read the paper "La Voce del Popolo"?—I cannot read Italian.

(Lt. Col. Brooke.) Are you speaking for the Dockyard workmen? — Yes, Sir.

Who are they paid by?—By the Imperial Government.

You say that those who are permanently employed here are not paid the same as those who are sent out from England; is that so?—Exactly.

Exactly.

Can you say roughly what was the number of those employed in the Dockyard before the War?—It was an average of four thousand men.

And during the war?—Thirteen thousand.

How many are there at present?—Approximately two thousand five hundred.

And yet you say that there were grievances about dismissals? Yes. That was brought to the notice of the Lieutenant-Governor and the dismissals have been stopped.

To how much did the dismissals amount to?—At the time I should say a thousand workmen were discharged. Then about five hundred were re-admitted owing to the Admiralty sending work to Malta.

Do you not think that workers cannot except to be kept in the same numbers after the War?—That is admitted, Sir. We tried to prevent disturbances but, if workmen are dismissed, there would naturally be a lot of workmen thrown about the streets. At Malta we are not similarly placed as in England were we have no either industry in the ship building yard other than the Dockyard establishment.

What did all these people be before the War?— They were engaged in Commercial and Agricultural industries.

Cannot they go back to their previous occupations?—They might find work outside the Naval Establishments when the Island is in a more flourishing condition. I may say that a number of workmen are taking an opportunity to emigrate as they find it very hard to subsist on their wage at the present cost of living.

I think that workmen cannot expect to be as they were during the War.—I admit that, Sir.

(President). I understand that the grievance is this: While there are dismissals at the Dockyard, there is no likelihood of their finding employment here; is that so?—Quite up, especially as the local merchants have not the materials and the appliances to employ workmen who would be discharged from the Yard.

(Lt. Col. Brooke.) And therefore we have got the Imperial Government keeping employed thirteen thousand instead of four thousand in order that they may not be stranded. That is munificent on the part of the Government; is it not?—Yes, but at the same time what we have been asking for is a living wage as compared with the home pay, and not the extent of numbers employed.

Did you say the cost of living has gone up three times?—Yes, practically three times what it used to be before the War.

What was the pre-war wage?—On an average it was 24/- per week to mechanics and 10/- per week to labourers.

How much are these getting now?—Now, mechanics are getting 26/- plus 12/- and labourers 20/-, which would be equivalent to fifty per cent on their former wage to mechanics, and a hundred per cent to labourers.

Do you think you are in a position to give us any other information?—No, Sir.

The witness withdrew.

DOCUMENT 56

Professor Frendo's Address to *La Camera del Lavoro* in 1920

The "Labour Party Club" Strada Santa Lucia No. 127, Valletta

Speeches delivered on the occasion of the Opening of the above Club (9th. December 1920) published by the Managing Committee of same, by request of many affiliated and supporters of the Labour Party.

I.

Speech delivered in Italian by the President, Prof. P.G. FRENDO L.L.D.

Signori,

A me, come presidente del Comitato eletto dall'energico e benemerito Consorzio di Promotori della istituzione di questa Camera del Lavoro, a me è oggi conferito l'onorifico compito il dovere gradito, di dichiarare innanzi a questa adunanza di cittadini largamente rappresentativa, aperta e pubblicamente inaugurata questa Camera del Lavoro—pegno sicuro e speranza ferma di un avvenire piú prospero per la classe operaja per la cittadinanza tutta.

E' un ufficio questo, che oggi a me incombe, caro, grato, attraente; che io assolvo di tutto cuore, che io assumo con entusiasmo, perchè trattasi di disvelare al pubblico, trattasi tenere di alla fonte del battesimo civile, una istituzione che nasce, che è rivolta tutta al bene e al progredimento di una sezione importantissima della cittadinanza:—al bene dell'operajo, che significa bene pubblico, progresso, e prosperità della nostra amata Patria.

E pertanto, con la solenne formula sacra di nostra latinità, io rivolgo alla nascente Istituzione il saluto inaugurale in questi termini: "Quod bonum felix faustunque sit".

Che questo giorno sia promessa formale, promessa sicura, di pieno raggiungimento delle eccelse finalità di questo Circolo; che sia augurio fervente, voto sincero e ardente, di tempi benefici, di epoca felice, di eventi fausti e grandiosi per le sorti dei nostri sobri e probi lavoratori tutti, per i lavoratori della mano, per i lavoratori del pensiero.

Sia la presente circostanza un patto solenne tra noi tutti per una opera unita, un'opera energica, un'opera santa, indefessa, diretta tutta alla

redenzione delle nostre condizioni economiche, morali, sociali;–sia essa patto inviolabile di alleanza tra tutte le più elette energie paesane verso un miglioramento scrupolosamente e santamente nazionale;—sia essa un giuro indefettibile, una voce poderosa di profonda chiamata, un appello ardente a una riscossa sublime di sentimenti patriottici, tendente a riunire tutti i cuori e tutte le azioni in un vincolo indissulibile di solidarietà, di amor di Patria, di operosità. Sia essa l'atto più significante, l'atto più importante, l'atto più sociale, al quale possa devenire un popolo, cui sia suonata l'ora della libertà, l'ora dell'Autonomia nel regime dei propri interessi, l'ora di vivere libero sotto un vessillo libero.

Quali siano le alte idealità, cui mira questa Camera, è noto a tutti. Esse possono riassumersi in poche parole:—"cultura della classe operaja e miglioramento e tutela delle condizioni e degli interessi della stessa."

Cultura delle facoltà intellettive;—cultura del senso morale;—cultura delle sue facoltà e capacità politiche.

Istruzione, dunque tendente a raffinare nella classe operaja la capacità intellettuale per metterla in istato di potere abbracciare, con vedute sempre più larghe, lo svolgimento della vita sociale;—per metterla nella possibilità di aprire meglio e più francamente l'animo ai godimenti sereni dello spirito;—per darle il mezzo di attribuire e lasciare alla sovranità della ragione pieno predominio sulle passioni.

Istruzione rivolta alla formazione del carattere, forte e austero e integro, che è la base vera di ogni opera meritoria e duratura.

Istruzione diretta à preparare la classe operaja alle feconde lotte politiche, che sono la grande molla e la ragione principale del benessere di un popolo.

Cultura integrale, in una parola, della classe lavoratrice—che è gran parte del nostro benessere, del nostro progresso, della nostra prosperità;—della classe lavoratrice, che rappresenta la forza vergine la forza prima, la gioventú, la primavera di nostra gente; della classe lavoratrice, che é l'anima del nostro commercio, delle nostre industrie.

Questa Camera del Lavoro, in breve, mira a costituirsi, per la classe degli operaj, feconda scuola di elevamento intellettivo, morale, economico;—scuola tendente non all'ottenimento di un mero acquisto di cognizioni tali che debbano rimanere nel campo del teorico, ma mirante a rendere la classe del lavoratore coperatrice della nostra Storia, cosciente dell'arduo momento politico che il nostro Paese attraversa, apportatrice di benefici effetti.

Nè questo fine si alto della nostra Camera è una impossibilità o un paradosso. Male si appongono quelli che, col Renan e col Hartmann, affermano che l'avvento delle masse popolari alla luce della storia, alla ribalta della vita sociale, significa e importa decadenza, fine della civiltà finora goduta.

Non sembra verace quel detto di Scipio Sighele che, cioè, nelle masse il pensiero si elide e il sentimento si assomma; come non pare fondato nella verità dei fatti e della storia l'antico motto di Seneca: "ubi multitudo, ibi malum."

Alla luce della Storia, invece, le masse, le classi operaje, sempre si sono dimostrate capaci di pensiero, di sentimento e anche di genialità; e così la grande massa del popolo che è la massa degli operaj, si rivela educabile, come educabile è l'individuo, fino a un grado anche sovrano purchè sia curata amorevolmente, purchè non sia conbattuta da egoismo.

E cosi Pasquale Rossi, nel suo libro "Psicologia Collettiva", osserva, intorno a quest educabilità delle masse popolari, quanto appresso: "se"—egli dice—"se riandando i tempi malgrado un secolare servaggio, essa era stata capace d'una vita di alto e fecondo lavoro umano, se ogni giorno essa è più normale che criminosa se, quando un raggio di luce scese sino a lei, essa fu capace d'adergere il capo dalla condizione d'ilota e affermarsi nei campi fioriti dell'arte; che ne sarebbe stata mai il giorno che non un raggio, ma un fascio di luce inestinguibile, fosse piovuto su di lei?"

E questo fascio di luce, relativamente debole da prima e più brillante in avvenire, potrà piovere su di lei mercè le forze unite di questa Camera e dei suoi aderenti e sostenitori.

Della qualità e del grado di educazione, a cui la classe delle masse operaje possa ascendere, parli la storia si nostrale, che straniera.

Parli la storia di Atene, la colta; ove, mercè la cultura popolare, 1200 va fino al 1400; in cui le mercature, sorte in vallate e fiorenti in pianure e sotto il democratico regime di organiche corporazioni di arti e mestieri, erano fonte di istruzione e d'educazione, erano una specie di fererazioni operaie, un consolato della classe lavoratrice;—erano una fonte di idee democratiche e di ricchezza nazionale.

Parli la storia di Atene, la colta; ove, mercè la cultura popolare, Aristide aveva ottenuto che tutti i cittadini, senza distinzione di classe, fossero eleggibili alle pubbliche cariche.

Parli la storia contemporanea del Belgio con le sue numerose biblio-

teche popolari annesse alle grandi cooperative di consumo e la sua "Casa del Popolo", istituita per dare al popolo corsi di estetica e d'arte e con le sue scuole popolare; ove s'inculcano, con la parola e coll'esempio, i grandi principi di solidarietà, di dignità, di temperanza, di culto ai defunti, di ossequio ai grandi benefattori della società, di rispetto al tapino, di tolleranza verso le opinioni avverse, di avversione agli atti crudeli ed egoistici, di pietà, di altruismo.

Parli ancora la storia di Francia; ove l'Università popolare in Parigi si trova eretta dal 1900 con corsi popolari di legge, di medicina, di letteratura, d'arte.

Parli l'istruzione popolare contemporanea di Inghilterra; ove nella sola Università di Oxford, in un anno si tennero 1544 conferenze pubbliche; e parli ancora l'istruzione popolare che fiorisce in Germania, ove le società per tale istruzione salgono a 10 mila con 343 biblioteche; le quali in un anno temero 3,300 conferenze popolari.

Parli, infine, ancora la nostra piccola storia delle nostre più notevoli vicende nel campo dell'arte, delle lettere, dell'amor di Patria.

Non troviamo qui, forse le classi operaie, insieme alle altre classi della popolazione, sempre benemerite, spesso elevate ai gradi più alti dell' ascensione intellettuale e morale?

Non sono forse, le pagine più gloriose della nostra storia, si antica che recente, spesso illustrate da grandiosi eventi compiuti dalle masse popolari, altamente comprese del dovere verso la Patria e verso sè medesime?

E in qualunque storia, in qualunque paese, l'elevamento delle masse non è stato mai—perchè non ha potuto mai esserlo l'effetto di una legge, di un decreto, ma la conseguenza logica e naturale dell'educazione popolare.

Nella educazione, invero, sta il secreto dell'agiatezza, del benessere, dell'operaio; come, del resto, tale benessere è la garanzia più ferma e più duratura della prosperità di una nazione.

Mal la cultura di un popolo, Signori, la cultura di una classe si importante e si larga della popolazione, quale è la classe operaia, non può dare buoni frutti, non può sortire durevoli e ampi effetti, se a base non abbia un fondamento storico, non sia adatta all'ambiente.

E perchè possa ergersi su tale base solida, come la più naturale e la più omogenea, la cultura popolare deve:

(1) non discostarsi dai fondamentali principi di Religione, che è

radicata, da secoli e secoli, nell'anima del Popolo;

(2) evolversi e svilupparsi sul tronco antico della cultura nazionale;

(3) crescere e fiorire in armonia colle nostre aspirazioni fondate nel nostro pristino diritto politico.

Che questa cultura popolare non sia per ottenebrare, di fronte al nostro operaio, i fulgidi raggi di Nostra Santa Religione, è arra sicura il fatto della sua meravigliosa introduzione in queste Isole e il suo trionfo attraverso epoche di dominazioni di popoli non cristiani;—il fatto del suo nascere qui dopo sette secoli di dominazione fenicia, due secoli e più di dominazione greca, altri due secoli di dominazione cartaginese ed altri due secoli e più di dominazione romana—popoli tutti che professavano un culto empio, essenzialmente diverso da questo di nostra Religione;—il fatto ancora che da quella epoca fino a tutto oggi a nulla valsero le feroci guerre musulmane, a nulla valse la loro dominazione le quali, anzi, lasciarono la nostra Religione sempre più forte, sempre più salda;—come pure il fatto del misero fallimento totale di altri molti e molti tentativi nella medesima direzione.

Má la nostra Santa Religione rimarrà forte ancora e salda non solo perchè di fronte alla virtuè della stessa inefficaci e fiacchi caderebbero gli attacchi, ma anche perchè la cultura, che questa Camera si propone di diffondere tra la classe operaja è una cultura che ha per sua base la stessa nostra Religione, le nostre secolari convinzioni, religiose.

Lo scopo immediato della nostra istituzione è il miglioramento delle condizioni sociali del nostro operaio. Questo lo scopo diretto e prossimo Questo fine immediato, però, non è e non sara mai in conflitto col fine ultimo che è in cima ai pensieri di noi tutti—che è il bene supremo, il bene soprannaturale.

E non solo i principi di Religione che noi dobbiamo non trasandare. Ma è necessario istillare nella mente dell'operaio una educazione conforme alla nostra cultura nazionale;—cultura nazionale che ha un fondo di spiccata latinità, che è nostro vanto e decoro;—fondo di latinità che occorre sviluppare e coltivare, come quello che contiene uno spirito di comprensività, che si estende a tutto ciò che in una data civiltà vi possa essere di più elevato e di più eletto.

E questa nostra caratteristica che ci rende una piccola nazione con fattezze spiccatamente speciali che ci dà unità di idee e di sentimenti;—che ci può conservare popolo unito e prospero nell'interesse nostro e a gloria dell'Impero che ci protegge.

Nè questo basta. Al nostro popolo, alla nostra classe operaja, occorre ancora significare che anche la istruzione politica deve essere nazionale, non essendo noi un popolo nuovo;— occorre dimostrare e provare alle nostre masse che il nuovo governo responsabile, che ci è stato promesso e che si annunzia come governo veramente liberale, non ci sorprende e non ci trova impreparati;—fa uopo insegnare a queste masse che di franchigie politiche liberali noi abbiamo goduto più volte e in epoche bastantemente lunghe.

Prove ed esempi sono: la forma di governo monarchico indipendente che le Isole nostre godevano come colonie della Fenicia;—la forma liberale repubblicana sotto il dominio greco per cui i poteri della repubblica greco-maltese si distribuivano tra il senato e i magistrati e il popolo, al quale spettava la scelta del senato e dei magistrati;—il governo municipale delle Isole nostre sotto il dominio di Roma, quando il popolo, la plebe, aveva la sua parte importante ed era difesa dalla istituzione democratica del tribunato della plebe;—il governo a mezzo di adunanze pubbliche e a mezzo di legati al parlamento del Regno sotto il regime di Federico lo Svevo e del suo secretario Pier delle Vigne;—l'organamento politico a base di vita comunale, retto dal Consiglio Popolare con più di 70 membri eletti dai capi di famiglia, all'epoca della dominazione Castigliana.

E sono questi esempi storici che devono animare il popolo e prepararlo a ricevere condegnamente la grande riforma costituzionale, adatta ai tempi, come istituzione che trova il suo germe, la sua ragione d'essere in noi stessi, nella storia nostra, negli istituti politici nostrali di una volta; come regime che ci spetta, come regime a noi consentaneo, come regime reclamato dalla nostra civiltà più che millenaria.

Queste sono le basi, queste sono le idee, che costituiscono i punti cardinali, sui quali è intendimento di questa Camera che la cultura della classe operaia debba imperniarsi, debba svolgersi e fiorire. Ed è una tale cultura, sana, moderata, nazionale, che può costituire della nostra classe operaja un fattore importante di elevamento morale ed economico per se e per la Patria. E' una tale cultura che potrebbe offrire i mezzi opportuni per appagare i desideri e i bisogni che, sentiti e coltivati sotto l'egida di tale cultura, non potranno non essere conformi a ragione e alle esigenze dell'ambiente.

E quali sono questi desideri e questi bisogni della classe lavoratrice?

Già Daniele Le Grand, in tempi andati, apostolo sincero e precursore

del giure operaio, additava al pubblico le otto grandi piaghe che logoravano la salute del corpo e dell'anima del lavoratore, indicandole ad una ad una, con dolore sommo e fervido desiderio di pronto riparo, e facendole consistere:

(1) nel difetto d'istruzione;
(2) nella mancanza di educazione;
(3) nell'impiego precoce di fanciulli;
(4) nel lavoro eccessivo;
(5) nel lavoro nottuno e domenicale;
(6) nel frammischiamento dei sessi;
(7) nel difetto di igiene nelle abitazioni eperaie;
(8) nell'abbandono della vecchiaja.

Oggi i reclami degli operai non sono tanto diversi; e le principali legislazioni operaje a cominciare da quella inglese, regolano:

(1) il lavoro delle donne e dei fanciulli;
(2) gl'infortuni sul lavoro;
(3) gl'impiegati nelle industrie;
(4) le abitazioni degli operai;
(5) l'assicurazione contro malattie, vecchiaja e invalidità;
(6) Il riposo festivo;
(7) La insequestrabilità dei salari.

Questi i desideri e i bisogni degli operai in genere.

Per noi non sono necessari tutti questi provvedimenti; e quindi non si rende necessaria la considerazione di tutti questi punti della questione operaia.

Il nostro ambiente ristretto, le nostre scarse e poche industrie, le condizioni speciali in cui vive il nostro operaio, certo non reclamano si profondi e larghi regolamenti.

Le grandi officine, ove l'operaio suda sangue per arricchire il capitalista ingorde e rovinarsi anima e corpo, da noi non esistono. Da noi, quindi, non esiste ne anche dotta vera tra capitale e lavoro. Presso di noi il capitale, in principio, non è ingordo in tale misura, come lo è in grandi centri industriali esteri. Né il lavoro è cosi depresso e cosi abbrutito. Come in paesi ove esiste spietata concorrenza commerciale e avidità incontrollabile di guadagni da parte dei capitalisti a danno dei lavoratori,

Da qui la moderazione delle richieste dei nostri operai.

Ma delle giuste richieste essi vantano; e tali richieste bisogna conoscere lealmente e curare bene.

L'istruzione e l'educazione presso di noi non é grandemente scarsa. Non pochi sono gli operai che godono parecchi buoni principi elementari d'istruzione e d'educazione. Ciò che occorre è un migliore sviluppo degli stessi principi;—al che mira questa Camera e che spera di ottenere specialmente a via di conferenze popolari di indole politico-sociali.

Intorno al lavoro precoce di fanciulli e al lavoro eccessivo ci sarebbe un pò da dire. E un regolamento diretto ad evitare ciò non sarebbe fuori di luogo: parecchi fanciulli da noi vengono ammessi in impieghi, delle volte pericolosi, quando sono ancora minori di anni dodici; cioe quando non hanno ancora raggiunto il loro normale sviluppo fisico e sono ancora deficienti di sviluppo intellettivo; condizioni per cui questi fanciulli inesperti, si espongono facilmente a pericoli.

Cosi, ancora, casi di eccessività di lavoro non mancano.

Si parla, però, di eccessività di lavoro nel vero e pieno senso della parola; perchè delle ore extra di lavoro moderato non costituiscono lavoro eccessivo. Anzi un tale lavoro sarebbe di profitto all'operaio e alla società intera, specialmente in quest'epoca; in cui, scarseggiando la produzione, occorrerebbe una intensificazione di tale produzione; ciò che si ottiene mediante lavoro più prolungato e più proficuo.

Di leggi sanitarie per elevare il grado di igiene nelle abitazioni degli operai e par il riposo festivo non sembra che occorrano; perche la condizione della classe operaia in questo senso non pare censurabile.

Di leggi protettrici delle malattie, della vecchiaja e della invalidità degli operai, certo, difettiamo; ed esse sarebbero quindi opportune: in vero, in caso di operai, che si ritirino dal lavoro per malattia o vecchiaja o invalidità, fosse anche tale ritiro seguito dopo lungo scabroso e alto lavoro, a tali operai non rimane altro che una vita stentata in un ospedale o in un asilo di beneficenza, quando vi sia posto; e il padrone, che avrà goduto il frutto delle fatiche dell'operaio e che lo avrà trasformato in propria ricchezza, ne rimarrà esente da qualunque noja e da qualunque obbligo.

Una legge, rivolta ad evitare tale inconveniente e tale indecenza, sarebbe ancora bene accolta non per proteggere i soli operai manuali, ma ancora i lavoratori del pensiero, gl'impiegati tutti.

La legge sugl'intortuni è stata recente proposta al pubblico, in seguito

alla organizzazione degli operai; e il relativo disegno ne è sotte considerazione ed esame.

Intorno a una legge sui salari, la questione diventa importante e difficile davvero. E' difficile decidere, senza maturo e speciale studio, se occurra o no stabilire un *minimum* o un *maximum* di salario, o sia, invece, più conveniente lasciare regolarsi tale salario dalla legge economica della domanda e della offerta.

Ma se l'offerta è normalmente più larga della domanda, che è poca o scarsa, deve l'operaio accontentarsi di un salario al di sotto del valore della sua opera? Deve rimanere malamento retribuito e stontare cosi la vita, di fronte al padrone capitalista, che ha tutta la libertà di ottenere il massimo profitto dalla merce preparatagli dall'operajo?

La questione è difficile parecchio, e non sembra poter risolversi a base di principi generali di economia politica, senza speciale riguardo al nostro ambiente "sui generis."

Questi sarebbero, in somme linee, i desideri e i bisogni degli operai nostrali.

Altre mire, altri desideri non hanno.

Idee di socialismo o peggio, velleità di governare il paese a loro talento, volontà di dichiararsi o affermarsi padroni della situazione o sovrani del momento storico presente, non rientrano nel loro modo di pensare e di volere.

Simili idee non guidano, certo, il sorgere di questo Camera, nè guideranno mai la sua opera futura.

Conscia della grande importanza, come fattore primario, che il lavoro ha, di fronte al capitale, nella produzione della ricchezza e della prosperità nazionale;—conscia dei sacrifici e dei bisogni da cui è attorniato il lavoro;—consapevole, dall'altro canto, della necessità che ha il lavoro del capitale insieme alla natura per potere produrre ed essere strumento e fattore di produzione e agiatezza;—consapevole di tutti questi principi, di tutte queste verità;—edotta delle speciali circostanze, in cui il commercio e l'economia locale si svolgono e possono prosperare, questa Camera del Lavoro, oggi nata, si prefigge, piena e brillante di quella giovine forza gagliarda di cui sono dotate le istituzioni nascenti, si prefigge la nobile, la grande, missione di creare e mantenere tra capitale e lavoro, tra capitalisti e lavoratori, tra padroni e operai, quel regno della pace, quella intesa di concordia, quella alleanza pacifica, su cui le opere benefiche, le opere durature, la libertà dei popoli, la grandezza

delle nazioni, possono solo sorgere e fiorire; e ciò all'ombra della Fede avita, sotto l'egida dei principi della cultura nazionalista, sotto la protezione del libero vessillo britannico.

AVV. PIER G. FRENDO

DOCUMENT 57

Major Savona's address to La Camera del Lavoro in 1920

II.

Speech delivered in English by the Vice-President Maj. W. SAVONA L.L.D. M.B.E.

MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN,
FELLOW WORKMEN.

After listening to the address of our learned President, which I shall compare to a rècherchè intellectual dinner, there is hardly anything left for me to offer you unless it be a short measure of intellectual coffe.

There have been workmen's associations in Malta from time to time: their object has been mutual protection and advancement, but the workmen of Malta have never been futed as, as I take it, it is the aim of this Association to do; for it not merely one section that is being given the opportunity to unite but all sections to stand shoulder to shoulder for the common weal.

The present Association marks the beginning of a new era for our Island and if we shall all stand together, each of us undeavouring to the best of his ability to promote the spirit of comradeship and advancement which should form the basis of our Union, its usefulness will be of marked benefit to its Members.

There is a considerable difference between the Maltese workmen of say, 50 years ago, and the workman of the present day, in that previously the workman was I believe, with hardly an exception, totally illiterate which cannot be said of the present day workman. The former was nothing but a human machine without any outlook in life.

The establishment of Government Schools in the country districts has

produced a big change and there are very few children now who cannot at least read. Others can do more: but how many of those who have acquired the basis of education devote however little of their time, after having left school, to build on the foundation thus laid down? only a small proportion. How many of you have studied the technical side of your craft, whether during your apprenticeship or afterwards, but have been content—after having learned to imitiate successfully the skill of your teacher—to remain at that stage, not feeling the necessity to proceed further?

There is—and I doubt not but that you will agree with me—a great difference between a man working like a machine and a man working with intelligence. Working like a machine he goes on cutting, planing, boring, punching, hammering, all to the same size or shape or design. He can feel no interest in doing that day after day, all day long to earn his daily bread. He might as well be a four footed animal. But to an intelligent man, a man who goes on adding to his education, his work becomes not only pleasant but often leads to his material advancement for he thinks while he is working and, coupling his thoughts with those of others which he has gathered from his study of technical journals and works, forms ideas of his own which have often led to improvements in his own line or in other lines such as to induce him to patent his contrivances or improvements in his own line or in other lines such as to induce him to patent his contrivances or improvements and lives on the proceeds. How many fortunes have not thus been amassed by simple workmen!

When I used the word education I had not merely in mind the three "R" as they are called in English, i.e. reading, writing and arithmetic, but I meant education in its broad sense, which includes instruction as well as the strengthening of the powers of the body and of the mind. If you want to improve yourselves there is no limit to your doing so, except the span of life which is short. But whilst we are denizens of this planet we should not be content to remain at a low level. Even were there not here all the opportunities you all can take advantage of to advance your education you could do so independently of such help as is now obtainable from the local technical schools by forging your own way ahead.

What I think necessary in our particular case is the acquisition of languages, if only of a language, one of your own choosing, but to come

to know that language thoroughly if not for its poetry, for its prose, by which I mean its usefulness to you.

Having mastered that language you will be able to master the rest, for you will not only learn how others have striven before you but you will also keep in line with your fellow-workmen in other parts of the world. Through belonging to such a small portion of the globe, you are nevertheless a part of the whole and should be ready to do your part wherever it may suit to go But if you are not as skilled, as competent as other workmen I need not tell you that you will be left behind in the race.

DOCUMENT 58

Editorial in *The Labourer* on Maltese common concerns

LET THE PEOPLE GOVERN

How long is it that this country of ours has lacked one of the institutions which freemen have always and everywhere held to be fundamental? For a long time there has been no sufficient opportunity of counsel among the people; no place or method of talk, of exchange of opinion, of parley. Governments, in accordance with the genius of the land, which asks for action and is impatient of words, has become an institution which does its work (if any) in the privacy of committee rooms and not on the floor of the Chamber; a body that makes laws, a Legislature, not a body that debates, not a parliament.

Party conventions afford little or no opportunity for discussion: platforms are privately manufactured and adopted with a yell. It is partly because men have foregone the taking of counsel together that the unholy alliances of interest and business have been able to assume to govern for us: one conceives it to be one of the needs of the hour to restore the processes of common counsel and to substitute them for the processes of private arrangement which now determine the policies of these islands.

We must learn, as freeman, to meet, somewhere, somehow, for consultation. There must be discussion and debate, in which all freely

participate. It must be candid debate, and it must have for its honest purpose the cleaning up of questions and the establishing of the truth.

Too much political discussion is not to honest purpose, but only for the confounding of an opponent.

It is a misfortune that attends the party system, that in the heat of a campaign, partisan passions are so aroused that we cannot have frank discussion.

The idea of a political meeting shall not be for the mere occasion of whooping it up for somebody: this unreasonable denouncing of one party and equally unreasonable lauding of another. No party has even deserved quite the abuse that each party has got in turn, and nobody has ever deserved the praise that both parties have got in turn: such political meetings are wholly irrational performances: got together for the saying of that which is chiefly not so and that is known by those who hear it not to be so, but simply taken as a tonic to produce cheers. Men should get together to hear things of the deepest consequence discussed frankly in a common counsel.

It would be well for a country if the interests in public concern manifested so widely, and so sincerely, were not suffered to expire with the election! Why should political debate go on only when somebody is to be elected? Why confined to campaign time?

The chief difficulty our politics suffer is that the inside does not look as that outside: nothing clears the air and the cobwebs better than frank discussion.

No one man understands his country: though one has met some gentlemen who profess they do. One has even met business men who profess they hold in their own single comprehension the business (of even so small a country): but one is educated enough to know that they do not. Education has its useful effect, that it narrows of necessity the circles of one's egotism. No student knows his subject. The most he knows is where and how to find out the things he does not know regarding it. This is also the position of a statesman.

No statesman knows the whole country. He should make it his business to find out where he will get the information necessary to understand at least a part of it at a time when dealing with complex affairs. What we need is a universal common counsel. The man who does not talk his opinion out but plunges his head into a newspaper experiences a reaction which he calls his opinion; this is not opinion at all, but merely the

impression that a piece of news or an editorial has upon him. He cannot be said to be participating in public opinion at all until he has laid his mind alongside those of his neighbours and discussed with them the incidents of the day and tendencies of the times.

The real difficulty of our people is that we do not realize enough that the matters we discuss are matters of common concern; we talk as though we serve first this part and again that, this interest and again that interest, as if all interests were not linked together; provided we understand them and know how they are related together, and to one another. The burden that is upon the heart of every conscientious public man is the burden of the thought that perhaps he does not sufficiently comprehend the national life. For, as a matter of fact, no single man does comprehend it. The whole purpose of democracy is that we may hold counsel with one another, so as not to depend upon the understanding of one man, but to depend upon the counsel of all. For only as men be brought into counsel, and state their own needs and interests, can the general interests of a people be compounded into a policy that will be suitable to all.

One realizes that the chief use of education is to open the understanding to comprehend as many things as possible. That it is not what a man knows, for no man knows a great deal, but what a man has upon his mind to find out; it is his ability to understand things, it is connection with the great masses of men that makes him fit to speak for others, and only that.

The men who are ruling must consent to let the majority into the game, we cannot any longer permit any system to go uncorrected which is based upon private understandings and expert testimony: we cannot allow the few to continue to determine what the policy of the country is to be. It is a question of access to our own Government. There are very few of us who have any real access to the Maltese government, it ought to be a matter of common counsel; a matter of united counsel; a matter of mutual comprehension. To keep the air clear with constant discussion; make every public servant feel that he is acting in the open and under scrutiny and above all things, take these fundamental questions of your lives with which political platforms concern themselves and search them though by every process of debate: then we can have a chance to see our way clearly to every kind of social betterment: when we have freed our Government and restored freedom of enterprise, when the partnerships

between money and power are broken, which at present block at every turn. Then the way will be clear for the accomplishment of all the handsome things which platforms promise (in vain): but they must start at the point where stand the gates of liberty.

DOCUMENT 59

Evidence by Gerald Strickland before the 1931 Royal Commission

MALTA ROYAL COMMISSION, 1931

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

Second Day

Friday, April 24th, 1931

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HON. LORD ASKWITH, K.C.B. (*Chairman*).

SIR WALTER EGERTON, K.C.M.G. COUNT DE SALIS, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.

A.J. DAWE, Esq. (*Secretary*).

(2)

The Right Hon. LORD STRICKLAND, G.C.M.G., sworn, and examined.

14. (*Chairman*): Lord Strickland, you are, I think, the leader of the Constitutional Party in Malta?—Yes.

15. And you have come with your principal supporters to this Commission, and will open with evidence, being followed by some of them?—Yes.

16. You have put in a statement, which I think is signed by all of them, of a general character with regard to the views of you and of them upon the present situation?—Yes. That is signed by all the Ministers.

17. Are they all of them gentlemen who were Ministers in your Government?—They are all Ministers in my Government as at present constituted.

18. There are no others? In what month and year did you enter into office as Head of the Ministry?—At the conclusion of the general election in 1927. It would be, I think, on August 15th or 16th.

19. I think it would be convenient if this joint statement, which puts into a concise form the views on which you will dilate later, were to be read by you. Will you please read it?—Yes. It is as follows:

1. The undersigned Minister, both in their official capacity and as leaders of the Constitutional Party, beg leave to submit the following statements, containing an outline of what they propose to explain and suggest in detail before the Roay Commission.

2. Ministers emphatically disclaim any direct or indirect responsibility for the existing state of affairs or for the events which culminated in the stay of the elections on the 3rd May, 1930, and in the suspension of responsible government as established by the Constitution of 1921.

3. The present situation is the result of the following facts and circumstances, viz:—

(a) The virulent and persistent campaign of defamation against the leaders and supporters of the Constitutional Party since the very first election held under the Constitution of 1921.

20. That you have answered, I presume, from time to time?—Yes, and with a certain comparative moderation.

(b) The abuse of their powers by the Nationalist majority in the Senate for the purpose of helping the party which was in the minority in the Legislative Assembly during the last three days, in order to bring the administration to a deadlock;

(c) The systematic misuse and abuse of religion for political purposes.

4. Against such unfair methods of political warfare Ministers have been consistently firm, and the Constitutional and Labour Parties, mainly as the result of the success in administration achieved in the face of unprecedented difficulties and obstacles, were assured of a complete victory at the polls when the Pastoral Letter of the 1st May, 1930, assailed the vey basis of responsible government rendering the holding of a free election impossible.

5. It was in these circumstances that the authorities ultimately responsible for the peace, order and good government of the Island, on the advice of the Privy Council of Malta, stayed the elections already in course and subsequently, on their own responsibility, placed the Constitution of 1921 in abeyance, with the express object of saving its fundamental principles which were being directly threatened by the aforesaid Pastoral.

6. Although the undersigned and their supporters have been the chief sufferers, Ministers urge very strongly that these unfortunate events should in no

circumstances serve as a pretext for the withdrawal of responsible government or even for the diminution of the rights and liberties granted to the Maltese people by the Letters Patent of 1921.

7. The undersigned do not share fears said to be enertained in some quarters that the British Government might be led by past events to contemplate the abolition of the Constitution, but nevertheless they deem it their bounden duty to state most emphatically that reversion to Crown Colony government or the establishment of any other form of government derogatory to the political status fixed by the Constitution of 1921 would prove disastrous to the welfare and prosperity of Malta, and detrimental to the vital interests of Great Britain and of the Empire, inasmuch as it would engender discontent and provoke chronic and justifiable agitation among a peaceful population living in a fortified Island which is the keystone of the British Empire.

8. Ministers are therefore confident of the early fulfilment of the formal pledges given by the responsible Ministers in the Imperial Parliament as to the resumption of the normal functioning of the Constitution after placing it on such a basis as would prevent a recurrence of recent events. It is with the object of assisting the Royal Commission to arrive at a solution in keeping with the above-mentioned pledges, and to improve the Constitution of 1921, that the proposals herewith are submitted.

9. These proposed changes concern chiefly:—

(a) The securing of free and unfettered elections in the future;

(b) The removal from the Constitution of such defects as have been brought to light in the course of its working;

(c) The elimination of questions which have hitherto been highly controversial, but which should no longer be tolerated in this unit of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

10. With regard to (a), the proposals are intended to check abuses and secure the freedom of parliamentary election from any and every form of undue pressure and compulsion.

11. With regard to (b), the undersigned have two objects principally in view:—

(i) The reform of the Senate in a manner which while retaining its character and functions as a house of review would secure its harmonious co-operation with the house that represents the will of the majority of the people and has the power of the purse. Failure to reform the Senate would, it is feared, raise an outcry for its total abolition which the undersigned are not prepared to countenance under existing circumstances;

(ii) The amendment of the sections of the Constitution dealing with reserved matters so as to define more clearly the respective spheres of jurisdiction of the two branches of the dyarchy and render more possible and easy the co-operation of both in mixed matters.

12. Among the controversial questions in (c), the language question stands foremost.

13. This question lies at the root and is the main-cause of all the troubles that have beset the Island ever since it became evident that, in the interests of the people of Malta, English should be the chief language of the Island.

14. About the year 1880, especialy after the report of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Patrick Keenan in favour of the English language, the so-called pari passu system was devised to save the Italian language. This system, in reality, is only a cloak for the maintenance of the Italian language in a position of unchallengeable supremacy with reluctant toleration of English and total suppression of Maltese.

15. It excludes the one real national language of the people from official recognition and from the schools. It sets up a foreign language as equal with English in the administration generally and as paramount in the courts of law; it subjects the population to having their cases heard and tried in civil and criminal courts in a language which eighty per cent, of them do not understand and moreover imposes upon children of tender age who attend school for only a few years the mental strain of learning two foreign languages.

16. The inevitable consequence of this condition of affairs, and of the fact that the Nationalist politicians have in the past dragged the language question into every issue, even to the extent of stopping supplies when their language policy was not accepted by the Imperial Government, has been highly detrimental not only to the educational but also to the general progress and development of the people.

17. The fostering of Italian to the detriment of English has in fact proved greatly prejudicial especially to the working classes in their struggle to earn a living, by placing them at a disadvantage side by side with the leisured class in competition for offices and posts available locally, and more so by depriving them of the most essential of the qualifications required for migration to English-speaking countries.

18. In this manner the language question has been responsible, indirectly but to a large extent, for the greatest of existing evils, i.e., intensified over-population and difficulties in coping with the emigration question.

19. Adequate solutions of the language question have been repeatedly suggested by Royal Commissioners and by prominent statesmen in Great Britain and in Malta; but they have not heretofore met with the full response which they deserved from those responsible for the administration of the Island.

20. The result has been that the language question was allowed to become more and more acute owing to the compulsory teaching of Italian effected by means of legislation that prevented the learning of the English language unless Italian was learned at the same time.

21. The recognition of the Italian language as an official language and as a language alleged to be essential in Malta is fostering and encouraging certain

pretended claims to interference in the domestic concerns of this country by a foreign people and press, claims which are contrary to the interests of the peace, progress and future prospects of the population of these Islands.

22. The Maltese, throughout the ages, have succeeded in saving and preserving their national individuality, and they are proud of the unique historical event of their spontanous submission as a free nation to the Crown of Great Britain.

23. Maltese and not Italian is the national language of the population. Italian was at one time, but has now ceased to be, an indispensable cultural language of Malta.

24. The raising of the Maltese language to the standard of an official language, and the development of the study of the English language without any imposition of the Italian language constitute one of the main objects of the modern democratic parties of Malta.

25. A knowledge of the Maltese language as the chief characteristic of our national individuality, and of the English language as the language of the Empire to which we happily belong should, together with the necessary technical or professional attainments, be all the qualifications required for the undertaking of any career by the rising and future generations of the people of these Islands.

26. The undersigned wish to make it clear that they are not opposed to the optional learning of Italian in the higher schools and in the University of Malta.

27. They desire to emphasise, however, that the time has arrived for decreeing that the learning of the Italian language should be optional and that it should not continue to be a compulsory subject for any of the professions, for qualifying for a post in the service of the Government, or, in general, for enabling a person to follow any public career.

This is signed by all Ministers, as your lordship has already indicated.

21. I shall have to come back to some of these points, and particularly to (a) and (b), which deal with the securing of free and unfettered elections in the future and the removal from the Constitution of defects which have been brought to light?—I should be happy to deal with that in connection with a copy of the Constitution which has been printed with a page for comments and to submit one by one the suggestions covered by that paragraph (5b).

22. I think it would come more conviently as you suggest. As this document mentions in clause 13 the language question as being at the root of and the main cause of all the troubles, this document being one which is signed by all the Ministers, I should like to get on the notes, side by side with that, some paragraphs expressing your own views which are to be found in the rather lengthy documents with which you have provided me. If you will take the document numbered 5 and headed

"Over-Population", and turn to para. 8, perhaps you would read those two paragraphs?—Yes. Para 8 reads:

8. Heretofore language has been a bar to migration. The proportion of Maltese now aspiring to the new culture (viz: that form of culture which has developed in England, America and Australia) has been growing rapidly, and to-day the Maltese aspiring to British culture are the vast majority compared with those who still struggle to adhere to Italian culture.

Then para. 9:

It should be realised by all responsible for the future of Malta that a solution of the linguistic difficulties is necessary to alleviate the complication due to over-population.

23. Then perhaps you will take the document numbered 6 and headed "Language" and begin at the beginning and read the first five paragraphs?—Yes. It reads as follows:—

Herewith is attached for facility of reference a transcript of paragraphs 255–258 from the Report of the Malta Royal Commission, 1911, in reference to the language question.

2. In twenty years far-reaching changes have occurred, e.g.,

(a) Many new schools have been built and equipped, so that gratuitous education is now at hand for practically all who desire it; the accommodation will soon be adequate for compulsory education;

(b) In comparison with Italian, the English language has made great progress;

(c) A majority of the rising generation know how to read;

(d) Maltese has become firmly established as a literary language, and a conventional method of spelling with the 26 letters of the English alphabet has become popular and efficient;

(e) Only one daily political newspaper continues to be published in Italian (with a paid circulation of perhaps 600); there are to-day in Malta four English daily papers and three weekly; there are two daily newspapers in Maltese and eight weekly. No Italian paper can be financially remunerative as a newspaper enterprise. Two at least of the English dailies are commercially successful, as well as some in Maltese;

(f) In ordinary conversation and at social gatherings Italian has ceased to be heard;

(g) The Sacred Heart College for young ladies has brought up with British culture the mothers of a new generation, chosen from the best families in the Island. Pro-Italian propaganda and political intrigue has failed to extinguish this college for young ladies and it is financially strong. The English Jesuit College

for boys at St. Julian's Bay was compelled to go under by political and financial pressure;

(h) A new college for young gentlemen on the lines of an English public school (St. Edward's College) has recently been endowed by Lady Strickland, and £100,000 has been provided as capital to ensure for the best of the youths of Malta a thoroughly English education;

(i) A system of shorthand for the Maltese language has become established for the reporting of debates in Maltese and to record proceedings in court in the language of the country. This eliminates one of the remaining arguments in favour of retaining Italian in the courts of law.

24. Those that you have just read are the alterations which you say have occurred since the report of the Royal Commission of 1911?—Yes.

25. Then will you go on with No. (3)?—Yes.

3. In these circumstances longer delay in giving effect to some of the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1911 does not appear to be justified. A radical and complete solution of the language question will facilitate the settlement of other political issues.

4. A general election has fought and won on the language question and the rising tide of opinion against the continued embarrassment caused by the intrusion of the Italian language is now overwhelming.

5. The balance of historical and ethnological argument is overwhelmingly against the Italian language being the "national" language.

26. I think we can stop there, because I think that general statement is sufficient without going back into this interesting but ancient history to which you have alluded, starting a hundred thousand years ago and coming down to fifty thousand and then to Diodorus Siculus and eventually to the Royal Commission of 1836, to which I shall allude later on. I see the Commission started by being put in a lazaretto, and that it sat here at least from October 5th 1836 to March 23rd 1838, when the Colonial Office told it it was to make its report and come home. It had then two subjects upon which it had failed to make a report. I hope you do not wish us to delay for that period of time before we make a report?—I should like to add that we have improved our methods of treating Royal Commissioners! I should like to add also that the P. & O. were driven out of Malta by the quarantine regulations and by pressure of parties other than those I represent, and it is with great difficulty that they have been induced to come back to Malta under the present progressive methods of administration, and by that method you have arrived here.

27. I also notice that a hundred years ago the foreign question in Malta concerned Russia?—Yes.

28. And the Italian question a matter of Italian refugees coming here and attacking the various Governments of their own country?—Yes, and they established the Italian party in Malta and an Italian press in Malta, and they are the origin of the present tension—their traditions and their friendships and what they finally left behind them in the religious, political and educational spheres.

29. We shall hear later why you particularly wish to refer that Royal Commission, but for the moment I will go on the document No. 2. I am quite sure that this is very relevant to our inquiry but I understand you are anxious to make some statement as to your position and that of your colleagues during the suspension of the elections, and as to your position as staying in office at the present time?—On that point, with your permission, I propose to say very little. I should like merely to read that provision in the Order in Council which provides that during the provisional administration the Executive Council shall continue to function as provided by the subsidiary Letter Patent for conditions of emergency; that is to say, its advice can be set aside at any moment by referring matters to the Privy Council and also in administrative matters by applying the provisions provided in the Constitution for administrative purposes, by establishing joint committees between the Nominated Council and the Executive Council. Those provisions in the Letters Patent were divised to meet emergencies such as the present one and emergencies of a more difficult description such as war and the proximity or apprehension of war. I submit that those provisions are very effective not to say drastic and that there was no reason to except that the present emergency called for more drastic methods of administration than would be called for in the case of war or serious internal commotions, and that moreover if this Order in Council is not to be interpreted in that way it is *ultra vires*, inasmuch as the principal Letters Patent establishing the Constitution of Malta have by the covering despatch been declared by His Majesty's Government to be irrevocable except by Act of Parliament. Those Letters Patent that are irrevocable except by Act of Parliament contain a clause indicating that certain portions thereof are revocable and alterable by Letters Patent or by Order in Council. Those particular clauses that are revocable and alterable by Order in Council or by Letter Patent—and, after all, Letters Patent obtain legislative power by the Order in Council that enacts them—can be altered, but

the other clauses cannot be altered except by Act of Parliament. It has been suggested by certain experts than there are ways of interpreting the Constitution and interpreting section 68 which might render other clauses beyond those mentioned in section 68 alterable otherwise than by Act of Parliament.

30. And those are hypothetical readings?—Very.

31. What you say here is that Ordinance No. V you consider to be unnecessary, if not unconstitutional?—I consider it to be both, but at the same time one submits to it.

32. You appealed to the Colonial Office about it?—Yes.

33. And they have taken a different legal view from that which you hold?—Without alleging any reason that I have been able to understand.

34. Lawyers do not always allege reasons?—They sometimes do give reasons, but in this case they are absent altogether.

35. If you contested it as unconstitutional, I presume there were methods by which you could have tested it, perhaps eventually before the Judicial Committee?—Yes. The method by which I might have tested it would be to bring a case on some small financial issue before the Maltese courts, and then appeal to the Privy Council thereon; but that have been an aggressive action towards the administration, which would not be reconcilable with my present position; and, moreover, Ministers have decided to submit to the present interpretation, subject to submission of their reasons against it.

36. Then you did not continue your protest, which might have involved all of you resigning to show your objection, and for practical purposes you have accepted the position?—For practical purposes we have accepted the position; that is so.

37. Can we leave it at that, then?—Yes.

38. You put in this statement which you have read out?—Yes.

39. It is among these papers, which I have measured and which are $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches high?—That height was in inverse proportion to my appreciation of the value of your lordship's time. I am sure it will save time in the end.

40. I hope your colleagues are not going to produce an equal of documents?—No, my Lord. Perhaps one of them may, but not the others.

41. Among these papers you have given an index of these memoranda (one or two of which I have already dealt with partially); namely

Previous Royal Commissions, the Position of Ministers, the General Question, the Complex, Over-population, Language, Church and State, the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Legal Adviser, the Episcopal Attitude towards Self-Government, the Press, Undue Influence in the Administration of Justice, Foul Means or Fair, Italian Imperialism, the Concordat, the Padre Carta Case, Dyarchical Government, and the Action of the Archbishop's Representatives in the Senate?—Yes.

42. A pretty wide net?—Yes.

43. Hitting out all round?—I trust to see these questions settled throughly before my turn comes to be buried in the Cathedral. My life is short, and I do not want to waste what little remains of it.

44. Will you turn to Document No. 4, in which there is a general summing up of the Maltese people which, although varied in character, is a little more complimentary than that of Sir George Cornewall Lewis in 1836?—The object of this submission is to show you the contrast and the improvement.

45. Would you read paragraphs 1 and 2?—"The *causa causans* of Maltese difficulties has been described as 'The Complex'; this indicates the overlapping in Malta of races, religions, languages, "cultures", manners, customs, instruction, education, social relations, extremes of poverty and wealth, of virtue and virtue and immorality, and above all physiological conditions engendering a rapid increase of the population. This "complex" has been through a stage of rapid evolution since the Report of the Royal Commission of 1836. The transformation has been conducive to the greater happiness of the greatest number, and the improvement is likely to progress under self-government.

46. That is the present position. You go back to Sir George Cornewall Lewis in 1836 as your starting point for the purposes of a comparison. Is not what so?—Yes.

47. Under the letter of September 2nd 1837 Sir George Cornewall Lewis alludes to the complex, as he seems to see it, a hundred years ago: "It seems absurb to talk of the great difficulty of an enquiry in such a little place as Malta, but the truth is they have here a set of ancient complications set of legal and political principles from those of England. Consequently every subject requires a special study before one can feel certain that one is not making mistakes. Having undertaken the inquiry, and having finished a large part of it, I should not like to slur over the remainder for the sake of being in England a few months sooner". This

was after he had been here more than a year—"Moreover, the inquiry does not simply concern the government of 120,000 people" (That was the population apparently at that time.) "We hope that if our recommendations are acted on the moral influence of England in the Mediterranean would be increased and that her character for good faith would be raised". That was the complex as he saw it then. You now put in your complex as you see it now as a comparison?—Yes. That has been put in principally with a view to indicating the contrast and the changes in a hundred years, rather than as an attempt to deal with it per se.

48. I shall come later on the population, which appears to have been 120,000 in 1830 and to be now 225,000 approximately, subject to what the new Census may bring out?—The principle reason for that increase is the high standard of sanitation required to make this a centre for the Army and Navy. The standard of sanitation is based on very high modern scientific principles, and is extended to the whole Island. That naturally increase life, and therefore increases population.

49. There may be a great many factors involved, and I will come back to the question of over-population. Among other things, there seem to be a great many more boats and larger boats coming in here now than in 1836, and the size of the Island has not increased; but compared with certain others nations, the increase of double in a hundred years is not too remarkable?—And among the passengers so far coming to Malta Dr. Marie Stopes is not included.

50. On the other hand, Sir George Cornewall Lewis lays great stress upon over-population, and you have laid great stress in your documents upon the over-population, and upon what outlet there may be for it. Then there is the very difficult question of emigration, in view of immigration being limited by those countries to which emigrants of British races from any part of Europe have been accustomed to go?—At the present time there are no restrictions in Australia due to any political or racial reasons. The restrictions are purely limited to personal qualifications.

51. They are very strict, though, from my own knowledge?—They are strict, but we find we can produce emigrants of the type required.

52. I think possibly the best way of arriving at the beginning of some of these questions is to take the suggested alterations of the Constitution of 1921 which you would propose to have passed, in order to bring out the views upon various points which you support. Is that so?—That

would be a very ready way for getting to the construction part of our submissions.

53. Some of these proposed alterations are mere drafting alterations, which in a new draft would be required owing to lapse of time. I am alluding to the paragraphs which really relate to the first election in 1921?—That is so. The object has been to give the Colonial Office draftsmen no trouble whatever, except putting on the Grand Seal.

54. I want to get at the pith of what these alterations mean, rather than refer to the particular drafting?—May I premise the point by suggesting that the legal view adopted by my colleagues and myself is that an Act of Parliament revoking this Constitution is the correct and most expeditious procedure.

55 And giving power to His Majesty, by Ordinance or Regulation, to bring in such changes?—That, I think, would not be necessary. I do not hold the view that the whole of the prerogative is extinguished because of the form in which it was exercised when these Letters Patent were enacted. The same prerogative can be applied to-day as when these Letters Patent were sealed and made patent, notwithstanding the pledge, not depending upon any surrender of the prerogative of the King, that the withdrawal of Self-Government can only be achieved by Act of Parliament. There is a pledge over the name of Lord Milner; for which Mr. Amery is responsible, that this Constitution will not be revoked except by Act of Parliament, but that does not bind the King.

56. Let me see if I understand. Do you mean you would revoke the Constitution by a short Act of Parliament and then that the King would promulgate a new Constitution?—Yes, that is what I wish to convey.

57. Revised in the way you suggest?—Or with those modifications which the wisdom of the Commission may think preferable.

58. You are aware that an Act of Parliament in the British Parliament is an extremely difficult matter to get through upon a subject that does not particularly interest them at the moment, and that, with the pressure on Parliamentry time, it may take some considerable period?—If the Ministers like to do it, and if the Minister in charge on the Front Bench is wide awake at 11 or 12 o'clock, it can be done easily, provided there is no obstruction on the part of other groups in Parliament. I do not apprehend any obstruction on the passing of a formal Act of Parliament.

59. You will probably find more criticism in the Upper House than in the Lower, perhaps?—I hope I shall have no cause to be one of the

obstructionist if that happens, if that is the view taken.

60. I am only throwing out suggestions in an inquiring form, because I want to know exactly how you would propose that this should be done, and, if your scheme was simply a scheme of principle (I am not saying anything about the contents) and was adopted, whether, if it took some considerable time, the present situation, with the Governor ruling, taking such advice as he thinks fit and Ministers remaining in an advisory capacity, would continue?—That alternative is one which I do not think a single person in this Island of any responsibility wishes to see continued for an hour; but a preferable alternative would be to amend such portions of the Letters Patent as are amendable under section 68.

61. By Ordinance?—By Order in Council.

62. There are a great many things in your suggestions which could not be very well done by Order in Council?—They can all be done if the Law Officers at home are as elastic in interpreting section 68 as they have been in using section 68 to suppress the functions of Ministers. The modulus of elasticity applied to section 68 need not be stretched to the point to which it has been stretched to improve the Constitution very considerably.

63. Section 68 runs: "We do hereby reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors full power and authority from time to time to revoke, alter or amend section 41 and all other provisions relating to reserved matters or Imperial property and interests, and also sections 40, 56, 57 and 63 of these Our Letters Patent as to Us or Them shall seem meet". That, you say, is wide enough to enable any of the suggestions you make to be carried out?—No, I do not say that. There is a dictum of the Court of Appeal in the Constitution case of great importance. That court tried to declare all legislation by Joint Sitting invalid (of which judgment a translation has been submitted to the Commission) and there is one dictum with which I concur, although I do not concur in many of the other findings. That dictum is that what is forbidden directly cannot be achieved indirectly by administrative or legal enactments. I advised the Governor to appeal against that judgment. If an appeal had been entered before the Judical Committee it would have been open to the Governor to say that that dictum had just as much or as little weight as he chose to give it; but as an appeal has not been entered against that judgment to the Privy Council I take it that that is a dictum which may or may not be overridden, but, until it is overridden, it must be treated

with great respect. Therefore the clauses of the Constitution which are not covered by section 68 are not subject to be dealt with by Ordinance or by Order in Council or by Letters Patient. May I be allowed in future to use the phrase "Order in Council" to cover Letters Patent? Letters Patent become legal enactments by the Order in Council, not *per se*. May I read that clause again: "We do hereby reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors, full power and authority from time to time to revoke, alter or amend section 41", that is the 'reserved matters' section. That section has been altered by Letters Patent last June, and in a manner which nobody has challenged, and which, I would submit, is unchallengeable by any lawyer competent to express an opinion as far as those Letters Patent are concerned, "and all other provisions relating to reserved matters or Imperial property and interest". Of course, as section 41 can be altered, anything can be made a reserved subject, and the solution of the present difficulty can be made a reserved matter.

64. That, you say, would be an indirect way to doing it?—Yes, except that section 41 gives a direct opening. The clause says "and all other provisions relating to reserved matters or Imperial property and interest". What are Imperial interests? Is the re-establishment of costitutional government in Malta an Imperial interest? Or is it an Imperial interest to find an excuse to establish Crown Colony Government of a severe type for political reasons? We do not know what Imperial interests are, and it is no business of ours to claim to be told what they are, beyond a certain point. The section goes on "and also sections 40, 56, 57 and 63". These sections cover perhaps 80 per cent of our recommendations, and certainly they would provide methods for re-establishing the Constitution, and having an election in two or three months' time.

65. Perhaps in going through these various points, when you come to one which you think is not capable of being dealt with under section 68 you will call my attention to it. Would that be feasible?—Yes.

If a recommendation is made, with the method of doing it, you do not want it immediately brought into the Law Courts, and taking perhaps two years to settle?—On that point I would like to submit the following considerations. There have been no claims made in any Court or by any individual to challenge what is provided by Letters Patent, and I do not apprehend that there is likely to be any such rash attempt. What was been challenged is what has been provided for by Ordinances. Ordinances enacted according to section 68 and the subsidiary Letters Patent, which

provide that the Governor after the advice of the Privy Council may legislate in the name of the Nominated Council, would be very difficult to challenge. With great respect, in my opinion Ordinances enacted otherwise, by the Governor without the advice of the Privy Council, or without their being published in the name of the Nominated Council, may be mere waste paper. But for administrative reasons we are submitting to Ordinance V. If Letters Patent are passed within section 68 I am quite certain there will be no challenge of those Letters Patent in these Courts. I do not see how they can be challenged. The power of the local courts to discuss the validity of a law are strictly limited, in the first place by the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865, which renders local legislation invalid if it is irreconcilable with Imperial legislation, and secondly the local courts can challenge the validity of legislation which is irreconcilable with the provision as to reserved matters in these Letters Patent. If the local Parliament were to encroach upon reserved matter, as for example section 41, and if by some very remote chance the Law Officers in Malta, the Law Officers in England, the responsible Ministers appointed in the name of the King in Malta, and the machinery of the Colonial Office let slip, within the year provided for the Crown to intervene, some provision which was irreconcilable with the Letters Patent, I am prepared to admit from the legal point of view (purely talking technical law) that the Maltese Court could declare *pre tanto* that section null and void, or that provision or that part of a section. That is distinctly set out in the covering despatch accompanying the Constitution, sent by Lord Milner. But I do not admit that the local courts have any right or power to declare any local or Imperial legislation null and void for any other reason whatsoever. And the reason is that local courts can only make that declaration of invalidity of a law in virtue of delegated power, power delegated by the Crown specifically. The powers of local judges are established by the Maltese Laws of Organization and Civil Procedure, which give them no such power of declaring legislation void either by specific statutory provision or by any legitmate inference. Their statutory powers begin and end with the functions set out in the Laws of Organization and Civil Procedure, or embodied in these Letters Patent. Moreover, our Common Law is the Roman Law. Where our laws are silent we go to the Roman Law for reference, and we know that under the Roman Law there is no precedent whatever of any law ever being challenged or challengeable by a judge. Moreover, the continental jurisprudence of all countries governed now

by constitutional methods adheres to the principle that judges can declare laws null and void by reason of intrinsic defect in the law, but not by reasons derived from the procedure followed in their enactment, which are purely internal matters for the Houses themselves to decide, which matters nobody can challenge except in the Houses themselves, because there is no machinery by which that procedure can be challenged. In England that is the established precedent. Therefore, in respect to your question, I do not think that if the Letters Patent are altered under section 68 there is any reason for their being challenged.

67. You will say, as we go along, if you think there is anything that comes under the doctrine of (*Campbell v. Hall*), Lord Mansfield's well known judgement, as to the King giving the prerogative away and not being able to resume it without authority from Parliament, which has been interpreted by the Court of Appeal here as meaning that he cannot give it away either directly or indirectly?—I understand that the prerogative cannot be parted with by the King except by Act of Parliament, nor can it be resumed; but the King has not parted with the prerogative as reserved in section 68. How far section 68 be interpreted in a matter for the elasticity of legal conscience.

68. Section 68 is a very wide one?—Yes, but it has been interpreted beyond the breaking point of reasonableness in the enactment of Ordinance No. V.

69. With regard to interpreting it beyond the breaking point, there have been grumbles, but no effective action?—Exactly, but as a precedent of the limit of elasticity it is valuable.

70. And, for practical purposes at least, you accept it?—Exactly, but it indicates what we may do in that same direction if it is necessary.

71. I will take these Letters Patent and run through your amendments. On page 1 there are merely drafting amendments, and so is the one to section 3. Then comes a very important one about the constitution of the Senate. Let me put it shortly in this way. The Senate consists, when fully equipped with its members, of 17 members at present. You propose to retain 17 members, but you cut off one from each of the two members who represent different bodies like the clergy, the nobility, the University, the Chamber of Commerce and the Trade Union Council; and those five members that you cut off you distribute by having four members to be nominated by the Governor on the advice of the Executive Council (that would be the Government) as constituted after a general election?—Yes.

72. You take away from these bodies one member each and put those places into the hands, in effect, of the Government of the day the Governor, nominally—which would secure the Government of the day a majority in the Senate?—Yes, and secure a house of review, a body which would perform the functions of a house of review.

73. Why more so?—Because they would know that they had no political power of obstruction left in their quiver. They would be there to perform the function at present entrusted on the House of Lords, of being a house of review.

74. You mean, they would always follow what the other house said that they should do?—They would not diverge from it so often or so aggressively as is likely to happen under the present arrangement.

75. That is more than probable. What would be the effect of that—I particularly want to know this—on a joint meeting of both Houses?—The majority in favour of Government would probably be greater.

76. If the Senate was altered in the way you suggest, what would be the effect, in the event of a joint meeting of both bodies, as regards being able to carry legislation and so on?—The majority in favour of the Government would probably be enhacted by those nominated members voting with the Government.

77. At present in a Joint Sitting it is 50/50, is not it?—In a Joint Sitting the members of the Senate and the members of the Legislative Assembly sit together. There are 17 members of the Senate and 32 of the Assembly, and they elect a Chairman.

78. Has not there been difficulty in the Government of the day carrying legislation through at all, delays and so on having occurred, in a joint sitting?—Yes, but if in the Senate there were an addition to the number of members likely to vote with the Government of four nominated by the Government, the obstruction would be less.

79. Yes. That is your plan?—Yes. Moreover, the necessity for joint sittings would very seldom occur.

80. But if they did take place, you intimate that it would probably be much easier to get a thing through?—That is so.

81. That is the real meaning of that amendment?—Yes.

82. Now, how would that stand with reference to these different bodies which have the right now of nominating two members? There are two members representative of the clergy nominated by the Archbishop of Malta, and two members representative and elected by the Nobility.

How are they elected?—They are elected by a general meeting of the holders of titles of nobility recognized by the Crown. Your lordship will observe in another portion of the Letters Patent that each of these bodies is empowered to set up its own rules and regulations for the conduct of its elections, and the various bodies have got their methods. The method is communicated to the Governor, who publishes the regulations accordingly. You may be aware that when the English occupation took place the Island was conquered from the French jointly by certain allies. The Maltese nation were the first to start belligerent action against the French, and they were recognised by the other allies as co-belligerents, the others being England, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Portugal and other Powers that were then at war with Napoleon. When the French were compelled to surrender, principally through the efforts of the Maltese, who blockaded the French and prevented them having supplies from the land side, while the Portuguese and English fleets blockaded from the sea, the French decided to capitulate to an English representative.

83. And then the Maltese decided to make George III their King?—Yes, and George III was graciously pleased to guarantee the religion, rights and privileges of the Maltese. The word "privileges" was construed in the English sense with which your lordship is familiar when it applies to titles of nobility, and on that contention a Royal Commission was set up in Malta to define who were the holders of titles of nobility which should be recognised by the Crown. That Commission published a provisional list, subject to further decision by a competent court of law, and the nobles so recognised were entitled to set up their own committee of privileges, and they elect two representatives. Naturally they would feel that there was a certain curtailment of their ancient privileges, which they claim under the old *Consiglio Popolare* established by Count Roger the Norman when he captured Malta from the Saracens, when he set up a system of government almost identical with what is carried on to-day in Jersey. I went to Jersey to see how it was carried on, and the methods are those my grandfather used to talk of as having been used here.

84. Jersey prides itself on being subject to the laws of King John?—It prides itself on having conquered England! We in Malta pride ourselves on having been co-belligerants, and therefore on having our ancient privileges guaranted, and from that point of view the nobles who had a hereditary position in the *Consiglio Popolare* might feel they ought not to

have only representative in the Senate; but it is submitted now in this draft that these privileges are maintained by the simulacrum—if you like so to describe it—of still having one representative. As to the Church, the Archbishop Bishop has sometimes found it difficult to get persons to accept the office, and there have been periods when there have been no representatives of the Church. There is considerable diversity of opinion as to whether it is desirable that they should continue. Personally, I feel that as the Established Church is represented in the House of Lords in England by the Bishops, and as, from my individual point of view, I have always fought for the nobles of Malta being represented on a hereditary principle in our Parliament, so collaterally it has been necessary for me to support the representation of the Church *ex officio* for the same reasons. I should therefore be sorry in a way if the ecclesiastics were entirely eliminated. Whether they have one or two representatives is, I suggest, in their case purely a matter of degree and not of fundamental importance. They are there to raise their voice and get the support of the Imperial Government if religion is in any way really attacked.

85. So far as the representation of the clergy in the Senate or in the Legislative Assembly is concerned, a great deal might depend upon the Roman Catholic Church itself?—Yes.

86. They have certain privileges in this Island which are of a very strong character?—Yes. You will also observe there is a suggestion that certain clerics should no longer have a vote.

87. That concerns the Legislature. I will leave that for the moment because we are now dealing with the Senate?—But in order to justify that it is desirable to keep the ecclesiastical representation in the Senate; that is why I refer to it in this connection.

88. Then there are two members representative of and elected by the Trade Union Council. That Council appears to consist of certain bodies which are recognised by the Governor?—As recognised by the Governor originally, but now the recognition is dependent on what is established on what is established by law.

89. Can the Governor put them on at any time, or must they be registered?—He cannot do so now; the law has regulated that. The Governor's powers of recognition are, I submit, circumscribed by Statute.

90. What Statute is that? What is the date of it?—An Act of Parliament we passed: the Trade Union Act.

91. Is that Ordinance XXI?—No, it is not an Ordinance; there are two Acts which were passed by the last Parliament.

92. You cannot give me the reference?—No, not from memory. They were passed quite recently.

93. What is the effect of those Acts? Have the new bodies who may wish to be constituents or be suitable bodies to be constituents to be registered, or what? Yes—. A registrar of trade unions is appointed who is the registrar of the superior courts, and he has to be satisfied that the members are *bona fide* members and that the union corresponds with the requirements of the law.

94. Does the registration take place at any particular time of the year?—At the beginning of every year, and of course if an election takes place in the interval the last Register has to apply.

95. If the election began to-morrow, any body which was not registered at the beginning of this year could not come forward as a constituent?—Not in normal conditions, but at the present moment the Governor would be ill-advised to begin an election until the Register, which is all but ready to be published, is published. The trade union Register for this year has been sent in for publication.

96. People had an opportunity of putting themselves on the Register at the beginning of this year?—Yes, and their time for sending in claims is finished, and the registrar has reported, or ought to have reported. I submit to you that all our electoral Registers are revised continuously. Our ordinary Register for elections to the Lower House is changed every month. There is a permanent registrar and a permanent office for keeping the Register up to date from month to month, and it is perhaps misleading to refer to anything as a "new" Register; there is an established permanent Register of electors, kept up to date from month to month by a permanent staff. If an election intervenes, last month's Register would be worked on.

97. You say the election of the Senate in the manner you propose would make it much easier for the Government of the day to carry on without obstruction and objection by the Senate?—Yes.

98. I see from section 11 that "Every Senate shall continue for six years from the first meeting thereof, and no longer, but may be sooner dissolved by the Governor"?—Yes.

99. You would add this provision: "Provided however that the Nominated Members shall hold their seats in the Senate until the

Legislative Assembly is dissolved or expires by effluxion of time and no longer"?—Yes. That means that if another party wins the election they can put in their own nominees

100. Could they? The Legislative Assembly lasts for three years; would not the Nominated Members continue in office for six years?—These new Nominated Members would go out, as it says here, on dissolution or on the expiration of the three years.

101. You would get rid of them, so that they would not remain to hamper the next Government; otherwise you would get exactly the impasse you get at present?—Yes.

102. The new Government coming in, if of a different party, would then have the power of advising the Governor to nominate four members of the Senate?—The position is exacatly as set out by your lordship.

103. Those would be in the place of those who had gone out. Those are your suggestions with regard to the revision of the Senate?—And the quorum is altered.

104. Where is that referred to?—We find the quorum in these Letters Patent for both Houses is out of proportion to what obtains in England, and the large size of the quorum offers opportunities for obstruction.

(*Chairman*): Which paragraph is that?

(*Count de Salis*): Paragraph 17, page 8.

105. (*Chairman*): We shall come to that later on; I am dealing now with the constitution of the Senate and not with the working of it. In clause 7, page 5, you deal with the qualification of voters for the election of members?—Yes.

106. At present it reads: "Any person (save as hereinafter expected) who is a male British subject of the age of 21 years and upwards, and" who is certified in the case of the Nobility in such and such a way, and in the case of Graduates in such and such a way, and in the case of the Chamber of Commerce in such and such a way, and in the case of the Trade Union Council in such and such a way, shall be entitled to vote. Now, instead of allowing any "male British subject of the age of 21 years and upwards" to be eligible, you wish to make it read "Any person . . . who is a male British born subject of British born parents"?—Yes. That is a very important suggestion due to a fundamental diversity between the English system of law and the continental system of law. As your lordship is of course aware, in England nationality depends on the place of birth, on being born on English soil, subject to the Naturali-

zation Act of 1870 which gives a right at 21 for a person of foreign origin to choose his nationality. According to the Italian Code, however, the son of a citizen is a citizen, and therefore there are people in Malta with a double nationality. There are people in Malta whose fathers were Italian, and the offspring of an Italian parent cannot divest himself of his Italian nationality and therefore of liability to serve in the military forces of Italy.

107. I think the same rule applies to a person born in Russia. You are not allowed to divest yourself of Russian nationality, and the same applies in the case of some other countries?—Yes.

108. What would be the effect of this alteration on certain types of people? You say "British born parents", which means both parents. Therefore the son of a British father—a Maltese father—and a Frenchwoman would be ineligible?—Yes, and in view of the fact that Malta is what it is, a fortress with very large forces of the Army and Navy, and in view of the fact that up to a certain stage in our history, as you are well aware, the undesirables of one sex were never Maltese—they were never Maltese until very recently—it is very undesirable that their children should have certain privileges; one or two generations might be allowed to elapse first. Moreover, Malta is a place of refuge for people who leave Italy for debt or for other reasons for which the Italian police want them, or because they want to escape the incidence of ecclesiastical discipline in Italy.

109. But under this if a Maltese man married an Italian woman his children would not have any rights at all in Malta?—He must wait a generation; that is the suggestion.

110. Neither could a person who was naturalized?—That is the suggestion. They gain such enormous advantages by coming under the English Crown that it is vey little to ask them to put up with. We are too prone to give away the rights and privileges of our Empire to everybody and not get anything in exchange, and, this being a great fortress, it is submitted that this provision should be adopted.

111. When could the son of a naturalized person acquire a vote?—in two generations.

112. (*Count de Salis*): Two generations?—Both parents have to be British. It depends how you count generations.

113. (*Chairman*): Both parents have to be British. A man may be naturalized, neither of his parents being British. Possibly he may come

from Greece. He is naturalized here, but his son is not entitled to a vote?—No. He could get a vote in England, but not in this fortress.

114. Would his grandson get a vote?—He ought to, certainly.

115. The son of a naturalized person would be British, but he must not marry a Greek; he must marry somebody who is also British, or else in perpetuity he may keep his descendants without a vote in Malta?—We feel under self-government we are as entitled to set up these restrictions against competition from outsiders as any other country is entitled to adopt restrictions. We are the most over-populated place in the civilized World, and we do not want outsiders coming in to compete with us for our bread and butter, and this is a way to protect ourselves. It may be too much or too little.

116. It seems to me a rather drastic alteration. The qualification of voters for the election of general members is dealt with in section 7, subsection (2)?—Yes.

117. I will read it as it stands, without your amendment. "Any person (save a hereinafter excepted) who is a male British subject of the age of 21 years and upwards who is able to read and write and who is, in his own right or in right of his wife" entitled to certain property or pays a certain annual rent and so on, "shall be entitled to be registered as a voter". You have altered the "and" to "or"?—Yes.

118. And instead of making a person entitled to a vote when he is 21 years of age and upwards and can read and write *and* has also certain property, you would first of all give the vote to anyone over 21 who can read and write *or* to anyone with certain property?—That is the point.

119. A man may have property and not be able to read and write, but he will have a vote?—Yes.

120. A man who can read and write and has not a penny, if over 21 can have a vote: is that it?—Yes. The suggestion is to meet the views of those who say, with a great deal of weight, that the Senate should be more democratic than it is. I feel very strongly that the Senate should not be abolished but should be preserved, and any concession in the direction of diminishing opposition to a prolongation of its life recommends itself. There are Maltese of great wealth, some of them with tens of thousands of pounds lying in the bank, who cannot read or write.

121. Who is to decide whether a man can read and write?—His own statement, and he is liable to punishment if he makes a false statement to the electoral registrar.

122. There was great trouble at one time in British history over "Benefit of Clergy", which turned on whether a person could read and write?—We impose penalties or sanctions for false declarations which are sufficient.

123. Anyway, I have clearly what your proposal is?—Yes.

124. Then, in addition to the present persons who can be on this register, you add an addition to this clause. The section says at present: "Provided that no person on full pay belonging to Our naval, military or air forces maintained by annual vote of the Parliament of Our United Kingdom shall, unless possessing a legal domicile in Malta, be entitled to be registered as a voter or to vote". That is to say, at present anyone in the Navy, Army or Air Force must be domiciled in Malta, or else he cannot have a vote. You propose to add to that: "or unless possessing in his own right or in the right of his wife property in Malta of the annual value of twenty pounds a year or has had an interest in a tenancy of the same value for one year before the registration"?—Yes. There are many reasons for this amendment, which I beg leave to explain somewhat fully. In the first place, all taxation in Malta is indirect except succession duties, and as a large amount of this indirect taxation is contributed by the English or other Britishers in Malta it seems contrary to democratic principles to exclude them from the vote. It seems also contrary to the Imperial instinct and to our claims to equality of treatment in other parts of the Empire that we should have facilities for being put on the Register in England which are denied to English people here. It also does not seem proper that we are to legislate here in Malta for the rights and liberties and property of English people, for the rights of their wives and their estates, and at the same time place them under a disability by their having no representation whatever in Parliament except on the chance of having married a Maltese heiress. Those are anomalies.

125. Which you wish to alter by this?—Yes.

126. And this particular one—there is another one later on for the Legislative Assembly—is for voting for the Senate?—Yes. This anomaly is to be remedied by this, but it is remedied only in a very qualified degree. Another technical legal reason for this is that we have passed a Rent Restriction Act. It is a temporary Act which contains that very disastrous principle of dividing interest in property by creating a tenant right in property; and if we have established a property qualification as regards the fee simple it seems logical that there should also be a

qualification based on the possession of a tenancy. If a Britisher here in the Services pays rent for a house, he has an interest in land and in property which is not quite the same as the possession of a fee simple, but it would seem rather odd that if he marries a woman having a house he has a vote, but if he marries a woman who has a tenancy which is more or less permanent he does not have the same rights. That is a technical reason. Moreover, I feel, rightly or wrongly, that a great many concessions were made in the drafting of this Constitution by Mr. Amery to appease every party and to have this Constitution accepted in Malta. The draft of an Irish Constitution had just been rejected in the United Kingdom, and things appear in this Constitution which from a lawyer's point of view are far from edifying, and there are odd concessions to the anti-British party and to anti-British sentiment and perhaps to hyper-clerical sentiment in this Constitution. This exclusion from the vote of members of the Army and Navy who have a house in Malta and who pay taxes just the same as we do has appeared to me to be illogical and illegal in the sense that it is against the principles of constitutional equality.

127. Would a Maltese going to England get a vote there unless he was domiciled?—I have not studied the English law recently, or the recent developments of the franchise in England. Like your lordship I have been disfranchised by being sent to the Upper House, but I believe my daughter has been put on the Register for Westermorland. I do not know why.

128. Because of her sex?—That cannot be the only reason. My daughter is a Maltese by birth and domicile. Perhaps you will excuse me from discussing the English system.

129. Has there been any demand for the vote from the Army and Navy and Air Force people?—There have been complaints that they have to submit to Maltese Ministers and Maltese law, and appeals to the Governor that they should have preferential treatment and redress, which are certainly very disconcerting. I have heard some English people suggesting they should have representation in the Senate.

130. You would not have a place for them?—Nor would there be a place for them there that is right constitutionally. They have to get into Parliament by exercising the franchise.

131. Now sub-section 4. "Trade Union Council means a Council or other body recognized by the Governor as representing the trade

unions". You propose to put in after the word "body", "as established by any law in force at the date of these Letters Patent"?—Yes.

132. Surely that is a curious wording. That crystallizes the Trade Union Council for ever. It take away the power of the Governor to add?—All the powers of the Govenor under these Letters Patent are subject to alteration by legislation. We have legislation authorizing its own amendment, and the legislation has been accepted by the Governor.

133. But you do not go to say "as established by any law in force at the date of these Letters Patent, or which may become the law"?—It is intended that that should be understood. There is a further object in this diction. You will remember that the Court of Appeal has declared a large number of our laws null and void, among them the electoral law. It is therefore advisable, when a new election takes place, that there should be no opening for again raising the plea of invalidity of the law before our Courts here.

134. That is on the point of validating laws which have been passed; it is not on the point I am on, of crystallizing it for ever. You say you do not mean to crystallize it for every?—No, but we did intend to use phrasology which would prevent elections for the Trade Union Council being challenged on the declaration of the Court of Appeal that that legislation is null and void.

135. In section 8, sub-section (3), you cut out "Regulations to be prescribed by the Gvernor as soon as practicable after the date of the commencement of these Letters Patent". That would apply to 1921?—Yes.

136. You cut out the first election?—Yes.

137. You put in the Electoral Act of 1929 as the starting point, "and by such Regulations as may be made by the Governor by Proclamation in accordance with these Letters Patent?—There is section 63 which gives the Governor power for one year by proclamation to alter anything in the Letter Patent, with the approval of the Secretary of State; that is necessary for machinery purposes. It might be remotely possible that power might have to be used. It is merely a finesse of drafting which is of no substantial importance.

138. But the draft goes still further, unless you mean alteration "from time to time", because in line 1 of sub-section (3) you cut out the word "first", and you make this electoral law of 1929 apply to all the future?—That is the case. We do not know what the Commission may advise, or

what H.M. Government may enact with reference to the change in the constitution of the Senate. It has been deemed advisable to give certain powers to the Governor to deal with doubts by Regulation.

139. I notice that in section 15 (1) you retain the word "first"?—If that is so, it is a mistake.

140. If it means the next election there, that deals with the first elections, and section 8 deals with the first elections; but in section 8 you have cut out the word "first" and made it last for ever?—Yes. It depends on whether the constitution of the Senate is altered in a way which makes it necessary to make regulations.

141. Perhaps you would look at these two clauses, and see whether you intend to cut out the word "first" in one, and leave it in "the other?—May I bring to your notice that proportional representation is compulsory in the case of the Senate as regards the members elected by the general electors of the Senate, whereas there is no proportional representation in election by the classes. If you were to retain two members for the classes, I think proportional representation should be established for the classes. These are contingent details which depend upon the ultimate decision of H.M. Government.

142. If you crystallize it you make it part of the Constitution, and everything is fixed?—I understand the difficulty. May I be allowed to give it careful atention?

143. Yes, if you will. Dealing with your proposed amendment to section 20, you say "Subject to such legislation as may be passed by Parliament after the first election held under these Letters Patent". You put it in there?—Yes. I understand it ought to be put it in in both places.

144. I am taking what you have got here. I now come to section 10. You propose a quorum of six in the Senate, instead of eight?—In the House of Commons the quorum is 40 out of 600 odd members. In the House of Lords I do not know whether there is an established quorum; I believe there is not. So large a quorum as 50 per cent offers opportunities for obstruction in the Senate. Advantage has been taken by members to absent themselves to defeat the possibility of a quorum.

145. That we will consider. That could be altered by Letters Patent, could it not; or would it require an English Act of Parliament?—It would, according to the interpretation of section 68 by the Court of Appeal.

146. Have we passed any other clauses that can be altered?—The

answer requires careful reflection, so that perhaps you will let me send in a seperate memorandum in regard to that.

147. That is on the point about which I asked you some time ago?—Yes.

148. I have dealt with the question of the prosponed amendment to section 11, and with the proposed amendment to section 14 (1). On subsection (2), which is the qualification of voters for the legislature, you propose to add, with regard to the Army, Navy and Air forces, "or unless he possesses in his own right or in the right of his wife immovable property in Malta of the clear annual value of five pounds per annum or has had an interest in the tenancy of the same value for one year before registration". That is a very low franchise, is it not?—It is higher than the franchise enjoyed by the domiciled Maltese. A Maltese who has £5 a year need not know how to read and write in order to exercise the vote. If he knows how to read and write he need not have any property, or and lodger's franchise, or anything else.

149. He need not have any property if your suggestion is valid, but at present he has got to have some property?—No.

150. Surely; that was what we were dealing with before, to alter "and" to "or". That is for the Senate, of course?—The Senate is established on a property qualification of £20. The Assembly is practically manhood suffrage.

151. With regard to section 16, Quorum for the Legislative Assembly, you propose 12 instead of 16?—It is just possible that those two questions might be dealt with the internal regulations. May I be allowed to defer dealing with this matter until after consulation?

152. In section 20 you do put in the power of alteration. On section 23, as regards the registration of voters, you propose to add: "and no person shall be qualified to be registered as above in relation to ownership of property or the receipt of rent unless a signed declaration has been transmitted to the electoral registrar specifying the title and describing the property in regard to which the claim is based." Surely that is a local matter which can be dealt with by the local Legislature if they thought it practicable? You do not want it in the Letters Patent? Except that the giving of the franchise in more than one district arises from the Letters Patent, and franchise in more than one district is obtained by having property in several districts. There are people in Malta who have property in every district. In due course they die; and they may have

two or three children who like to see their names on the Register under several districts because it looks as they have ample property here and there. Sometimes they do not know if there amount of property, or their rents, entitle them to be on the register or not, and they are apt to stretch a point. If the stretching of a point were to bring them within the ambit of the penalty of making a false declaration they would be more careful. It is a minor point.

153. It seems to me it would be a matter for the local Legislature if they thought it was a good thing. In section 29, after the words "The Governor may" you propose to insert "notwithstanding anything hereinafter contained, with the advice of the Privy Council of Malta" and then go on "transmit by Message"?—This begins the survey of difficulties arising from interpretations of dyarchical powers, upon which interpretations have been adopted which to my mind are indicative of a tendency to stretch the same against the local interpretation to an extent which is by no means conducive to smooth working. For instance, the Letters Patent provide that if any Bill chances to be passed which encroaches on reserved matters, that Bill may be invalid *pro tanto*, but otherwise Bills can be discussed. Certain Bills are proposed by the Government that may remotely affect some roads, or some interest of the military or navy. Under this section 29 Ministers submitted that the difficulties as to whether a Bill contained a remote reference to a reserved matter or no might be got over by the Governor transmitting the Bill to Parliament to be considered and reserving his power to say whether it did or did not encroach on reserved matters afterwards; but the Law Officers took the view that if it were thought there was a remote touching on reserved matters the Governor's power here to transmit any Bill did not apply.

154. Of what does the Privy Council consist?—Of the Nominated Council and Ministers sitting together.

155. How many of each?—Ministers, seven. The Nominated Council consists of the Legal Adviser, the Admiral of the Dockyard, and the Senior Military Officer; and the Governor has power not to take the advice of the majority. So whenever the Governor brings a matter before the privy Council, for all practical purposes ordinary constitutional government may be suspended, and he becomes an autocrat. These provisions are in the emergency clauses of the Constitution.

156. Have Ministers got a majority upon the Privy Council?—Yes, but

it is only a consultative majority. The majority there has the value of compelling the Governor to report to the Secretary of State in case he is acting against the majority. Other clauses of the Constitution that appear further on have been interpreted so as to restrict the Governor's power to transmit any Bill. Here is it proposed to get over the difficulties between lawyers by increasing the Governor's power, and saying that, if the Governor thinks fit, he may put in before Parliament for discussion a Bill which may or may not touch remotely on reserved matters.

157. Do you say that this increases the Governor's powers?—Undoubtedly.

158. I should have thought it limited them?—It increases them against the Legal Adviser interfering.

159. That is quiet a different matter. This would mean he could not do it except under the advice of the Privy Council of Malta?—The Legal Adviser is in the Privy Council, and if he obstructs in the Privy Council he has to give his reasons, and submit to be shown up before the Governor for obstruction. It is a machinery clause really which is of no great importance, but it cuts short a dispute we have had with the Law Officers in the Colonial Office where we think they supported the local Legal Adviser, right or wrong, on the principle of always doing it and finding some reason for doing it.

160. We shall come to that when you criticise the Legal Adviser and the Governor?—It tends to smooth working.

161. On section 30 (3), disqualification of voters, you propose to add as a new sub-section "If consequent upon any obligation which he has assumed, or which devolves or may devolve upon him by reason of his profession or status, he is bound to obey superior orders, or is otherwise not free in the exercise of the franchise"?—This is to disqualify certain inmates in monasteries who have to vote by order and who not exercise their own judgment as to how they are to vote. We have seen in England chars-a-bancs full of nuns going to vote for or against the Government, and here, of course, monks could be ordered or told how they are to vote. When Mr. Amery made up his mind that the Constitution should accepted in Malta, before its enactment, a vote was given to all in order to obtain the assent of all the ecclesiastical elements, monks, friars, and novices in convents.

162. This is a very important clause as worded, "bound to obey superior orders, or is otherwise not free in the exercise of the franchise".

Who is to decide that?—Their own consciences.

163. People do not always vote according to conscience?—Their conscience as to getting put on the register.

164. This would disqualify civil servants?—No, civil servants are not under orders as to how they should vote.

165. They are not free in the exercise of the franchise. I should say?—I consider civil servants are quite free.

166. Would this apply to all priests, or only to monastics?—Only to those who have taken vows or implicit obedience to a superior.

167. (*Count de Salis*): What about naval and military men?—They can vote as they like, but their ship can be ordered out to sea. The monastic vows are voluntary poverty, perpetual chastity and entire obedience.

168. (*Chairman*): It would not come under poverty or chastity, but it would come under entire obedience. Would it apply only to the monastics, men in orders, and to the nuns?—Perhaps that is a question in which some lawyers might discover some flaw. I do not see it myself. There is no female franchise as yet in Malta.

169. Would it apply to priests generally?—No, I do not think so, not as I understand Canon Law.

170. Section 32 as worded at present provides that a member of the Senate or Legislative Assembly shall vacate his seat if absent without leave for two calendar months. You suggest three months instead of two. What is the reason for that?—These are days when travel is easy, and when claims to go on leave on the part of Governors and functionaries are greater than before, I think it is to severe to suggest that two months' absence should involve the forfeiture of a seat. Three months is not too long to be away in a Parliament of 32.

171. That would have to be altered in the Letters Patent, because at present two months is in the Constitution. It is comparatively small matter, but two months, however inconvenient, must remain until it is altered to something else?—The present wording was taken from the provision in the constitution of the ancient Council of Government, which had only 8 members; be it noted that in the Imperial Parliament some members may be away for the whole year and nobody says anything. As the number of members of a parliament is increased, so there should be greater elasticity with regard to these small details; but this is, as you suggest, too small a matter to be allowed to hamper any greater measure.

172. Sub-section (2) of that clause deals with disqualification, and says "shall for the period of one month be a party to any contract with the Maltese Government for or on account of the public service". You propose to add: "provided, however, that this disqualification shall not apply to the case of the shareholder in a Company duly constituted by Law and of which the shares have been open to public subscription having contracts with the Government unless the shareholder possesses more than one quarter of the capital of the Company?"—This drafting may perhaps be described as tentative; it is an attempt to overcome a difficulty in Malta which has been the subject of recent debate in the House of Commons and which was the subject of greater attention when the Company legislation was codified and partnership was a factor different from that of being a shareholder. At present there are important persons in Malta who would be most desirable in Parliament but who cannot stand because they have contrasts with the Government.

173. As having shares in a Company?—Or under contract to run the mails or build a house or to repair roads. It is perhaps desirable that when it is a question of a sole partner or two or three partners the strict law should continue to apply, but if the system of having Limited Companies is extended in Malta...

174. Are there Limited Joint Stock Companies here?—There are Companies practically on the same basis, like the Anglo-Maltese Bank, the *Banco di Malta* and the Cassar Steamship Company.

175. Are the liabilities limited in the same way that the liabilities of shareholders are limited?—Practically. There is some difference in the legislation, which I do not want to explain just now, but it is on similar and parallel lines. The suggestion is there should be a defined point where the liability to lose one's seat would not apply. For instance, take newspapers. Newspaper owners, if they were to have a contract to print advertisements for the Government on a regular schedule, might, under this clause as it now stands, be disqualified, which means they could not have any contracts whatever with the Government and could not publish any standing advertisements.

176. The clause may of course require amendment, but is not it a matter for local consideration? Could not a local Act do it?—Yes, undoubtedly. It is not of great importance.

177. An Act had to be passed in England a short time ago because a Member of Parliament turned a public house in a post office and leased

it for a nominal rent to the Postmaster General. It was found if a person gave a way-leave for a telephone and got a shilling a year from the Government authorities, he was contracting with the Government?—There was a question about the Company in which Mr. Neville Chamberlain is an important factor providing fittings for ships. He was attacked very ruthlessly in the House of Commons, and the defence did not seem to contain all the elements necessary to make it strictly admissible to a lawyer.

178. Sub-section (4) says: "shall do, concur in or adopt any act whereby he may become the subject or citizen of any such State or Power" that is a foreign State or Power?—Yes.

179. You propose to add "or shall receive payment for services under the Public Administration of a Foreign Power or hold office thereunder, or who has been or may be liable to the service of a foreign country; or"?—Yes. The question arose in the old Council of Government as to whether a person who was a foreign Consul was eligible to sit in the Executive Council of Malta, and the ruling was that he was not eligible. Then in the first Parliament the Premier, Mr. Howard, was Consul for Japan, at that time one of the Naval Powers in competition with us for the command of the sea, and it was contented that the Governor was not justified in making him a member of the Executive Council. The matter was referred to Mr. Secretary Churchill, who decided that the Governor ought not to have a foreign Consul in the Executive Council, and thereupon Mr. Howard resigned the post of Consul for Japan and passed Consular matters on to his son. Some of these foreign Consuls are nominally not paid.

180. You would cover them whether paid or not, because you say "or hold office thereunder, or who has been or may be liable to the service of a foreign country"?—That is to meet the case of people who evade the law, when remunerated indirectly, by saying they are not paid.

181. You have referred to people with dual nationality. If a man was an Italian and cannot divest himself of his Italian nationality, he would be subject to conscription in Italy and he would be excluded under this?—Yes, and if such a man were found on board an Italian steamer out of the three mile limit or in Italy he might be dealt with by the Italian authorities. We have had such cases.

182. Would not this be a matter which could be dealt with by the local by legislature?—With very little hope of passing it.

183. If the country wanted it?—I beg leave to reserve my opinion on that point. I should like to consider it.

184. In (5) you want to put in the Treasury Counsel. That is not for us, and I think it is a tautology really, because it is the Department of Justice?—The office of Treasury Counsel has been created since the Letters Patent were drafted.

185. We now come to the vacation of seats. At present the clause runs: "All questions which may arise as to the right of any person to be or remain a Member of the Senate or Legislative Assembly shall be referred to and decided by Our Court of Appeal in Malta". You propose to cut that out altogether?—Yes.

186. And this is what you are suggesting: "All questions that may arise as to the right of any person to be or to remain a member of the Senate or of the Legislative Assembly shall be referred to and decided by a Judge of His Majesty's Superior Courts in Malta selected by the Governor who shall also appoint as assessors having equal jurisdiction two members of the English Bar, and election petitions and all members under this section shall be heard and decided as provided by law in England for similar cases. If the election of any candidate has been invalidated on whatsoever grounds the papers recording the votes shall be recounted as if the votes recorded thereon for the disqualified candidate had not been recorded in his favour. In the election petition is based on the grounds of ecclesiastical intervention or any other form of religious or spiritual pressure or influence an appeal shall lie against the decision thereon to the Judical Committee of our Privy Council". Now, that is a very big change?—Yes.

187. I think the second clause is entirely a local matter, namely "If the election of any candidate has been invalidated on whatsoever grounds the papers recording the votes shall be recounted as if the votes recorded thereon for the disqualified candidate had not been recorded in his favour". That would be the natural way of dealing with the proportional representation system?—Yes, it is a difficulty under proportional representation, and if this clause is altered it would be advisable to meet it. It might be provided for under the powers of the Governor to make regulations.

188. Your object is to get a perfectly impartial hearing of election petitions?—Yes, and further to deal with the fact that under the Maltese law bribery is punished by imprisonment or by fine and so are other

breaches of the electoral law, but there is no provision for the claming of the seat by the person prejudiced by bribery or corruption. There is a feeling in certain quarters that if a certain party were to sail at all close to the wind by bribery and corruption they would be hauled up before the courts and be dealt most mercilessly, whereas if other parties were hauled up for bribery and corruption they would have every member of the Bar, paid or unpaid, in every case raising points of procedure and difficulties to prolong the case indefinitely, apart from any expression of opinion as to the mentality of the court. All the machinery of the law would be directed to get them off if they belonged to one party, whereas all the machinery of the law would be concentrated on getting them punished if they belonged to another party, because the desire to maintain the Italian language in the courts in very strong and has assumed, in fact, fanatical proportions. Just as in Australia the policy of a "White Australia" has reached the stage of being a quasi-religion, so the preservation of the Italian language in the courts here has the psychological power of a quasi-religion with the majority of the members of the Bar and of the legal profession generally in Malta.

189. There are two points connoted in this. One is that the elected member has money behind him to fight in every legal way he can the objections to his sitting, and the second mentality of the court, or the impartiality of the court, which tries him?—Apart entirely from the impartiality of the court, the machinery of the court is worked by the lawyers.

190. Indirectly you imply both?—Undoubtedly.

191. And for this purpose, as I read this addition, you introduce in one sentence the law of England in similar cases. Now, the law of England is that you are unseated for undue clerical influence. Suppose a man was unseated here upon a document that was addressed to the Roman Catholic Church as a whole, and you had this system of recounting the votes, would not the next man be of the same party?—The next man would not get the seat.

192. Why not? Because the law does not provide he shall get it; it only provides that if there is bribery or corruption there should be a penalty on the ecclesiastics who have used undue pressure, and that the penalty would not be applied by any Maltese court. Undue influence is punishable.

193. I do not quite follow the distinction. What would happen, then,

supposing the election of a candidate is invalidated and the votes are recounted "as if the votes recorded for the disqualified candidate had not been recorded in his favour". You have the list system here; would not the next man on the list get in?—As I understand the law, if there is undue clerical pressure the persons exercising that undue pressure would be punishable. In England, besides asking for the invalidation of an election, the seat can be claimed. It cannot be claimed here.

194. What happens when the votes are recounted?—There is a re-count of the votes on the first occasion of a vacancy, and if there is half a quota recorded in favour of a candidate who received votes at the first election he may be declared elected; but otherwise after the papers have been counted once, the vacancies thereafter are filled up by co-option. It is a very difficult problem to approach, and it would be very rash for anyone to suggest that he feels he has provided an effective remedy. We are all human, and human nature of a similar description has been dealt with in Ireland, where there have been three well known cases of election petitions on undue clerical influence. The Meath election is the standard case. In England we have what we call the Common Law, besides the Statute Law; that is the law which emerges from a collection of decisions as interpreted and accepted. Here in Malta there is no such thing as a Common Law. Here every magistrate and judge considers himself free to decide every question before him according to his own judgment for the time being, even in defiance of judgments of superior courts. A judge of first instance might have a judgment of the Court of Appeal cited to him, but he might say "It has great weight, but my conscience is supreme and I decide otherwise". The suggestion here is that, as responsible government is obviously an exotic importation into Mediterranean nations, we must also import the remedies which experience has elsewhere provided for the similar difficulties of that system, where that system has grown up. We have seen that in Italy freedom of election has been practically abolished. In Spain they found it almost impossible to have responsible government, and if responsible government is to be worked in Malta under Mediterranean mentality, the remedies, the medicines and the antidotes which that system has evoked, as necessary in Ireland, have to be imported here.

195. I confess that this seems a rather complicated way of doing it. I do not express any opinion on what the remedy may possibly be, but to bring in two members of the English Bar to sit with the Maltese judges

with equal authority *ad hoc* upon election petitions would be very expensive and very difficult, and take a lot of time. Further, with regard to appeals to the Judical Committee of the Privy Council, I think that Committee would rebel in a very short time?—Admitted, but the principal value of this provision is the deterrent value. With the existence of this provision the apprehension of wrong judgments in Malta would be greatly abated. Moreover the appointment of assessors to sit with judges is quite understood in our system of law here in the Mediterranean. In commercial cases you have assessors. To have them also in political cases is nothing very farfetched. If we are to import English law with English methods of responsible government it follows that we should import persons who understand the Common Law as it has developed in England in order to make the machine workable in Malta. English barristers could do that. There is an abundance of barristers in England who would come to Malta for a very moderate fee, and it would not happen very often that they will be called here. It is very rarely that we have election petitions here, and under the proposed amendment it would be known that they would be decided one way or the other fairly.

196. We shall hear what other people think of it. This appeal to the Judical Committee of the Privy Council, even if the Privy Council cared to hear appeals from Malta, is not a matter that could be done for twopence?—Quite so. On that point I wish to submit something very important. The decisions and precedents of the Privy Council in Canadian and Australian cases are fundamentally inapplicable to Malta so long as the Maltese Government is a dyarchical government. So long as the Maltese Government is a dyarchical government the King is responsible for the administration of the dyarchy, and for all those emergencies, contingencies and matters which may affect the dyarchy; and for their lordships to divest themselves of jurisdiction in the ground that in similar cases coming from the Commonwealth of Australia they would not interfere, or in similar cases coming from the Commonwealth of Canada they would not interfere, is hardly logical. So long as the Governor has powers by summoning the Privy Council together to suspend the Constitution at three hours' notice, as was done by suspending the elections. . . . . .

197. I do not pretend to state what the Privy Council might say supposing cases did come before them, but if they heard that this was

going to be introduced into the Constitution of Malta, and that your view was going to lead to these cases coming up, I think they would put a spoke in the wheel to try and prevent them, by a clause in the Constitution?—That is perfectly true.

(Adjourned for a short time).

198. (*Chairman*): We are rather anxious that you should explain a little further with regard to disfranchisement or rather absence of power of voting. Who would be excluded under clause 10, new sub-section 4, where you say: "If consequent upon any obligation which he has assumed or which devolves or may devolve upon him by reason of his profession or status he is bound to obey superior orders or is otherwise not free in the exercise of the franchise"? Can you define this a little more?—It was only meant to refer to persons who have taken, according to Cannon Law, not a simple vow but a professed vow of obedience to a superior. My suggestion refers to those who have taken irrevocable solemn vows of obedience for the whole of their lives, obedience in everything and unquestioned, and without it being relevant whether the order was agreed to or not.

199. (*Count de Salis*): I speak under correction because I am at a loss here for information on the particular point; but is the disfranchisement of the clergy in general governed by a Canon? Certainly candidature is? —I understand that ordinary ecclesiastics have to demand and obtain permission to participate in elections according to the interpretation of the Canon at present obtaining in Italy.

200. I think it is 139. There is an allusion to it there. But would not your paragraph consequently cover the whole of it?—I mean to refer to those who have given a solemn and irrevocable profession of obedience.

201. Canon Law only allows them to participate conditionally?—But the permission stops at participation; it does not go any further, whereas the monk who is allowed to participate cannot move in anything without specific orders.

202. I do not know what would happen, but if the permission of the Bishop is necessary, permission might be given conditionally?—If this clause could be so interpreted, it might be redrafted in order to meet that point.

203. (*Chairman*): But the point is to be interpreted by an English judge who is not competent to know what would happen?—If the judge is as

eminent in the Englilsh Bar as the Chairman of this Royal Commission, there would be no difficulty; but if you require any further elucidation, it may be added.

204. Would you mind giving us specific illustrations? This would probably go into the hands of a Government draftsman in England before it is passed to the Colonial Office, and he would require to know what your intention is?—To include monks who undertake solemn vows of obedience.

205. Can you give me any indication of the number of those who would be affected by the proposed clause?—It would be guess-work at this moment.

206. There are no statistics?—No, there are no statistics that I know of. The Bishop or his Secretary could produce them.

207. The episcopal authorities have that information in their possession?—So I presume.

208. (*Count de Salis*): What about the Association of the "Grand Orient"?—I have no knowledge of its procedure.

209. Neither you nor I have any knowledge of what goes on in there? —As far as I can ascertain English Freemasonry is a sort of charitable self-assisting or mutual-assisting institution whose members pay subscriptions, wear certain regalia and so on.

(*Count de Salis*): I spoke of the Grand Orient, not of the Associations in England. Neither you nor I can say what are the rules of those Associations. We are debarred from ever knowing them.

210. (*Chairman*):I do not think we need carry that point further. I think we might leave section 33, unless you have anything else to add? —I think, in obedience to your lordship's desire to have an indication as to whether section 68 had any bearing on any other clause, I might say that this is a special case. If it is decided that an Act of Parliament will not be adopted as a method of putting things straight by the Colonial Office, then the only alternative is to remedy what can be remedied under section 68. Then what will have to be drafted will have to go under the "Religious Toleration" clause, section 56, which is amendable.

211. Section 56 runs as follows: "Religious Toleration. All persons in Malta shall have full liberty of conscience and the free exercise of their respective modes of religious worship. No person shall be subjected to any disability or excluded from holding any office by reason of his religious profession"?—We would add: "No person will be excluded from

being a candidate or being elected by reason of his religious opinions". If any such case arises, there shall be a special tribunal to deal with it and appeal will lie to the Privy Council. However, I fully realize your lordship's objections to that point.

212. I am looking at it from a partical point of view in order to obtain a speedy decision on the matter for the advantage of Malta. To appeal to the Judical Committee of the Privy Council is a very expensive and lengthy procedure?—It might be made less expensive. I myself once ran a petition before the Privy Council for under £30.

213. It may be, but a lot of people are not capable of appearing that Judical Committee personally?—I am aware that the Privy Council functions are a branch of the prerogatives of the King, and when special references are placed before the Privy Council, that is done under an Act of King William IV which transfers powers *pro tanto* to the Secretary of State or the Lord President of the Council. The objection which your lordship has put forward is very weighty. My answer, however, is that so long as the Maltese Government is dyarchical, the King cannot divest himself of the responsibility that the clause having reference to reserved matters touching the general interests of English subjects not resident in Malta places upon him. The King must safeguard those interests by some method and something must be done in that direction.

214. Have you anything further to say as regards section 33?—No.

215. Section 39—Privileges of Members. You propose an amendment to put in this: "And provided any judgment of Our Courts in Malta shall be null and void in so far as it may purport to affect the procedure and privileges of the Senate or the Legislative Assembly or any law to which assent has been given in Our Name which has not been disallowed within the period of one year or which is not irreconcilable with an Act of the Imperial Parliament expressly declared to be applicable to Malta or with the provisions as to reserved matters in these Our Letters Patent". What does that mean?—The object of this emendment is to overcome the present position, viz: that the Court of Appeal in Malta has declared a considerable number of our laws null and void.

216. Then this is really meant to validate those Acts?—It will have that effect, inasmuch as this clause defines the privileges and rights of the Court of Appeal in Malta as not being greater than those of the Courts in England or in any other civilized country. There are no precedents in any jurisprudence justifying or suggesting that a Court of Appeal may

disallow any Act of a Legislature by inquisition into the number of votes cast at one sitting or another, or whether a quorum existed or not, or enquiring into the internal proceedings of the House. Acts touching reserved matters can be disallowed by the Governor by obtaining previous authority from the Secretary of State. The Maltese Court of Appeal, however, disallowed an Act which trenched on reserved subjects for which the previous sanction had been obtained from one of the Secretaries of State. That was disallowed on the ground that the number of votes recorded in its favour had not been properly returned.

217. Because some of the members had been wrongly counted?—Because there was a question as to whether they had been properly elected or not, notwithstanding that there is a clause in the Constitution which provides that no member may resign his seat without the permission of the House. Of course the member concerned will be subject to the payment of penalties if he votes when disqualified, as any member of the House of Commons is. If after some ground has arisen challenging out right to sit and vote, we sit and vote wrongly, we have to pay for it. The purport of this clause is to say that no judgment of the Court of Appeal can trench upon the privileges of Parliament. So much is this felt if our Parliament had been sitting and in full force, there would have been a motion by a member of Parliament calling upon Parliament to have the Chief Justice brought to the Bar of the House for infringing the privileges of Parliament which had been declared and established by a local Act of Parliament. The Parliament of Malta was given by the Constitution the right to assert privileges not greater than those enjoyed by the House of Commons.

218. The immediate effect of this clause would be to validate these Acts to a certain extent?—Yes.

219. What would be the future effect?—The future effect would be that the Maltese Parliament could legislate to enjoy privileges not greater than those enjoyed by the House of Commons. The House of Commons enjoys the privilege that no court of law can interfere with its internal proceedings. It is on the records of Parliament that the Habeas Corpus Act was passed in the House of Lords by a doctored return made by the tellers. This is on the records of the Journals of Parliament, which I have read in the library of the House of Lords. The House of Lords, being very conservative, did not want to pass the Habeas Corpus Act, and there was a small majority (less than ten) against it; but in its favour

the tellers counted a fat Peer for ten. Nevertheless, that Act became law. In the House of Commons it is possible for wrong people to pass through the turnstiles, to give a wrong name and to announce a wrong division; and, what is most important, legislation can be passed without a quorum.

220. I do not think what you suggest has ever happened, namely a man getting through the turnstiles without being a member of Parliament?—That has not happened, but it has happened that a man has gone to the wrong lobby by mistake; and of course, a man whose return was null and void pass through.

221. Yes, quite possible?—It is also possible for a Peer to be subsequently declared illegitimate and to have had his vote counted, and for legislation to have been passed by his vote. The textbooks and constitutional authorities show that no court can declare a law null and void by reason of the method by which it is passed if thereafter the King's assent is recorded in its favour.

222. Section 40. You propose to insert the word "Maltese" instead of "Italian" in sub-section (2) but we will leave that for the moment because the language question is a seperate entity. Section 41. You propose to put in "we" instead of "Secretary of State". That is the matter for the Crown. Section 42: "If the Legislative Assembly passes any proposed law and the Senate rejects or fails to pass it, or passes it with amendments to which the Legislative Assembly will not agree, it shall be deemed to be rejected and shall not be proposed again during the same Session. If the Legislative Assembly, in the next Session, again passes the proposed law with or without any amendments which have been made, suggested or agreed to by the Senate, and the Senate rejects, or fails to pass it, or passes it with amendments to which the Legislative Assembly will not agree, the Governor may during that Session convene a joint sitting etc. etc." You propose to put in after "or fails to pass it" the words "within a month". That is to avoid the Senate unduly holding up a proposal which has been made by the Legislative Assembly?—This is to adopt into this Clause the practice which the Governor has already adopted on the precedent of the Letter Patent that we passed to deprive the Senate of financial authority.

223. Could that be done by an Order in Council?—It could be done by the Governor. I think it could be done by a despatch authorising the Governor to sanction in after a month.

224. He might introduce it as a practice?—It would be worth while passing an Act of Parliament.

225. Is not one month rather a short time?—No it is established by practice as a proper time, now.

226. In section 43 you propose to alter the title of "Secretary of State". That is for him?—We feel that we were told our status was equal to that of Southern Rhodesia, and in order that that pledge should be kept, the advantages since obtained by Southern Rhodesia should be enjoyed by us.

227. The "Secretary of State" is the general form put in. Most Acts of Parliament designate the Secretary of State. Section 45: "The Governor may return to the Senate and Legislative Assembly any proposed Law so presented to him, notwithstanding that the same shall not affect or be alleged to affect any reserved matter, and may transmit therewith any amendments which he may recommend, and the Senate and Legislative Assembly may deal with the recommendation". You propose to put the word "prejudicially" after the words "be alleged to affect"?—Yes. The point is that matters should be declared reserved matters for any reason except when they affect Imperial interests as a whole.

228. Who is to decide?—The Governor on his own conscience, if he thinks that certain action is in his opinion prejudicial to Imperial interests, may adhere to that opinion; if not, aberration from duty could be treated as in the case of any other subject.

229. The amendment to section 48 is on the same point, and section 51 concerns language. In section 54 you propose to alter the title of the "Head of the Ministry". That is for the Crown. You have been Governor of several important States in Australia, where the head of these States is called Premier?—The Head of the Ministry in the States of Australia is called Premier to distinguish him from the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth. The word Premier is just as useful as Prime Minister. It might be objected to by the Canadians. I have no wish to magnify the position I hold except in the interests thereof and of my successors.

230. In Great Britain, Canada and Australia it is used?—After all the Premiership is not a statutory office. It is a small point.

231. Section 53 (3) is 'Remuneration to Judges'?—The object of this is to meet the difficulty that when the Letters Patent were originally drafted the salaries of judges were greater than they are at present. After the war the value of money was different. Now the salaries of judges have

been reduced in amount and the number has been increased, and, technically, it has been argued that the additional judge has not got the same protection as to being irremovable that other judges have. The object is to get over that anomaly; and the salaries have been adjusted. It is only a machinery clause.

232. To bring the Constitution in line with what is the practice. It has been done by local legislation?—It has been done by local legislation but after expression of strong feeling and some debate.

233. It is the existing fact at the present moment?—A judge should not depend on an annual appropriation bill, but on a stronger title. He should not be on a worse level than his colleagues. There is nothing much beyond sentiment in his point.

(*Count de Salis*): You want to bring it in into the text of the Constitution?

234. (*Chairman*): It is not the form now existing. The whole point depends on whether there will be a new Constitution with the authority of the British Parliament and embodying the suggestions Lord Strickland makes or, if any changes were made by Order in Council, these might include provisions to meet the aims the Commission might arrive at, and the Constitution might be altered in the way in which it has been up to the present?—It could easily be done by Order in Council.

235. (*Sir Walter Egerton*): Is the additional judge now party dependent upon the Appropriation Bill?—Nominally, but not in reality. There are savings in the Civil List from judges' salaries and under the contingencies vote, and otherwise, the Governor might always protect the judge against Parliament by putting the necessary machinery in motion. Naturally, however, judges wish to be on the same footing. That could be done by an Order in Council which it would be difficult to repeal. Some of these clauses are put in on the assumption that the importance of really putting the Constitution on a sound firm basis as contemplated by the terms of appointment of the Royal Commission is so great that the Imperial Government would overcome difficulties or objections and try to pass an enabling Act of Parliament. Probably it would be faced with no difficulty, but then would come the time to consider the acceptance of half the cake.

236. (*Chairman*):Then there is the question of religious toleration. Section 57 deals with language: – "The English language, as the official language of the British Empire, and the Italian language, as the estab-

lished language of record of Our Courts of Law in Malta, shall be the official languages of Malta". This is to read: "The English language, as the official language of the British Empire, and the Maltese language, as the national language, shall be the official languages of Malta"?—Yes, but before dealing with that, may I be allowed to put on record that is suggested that to section 56 there should be added what is now put against section 33. There should be added under section 56 the Special Tribunal suggested heretofore to come under section 33 and that Special Tribunal is to function whenever an election petition involves the question of religious toleration. That is to say by transporting the new provision to that part of the Letters Patent that can be altered under section 68.

237. Which clause?—The clause I am going to submit. After having added to section 56 what is set out, it would necessary to add that whenever in an election petition questions arise as to religious toleration, then proceedings under any other section would be stopped until that question was decided; that is to say, if in the same election petition there was a question of bribery and of undue religious influence, then the bribery question should not be decided until the other question was decided.

238. Can we go on with the section 57? Section 57 lays down that the English and Italian languages should be the official languages in Malta. Now you put in the phrase that the Maltese language is the National language?—Under present conditions in our Parliament.

239. What does "the National language as the official language" mean? The old wording is: "The Italian language as the established language of record in Our Courts of Malta"?—The Maltese language as the national language shall be a language of record. That drafting may be revised. I think that wants revising. May I be allowed to avail myself of this very valuable suggestion?

240. Are there any grammars or dictionaries of the Maltese language? —There are dictionaries and grammars.

241. Are they used in the elementary schools?—Unfortunately not. The idea here in this country is that everybody knows enough of Maltese and need not improve on his knowledge.

242. I understand it is the first language a child babbles?—Yes, and if the Chief Justice meets the Bishop in the street they talk Maltese. If I entered any drawing-room or Cabinet Council, I would find that everybody was talking Maltese.

243. It is the language of family life?—Everybody talks Maltese except when for politeness sake they may talk English or Italian, or rather pretend to talk Italian. Italians would be shocked to hear how Italian is spoken here.

244. That is different from Italian being used as a language of record or for pleading before the Courts. I do not refer to what people talk?—I do not pretend always to talk English correctly, in Malta, because normally I have to talk the three languages, at short intervals, one after another. In practice you may begin talking English and then you slip into Maltese.

245. I have not discovered that you slipped into Maltese yet?—Very few people are so gifted as to be able to talk promiscuously three languages accurately. An Italian lawyer who once visited our Courts of Law observed that lawyers in Malta ought to be hanged for the way they talk Italian.

246. You have got a very lengthy and important amendment to this clause?—Would you allow me to go to the question of the Maltese language in Parliament before we deal with that clause? Your lordship has skipped it.

247. Which clause is that?—Section 51 is one of them; and there is also section 40.

248. You might begin there if your long amendment leads up to it?—Your lordship will hardly realize that this Chamber, where our Parliament meets, where many speeches are delivered in Maltese, those speeches are not allowed to be recorded in Maltese. They are recorded either in Italian or in English at the choice of the speaker. To be able in England to record speeches in either of two different languages, apart from the language in which the speech is delivered, it would be necessary to secure the services as shorthand-writers of gentleman of uncommon ability who would have to be paid a high salary. Nevertheless that is a burden under which our trilingual parliamentary reporters have to work as best they can. That is a technical difficulty. But sentimentally there is a great slur cast on our national language and also on our Parliament where speeches that are delivered in Maltese cannot be recorded in Maltese. That prohibition was inserted to please the ultra-pro-Italian faction, in order to have the Constitution accepted also by them, when Mr. Amery did not want to promulgate the Constitution without its having been accepted. Since 1921 popular feeling in favour of the Maltese language has become so strong that those who are against it now

hardly dare to show themselves in favour of Italian; and the time must come when this slur against Maltese in the Letters Patent should be obliterated so that speeches delivered in Maltese would be recorded in Maltese. There is only one paper now published in Italian in Malta and that paper struggles survive. Papers in Maltese are increasing in number every day. This is one of the demands that are set out in the amendment to this section. As to the laws being published in Maltese, it is perfectly true that *ignorantia legis excusat neminem;* but it is cruel that the Maltese should be tried and convicted and perhaps sent to prison on laws which they cannot read in the original. The Italian language is entirely exotic; it was imported into this country by hangers-on of the Knights, when the official language was Latin. Naturally, they have tried to maintain a monopoly of the Italian language.

249. You are ousting out Italian?—Yes, to meet the wishes of the majority of the population. Almost every Maltese who can speak Italian can speak English as well and he speaks Maltese better. It is too much expect anyone to be able to read English and Italian correctly and to write them as well. I find it in practice almost impossible to be always correct when talking English and Italian promiscuously. The difficulty in the education of the people has become intolerable on account of this curse of the Tower of Babel. I still remember the mental torture when I had to learn at school the two languages and to pass examination in them both at the same time. When I became Governor, I had to read my despatches twice over not to mix up two methods of expression. I say that if a member of Parliament in Malta cannot speak Italian or English or desires to exercise his right to speak Maltese and nothing else his speeches should be recorded in Maltese. It is only under compulsion that some members speak English and Italian in the Chamber. Differentiation against Maltese is a remnant of the tyranny and despotism of the Knights of Malta who treated the Maltese population little better than slaves. It is all an indication of the complex in its worst form and looking down on all that is Maltese was originated by those Knights, whose mentality was the embodiment of feudalism.

250. Let us leave section 40. The next section to which you all can attention is section 51: "The Governor shall cause every law to which he shall have assented in Our Name or to which we shall have given Our assent as aforesaid to be printed in the Gazette in both the English and Italian languages for general information." It says "for general informa-

tion." Does anyone speak Italian only in Malta?—Not as far as I know. In any case no one has special claim not to be able to speak English or Maltese, except perhaps the son of an Italian mother whose Maltese father may have left her a widow when the child was very young.I do not know personally of any Maltese who cannot speak English or Maltese and who speaks only Italian. If there is such a one he must be a very exceptional person and he is not entitled to any special legislation. Italian is being kept on for the benefit of a domineering and dominant class for the purpose of monopolizing the Government of this country.

251. That leads up to section 57. I have already alluded to your first suggestion, that the Italian language should be cut out in favour of the Maltese language as a national language, and to the question of the wording of the section, which you propose to look into. The same sub-section goes on to put the word "Maltese" in this clause: "All official records and public documents and all notices of general public importance or interest issued by the Maltese Government shall be in that language without prejudice however to the use of Italian as a second language of administration accompanying the English text in such records, documents and notices as aforesaid, in so far as may be found desirable and convenient who decides what is desirable and convenient?—The same authority that was contemplated when the Letters Patent were drafted.

252. Are they usually published in both languages?—Yes, in both Italian and English. It depends a great deal on the person responsible for publication. When the so-called Nationalist Government were in power, men who conceived that nationalism meant Italian nationalism, they published as many as possible of the notices, etc., in Italian. When a really national Government was in power, who considered that Maltese was our national language, it published notices in Italian as seldom as possible. Police notices of late have been published in the three languages. But the pro-Italian party hates the Maltese language much more than the English language. They would rather have English as the language of the Courts than Maltese, because they know that the national language must ultimately oust Italian and they would like to put off what for them is the evil day. To reply categorically to your question, I say that the Minister or other authority would decide in the case of Police Notices whether they are to be published in three languages, or in one language or in two. In the case of legal matters, the

law officers would decide. It is no use publishing a notice in Italian to instruct the country farmers about, say, the packing of potatoes or a notice about the firing of petards and so on. It is little use publishing such notice unless they are published in Maltese.

253. You refer to Police Notices chiefly. Your amendments to sub-sections (2) and (3) amounts practically to obliterating the present system under which English and Italian are recognised as equal languages at the University, in the Law Courts and with power in the lower classes of the Elementary Schools of not prohibiting the use of the Maltese language in so far as it may be necessary as a medium of instruction. I think that sums up the language position generally. Instead of that you propose this: "(2) The English language shall be the principle language of culture and the medium of instruction at the University, at the Secondary Schools, and in the Elementary Schools. Provided that nothing in this section shall debar the teaching of Maltese and its use as a medium of instruction in the Elementary Schools or the teaching of Italian as an optional subject at the request of the students in the University and in the Secondary Schools, or the use of Latin as a medium of instruction in the faculty of Theology in the University. (3) The English and Maltese languages are substituted for Italian as the language of legislation and of the courts of law. (4) Any law relating to any matters dealt with under the provisions of these sections shall be read subject to these provisions and to any regulations which the Governor may publish thereafter by Proclamation; and any law which is repugnant to these provisions or to any regulations made thereunder shall, to the extent of such repugnancy, be void and inoperative. (5) The provisions in sub-sections (2), (3) and (4) of this section shall come into force on the 1st October, 1934, and the Governor shall have power to make regulations having the force of law by Proclamation published in the Government Gazette by which temporary provisions may be made to deal with administrative and other questions affected by this section and within the provisions and purport thereof during a period of transition, viz: between the date of the Letters Patent and the first day of January, 1934". That is the new section that you propose instead of these existing provisions?—Yes.

254. And that seems to mean that you give a period of grace up to January, 1934, with certain powers of administrative action by the Governor, after which English and Maltese will come in?—The date is

selected by reason of the duration of the courses in the University, the legal course occupies so many many years say, five and the medical course so many years, and so on. That date, 1934, will see the end of the running courses in the University.

255. Does that mean that the young undergraduates would be trained up in the English language rather than the Italian language for the purpose of pleadings and other legal documents?—It really means that in a more limited sense. At the present moment, nobody can become a lawyer, or a doctor, or an architect, or obtain a University degree of any sort unless he passes the matriculation examination which comprises Italian *pari passu* with English. After matriculation certain lectures have to be attended some of which are delivered in English and others in Italian. If the student knows sufficient Italian to understand a lecture or if he answers questions at examinations in English he ought to be allowed to become an architect or a doctor. To limit the professions to those who can pass a very severe matriculation examination in Italian and keep it up thereafter so as to be able to answer papers in Italian as regards, say, Anatomy, or some branch of Engineering, and in English as to other branches of learning, is asking too much, and encouraging hypocrisy by making people pretend to know Italian when they do not. Members of the University who are now in high positions have come to see me asking to be allowed to speak in Italian. The system of keeping up both languages efficiently is not possible except for a few who can master two languages to an extraordinary extent. But if things are learned superficially, and if to pretend to know is the aim, then it is all very well to have to put up the babel we are hearing now in the law courts. More people know English than Italian to-day and the people who pretend to know Italian are getting fewer and fewer. It is a veritable scandal that a Maltese has to be tried for his life because a jury that is chosed from a panel composed of the few remaining specimens of those attached to Italian culture.

255a. Let us leave the criminal cases. As regards the civil cases, would lawyers accustomed to use Italian terms, and so on, be able to conduct a legal argument or to make pleadings either in English or Maltese?—It is just as easy or as difficult as it is, for example, for a Czecho-Slovak to discuss science in his own language, with imported nomenclature.

256. But Maltese cannot meet the complicated system of modern days? It can.—The French, for example, talk about "le beefsteak", "le

5 o'clock" and so on. Sometimes in the highest circles we use a Greek scientific term when we cannot find an English equivalent. We talk of dyarchy. Some of our courts are using Maltese. No difficulty will be experienced in reality. The difficulty is sentimental with the lawyers. When they go to court they can submit their case in Italian, and deal with it well or badly, and get their fees from their clients, who are unable to understand what is said and may be very improperly served without knowing what is going on in court. Most of the clients do not understand a word of what is going on in court and cannot correct their lawyers or give them normal assistance.

257. What about the sentiment?—The days of the sentiment are the past, I hope. Under democratic government, when sentiment is pushed to this extent, then the sentiment of a few should be nothing as against the just rights and the stronger sentiment of the majority of the people.

258. Are most of the lawyers educated in the Malta University?—Yes, except the very few who fail in examination in Malta, cannot pass them, or who for other reasons go abroad and obtain Italian degrees. They say that Italian degrees can be obtained easily, and the facility is adjustable to the fees paid for them. The consequence is that an honours degree of Cambridge in Law is considered of no importance because it is appreciated correspondingly to a degree obtained at an Italian University by lawyers who had failed here and had gone to Italy to get a degree. When I was a Chief Secretary, I succeeded in getting an Order in Council passed which disqualified anybody from obtaining a legal appointment in Malta unless he held a degree of the University of Malta.

259. We now come to the Reserved Civil List?—Does your lordship want me to go into the whole of this and get the root of the whole dyarchical system? Section 63 is not one of the alterable clauses. I do not think there will be much objection to the proposed addition. It is intended to have some restriction to the power of the Governor to issue money warrants on the Treasury when he suspends self-government by referring matters to the Privy Council or for any other reason whatsoever.

260. The Government of the country must be carried on. There is nothing more until you go to the schedule A, and there you propose to cut out payment, under the Reserved Civil List, of the Secretary to the Maltese Imperial Government, Clerk of Councils, and Private Secretary to the Governor, and the establishments of the Lieutenant Governor and the Legal Adviser, and I presume you wish to put them under vote of

Parliament?—That is a part of the object, not the whole.

261. Is your primary idea to abolish these offices?—No, not to abolish them. The primary idea is to prevent the amalgamation in the hands of one person of the office of Private Secretary to the Governor, Imperial Secretary and so on; and to subject to Parliament the increases which have been added to this establishment since the Constitution was granted. The Constitution was granted to the Maltese in 1921 as a real measure of self-government, and subsequently at a period when Parliament was about to be extinguished by effluxion of time, and when it was very difficult for the then responsible Ministers to protest, if they had wanted to do so, which might be questionable, Letters Patent were passed to increase the salary of the Governor's Private Secretary. In order to effect that increase, the expedient was adopted of altering the Civil List by Letters Patent. I consider that to be an instance of very grave aggression against the whole principle of responsible government, which ought to be objected to in principle, and which the then Ministers ought to have objected to in the strongest possible manner. They did not object for reasons which you would not want me now attempt to enter into. But for a Private Secretary to hold any other executive office under the Civil List is irreconcilable with the idea I formed in Australia, namely that a Private Secretary must be a personal officer of the Governor, unreservedly at his beck and call.

262. Was that the point when you asked a question in Parliament about Mr. Mahaffy?—No, this refers to the Private Secretary. A man is made Private Secretary and as one of the official staff he is thenceforth defended, right or wrong. If that habit of mind is to be carried into responsible administration it is irreconcilable with any form of self-government. Whenever a man becomes a Governor, for the first few months he is much in the hands of his Secretary, who at times can make a Governor sign any document; he should not be the same as a Japanese hereditary Shogun.

263. I do not know what the Colonial Office will say to that?—That we should go back to the first Letters Patent of 1921. May I put it in this form? The idea is to go back to the original Letters Patent, and I respectfully protest against the fact that Letters Patent increasing a salary were altered behind the back of Parliament and in a manner which is a great diminution of the rights of the Maltese and without any justification.

264. I do not say that the justification fails to come in. Were these

Letters Patent passed in 1921?—These supplementary Letters Patent were passed about four years ago.

265. In 1927?—Yes, about that time.

(Adjourned to Saturday, April 25th, at 10.30 a.m.)

DOCUMENT 60

Evidence by Sir Ugo Mifsud before the 1931 Royal Commission

FIFTH DAY

Tuesday April 28, 1931

PRESENT

THE RIGHT HON. LORD ASKWITH, K.C.B. (*CHAIRMAN*).

SIR WALTER EGEPTON, K.C.M.G. COUNT DE SALIS, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.

A.J. DAWE, Esq. (*Secretary*).

(4)

SIR UGO P. MIFSUD, Kt., LL.D., B. Lit., Sworn, and examined.

533. (*Chairman*): You are the leader, or one of the leaders, of the Nationalist Party?—Yes.

534. Dr. Enrico Mizzi is a colleague of yours, and has signed your memorandum as a co-leader of the Nationalist Party?—Yes.

535. You are in the legal profession?—I am a barrister by profession.

536. You were a Minister in one of the Governments?—Yes. I have been a Minister throughout the six years of Nationalist administration, having been for five years Leader of the House; that is to say, for two years when Premier Howard, who was a Senator, belonged to the Upper House, and afterwards for three years when I became Prime Minister. I have been in all the Governments from 1921 to 1927. I am Leader of the Nationalist Party with Dr. Enrico Mizzi, as explained in a letter which is before your lordship, consequent on the fusion of the two sides of the Nationalist Party which took place in January or February, 1926.

537. That was before the dissolution of 1927?—Yes. In 1924, consequent

on the General Elections for the Second Legislature, the Ministers of the *Unione Politica Maltese* took the reins of Government. Afterwards a coalition was made with the Nationalist Group composed of the Mizzian element, and the administration was carried on until, in February, 1926, both Parties or both wings of the Nationalist Party formed the fusion which I have mentioned. At first the leadership of the Nationalist Party was in the hands of a triumvirate, namely, myself, Dr. Mizzi and Count Caruana Gatto, after whose death the leaders were two in number. The respective followings at the beginning were different. We had a much greater following in the Nationalist ranks than the followers of Dr. Mizzi. Now we have been one party since 1926.

538. During the last five years you have been a united party?—Yes. Dr. Mizzi was admitted into the Government with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, following correspondence which took place between Sir Walter Congreve, the then Governor, and the Colonial Office.

539. What office did Dr. Mizzi hold?—He held the portfolio of Minister for Industry and Commerce.

540. You have sent in a joint statement upon various matters. Would you like me to put some leading questions to you upon it, or would you prefer to read it?—I would prefer to read it.

The stand which the Nationalist Party takes in connection with the existing political situation in Malta which, since the original suspension of the General Elections by Ordinance No. 1 of the 3rd May, 1930, has gone through various stages culminating in the appointment of a Royal Commission is duly enunciated in a letter addressed by Sir Ugo Mifsud in London to Lord Passfield dated the 20th May, 1930, and relative enclosures, and also in a Manifesto issued by the leaders of the Party on the 6th April, 1931.

Before the Royal Commissioners the leaders and exponents of the Nationalist Party, therefore, appear under protest as stated in a reply to the Officer Administering the Government dated the 10th April, 1931. Whilst they feel it is their duty to present their cases in such form and manner as is best conducive to the elucidation of the Nationalist thesis, they do so without prejudice to the standpoint above mentioned.

Owing to the vagueness of the terms of reference contained in the Royal Instrument, appointing the Royal Commissioners and in view of the difficulty of knowing beforehand the ambit and purview of the Commission's investigations as the issues that might be raised during the inquiry, the undersigned leaders of the Nationalist Party reserve to themselves likewise without prejudice the right to present other seperate memoranda on other questions as occasion arises.

The undersigned premise that the Letters Patent providing for the Constitution of Responsible Government in Malta dated 14th April, 1921, and establishing and regulating with certain reservations the status of Malta as a self-governing unit of the British Commonwealth of Nations, must be read always with and interpreted by the "papers relating to the new Constitution of Malta presented to Parliament in May, 1921" (Cmd.1321) and the *proces verbaux* and other documents of the Maltese National Assembly printed by order of the Legislative Assembly of the 5th December, 1922, to which the said Command Papers make reference. The despatches of Lord Milner of the 28th May, 1920, and of the Right Honourable L.S. Amery of the 9th April, 1921 are of the utmost importance, in that they give the real meaning of Responsible Government granted to Malta by His Majesty the King.

The undersigned make bold to assert that the Maltese question and the solution of the crisis is exclusively a local national question.

It arose out of the maladministration of the leaders of one political party lately at the helm of the administration of Malta under self-government; it would be unfair if, above the head of the Maltese Nation, in devising a solution for the same, a settlement were recommended and adopted as would best suit the convenience of the political party, which has been the cause of all the trouble.

They reaffirm that the solution arrived at by His Majesty's Government in England last year as embodied in the Letters Patent of the 26th June, 1930, and in His Majesty's Order in Council of the same date, far from bringing about a satisfactory state of affairs has given rise to malcontent and dissatisfaction in Malta; and from a technical point of view is unconstitutional and illegal.

The original suspension of the elections and virtually thereby of the Constitution itself, on the advise of Lord Strickland and his collegues, viz: the suspension of autonomy to a self-governing unit of the British Empire in the interest of public safety and for the prevention of disorder imperilling same - as enunciated in Ordinance No. 1 of 1930 - not only has in point of fact proved to an illegitimate interference on the part of the Imperial side of the dyarchy in Malta, as borne out by the reasons contained in the judgement delivered by the Court of Appeal in Malta on the 25th June, 1930, which was duly reported in the Law Journal (London) of the 16th August, 1930. The very fact that Ministers in England had considered it necessary to recommend to His Majesty the issue of Letters Patent and the promulgation of an Order in Council on June 26th 1930 purporting to give to the Governor the necessary administrative and legislative powers for the government of these Islands, has shown that the Governor did not have powers to virtually suspend by Ordinance No. 1 of the 3rd May, 1930, the course of the Constitution of Malta by a bold act of the Imperial side of the dyarchy.

It is further submitted that the additional encroachment on the Constitution of Malta consisting in a more formal and explict suspension of the Constitutional

Charter by means of the last mentioned Letters Patent and Order in Council of the 26th June, 1930, constitutes more openly an equally unwarranted interference by the Executive in England in Malta's local affairs under self-government for once the Crown has granted self-governing institutions to a Colony it forfeits its powers of legislation by Order in Council.

The reasons adduced by Ministers in England in justification of their intervention, namely, the Pastoral Letters of the Bishop of Malta and Gozo are neither morally nor legally a sufficient motive for interference by them with Malta's Constitution, inasmuch as the nature of the Maltese dispute was admittedly a local and internal question. In Malta where the religion of the Islands has been declared to be Roman Catholic by statue, and where His Majesty's Imperial Government was pledged to respect such religion in terms of the original convention of Malta's incorporation with the British Empire, the action of the Bishops was under the circumstances legitimate and quite in accordance with Roman Catholic practice.

The retention of so-called Ministers (with or without emoluments and perquisites) in an advisory capacity as Executive Councillors, on the plea of not giving way to forces of a religious character in Malta, as explained by Lord Passfield in the House of Lords on the 25th June, 1930, has not met with general condemnation in Malta and Gozo but constitutes a political expedient which finds no parallel in British constitutional practice. It is an unequivocal indication of partisanship in favour of the leaders of one party (the Constitutional Party) which as a single party did not even obtain the greatest number of votes polled at the last General Election of 1927, and which since 1927 on account of maladminstration and incompetence has gradually been losing public support in the country.

It should be noted also that apart from the fact that adverse public opinion has been steadily growing against Ministers since 1927, the dissolution of the Maltese Parliament on the 17th April, 1930, has technically deprived Ministers of any foundation of popular mandate and of any claim to retention in office under any pretext.

It is moreover submitted that whilst in terms of section 4 (2) of the Order in Council of the 26th June 1930, "The Executive Government is vested in His Majesty and is to be administered by the Governor as this representative"; and notwithstanding that under section 2 of Ordinance V of 1930 the Lieutenant-Governor only, or solely such other persons as His Excellency may appoint, may exercise the powers which under the law or regulations had been previously conferred to Ministers, the present so-called Ministers of a defunct Parliament have been in point of fact interfering or attempting to interfere or posing as meddling with the public administration of these Islands. The retention of representatives of only one party in office, though not technically in power notwithstanding they may ostensibly seem to have been divested of all command,

has accentuated the general feeling of malcontent in these Islands. Nothing more detrimental to the loyalty and good will of the Maltese people towards their protecting nation could be imagined.

It is submitted that once the legislative measure (whose legality is contested) of the 3rd May, 1930, has based itself "on the interest of public safety and the necessity of the prevention of disorder imperilling same" and the election for the Senate and Legislative Assembly had been postponed "until such (alleged) disorder has passed", and once that these assertions have been contradicted by actual facts, the only proper and legitimate solution of the erisis by His Majesty's Imperial Government was to instruct His Majesty's representative to proceed with the continuation of the elections. No stretching of the interpretation of section 41 (1) can warrant the continuation of the interference with the elections when the danger to public safety or the probability of such danger has been proved never to have existed.

Most unfortunately, and certainly not in the best interest of Malta but to the detriment of the sentiments of the Loyal Catholic Maltese, the struggle—originally of a purely local and domestic nature and affecting the head and the leaders of a local Maltese party in the judgement and estimation of their fellow citizens—has been transferred to the United Kingdom and made a religious question as between Catholicism and Protestantism. The undersigned need not labour this point further. Witness to this the numerous articles which have appeared in the daily and periodical papers in England, the text of the speeches that were made in the English House of Parliament itself, the statements that have been officially made by the Secretary of State, and the pamphlets which have been published and circulated in England whereof the following are principal instances, viz: "The Vatican and Malta" published in London by the Protestant Truth Society, 3 & 4 St. Paul's Churchyard, E.C. 4, "Malta, The Vatican and The British Government" published in London by the Epworth Press J. Alfred Sharp, "Civil and Religious Liberty in Malta" by J.W. Poynter published in London by the World's Evangelical Alliance, 19 Russell Square, W.C.1.

In other words the elections have been stopped (and there is yet no indication of their taking place) and the Constitution of Malta is suspended not for public reasons of the defence of the Empire or of public order as declared in Ordinance 1 of 1930 but because the Roman Catholic Church will not be allowed to exercise its authority, functions and spiritual influence in the public life of Malta as enunciated in the Bishop's Pastoral Letters of the 1st May, 1930.

The Letters Patent and the Order in Council of the 26th June 1930 have been resorted to as a temporary measure on the part of H.M. Government in England in order to bridge the difficulty of running the Government of Malta without a Parliament. In this connection an official pronouncement was made before last

summer's Parliamentary recess by the Secretary of State to the effect that the Colonial Office was hoping for publirc feeling in Malta to calm down. It is surprising how one could ever expect an abatement in their reciprocal recriminations from the Maltese parties once that the electoral battle had already started.

After the promulgation of the above mentioned Order in Council a statement has been made by the Secretary of State on the 5th November 1930 in reply to questions raised in the House of Lords to the effect that the Secretary of State had been able to discuss the matter with the Governor and every means had been explored whereby Malta's Constitution might be put on a firm basis in future. A reference was also made in the Secretary of State's speech to "the future change in Government which most shortly take place". Following that statement and after the lapse of several months during which all sorts of attempts have been fruitlessly, at any rate hitherto, made by the present so-called Ministers to obtain amendments to the Malta Constitution in their own favour and as best suiting the interest of the Constitutional Party, the present Royal Commission has been appointed. It has been authorised and required to collect evidence and suggest such measures as may appear best calculated to resolve the political problem of Malta and maintain a good and permanent system of government.

The decision arrived at and the scheme contemplated amounts to begging the whole question. Evidently the British Government assumes that the original suspension of the elections and of the Constitution was justified and it takes for granted that it was constitutional and legal to create the present interim regime. On the contrary there having been originally no justification for the suspension of the Constitution, and there never having existed any danger to the public safety of the King's Empire the only legitmate solution ought to be a continuation of the general elections.

In this connection the undersigned feel in duty bound to record a strong protest against the recourse to measures and all methods that might eventually be divised with a view of altering the present Constitution of Malta—which is that of a quasi-Dominion—otherwise than in accordance with what has been the precedent and practice in the Dominions themselves, viz: in accordance with the wish of the Maltese people as expressed by their representatives after the election.

In accordance, therefore, with the unanimous resolution passed by the Congress of the Nationalist Party at two meetings held lately on the 12th and 19th April 1931 on the eve of the arrival in Malta of the members of the Royal Commission the undersigned exponents of the Nationalist Party which unquestionably to-day enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of the Maltese people, make bold to urge *that the Constitution be restored in its completeness, and to claim the full recognition of the exclusive right of the Maltese people to amend and better it by means of their legitmate Parliamentary Representatives.*

For still stronger reasons the leaders of the Nationalist Party feel in duty bound to oppose themselves to alternations of any sort of the Constitution of Malta at the suggestion of the leaders of only one interested section of public men who—although still tolerated in office as Executive Councillors—represent to-day a small minority of public opinion in these Islands.

In this connection it is respectfully yet strongly submitted that these gentleman have never received any mandate from the people of Malta to amend the Constitution of Malta as they now suggest. The amendments they have proposed, or intend proposing, are amendments which they were on the point of submitting for the approval of the Maltese Electorate when the suspension of the General Elections supervened, and on which the electors of Malta have never expressed themselves.

It is observed that in the Papers relating to the new (1921) Constitution of Malta (Command Papers 1321 of 1921) it is stated that in the framing of a Constitution for these Islands regard was had by the Colonial Office to the desiderata of the Maltese National Assembly which under Sir Filippo Sceberras had assumed the task of presenting the 'case' of Malta. In fact the National Assembly as shown by the *proces verbaux*, printed in book form as already stated, was fully representative of all sections of the population and the delegates of the working classes and labour associations and clubs, and of all the proletariat in general were in majority. It is stated in fact by the Secretary of State in those papers that the Letters Patent of 1921 have followed the lines adopted by the Maltese Assembly. Witness to this the following extract from the final part of para. 2 of Lord Milner's despatch to the Governor dated 9th April 1921:- " the form of Constitution under which that self-government was to find its expression was substantially to follow the lines of the Nationalist Assembly's draft". The system adopted was that of "granting to the Maltese people general powers of Responsible Self-government for all purposes", subject only to certain specific reservations which are set out in section 41 (i) (Vide para. 4 of the Secretary of State's letter to the Governor dated 28th May 1920). Subject to these reservations (Vide para. 6 of the same despatch) Malta was declared by the Secretary of State to enjoy powers of self-government as great and even greater than the State of New South Wales in Australia. Whilst remarking that the Letters Patent of 1921 do not contain all the complete demands of the National Assembly, and whilst observing that the

National Assembly has accepted the 1921 Constitution with an express reservation to improve it according to its own views and wishes, one cannot fail to point out that it would be unfair if the Constitution, as originally conceded were now to be amended during the present interregnum without consulting the Maltese people, not only as to the principle of amending it but also as to the nature of any particular amendment eventually contemplated. It would be the height of injustice if it were amended in such a manner as would best suit the purposes, for instance, of the 1930 electoral programme of the Constitutional Party, and to the detriment of that of another party, say the Nationalist Party's 1930 electoral programme.

The above are by no means mere idle hypothetical conjectures; on the contrary they constitute actual proposals submitted for endorsement to the Secretary of State by the leaders of the Constitutional Party.

Before the Royal Commission Lord Strickland and his ministerial collegues on the one side and the Executive of one of the sections of the Maltese Labour Party on the other side, are proposing for the definite approval of the Colonial Office the mutilation of the Maltese Constitutional Charter so as best to suit their respective political interest.

With the details of these Constitutional and Labour Parties' proposals, the undersigned reserve themselves under protest to deal, if necessary, in seperate memoranda.

Far from countenancing an incursion on the Constitutional Charter representing the vested political rights of the people of these Islands established by the Letters Patent of 1921, the Nationalist Party looks forward within the ambit of Malta's domestic affairs to the further attainment by the Maltese people of all such greater political rights and liberties as have in due course up to the present day been acquired in the path of constitutional progress by the Dominions proper as a result of the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930 especially in so far as the principle of non-interference by the Executive of the Mother Country in the internal affairs of the Dominions is concerned.

The Nationalist Party asserts with pride that there can be no question as to the fitness of this ancient and civilised European Nation—under proper leadership—for democratic institutions and for progressive and continuous development. In the course of the first six years of self-government Malta under Nationalist administrators has amply vindicated the trust confided in her when the King bestowed to her the

status of autonomy as embodied in the Letters Patent of 1921. This is best proved by the following statement officially and preconcertedly pronounced in the House of Lords by the Secretary of State on October 6th 1925 on the occasion of the official visit of Malta's Prime Minister to the heart of the Empire: "After many years of not altogether successful experiments it had been sought to give the Maltese an absolutely free hand in the management of their own affairs, while leaving to the Imperial Authorities questions of Imperial concern: the experiment had been a real success the financial position of Malta, which six years ago was one of extreme difficulty, was now based on a sound and well-conducted system: there were all the possibilities of further continuous development".

It is corroborated by a declaration which His Excellency the Governor Sir John du Cane made to the Head of the Ministry (Sir Ugo Mifsud) on his first arrival in Malta in May, 1927. His Excellency then said that the Secretary of State for the Colonies was enthusiastic about the successful manner in which the Constitution had been worked.

It follows that if the leaders of other parties who succeeded to the helm of Maltese public affairs have given occasion for trouble and cause for a crisis, the responsibility therefore surely is not to be attributed to the Nationalist Party; nor should there be occasion for any fear that Nationalist leaders, if again returned to power, would not prove themselves equally capable as before.

For these reasons the Nationalist Party has felt the greatest dissatisfaction and discontent with the present regime which has been described by the Secretary of State as a temporary one, but as to whose duration no official pronouncement has been as yet forthcoming. Against the present regime, the undersigned, as the exponents of the overwhelming majority of the population of Malta, are strenuously opposed:—

1st. Because both the original suspension of the elections in May, 1930, and the consequent suspension of the Constitution in June, 1930, have not been justified by real facts;

2nd. Because both suspensions are illegal and could not have been technically and constitutionally brought into operation by the legal instruments resorted to;

3rd. Because on the strength of the powers conferred on the Governor by Order in Council of the 26th June, 1930, there has been effected wrongly a would-be validation of all the mass of Stricklandian legislation declared

null and void by the Malta Court of Appeal judgment of the 25th June, 1930, such validation having been aimed at in order to save Ministers and Officers of State from being brought to answer before the Courts of Law for their misdeeds including the spending of public money without authority.

And they, therefore, strongly urge that in the local affairs of Malta there no longer continue, as there should never have taken place, any interference by the Imperial Authorities with the working of the Constitution of 1921.

541. With reference to one paragraph you say that the return shows that the Constitutional Party did not even obtain the greatest number of votes polled at the last election of 1927; and you produce a table showing the results of the poll in different divisions, the number of candidates and the number of votes cast under the system of proportional representation and the results of what came out at the end?—Yes.

542. You have read, because I wished it to be on the notes, a full considered statement of your party with regard to the existing political situation?—Yes.

543. I am taking this opportunity of saying that on the notes we can only have printed matters that have been read out in public or are produced in public and put by the permission of the Commissioners upon the shorthand notes. I say that because we have received a large number of communications from all sorts of people which have no relevance whatever to the terms of our inquiry. For instance one man, who I fancy is in prison at the time, does not like his conviction and thinks we can reverse it. We will have to reply to similar applications that their evidence does not appear to be relevant to our inquiry. That only shows the importance of would-be witnesses indicating the line of evidence they desire to give. That has nothing to do with you. I notice that on several occasions at page 4 you speak of the dissolution of the Maltese Parliament as having taken place on the 17th April, 1930. Then in another part of the evidence you speak of the elections having commenced and should be continued. Do you say that under present circumstances when the elections had started under which two members were elected without opposition that those elections could continue?—I did not make any reference in my memorandum to any persons having been elected.

544. I am asking as a matter of probable procedure. Is it possible that

without a new start there could be a continuation of the elections now?—That is my opinion.

545. Well, there are legal difficulties?—That is a legal question which came before the court. The Jugdes of the Court of Appeal held in December 1927 or August 1928 that once an election is put in motion, it cannot be suspended. That was in connection with the case regarding the election of the trade union representatives in the Senate which had started under the Nationalist Administration and was suspended by the Stricklandian Administration.

546. I do not think I can decide that question now or you either. Assuming that an election were to take place, do you say that it should be carried on exactly as it has been in the past without any amendment of the Constitution as regards penalties for undue influence?—Yes. Our contention is that there ought to have been no interference by the Imperial side of the dyarchy even if the Bishops had resorted to a Pastoral Letter or ban. That is exclusively a local matter for Malta. The stopping of the election in 1930, namely, the interference with the operation of the Electoral Act, passed by the Malta Legislature, did not fall within the purview of the Nominated Council or of the Governor as the Head of the Nominated Council. The interpretation given to the Letters Patent when promulgating Ordinance No. I of 1930 was wrong. First of all there was no disorder, no danger of disorder and no danger to the safety of the Empire; secondly the Constitution could never have been suspended in that matter by an Ordinance of the Nominated Council or of the Governor as its head. In my letter to the Secretary of State of the 20th May I asked him to inquire and verify whether that was a fact. We are convinced that the Secretary of State could never have obtained an assurance that there had been really danger to the public safety of Malta or of the Empire.

547. Well, that was your opinion, because the Secretary of State may have had different information. A large portion of your statement is taken up with the contention that the Imperial Government and their side of the dyarchy acted unconstitutionally and illegally?—Yes.

548. The question of the illegality has not been tried?—The question of the illegality has not been tried. We have not had a clear official pronouncement, because the feeling in Malta was that some day or other, as near as possible, the Maltese people would have had a continuation of the elections. To try the illegality of an act like this would

have meant an enormous expenditure and loss of time. Even now I understand that in cases which are pending before the Courts the legality of the Order in Council of the 25th June, 1930, has been impugned, more or less on reasons which I submitted when in 1928 an attempt was made to amend the Malta Constitution by stretching the meaning of section 41. In this connection may I present here a memorandum dealing with the legal points concerning the interpretation of section 41 and with the power of the Crown to alter that section other than as regards reserved subjects? This memorandum contains observations which I had made with the assistance of technical persons, of the best brains in the Island, on the draft amendment of the Letters Patent affecting the constitution of the Senate. The same argument applies here.

549. Is your point that, even if the alteration was to make more clear what the meaning of a paragraph or sentence was, that would not be within the power of the Crown?—No, and I have been so advised by my friends elsewhere.

550. You say here: "Once the Crown has granted self-governing institutions to a Colony, it forfeits its powers of legislation by Order in Council". Would you say that meant that when the power of making an Order in Council and thereby legislating was specially reserved, that was not a legal exercise of power?—There is a special reservation to legislate for certain subjects, but the interpretation given to section 68 could not be so stretched. Section 68 says that His Majesty reserves to Himself full power and authority from time to time to revoke, alter or amend section 41 and all other provisions relating to reserved matters or Imperial property and interests, and also other sections relating to language, etc. We hold that the expression "other provisions regarding reserved matters", coming immediately after section 41, cannot be interpreted extensively.

551. Your contention would be that the Secretary of State has rather strained the meaning of those words?—Yes.

552. One thing that appears to me to be a difficulty in this. This Constitution was put down in black and white in 1921. It went into so many details, such as quorums and things of that sort, that elasticity is not possible. Now, supposing that the only thing that this Commission did (I take a comparatively harmless thing) was to say that, in order to get the working of the two Houses and the absence of obstruction, you must have a smaller quorum, how could that be altered? How could the

existing state of affairs be altered in order to say, for example, that the quorum must be so and so, or, with regard to the constitution of the Senate, that such and such a body must have two members?—Subject to correction, technically, by an Act of Parliament. I have not gone into the question which was raised by the right hon. member who gave evidence before me as to which clauses could be amended by Order in Council, or by Letters Patent, and which by an Act of Parliament. Of course, this is without prejudice to our stand.

553. Yes, I quite follow this. Have you had an opportunity to look through this?—I made it a point to consult the best experts in Malta.

554. To see how you could check it, and the method of doing it?—Yes.

555. And the method was that there should be a short Act of Parliament giving the majority power by Order in Council to make certain alterations in the Constitution, and that others could be done without the power of that Act of Parliament at all, or with an Act of Parliament specifying what was to be done by Order in Council?—If the intention were that, I think this would be possible, but we are strongly opposed to any amendment of our Constitution.

556. You want to have the Constitution exactly the same as it was when the dissolution took place on April 17th, 1930?—It is our point. It has been the point of the Nationalists not to meddle or interfere with the Constitution of Malta except after a mandate from the people, which has never been given, not even in 1928, when the Government, owing to financial difficulties, found itself in difficulties with the Senate, as during my time, in 1924, my Government had found itself in difficulties with the Senate; the electorate was never consulted and asked to express its opinion. Hence, about the Senate there are various contending opinions; there is the Labour opinion, the opinion of the followers of Lord Strickland, my own opinion, and there is also the opinion of Dr. Mizzi and many others. But that is a point which was never put to the electors.

557. Why did you not get the electorate to concentrate on some amendment to the Constitution which might provide a real method of smooth working by putting people's heads together to improve the position of business in the Island?—The Constitution was not even allowed to work. Even the machinery established by the Constitution was not allowed to develop itself in 1928, to work itself out, and there was a commentary on it by independent people, in my own times.

558. There seems to be such a lot of fighting?—We hold that all that has happened is due to the Pastoral Letter, that is to say, to the

intervention on the part of the Imperial Authorities, on the excuse of the Pastoral Letter. If that had happened during my Government I say it here with all conscientiousness, General Du Cane would not have intervened to stop the elections of 1927. In the case of former Governors, in the case of Lord Plumer and General Congreve, we had their sympathy. I quite understand the position from the religious point of view. I was in London for two months after the stoppage of the elections, and I quite understand what the opinion of non-Catholics is as regards the interference by the Bishops; but we had nothing to do in provoking it. I was never taken into the confidence of the Bishop nor was Dr. Enrico Mizzi taken into the confidence of the Bishop. If the election had taken place, we would have won it as a party, and I have got a statement from the Secretary of State to this effect when I discussed matters with him on the 26th June. He said: "I am reliably informed that had it not been for the Pastoral Letter you would have won the elections".

559. He does not know what the opinion of the electorate might be on the poll. In that sense you could say that the Pastoral Letter rather hurt you?

—In that sense. I do not express my opinion either one way or another.

560. Perhaps the Pastoral Letter would have helped you?—In a way it might have helped me and in another it might have done me harm by creating reaction. That position is held by the Leaders of the Labour Party. I had talks with them and they said: "All right we want the elections, you will be returned to-day and we will say that you have been returned with the help of the Pastoral Letter, but, sooner or later, you will clear out surely". No Ministry can last more than three years in Malta; public opinion changes.

561. You might have another Pastoral Letter about you?—It is a matter between us Maltese here and our Church, and it is a matter for the Bishops to consider seriously, and a matter for the people of Malta to think about for themselves too. It is a fact that there was no danger to the King's Empire in Malta when the elections were suspended, and there was no foundation in fact or in law for the excuse which was alleged when Ordinance No. I was promulgated; and if there was excuse, the legal consequence would be: Is there still any more danger to the Empire? In fact three weeks ago the Labour Party and ours held meetings in Clubs facing each other, without any disturbance whatsoever.

562. Assuking that, rightly or wrongly, in London they took the view

that the Pastoral Letter did have an effect upon the position of the Head of the Dominion Government and upon a citizen's right of having a free power of choice, assuming only, as you say, that the Government should not advise that the Civil Authorities should take steps, from their own side, to protect the citizen in a free voting, what are you views?—The Civil Authorities can only take action by virtue of a law existing at the time. There was no law existing at the time; it was simply manufactured on a pretext.

563. You would not have voted the law?—This sort of manifestation on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities was new to us, but I think it has happened in other countries, and we heard from Sir Augustus Bartolo that it did happen in Quebec, in French Canada, where conditions are almost identical to those in Malta. It has happened in Germany and in Austria too. It is a matter affecting the Roman Catholic Church and its faithful. Whether or not is faithful will accept it is another question, but it has happened in other countries.

564. (*Count de Salis*): And the Government took no action in the matter?—No; I am not expressing an opinion in favour or against. That must be clear.

565. (*Chairman*): What has happened is this, that at the time when this election commenced, there was no law against such influence?—No.

566. As it were, the Civil Authorities were protecting themselves by interfering in what the Roman Catholic Church might consider the proper thing to do from a conscientious point of view, and they should have let the elections go on without giving that protection?—There was never any danger to the Empire or to the safety of Malta.

567. That is you opinion, is not it? Do you remember when the election began, in what month and day?—The dissolution was in April, and elections begin about ten days after.

568. And in anticipation of the elections, have you been preparing sometime beforehand ?—Yes, there was the pre-election campaign and the election campaign which started immediately the writ was issued. We had an indication as to when the election, more or less, would have commenced.

569. Of course, in addition to what might be said upon platforms and so on, as regards the state of the country, and the influence that is brought to bear in consequence of this Letter, some very curious articles appeared in different organs in the Press?—One must take into con-

sideration here that all articles are strong, very strong, on both sides and on all sides.

570. You do not think much of these articles?—Unless you speak strongly in this Island, they think that you are weak.

571. Is the paper called "Internazionali" in Italian or Maltese?—It is a Maltese paper. I do not read it.

572. Do you know what its circulation may be?—Very little.

573. Do you think this sort of language would have had little or no influence: "*Strickland and his companions the tools of the Devil?* Beloved brethren of Malta and Gozo, I think you would be surprised to read who are the tools of the Devil in Malta. Perhaps you think that I am going to tell you that these tools are the Freemasons or the Protestants. No, these are not the tools; one a Phoenician and the others Maltese, they are not Freemasons nor Protestants, but they are imitating them and they are serving them and therefore they are serving the Devil"?—There are many cheap papers in the Island and the tendency to encourage more than necessary the Maltese language has produced this stuff.

574. That kind of language?—The same language was used before the 1919 riots.

575. Would it affect the minds of many voters?—I do not think so. The papers in Maltese which are more or less read by members of the political parties are the Nationalist, the Labour and the Constitutional papers; one is called "Il-Poplu", another "Id-Dehen" (formerly "Il Progress") and the other is "Il Cotra".

576. Is this sort of language typical: "As the devil is the author of deceit and lies, he used as his tool the politics of persons as deceitful and lying as himself, he became as friendly as he could with Strickland and his companions and full of joy exclaimed: This is the most favourable moment for me . . . I will make use of this man and the victory will be mine. He is the Prim Minister, his fellow Ministers bow to his word, because his mere look is enough to frighten them; they are living with him in comfort; he is blinding them with money and he has bought them body and soul. This Prime Minister therefore will be my strong instrument wherewith I will destroy religion. I will use his hand to smite as soon as possible . . . I will begin . . . the war because his time is nearly up". Do you approve of that?—I do not approve of that. The papers in the vernacular are all of them of low standard.

577. There is an individual or set of individuals or a journalist who

calls himself "An Old Priest". Do you know anything of him?—No.

578. He seems to have a facile pen in writing abuse?—I have never read his articles.

579. I am glad to hear that you are so politically educated. I must now put to you one thing on which some little stress was laid. It is brought up against you that you said as long ago as 1923 that you would win the elections by fair or foul means. Will you give your explanation of that?—I have had occasion to give many explanations of that, also the Governor himself in 1927 in a file which exists among the Imperial Government files. I could never trace that expression in the debates, but my attention was called to it by a file which Lord Strickland presented here. One of the things in that file dealt with the pharse "fair means or foul". I have not had time to go through it, but Lord Strickland quotes some words. This was in 1923. I had then an accident either with Lord Strickland or with a gentleman, Mr. Henry, I do not remember whom. We were always against each other. I told him: "Whatever means you use, fair or foul, you will always find us with you". It was in the heat of debate, and I said it without any *arrière pensée*, and the incident ended there and then. But it has suited the political tactics of my adversary to keep on raking it up all along up to this date.

580. I will now supplement this with another question connected with papers which were put in yesterday, namely, the allegation made of having supported (it really amounts to this) a man called Ettore Bono, a person convicted 62 times, in making a false affidavit. That is, I gather, the statement about you?—In connection with the Terinu affidavit there have been inquiries, and I refer to them. I did not know this man and I knew about him two years after the incident and by chance. I was Prime Minister at the time and I had my own private rooms at the Auberge d'Aragon. Certain sections of the Auberge were being used as a place for distributing leaflets for propaganda purposes. All the candidates and their supporters met there a week or a fortnight before the elections of 1927. I knew nothing about this man or about what had happened. I had nothing to do with the affidavit. I was summoned in Court as a witness in connection with an action which the Public Prosecutor instituted against the Government or against Lord Strickland and I gave evidence on that occasion.

581. (*Sir Walter Egerton*): That was in 1927?—Yes. A leaflet depicting Lord Strickland as a Freemason was issued by somebody in the party.

Copies of that leaflet were distributed broadcast. I understand that Lord Strickland had done the same, shall I call it trick, at the previous election in connection with the candidature of one of my colleagues, Dr. Mifsud Bonnici. I have been handed a copy of that leaflet. It refers to the religious beliefs of Dr. Mifsud Bonnici. The tactics of local politicians are not, perhaps, up to the high standard which prevails in England and there is much abuse on both sides. About this matter of the affidavit of Ettore Bono I knew nothing. The day following the issue of the affidavit, and I have brought here witnesses in case they would be necessary, I quite remember that when I was at the Auberge d'Aragon some leaflets were being distributed outside the Auberge and I gave distinct orders to the messenger that nothing of the sort, which I disapproved, should be allowed to enter the Auberge.

582. Was that leaflet concerning the affidavit?—It concerned an allegation that Lord Strickland was a Freemason. It is not a fact that I ever paid out of my own or party funds subscriptions for the Bono affidavit. I have had no time to go into all the accusations made against me in connection with this Bono affidavit, which I think is completely extraneous to the subject-matter of the suspension of the Malta Constitution.

583. (*Chairman*): Yes, possibly, but once the accusation was made I thought it proper to give you an opportunity of offering explanations?—When Lord Strickland was giving evidence the other day I made signs of disapproval. Lord Strickland had appointed himself Commissioner of Police for one year and a half. He made all sorts of investigations to find out whether I had been implicated, directly or indirectly, with this affair but all his efforts failed. I have had nothing to do with it.

584. The paragraph regarding the distribution is as follows: "The distribution of the perjured affidavit was made at the expense of a fund to which Sir Ugo Mifsud was a large contributor. The broadcasting of these libellous leaflets throughout Malta and Gozo during the elections caused the loss of many votes and of several seas to the Constitutional Party". That you describe you prevented from entering the Auberge d'Aragon?—The next day: and I had nothing to do with it. I did not subscribe to any funds for the payment of this affidavit.

585. You may have subscribed to the part funds and somebody else distributed the leaflet—Yes.

586. I do not know how far the suggestion goes that you were

personally implicated in this or that you knew about it. It is a strong statement "Of the several plots to assassinate Lord Strickland the attempt for which Miller was condemned was hatched in a Nationalist Club at Senglea where Miller was lodged and fed. He publicly boasted that Lord Strickland would be killed before firing three shots at him on the morning of the 23rd May 1930 in the law courts"?—I will promise, Sir, that I was in London at the time and I cannot say anything about it at all. I have read in the papers that this man was a servant or something in a Nationalist Club at Senglea, but I know nothing about his case. Before the Criminal Court where the killer case was brought, there was no evidence at all that the Nationalist Party had anything to do with the action of this man.

587. Well, at any rate, you had nothing to do with it?—I was in London at the time and I send a telegram of congratulations to Lord Strickland disapproving of the despicable attempt against his life. He sent his Private Secretary to thank me for it.

588. You have got a programme called "The Electoral Programme of the Nationalist Party", I have got two printed documents which are not quite the same and I am not quite sure about the dates, whether they were issued at the same time or not?—One is the Constitutional Party's programme and the other the Nationalist Party's programme. It shows the diversity of views of various points.

589. I have not read them both. Being among your papers I did not know it was Lord Strickland's paper. You put them in for contrast. Now, your programme consists of 13 clauses which would require a good deal of money if you could possibly carry them out. Can you tell me from your previous knowledge, or I dare say an official can tell me, how long it may be before the Government is likely to get the result of the census?—It takes several months, if not a year.

590. I dare say the particulars on the whole of the deductions might take a year, but not the actual returns of the number of people in the Island and the number of races?—That could be done easily. It should be done whilst your lordship is here. I think so, but I am not an expert.

591. I am asking you whether you remember from the previous census?—The last census was just before we got in in 1921 and it was presented completed, but partial returns could be made.

592. You have no skilled enumerators?—But they are trained.

593. As regards the teaching in the Elementary Schools, what was the

system of education?—On this subject, I would use the same method suggested by Lord Strickland, that somebody better qualified than I should elucidate the various points that might arise. The practice prevailing here is to teach English up to the third standard in the elementary schools, I am not mentioning the infant schools. Then English and Italian are taught, and that is by virtue of an Act called the *Pari Passu* Act, which was passed during the Nationalist administration in 1923; that is to say, it is an Act of the local Legislature.

594. (*Sir Walter Egerton*): What was the system before that Act?—Well, there was no Act. I do not think that Act actually brought great variations in the system. It made it obligatory for Governments to obey the dispositions of that Act. When that Act was passed, the Labour Party voted in its favour. After that the Senate had made certain amendments, and as regards the *pari passu* I may say that Sir Augustus Bartolo's original programme was in favour of *pari passu*, and up to the present day there has never been an electoral programme of any party for abolishing the Italian language. I think it is important that you should have the political programme of the various parties in 1921 on the occasion of the first election, and those published in 1924 on the occasion of the second election, and those of 1927. Not even in the electoral programmes of 1930 was the idea of abolishing the Italian language ever mooted, either from the administration or from the law courts.

595. (*Chairman*): Could we have your programmes for these three elections?—Yes.

596. Have you in your mind the member of your party who could give evidence?—The secretary of the party, Dr. Carmelo Mifsud Bonnici. He is competent on these matters, and is a former Minister for the Treasury.

597. We can ask him to let us have some notes on what he is going to say?—We completely repudiate the assertion which was made by Sir Augustus Bartolo that Italian, or all this pro-Italian sympathy, was brought about by the Italian people who came to Malta during the *Risorgimento* of Italy. In a book published by Sir Augustus Bartolo himself, "Malta and Gibraltar", he gives quite a different version, and it is only lately that Sir Augustus Bartolo has been giving this version, contradicted by eminent authors and writers on the subject.

598. Perhaps he has been spending his time in making research?—In his book, which is looked upon as an excellent on Malta, we have this: "Another distinct boon which we owe to the period (Norman) was the

introduction into the Island of the *lingua franca*, which afterwards became the rich, melodious and refined language of Italy. Italian became the language of our culture and the official language of the Island which position it continued to hold undisputed until the advent of Maitland in 1813—the beginning of the British rule proper—since when it has partically run neck to neck with English and occupies even now, especially through its being the language of the law and therefore of the courts, a place of paramount importance of which it cannot be deprived". That is what Sir Augustus Bartolo wrote in his book.

599. In what year was that book published?—It is by Macmillan. It is an important book. It was published in 1912 or 1913. It is his standard work.

600. At the time, in 1813, the knights were gone, and the people of Malta did not want them back again?—We are proud to be under the British flag. I would suggest that the language question be taken at another sitting. I have not come prepared to deal with it, and there are other people better able to discuss it with the Commission.

601. We will ask Dr. Mifsud Bonnici?—There is also the ex-Minister of Education. I have here the Constitutionalist Party's programme on the language question in which no mention is made of anything against the Italian language.

602. I would ask you to listen this extract from the Letters Patent of 1930, passed under the Great Seal of the Realm, section 41 of the Malta Constitution:-

"Now know ye that We do declare Our pleasure to be as follows: Section 41 of our said Letters Patent is hereby amended by the insertion after the words 'the general interests of our subjects not resident in Malta' in subsection (1) thereof, the words 'or touching the general interests of Our resident in Malta and the preservation and continuance of peace, order and good government therein, in the event of such interests and such peace, order and good government being endangered, of the carrying on the responsible government under these Our letters Patent being prejudiced by reason of any grave emergency which the Secretary of State shall be satisfied has arisen and continues to exist within the Island'. (2) These Our Letters Patent shall come into effect forthwith, and may be cited as the Malta Constitution (Amendment) Letters Patent 1930".

Do you say that was illegal?—Yes, in the first place because the reservations cannot be increased. When self-government was granted to the Island there were certain specific reservations, and they cannot be

increased. Secondly because, as has been already held by the Court of Appeal on the 25th June of last year, the principle dispositions of the Letters Patent cannot be revoked or altered in an indirect manner.

603. I know the meaning of that; but you maintain your point in face of section 68, which says definitely: "We do hereby reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors, full powers and authority from time to time to revoke, alter, or amend section 41" (that is the section in question) "and all other provisions relating to reserved matters or Imperial property and interests and also sections 40, 56, 57, and 63 of these Our Letters Patent as to Us or Them shall seem meet"?—Yes for the reasons which I have submitted in this memorandum, and which I respectfully ask to be inserted in the proceedings. It is a memorandum which I once presented for submission to the Secretary of State.

604. You append it as part of your answer?—Yes.

605. The judgement of the Court of Appeal is not specifically on this section 68, and there are lawyers in London who will have an opportunity of giving an interpretation. I will read the parts which you have marked of the memorandum you have just mentioned:-

"To come now to the text and substance of the Draft Amending Letters Patent. They raise technical objections of a legal nature and others of a political and constitutional character. To begin with the former. On the ground of legal technicalities, it is useful to enunciate some fundamental principles of constitutional science:- 'A colony acquired by conquest or cession is by the common law prerogative of the Crown a subject for legislation by Order in Council. Under such an order the King can constitute the Office of Governor by Letters Patent and by the terms of these Letters, or by instructions given to the Governor, can provide for the Government of the Colony. But this power does not exist in the case (of colonies) acquired by settlement; and is lost when once representative institutions have been granted to a colony'. (Anson—The Crown. Part II, Ed. 1908, page 61.)

'Another restriction on the right of the Crown to Legislate by Order in Council is to be found in the rule that when once a representative legislature is granted to a colony that colony is subject only to legislation by its own Assembly or by the Imperial Parliament'. (Same author page 76. Campbell vs Hall 20 State Trials, page 329).

Professor Berriedale Keith writes: 'Representative institutions, therefore, belonged of right to settled colonies, and once conceded—as was normal—to other colonies became irrevocable'. (Vol 1, page 5, 2nd edition 1928).

And Anson: 'When the Crown has granted a Legislative Assembly to a colony

its powers of legislation by order in Council *unless expressly reserved*, are at an end' (Vol. 11, section 111, chapter 3, page 278, 1896 Edition).

In the Malta Constitution Letters Patent of 1921 a special reservation of the right of legislating by Order in Council was made in section 68. The right to legislate by Order in Council with reference to matters other than those mentioned in such section has been 'lost to the Crown' and is now vested in the Malta Parliament. Vide para 11 of the Secretary of State's despatch of the 28th May 1920 to wit: "The National Assembly has, further, asked that, if an Act of Parliament could not be passed, power should not be reserved to legislate by Order in Council. This request has been granted so far as all matters falling within the jurisdiction of the new Legislature are concerned, and no provision has been inserted in the Constitution Letters Patent (Instrument A) reserving the right to legislate by Order in Council'. Vide further paragraphs 12 and 13 of the same despatch of the 28th May 1920.

The importance of para. 13 is such that it deserves being reproduced hereunder:-

'It will be seen that the main body of the Constitution is, as the National Assembly desired, irrevocable by any instrument issuing in the United Kingdom other than an Act of the Imperial Parliament, since full power is given to the new Legislature to alter any of the provisions of the Constitution Letters Patent other than those specified in section 41 (5) which will in future be alterable only by amending Letters Patent (section 68)'. Note: In the Letters Patent section 41 (5) of the Draft becomes section 41 (6).

The inclusion of section 41 in the reservation of the right to legislate by Order in Council contained in section 68 applies only to the reserved matters contained in section 41 and to everything connected with reserved matters. The very wording of section 68 shows this.

In so far as section 41 contains general dispositions it does not refer to reserved matters, and to that extent it is not subject to be amended or revoked in any other way except by an Act of the Imperial Parliament.

To explain this in more detail:—

The word *other* as used in section 41 (6) "save those contained in this section, all *other* provisions relating to reserved matters or Imperial property and interests" leaves no doubt as to the nature of the provisions to which the savings clause applies. Section 68 is similarly worded—'We do hereby reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors, full power and authority from time to time to revoke, alter or amend section 41 and all other provisions relating to reserved matters or Imperial property and interests, and also sections 40, 56, 57 and 63 of these Our Letters Patent as to Us or Them shall seem meet'. The words 'relating to reserved matters or Imperial property and interests' qualify the reservation and they show the extent of it.

Now the Draft Amending Letters Patent are based on the assumption that the

whole and any part of section 41 may be altered by virtue of the prerogative, and not only such part of it as contain 'provisions relating to reserved matters or to Imperial properly and interests.'

If that assumption were correct then sub-section(1) of section 41 would be alterable by virtue of the prerogative quite as much as sub-section (6).

In fact sub-section (1) runs as follows:-

'It shall be lawful for Us and Our successors by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and Legislative Assembly, subject to the provisions of these Our Letters Patent, to make laws, to be entitled Acts for the peace, order and good government of Malta, with the following limitations, namely, etc'. Under such hypothesis the Crown might by Letters Patent alter this sub-section so as to make it lawful for laws to be made with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly only—or even of the Senate only.

The conclusion would be logical, and its absurdity—from a constitutional point of view—is the best evidence that the assumption that underlines the Draft Letters Patent is wrong.

The Crown has granted representative institutions to this Island and the 'power of the Legislature' are set forth in section 41 et seq. At the same time the Crown has reserved to itself the right of legislating by virtue of the prerogative with reference to reserved matters and to Imperial matters and interests, etc.

In one and the same section, that is in section 41, the Crown gives to the Senate and to the Legislative Assembly the power to make laws, defines the ambit of such laws (sub-section 6), and lays down rules as to how a certain class of those laws is to be enacted (sub-section 6 last para.) and simultaneously places limits upon the legislative powers so granted by reserving to itself the exclusive right to legislate with relation to matters touching the public safety and defence of the Empire etc. and to the matters specified in 41 (1) a. to p. Sub-section (2) contains the sanction of the reservation. Sub-section (3), (4) contain exceptions to the reservation.

If the reservation of the right of legislating by virtue of the prerogative extended literally to the whole of section 41, then the Crown would also be free at any time to alter sub-section, (6), and to deprived the Senate and the Legislative Assembly of the right of repealing or altering the provisions of the Letters Patent.

Even a literal construction of section 68 does not justify the assumption that underlines the Draft Letters Patent in view of the words 'and all other provisions relating to reserved matters or to Imperial property and interests' which follow the words 'section 41' and qualify them. And even if it were to be contended that the letter of the law is not quite in keeping with its spirit (which is not the case) it is a well known rule that in such cases the spirit of the law must prevail.

As to the spirit of the law it is sufficient to refer to the despatch of the Secretary of State of the 28th May, 1920, paras, 11, 12 and 13 already quoted.

Ex admissis the prerogative in being used to enable the Legislature to amend a part of the Constitution (sections 42 and 61) which may not be altered by virtue of the prerogative. This, of itself, is sufficient evidence that the assumed right cannot still belong to the Crown.

The Crown cannot take back the right granted to the Senate and the Legislative Assembly of altering and repealing such parts of the Letters Patent as do not relate to reserved matters, and this is admitted in the Draft Amending Letters Patent and its accompanying despatch. Yet it is contended that the Crown may alter the provision which lays down by what majority the Senate and the Legislative Assembly may exercise the right so granted to them. The Draft Letters Patent contain the admission, therefore, that what is granted to the Senate and to the Legislative Assembly in section 41 (6), first paragraph, may not be taken away by the Crown, and yet it is sought to amend the second paragraph of section 41 (6) which merely lays down by what majority the right of repealing or altering the Letters Patent may be exercised.

Clearly, therefore, the proposed amendments may not be made by virtue of the prerogative."

That is the pith of your argument, and your legal opinion as against possibly other legal opinions. It only shows the difficulty of the dyarchical system of the Constitution?—As regards the dyarchical system of the Constitution, I am not of the opinion that it creates any difficulty at all. The National Assembly itself, by asking for self-government for local affairs, asked that matters of Imperial interest should be reserved. It is a matter of knowing how to give and take, in the case of a dyarchy, for matters to proceed smoothly. During our administration there were no "incidents" whatever, nothwithstanding that matters of great importance came before us, for instance, the surrendering of lands and buildings not necessary for the defence of the Island.

606. Do you wish to say anything about the particular alterations which Lord Strickland has proposed?—Yes. I will refer these to technical experts as well, but I will state summarily my views on the subject. On principle there is the general objection contained in our statement which I have read to-day. Implicitly, Lord Strickland asks that this Constitution shall be amended as will best either crystallize it in a shape or form which will assure his complete victory in the future at all polls, or else as will best suit the political tenets of his party.

607. Is that very unnatural?—It would be extraordinary if his claim were granted.

608. This Constitution has been running now for ten years. It was

quite new at the time. It was quite an experiment, an experiment which I rather gather you, as well as Lord Strickland, would like to see repeated. Some inconveniences, to put it mildly, apart from the suggestion that you have made, may have arisen. Can you indicate in the course of your evidence whether any of the things which are suggested may not be feasible and advantageous to Malta as a whole without considering one party only?—To begin with, leaving the preamble alone, we come to the Senate, section 5. The suggestion is that there should be 5 instead of 10 special members of the Senate; that the general members should be 8, and that there should be 4 nominated members. I do not see the reason. Lord Plumer gave great importance to the special classes, and it is known that if it had not been for the institution of a Senate Lord Plumer would not have recommended the granting of self-government.

609. He had not seen how it had worked?—No. The Senate worked very well—even against the Nationalists. For instance in 1923, when the Nationalists proposed a *Pari Passu* Bill decreeing that English and Italian should be taught from the first standard, the Senate put amendments against the Nationalist standpoint, notwithstanding that the Senate was composed more a less of independent men, in part, and of other Nationalist members; and there was no complaint.

610. There seem to have been complaints on two occasions, one with regard to the question that arose over two members representative of and elected by the Trade Union Council, and the other with reference to two members representative of the clergy and nominated by the Archibishop of Malta. The idea, as I gather, of the suggested amendment is that in order to prevent that kind of crisis or obstruction arising, the nominated members of each class should be reduced from two to one, and that the remaining members (the Senate remaining at 17), should be four, to be nominated by the Government on the advice of the Executive Council as constituted after a General Election. That would mean that the Senate would always to a certain extent follow the colour of the Government of the day?—It would. It would always be at the dictation of the Government of the day, considering especially that the number is so small. With regard to the Trade Union Council representation, I would prefer to deal with that by itself. It is a very complicated matter, and there are bundles of files which one would like to condense in a few sentences. As regards the two members of the clergy, I am not in a position to understand why, if the other members are going to have two, the clergy

should have two. I understand from the amendments here that there is no idea on the part of the framers of these amendments to take away total representation of the clergy in the Upper House. It is not true to assert that the Clergy have been always in favour of the Nationalists. In February or March 1924, the representatives of the clergy, thinking that the Nationalist Government, represented by my collegues and by myself were presenting a Budget out of proportion to the financial resources of the Island, voted with the leader of the Opposition in the Senate, and with other independent members, namely, a representative of the Chamber of Commerce and a representative of the Nobility, in order to try and throw out the Estimates; and it was only on a narrow division that the Estimates were passed. So it is not fair to assert that the Clergy have taken a definite stand against Lord Strickland only. The two representatives of the Bishop voted dead against me also. They have always acted independently. There is a great desire here for economy. The Island is not rich. Even since Sir John Clauson's time the feeling of the Island has been not to spend too much money.

611. I think myself that you have to face a very difficult time in the near future with regard to the economic position of this Island?—Yes. It was at the instigation of the Senate that I was compelled during my time to create a reserve fund, and to make economies, instead of spending money for political purposes, and after six years, although we had originally taken up the administration in difficult times, we left nearly a quarter of a million, consisting of a big reserve fund, an amount for the foundation and erection of a general hospital, and an amount for the exploitation of the "Harper Area" outside Valletta and Floriana, besides a big credit to the General Fund, viz: to the Consolidated Revenue Fund. The Senate has always been conservative in this sense. If in 1928 the Senate was against Lord Strickland as regards the expenditure of money, especially the raising of salaries of employees in high positions, the very same Senate was against me in 1924. But I am not going to go into these details. I think that by altering the composition of the Senate you will not have a house of review at all. The general members, that is to say, the members who are to occupy seven of the seats and who are returned by general suffrage, follow the instructions of the leader of the Opposition or of the Head of the Ministry. They are bound by the same programme and are tied by the same party organization. Then if you have another four added, who are simply appointed because they are

pledged to help the Ministry in office, you will never have a house of review. It seems to me that the whole trouble arose in 1928 because we were not allowed to assemble at a joint sitting of both Houses. The Constitution, as stated in the Law Journal, was not allowed to work itself out.

612. Is the Senate too small?—The Senate is composed of 17 members only, and the President has a casting vote. There are many ideas as to the Senate. The Labour people want its abolition altogether. After all that happened in 1928 I assume there will be more common sense and more give and take in the future.

613. Anyhow, you think this will be putting too much into the hands of the Government of the day?—Yes.

614. But you have no other suggestion to make for improving it?—The text books make all sorts of suggestions.

615. Some of the text books suggest abolishing it altogether?—Yes. There are many ideas on the subject.

616. You will defer speaking about the Trade Union Council and the position of that body?—Yes.

617. Will you go on to the next point?—The next point is section 7. I understood from the remarks which your lordship made when questioning Lord Strickland that the qualification he wants is in favour of any person who is a male British born subject of British born parents. It means subjecting the Britisher to undue interference with his franchise. Why should a Britisher who is the son of a Frenchwomen not have a vote? And it upsets the foundation of what has hitherto been English theory and practice in international law. The status of a Britisher depends on his father.

618. Would not it also prevent any naturalized subject having a vote, and any children of a naturalized subject?—It would. I understand more or less what the proposal is driving at. The Italian colony here, which was two or three thousand strong twenty years ago, is only five hundred now. Very few Italians come to Malta. There is no room for them with our big population. So that this what I call anti-Italian obsession has no justification.

619. Will you take the next one?—The same arguments apply. Then there is another amendment; the word "and" is changed into "or". The franchise is already very large and this is meant to increase it. There is no reason for it, and £20 per annum nowadays is nothing. The value of

tenancies has arisen. The value of property has risen. £20 now represents £10 twelve years ago.

620. (Sir Walter Egerton): The population of the colony is about 230,000, is not true?—It is about 250,000 now, in about Islands.

621. How many voters are there on the present Register?—I think there are from 40,000 to 50,000 on the Register for the Legislative Assembly. I cannot tell you offhand about the Senate.

622. (Chairman): Then there is the question of he franchise of people belonging to the Navy, Military and Air Forces?—There is no justification for that from a political point of view. We have a dyarchy here, and their interests are always more or less protected by the institution called the Nominated Council. Secondly, there is no reason for discriminating here in Malta from the general law which imposes a domicile and which makes restrictions as regards members actually belonging to the Air Force, the Navy and the Army. The Maltese voters would be completely swamped if every soldier and sailor had a vote.

623. The next one is on the question of whether that is to be established for ever. Lord Strickland said he did not bind himself to the legal wording, and made it plain that he did not mean to crystallize it for ever?—There is a big *arrière pensée* behind sub-section 4. In terms of the Constitution Letters Patent, the Trade Union Council is a body of persons who shall be recognized by the Governor. A big question was raised during the second Legislature.

624. Had not you better keep that point until you deal with the matter of the Trade Union Council?—Yes. As regards the electoral law there is much to be said against crystallizing it in the Constitution. The electoral Act of 1929 was an Act passed by the Strickland administration to suit the purposes of the party. It was passed in the teeth of strenous opposition in the Lower House, and approved at a joint sitting of the Assembly and the Senate only thanks to a law passed by the votes of the two pseudo-Senators. It imposed compulsory registration, to which a great section of the population is opposed. . . .

I have been connected with the University for the last twenty-five years, and I can state that nowhere are examinations conducted with greater honesty, ability and independence than in Malta. . . .

1147. That is high praise?—The same thing may be said as regards other questions which concern the individual interests of students; but I am

sorry to say that I cannot be so positive with regard to those questions which have behind them a political background; and as far as the University is concerned the political background can only be (and I wish to limit it to) the language question. I have acted as Minister for Public Instruction on several occassion during the last four years during which I have had the honour of being one of the King's Ministers in Malta. Lately, when I was also acting as Head of the Ministry in the absence both of Lord Strickland and of Sir Augustus Bartolo, I had also the duty and the pleasure of serving as Minister for Public Instruction for about seven months. During this time some incidents occurred which showed that matters which had the language question as a background were not decided with that serenity which so much distinguishes the University of Malta. I bring to your notice the case of the Chair of Venerology and Dermatology. It would take me too long to describe what happened on this matter, but I wish to give you the number of the file in order that you may go through it and see that that question has not been decided in accordance, at least, with the interest of the students.

1148. I have seen the file?—Venereology and Dermatology is a new subject.

1149. You say that it was pressed through in the way in which it was by political influence. Is that it?—I say that it is my opinion that, if it were not for the language question, the Professor would have been allowed to give the lectures in English, in the interests of the students. My contention was approved by Sir Thomas Best. It was afterwards confirmed by Mr. Luke when he was officer administering the govenment. It was agreed to by the Governor. The General Council resisted every time. The file, I am informed, was submitted to the Secretary of State, who, after obtaining advice (presumably legal advice) stated that the subject was a new subject and as a consequence did not come under Act No. IX of 1923. The result has been that, notwithstanding the statement by the Professor that he would much rather, both for his convenience and for the benefit of the students, lecture in English than in Italian, the General Council ordered the new Professor to give his lectures in Italian.

1150. Is the General Council a body which historically never likes any change?—No, I do not think so. The General Council has very progressive views in everything which is not connected with the language question.

(*Chairman*) We will adjourn your further evidence, as we have another witness coming to-morrow.

(The witness withdrew)
(Adjourned to Friday, May 8th, at 11 a.m.)

DOCUMENT 61

Evidence by Enrico Mizzi before the 1931 Royal Commission

THIRTEENTH DAY.
Friday, May 8th, 1931.

PRESENT:
THE RIGHT HON. LORD ASKWITH. K.C.B. (Chairman)
SIR WALTER EGERTON, K.C.M.G. COUNT DE SALIS, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.
A.J. DAWE, Esq. (Secretary).

(**11**)

MR. ENRICO MIZZI, LL.D., SWORN, and examined.

(Dr. Mizzi spoke in Italian and was examined through an interpreter, Major Briffa de Piro, M.B.E., who was also sworn).

1151. (*Chairman*): Dr. Enrico Mizzi, you were educated for some time at the University?—Yes.

1152. And after at the Urbino University in Italy?—At Rome and Urbino.

1153. You began to take part in the government of Malta as early as 1914, when yo were elected a member of the old Council of Government?—Towards the end of 1914 or the beginning of 1915.

1154. In 1921 you founded the *Partito Democratico Nazionalista* which absorbed the *Unione* Party in 1923?—The *Partito Democratico Nazionalista* was founded by me in 1921. It did not absorb the *Unione* Party, but it amalgamated with it in 1926, when the present Nationalist Party was formed.

1155. You became a member of the Legislative Assembly?—Yes, in 1921.

1156. And later you became Minister for Industry, Commerce and Posts?—In August, 1924.

1157. Now you are joint head, with Sir Ugo Mifsud, of the party which is named the Nationalist Party?—Yes.

1158. In answer to our summons of request that you would give evidence, you have attended to help us in this inquiry?—I am here by order of the Commission, not at the request of the Commission.

1159. I used the words 'summons of request'. You signed, with Sir Ugo Mifsud, as a leader of the Nationalist Party, a paper containing the views of the Nationalist Party?—Yes, but that memorandum contains the views of the party on one aspect of the question only. I would now ask you to permit me to make certain declarations.

1160. If you please. I have just asked you some formal questions in order to introduce your evidence?—I, as the head of the Nationalist Party, together with Sir Ugo Mifsud, have presented myself here by order of the Commission, but I must, as the exponent of the views of the immense majority of the Maltese people, declare that the people consider as a great humiliation inflicted upon them by the Imperial Government the inquiry to which they have been and are subjected, at the request of so-called Ministers who are kept in office against the will of the people, and to spite the supreme ecclesiastical authorities. I must also add that I have come here without bringing with me any documents because, in spite of the notice given me, which was of a few days only, in view of my occupations I have not been able to make the necessary researches to be able to produce such documents. I must however declare every thing that I will say can be proved not only by my sworn evidence but also by documents which I might perhaps in due time produce. Besides, I must presume that the Commission entrusted with the carrying out of inquires into the actual political situation, will also have the task of making its own inquires not only among official documents, local and Imperial, but also in the Parliamentary Debates, in the documents published by the Vatican and the ecclesiastical authorities of Malta and Gozo, and also in the articles appearing in the principal organs of the local Press. I make the most ample reference to these documents, particularly because the Commission certainly has the authority and means, which I have not, to order other people to carry out the necessary researches. With these preliminary remarks, I must observe that, according to the terms of reference (which, however, do not seen sufficiently clear and precise) the

Commission is charged with examining "the exisitng political situation". In order to examine this situation I hold that the Commission should first of all examine the position of the various parties. In Malta there are at present three parties: the Nationalist Party led by Sir Ugo Mifsud and myself: the Constitutional Party led by Lord Strickland: and the Labour Party, which is at present divided into two sections, led it is not exactly known by whom, although lately Dr. Boffa's name has been mentiond in connection with one section of that party. The electoral results of the first two legislatures were clearly favourable to the Nationalist Party. In the last general elections which were held in August 1927 electoral results present a somewhat different aspect. We had this result in August 1927: the Constitutional Party gained a number of seats greater than the number of seats gained by the Nationalist Party. However, the number of votes it received was less than the Nationalist Party. This strange result is partly due, or to a great extent due, to the proportional system at present in force; so that to a majority of electoral votes there was not, as there should have been, a corresponding majority of seats. In the Senate the Nationalist Party, however, had the majority of seats and of votes, nay, an overwhelming majority. These electoral results are all the more remarkable when certain circumstances are taken into consideration. First of all, the fact is worthy of note that all the outgoing Nationalist Ministers were re-elected at the head of the list of their respective electoral colleges in Malta and Gozo. On the other hand, the head of the Constitutional Party Lord Strickland was defeated in an electoral district of Malta, and succeeded, after the sixth or seventh count(I do not remember which) in the Gozo constituency. It should be also noted (a fact which is well known) that the Constitutional Party, probably by reason of the personal fortune of its leader, has been able to dispose of means much superior to those of the Nationalist Party and unfortunately has also had support, direct or indirect, from authorities who should not have intervened. In this connection I can quote the case, denounced at the time by the newspaper, of the intervention of the Admiralty, probably not directly but indirectly, by the despatch of personnel belonging to the Fleet to Gozo, where they held demonstrations in favour of the candidature of Lord Strickland. Moreover Colonel Savona, who was the head of the Labour Party, was defeated in the last election; he was defeated in both electoral districts for which he stood. It should also be noted that in the three general elections there has been a gradual

diminution in the seats by the Labour Party. In the first election the Labour Party obtained seven seats; in th second election five, and in the last election three. It is very probable that, following the split which has lately taken place, the forces of the Labour Party have been further weakened. As regards the activities of the Nationalist Administration during the three years for which I had the honour to form part of he Government, as Minister for Industry and Commerce, i.e. from 1924 to 1927, such activities can be seen from the annual departmental reports, from the debates, and, generally speaking, from all the administrative and legislative work which was done. I have told that Dr. Mifsud Bonnici has presented to the Commission a copy of a report which was drawn up by him with reference to the administrative activities of the Nationalist Party from 1924 to 1927. I must state however, that during the three years in which the Government was administered by the Nationalist Party these activities, as far as I know, did not provoke any disorders or any permanent conflict between the local and the Imperial authorities and mush less did they offend the religious and national sentiments of the population. I may also add that as regards by particular administrative activities, Lord Strickland had to declare in open Parliament that he found in my departments such order and regularity that he had found nothing to change or to deplore. As regards our administrative work in general, it is notorious that the Imperial Authorities themselves, although perhaps not in perfect agreement with our Nationalists views, were obliged to acknowledge the immence success achieved by the Nationalist Administration. This was declared in London by the Secretary of State for the colonies to Sir Ugo Mifsud, and was repeated to the Ministers through Sir Ugo Mifsud by the present Governor, who was conveying a message of congratulation from the Imperial Government. The trouble began when, to our immense misfortune, Lord Strickland came into power. The original mistake of Lord Strickland was that he wished to govern the country under the present Constitution by considering it as based on the one-chamber system, while, on the contrary, the constitution is based on the bi-cameral system. Lord Strickland, who had a majority in the Legislative Assembly, found himself in a desperate position in the Senate, where he was in a minority, and, insteady of adopting the constitutional remedies, to which I will refer later, he preferred to continue to govern by means of single chamber, little caring that the Constitution imposed upon him the

Senate as well. I have said that in the legislative Assembly Lord Strickland had a majority, but I have pointed out that there as against this majority of seats there was a corresponding majority of votes. But even if he had a majority double the one he had, he would have found himself in the same desperate conditions in which he actually found himself, because of the existing two-chamber Constitution. When he went into power, I believed that he would realise his position and would take the first opportunity to dissolve the two Houses and have a new election. It is possible if not probable, that if he had done this, he would have been able with his well-known methods even to obtain some slight majority in the Senate, but it is evident that he was afraid of a new election and therefore did not want to dissolve the two Houses, as any other Minister who found himself in this position would have done. Therefore, as he obstinately followed this course, he found himself obliged to have recourse to the illegalities to which he resorted. Naturally Lord Strickland could not have done all this without the help of the Head of the Government, that is the Governor, and it is here, in my opinion, that the personal responsibility of the Governor commences. The Governor as custodian of the Constitution, should have placed his Ministers in the position of having to dissolve Parliament and follow the normal constitutional course. Instead, by accepting the advice of his Ministers to commit certain illegalities he has furnished the cause and origin of all that happened afterwards. The first illegality committed by Lord Strickland's Government, in the hope of being able to strengthen their position in the Senate that of altering the constituency of the Trade Union Council. The election of the Trade Union Council representatives for the Senate had already commenced under the Nationalist Administration, but during the course of this election Strickland went into power following the resignation of the Nationalist Ministers. The first thing he did was to cut short the course of that election, to make new regulations and to start a new election. To this strange procedure His Excellency the Governor agreed naturally; the Nationalist Party, commencing with myself, did not remain inactive in the face of this abuse of power and we contested before the courts the legality of that procedure, and we obtained a decision fully in our favour from His Majesty's Court of Appeal in Malta and subsequently also from His Majesty's Privy Council. I must add that before His Majesty's Privy Council the judges or one of the judges (I do ot remember which) observed that Lord

Strickland or the representatives of the Trade Union Council upheld by Strickland, would not have been able to do what they did (all the illegalities committed) if they had support in high places. The exact phrase used by that judge was a comparison with balloons. He said that these representatives could not have kept afloat, so to speak if they had not balloons, alluding to His Excellency the Governor and other responsible functionaries.

1161. That was a mere interjection by Lord Blanesburgh in the course if an address by counsel?—It was an *obiter dictum*. It was a remark which was very *à propos* and which arose naturally out of the proceedings. As regards the other illegalities and abuses committed by the Stricklandian Administration. I have already made reference to the documents which I presume the Commission will make it its duty to seek and examine. However, I must make particular reference to the inquiry held in Malta, at the request of Lord Strickland's Government and of the Imperial Government, by the Vatican by means of the Apostolic Delegate Mgr. Robinson. Cardinal Gasparri issued an *aide-mémoire* which gave a resumé of the report of Mgr. Robinson and I must declare here that I find no difficulty in proving word by word all that is contained in the *aide-mémoire*, which I should like to examine sentence by sentence. The English translation of the *aide-mémoire*, which I have before me is not absolutely exact, as I pointed out at the time in my newspaper. I would prefer to take the original in Italian. I must first of all observe that the inquiry made by Mgr. Robinson merely covers the period up to the 2nd July 1929, the date of the *aide-mémoire*. It therefore does not cover the subsequent period, then the situation became much worse. I must also observe that what I am going to say will be a most concise and summary resumè of facts which I can now remember, because, as I have said my time, which is nearly all absorbed by my newspaper, does not permit me to make all the necessary researches into papers and documents. The facts which I will state, however, are perfectly correct and I am prepared here, in the presence of the Commission to be confronted with Lord Strickland, who is present among the public:

"From information which has reached the Holy See and which is founded on data collected on the spot, it is evident that the present situation in the Island of Malta is exceedingly grave".

The gravity of the situation clearly results from the fact that the Imperial

Government itself in compliance with a request to that effect by the Government of Lord Strickland, approved by the majority of the Legislative Assembly, had to ask the Holy See to appoint an Apostolic Delegate to examine it. It is clear that if this situation had not been grave, no authority would have taken the trouble to make inquiries. I will continue to read from the Italian text:

"It appears in fact that Lord Strickland, who is not in power by nomination of the Imperial Government, but by the mandate of the people, is going beyond the terms of this mandate by showing no regard whatever for the law, nor for the rights and feelings of the clergy and of the Catholic people.

It is well-known that Lord Strickland was elected by the people and not nominated by the Imperial Government, and that in the popular mandate received by him in accordance with his electoral programme he was implicitly bound to observe the Constitution and the laws of the country. I have already said that he first of all violated the electoral law by thrusting into the Senate two individuals who had not been regularly elected and keeping them there in spite of the judgment of the Court of Appeal which had annulled their election. In this way he not only showed contempt for the electoral law but also did not cause to be carried out, as he should have done, the judgment of the Court of Appeal. But besides the electoral law Lord Strickland has also violated other laws; in the first place, he has violated the fundamental principle that public money should not be spent without due Parliamentary authority. It is a fact that Lord Strickland and his colleagues in the Administration appropriated public money without the necessary authority of Parliament and I have been able to denounce and can now denounce Ministers in my newspaper as "swindlers of the public money" —I wish I had not to use so strong a term—because it is well known that the appropriation laws were not duly passed by Parliament and that the illegality of these laws has now been established by the well-known judgment of the Court of Appeal. Lord Strickland and his Administration have been able to spend public money in virtue of warrants from the Governor given contrary to the laws which govern the expenditure of public money and its appropriation. Lord Strickland has naturally also violated the sentiments of the public and these sentiments have been violated not only because of these illegalites which I have already denounced but also by certain public hostile demonstrations against the

clergy and even against the Bishop, so much so that the representatives of the clergy in the Senate had to abstain under protest from the sittings of the Senate and the Bishops of Malta and Gozo were obliged to protest against this state of affairs. What I have said is more than sufficient to justify this second paragraph of the *aide-mèmoire* which I have just read. "Reliable witnesses" it is stated in the *aide-mèmoire*, "do not hesitate to declare that Malta is at present subjected to a regime of terror and despotism, in which the Opposition in Parliament is disarmed and its Press gagged, the courts threatened, justice suspended, the Constitution in danger, the country in a ferment, the Church and religion openly insulted and opposed." In order to understand this paragraph better, one must remember that Lord Strickland was the head of the Police; indeed, he personally formed part of a Police Commission, so that the facts I am going to denounce acquire greater importance from this fact. I must also add that a state of terror is generally a state of the mind, and a state of the mind cannot always be made manifest externally; but, given certain circumstances, it can be logically presumed. However, independently of the logical presumption of this state of mind, we have also positive and concrete facts which prove the truth of what Mgr. Robinson said. Lord Strickland on one occasion publicly threatened the Nationalist Senators that he would send the populace against them. As soon as he got into power he subjected certain of the outgoing Ministers, such as Sir Ugo Mifsud and Dr. Mifsud Bonnici, to police searches in their homes. It is easy to imagine what effect this brutal way of acting, for which he had afterwards to find some way of excusing himself, must have had on the public. From the printing press belonging to Lord Strickland leaflets were printed and distributed containing incitements to class hatred and designed to expose to contempt not only the Nationalists in general but also the representatives of the clergy in the Senate.

1162. Has that been peculiar to one party?—As far as I know we have never issued leaflets containing incitements to class hatred, but it is possible that the Labour Party have done so. The state of terrorism also showed itself in hostile demonstrations organised by Lord Strickland's party, which sometimes degenerated into actual violence, against most distinguished members of the clergy, as for example the aggression of which Professor Cushieri was the victim. A situation was thus created so that even the representatives of the clergy had to abstain from going to

the sittings of the Senate. "Opposition in Parliament is disarmed", says the *aide-mèmoire*, "and its Press gagged". The fact that the Parliamentary Opposition was disarmed is shown by the guillotine regulations which the majority in the Legislative Assembly hastened to approve at the request of the Government. By these regulations not only was the free speech of the Nationalist Opposition curtailed, and indeed nearly abolished in certain cases, but we were placed in a position of great inferiority vis-a-vis Lord Strickland's majority, which with the help of the Speaker was able to do almost what it liked. The Speaker of the Assembly, after the approval of these regulations, was compensated by Lord Strickland by a rise of salary, and it was on that occasion that we, and myself in particular, denounced the partial attitude of the Speaker. However, the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, who was Mr. Hamilton, had at least some justification, in that he was supported by a majority, good or bad; but the position of the President of the Senate was altogether disagreeable. Several times want of confidence was shown in him, but he remained obstinately in office in spite of the repeatedly expressed wish of the majority of the Senators and supported the policy of Lord Strickland. Facts revealed by Sir Ugo Mifsud in the Press show that as a reward this unworthy President was recommended to the Imperial Government for a decoration. It need hardly be said that similar facts formed the subject of the most bitter comments not only against Lord Strickland's Administration but also against the Imperial Government, or the Governor in particular. "And its Press gagged". This refers to the Press of the Opposition. As regards the liberty of the Press, this liberty had, so to speak, been annulled, and I will explain why. Under Lord Strickland's Government it became the custom to prosecute the editors of newspapers before the Legislative Assembly and to imprison them, and in fact three journalists were sent to prison for an indeterminate period, who should, if any action were to be taken at all, have been brought before the civil courts. The journalists who were sent to prison were: Mr. Salafia, Mr. De Giovanni and Dr. Mifsud Bonnici, who was also a representative of the people in the Legislative Assembly.

1163. Were these three persons whom you named the writers of articles, or editors of papers, or what position did they hold?—Two were editors and one was the writer of an article. This conduct by Lord Strickland's party (I said his Government before, but I mean his party in Parliament) naturally had a repressive effect on the other journalists

of the Opposition, by gagging them morally, in that through fear of similar prosecutions they had to limit their language and their criticism. When the Nationalist Press exercised a certain liberty it did so at its own risk and peril, as it is doing now; and if to-day the Press shows a certain independence of language this is not due to the safeguard provided by the law but to the courage of the writers, who run the risk of being prosecuted. Moreover Lord Strickland, who has large pecuniary means at his disposal, and, as it seems, has also a lot of time to waste, is well known for the continual suits for libel which he brings against the Nationalist Press, vexatious suits for the most part: in fact, in many of these libel cases the Nationalist Press was declared to be right. In the libel cases he brought against me he was the loser, with one exception, which is still *sub judice* before the Court of Appeal; but also in this trial, though Lord Strickland was apparently the victor in the first court, he was condemned to pay half the costs, and the judgment also reveals my entire good faith. I entered an appeal against the judgment, being convinced I had serious proofs of the truth of what I alleged, but as the case is now *sub judice* I cannot say more about it. I have had other actions for libel brought against me by him which are still *sub judice*, and in which I have publicly assumed the responsibility of proving all the facts which I stated. I forgot to say, with regard to the disarming of the Parliamentary Opposition, that one of the methods favoured by Lord Strickland was that of bringing forward most important measures without previous notice and by asking for the suspension of the Standing Orders, using for this purpose the facilites which he had succeeded in obtaining from Mr. Speaker Hamilton by means of the regulations to which I have referred. I can say in this connection, for instance, that the memorandum presented by the Ministers against the *aide-mémoire* we are now studying was presented to Parliament without any previous notice, and we were not given even the time necessary to read and examine it; I had to speak in the name of the Opposition on that memoradum after giving only a cursory glance at it. To go back to the Press, I must also say that the existing Press Law brought forward by Lord Strickland, and the legality of which we contest, was brought forward with the avowed purpose in Parliament by Lord Strickland himself to hit the Nationalist Party and in particular my newspaper "Malta".

1164. How did it particularly hit your newspaper?—Lord Strickland stated in Parliament that he had my newspaper particularly in view.

1165. I understood you to say there was some clause or something in the Act which did that? No.

1166. It was a statement in Parliament as to the purpose of the Act? —Yes. Lord Strickland declared in Parliament that he had my paper particularly in view when he brought forward that Act. The law does not contain any clause against the "Malta" but Lord Strickland in Parliament declared that he had the "Malta" particularly in mind. Then the *aide-mèmoire* says: "The law courts threatened". These menaces took the form of attacks in parliament on the integrity of our tribunals, and these attacks provoked a protest on the part of the judges, and this protest was signed by all the judges, including those appointed by Lord Strickland himself. Judge Cremona's pension was suspended for a long period. Lord Strickland or other Ministers declared in Parliament that His Majesty's udges are subject to the Executive giving the people clearly to understand that they were subject to the Executive just like all other employees of the Government. The Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Hamilton, once threatened to order the President of the Court of Appeal to be brought to the bar of the House, and it was also recalled in Parliament that judges are removable by virtue of an act of the Executive and in support of this contention I think an Imperial Act of George IV was quoted. Then; "justice suspended", adds the *aide-mémoire*. Under Lord Strickland's Administration, criminal proceedings were suspended against members of his party who had thrown stones at and had had recourse to violence against Sir Ugo Mifsud and other Nationalists. At the last moment a criminal prosecution before a jury was suspended by the order of the Ministry, namely in the case against Bugeja Debono and others, who were charged with resisting and attacking the Police. These proceedings were suspended in spite of the contrary opinion of the Public Prosecutor, Dr. Ganado, who was an official appointed by Lord Strickland, and is now one of His Majesty's judges. Further in order to prevent or retard the continuation of an electoral case before the Court of Appeal, a case in which Lord Strickland was interested as a member of the Government, and in which his partisans were also interested, the Court of Appeal was not constituted, and for some time it was made impossible to hear the case, just because the Government did not want to proceed with the constitution of the Court of Appeal. The court was finally constituted after the repeated protests of the Nationalists. I also remember the case of a

perjurer belonging to Lord Strickland's party who was set free from prison irregularly. The case was denounced by me in my newspaper and I defied the responsible Minister to bring a libel case against me; but nobody dared to take proceedings against me. The same case was denounced by me in Parliament. The *aide-mémoire* goes on: 'the Constitution in danger". In this respect we can say that Mgr. Robinson was a prophet. The Constitution was in such danger that less than a year afterwards it was suspended, and to-day the Royal Commission is charged with studying the possibility of its restoration. "The country in a ferment". It need hardly be said that all these facts mentioned by me could not but create in the minds of the public a great amount of discontent, and if the ferment has not assumed very violent proportions it is due, above all, to the moderating influence of the clergy and of the leading members of the Nationalist Party. But I must say that this discontent has expressed itself in popular manifestations every time it was possible for the population to manifest itself; in fact I might cite the grandiose demonstration which was made after Dr. Mifsud Bonnici was set free from prison whither he had been sent by the Stricklandian Party. The *aide-mémoire* goes on: "the Church and religion openly insulted and opposed." In proof of this I need only quote the protests of the Bishops, the hostile demonstrations to which I have already referred in my evidence, the cries of "Down with Christ the King", "Down with the clergy", and "We want him with his apron" (alluding to Lord Strickland who is accused of being a Freemason). The fourth paragraph of the *aide-mèmoire* says: "The same witnesses point out that, although Lord Strickland claims to be the champion of Imperial British prestige, in reality he is acting in contradiction to the best tradition of the Empire and is damaging its real interests". It seems obvious to me that the facts denounced by me, and which have been rendered possible in great part by the complicity of the Imperial Authorities, are really damaging the traditions of the Empire and its true interests. The fifth paragraph says: "The anti-clerical and anti-Maltese campaign to which he has set himself has already aroused sufficient serious discontent and disorders which may shortly give way to the most dire consequences." This farsighted warning by Mgr. Robinson is based on the facts to which I have referred and is a logical consequence of them, and I do no think there is any necessity of proof because it is confirmed by experience of what has happened elsewhere. Such consequences might arise not only in Malta

but also in any other part of the world in which the people are subjected to despotism or tyranny. The sixth and last part of Mgr. Robinson's report says: "Also, in fomenting class hatred in the Island, he will end by demoralizing and exasperating the population, and the disrespect he adopts towards the ecclesiastical authorities will teach the people to disrespect also the civil authorities". Even here we have a very natural and logical appreciation of the situation on the part of Mgr. Robinson. That class hatred has been, and is being fomented in the island has been proved in various demonstrations and also appears clearly if one reads with attention the Labour Party and Stricklandian Press. The pernicious effects of the propaganda of class hatred, which have been experienced elsewhere, might be experienced also in Malta. Nay, I hold that in Malta a real Bolshevik propagada is being carried on. I do not say that Lord Strickland or his party are really Bolsheviks. I say, however, that to keep themselves in power, and to further the interests of their party, they do not hesitate to obtain the support of elements which, while calling themselves Labourites, are in point of fact Bolsheviks, and are making use of Lord Strickland's party to be the better able to propagate their ideas. Sometimes they even camouflage as Imperialists in order to avoid the consequences and the repressions which Bolshevik manifestations might deserve. By facts concisely expressed, but which are true, I have shown the truth of every paragraph and every word contained in the *aide-mémoire*. There might be, and there are, other facts which might be brought out by researches made by the Royal Commission. The present political situation, which I have already explained, should now lead us to a very important inquiry: Which party can rightly vaunt a majority in the country? I hold and I can prove that the Nationalist Party is really the exponent of the views of the great majority of the Maltese. I prove it by the admissions of persons who cannot be suspected of bias. Lord Passfield and Dr. Shiels, when Sir Ugo Mifsud and Mgr. Dandria were in London, declared (Lord Passfield to Sir Ugo and Dr. Shiels to Mgr. Dandria) that they were reliably informed that even without the Pastoral issued by the Bishops on the 1st May 1930 the Nationalist Party would have obtained a "majority in the elections."

1167 That can only be a guess by Lord Passfield and Dr. Shiels?—Everything can be guessed, but this was a logical forecast, and I will tell you why. I have already said that in the last elections, in 1927, the Nationalist Party obtained a majority of votes in the Legislative Assembly and an overwhelming majority of votes in the Senate. This was four

years ago. From that time the bad administration of Lord Strickland, the incredible illegalities committed by him, and the censures of the ecclesiastical authorities, must necessarily have made his party lose ground, and this ground must naturally have been gained by the Nationalist Party. It is not possible that the Labour Party could have gained it, because the Labour Party was the accomplice of the bad administration of Lord Strickland. It was therefore responsible for these same acts, as it supported him. Naturally the ground lost by Lord Strickland's party must logically correspond proportionately to the loss on the part of the Labour Party. In the case of the Labour Party something worse happened. There was a split in that party, and we have the fact the during the three Legislatures the Labour Party was continually losing ground. Originally it had seven seats; then the seats were reduced to five, and finally, when it allied itself to Strickland, they were further reduced to three. To-day these three are naturally also divided. The secretary of the Labour Party himself when in London lately (I think in February last) in an interview solicited by himself and published in a Catholic journal in London, "The Catholic Herald", reckoned the strength of his party as being from 4,000 to 5,000 persons. This interview was revised and corrected by the secretary himself. It is obviously a very exaggerated figure, but even if we were to allow the 4,000 members claimed by the Labour Party this number represents a very small minority as compared with 50,000 electors and 230,000 inhabitants. These are facts which entirely justify the forecasts of Lord Passfield and Dr. Shiels. Another very significant fact should be noted, which has escaped the notice of many. In examining the relative conditions and proportionate strength of the various parties,, and their ups and downs, a very important fact should be noted. In 1921 the parties were originally four in number. There was the *Partito dell'Unione Politica* founded by Mgr. Panzavecchia: the *Partito Democratico Nazionalista*, founded by myself; the Constitutional Party, founded by Lord Strickland, and the Labour Party formed by a group of people. The party known as the Panzavecchian Party in the first election obtained, I think, sixteen seats; the Stricklandian Party and the Labour Party obtained seven.

1168. What year was that?—1921. I obtained four, and the Labour Party seven. The number of votes obtained by my four candidates was, I believe, nearly equal to that obtained by the Labour Party. In the evolution of the parties this phenomenon occurred: the Panzavecchian

Party lost ground, and mine gained ground; the Labour Party lost ground, but the Constitutional Party gained ground. Therefore there began to appear on the political horizon the great division of the country into two parties—on one side the Nationalist Party and on the other the Stricklandian Party. The Nationalist Party kept increasing, and when my party, which originally had four seats and then had five, amalgamated with the *Unione* Party it gained fourteen or fifteen seats; so that the progress of the Nationalist Party was much greater than that of the Stricklandian Party. To-day the loss of ground which the Stricklandian Party has sustained has gone, for the reasons already explained, to the benefit of the Nationalist Party. It should be noted in this connection that when the Panzavecchian Party amalgamated with the *Partito Democratico Nazionalista* (the Mizzian Party) the fundamental principles of the party led by me were completely, from beginning to end, accepted by the Panzavecchian Party; and it was on the basis of this acceptance that that amalgamation occurred. The Panzavecchian Party, however, had a number of seats considerably larger than my party had, but the acceptance in its entirety of my fundamental programme strengthened the Nationalist Party. To sum up, we have had a more rapid evolution of the Nationalist Party, and this evolution has been hastened by the bad administration and collapse of the Stricklandian Party.

1169. There is just one question which I want to ask before we adjourn. At the beginning of your evidence there was an allusion to a matter which has not been mentioned at all before, namely, that the Admiralty gave a demonstration in favour of Lord Strickland in Gozo. What year was that?—August, 1927. I denounced it in the "Malta", and it was denied by the Admiralty. The Admiralty published a *dementi*; but I insisted, and nobody repeated the denial.

1170. We must obtain the answer. It is such an unusual thing to have occurred, if ever it did, that I think the admiralty would probably wish to have their answer put upon the notes?—Do you wish me to produce the reply?

1171. (*Chairman*): No. The Naval Authorities will probably have their reply in their possession. If you have got the reply, or your statement in the file of your papers of that date, and it is convenient for you to produce it, we shall be very glad to have it?—I will produce copies of the "Malta".

(Adjourned to Monday, May 11th, at 11 a.m.)

DOCUMENT 62

Evidence by Paul Boffa before the 1931 Royal Commission

SIXTH DAY
Wednesday, April 29th, 1931

PRESENT:
THE RIGHT HON. LORD ASKWITH, K.C.B. (*Chairman*).
SIR WALTER EGERTON, K.C.M.G. COUNT DE SALIS, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.
A.J. DAWE, ESQ. (*Secretary*).

(5)

MR. PAUL BOFFA, M.D., Sworn, and examined.

629.* (*Chairman*): You have been a member of the legislature for some time?—Since 1924.

630. You have had a party in the Legislature?—Yes.

631. Since when?—Since 1921.

632. Have you been the leader of the party all through?—No. I have been the leader since 1928.

633. How many does your party number?—We returned seven in the first election, seven in the second election, and three in the last election.

634. In 1921, 1924 and 1927 respectively?—Yes.

635. There are no regular Trade Unions in the English sense in Malta, are there?—No.

636. Of what groups does your party consist?—It is explained in the memorandum.

637. As we have the other parties' memoranda on the notes, perhaps you will read your memoradum?—

The witness read the document as follows:
Memoradum from the Malta Labour Party to the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty the King to examine and report upon the Political Situation in Malta.

In order that the views embodied in this Memoradum may be fully appreciated and given their due importance, it will be necessary that the organization of the Malta Labour Party be summarily explained.

The main support of the Party lies in its District Committees in various parts of the Island. Most of these Committees keep political Clubs which are all self-supporting and have a total membership of over 1,300.

Delegates of each District Committe together with representatives of Trade Unions and Associations, as well as a small number of individual members meet once a year for the election of the Executive Committee, and on other occasions when important decisions are to be taken.

The official organ of the Party is "Il Cotra", a paper in the vernacular, and two more papers in Maltese and one in English support the Party.

The Executive Committee of the Party consists of twenty members, the majority being *bone fide* workers.

It will therefore be seen that the Labour Party is the only Party in Malta that can boast of a truly democratic organization representing organised labour. The suggestions and views which follow, therefore, represent the real views of the intelligent section of the workmen in Malta who, rather than accepting the leadership of others whose interests do not agree with their social requirements and political aspiration, insist on having a voice in public affairs through a political organization of which they can form an active part.

The Malta Labour Party wishes to make it quite clear that it is not within the scope of this Memorandum to refer to questions which are purely religious, and the facts as understood and expounded herein refer to the position of the different classes of the population from a politico-social standpoint.

In the view of the Labour Party the root of the present trouble lies in the existence in Malta of a political class drawn mainly from the legal and clerical communities, who since the very beginning of British Rule in Malta held sway over the people in all matters. With the grant of Self-Government it was no longer possible for this class to impose their will on a people willing to learn and determined to obtain political emancipation. The progress of the workers in this respect has been truly amazing and the interest shown by the great majority in public affairs most naturally alarmed the old ruling class.

In order to form a correct idea of the educational value of Self-Government, to the working classes in particular, it may be mentioned that the papers in the Maltese Language which numbered four in 1918 totalled fifteen in 1930; two of these being daily papers. The number of papers in English has increased by four while the Italian papers, with a single exception, have disappeared. This goes to prove that the interest which the working classes now take in public affairs has increased to a enormous extent. In the old Council of Government it was possible for representatives of the people to speak against the building of schools etc. In 1927 all the Parties found it necessary to include Compulsory Education in their Electoral Programme.

For the Labour Party the present dispute is, therefore, part of the larger fight which opened by the grant of the Constitution between the Maltese working masses on one side and the privileged class on the other. The latter continued to thrive on the tradition established during the rule of the Knights throughout the period of British rule until the war, when the question of Self-Government was

seriously mooted. But the dominant class desired Self-Government only in so far as they could obtain a Constitution which would perpetuate their domination over the masses.

As long as the Constitution fulfilled the function of a fortress against the assault of real democracy, it was said that it worked well. That was in the first six years of Self-Government. The victory of the Constitutional and Labour Parties in 1927 was a source of some alarm to the old ruling class, but they began to get really preoccupied when the Compact Government, obstructed by the Senate and encouraged by the campaign against the existence of an Upper House waged by the Labour Party from the very beginning of Self-Government, took steps to limit the powers of the Senate.

This was considered to be tampering with one of the battlements of their fortress, and, fearing that something else may come next, a crisis had to be created. In fact, the charge against Lord Strickland of anti-religious activities was originally started to counter-balance his cry of Pro-Italianism, and it is considered that the present dispute is more the effect of the machinations of the old ruling class than of other circumstances.

Whatever may be the real causes of the present impasse, the prolonged suspension of the Constitution is certainly not a solution. It would mean (1) that power would gradually revert to the old ruling class, as it did, in effect, under the old form of Government ad (2) that the discontent of the masses would be diverted, by clever propaganda, against British Rule as used to be done in the old days.

But the Constitution cannot be expected to function satisfactorily without certain changes. The working of the Constitution for more than eight years has brought to light certain fundamental defects which, admittedly, could not have been foreseen. It is realised that, in granting Self-Government to the people of these Islands, great importance was attached to what was believed by H.M. Government to be the will of the people as expressed by the National Assembly. This Assembly consisted mostly of the professional classes. The proceedings were held in the Italian language and the few workers present, therefore, could hardly participate. The political ignorance of the people was, as a matter of fact, played upon by those who pretended to represent them.

In the view of the Malta Labour Party the constitutional changes required in order to avoid all possible causes which may develop into similar crisis come under the following headings:—

(a) The Senate.
(b) Language Question.
(c) Plural Voting.
(d) Reserved Matters.

The Senate.

Notwithstanding the poor representation of the working class element, the National Assembly approved of the institution of a second Chamber by a mojority of only nine votes.

In a place like Malta where political feeling runs high the Senate may be easily inclined to reject important legislative measures if only to obstruct a Government commading a majority in the Lower House. This was amply proved during the last Legislature when the Senate went so far as to reject the Annual Appropriation Bill passed by a newly elected Legislative Assembly, the adverse votes including those of special members who should be free from party bias.

It is realized that the framers of the Malta Constitution believed that a Senate, with a majority representing special classes, will justify its existence as a House of Review, will show a spirit of moderation and independence, and will, in no ease, try to override the will of the people. But it is now evident that such is not the psychology of the old ruling class. In fact, the behaviour of the majority of the Senate in the last Legislature, even after the amendments curtailing the power of that House in financial matters, proved to the hilt that the Senate could still hinder important social legislation passed by the more numerous House.

In these circumstances the Malta Labour Party is strongly of opinion that the Senate should be totally abolished.

Language Question.

In the view of the Malta Labour Party the main cause of the extreme politica bias which characterizes certain public men and which induces parties and individuals to act in a way which would seem spiteful and even ridiculous in more politically advanced countries is the Language Question.

The Italian Language in Malta is only an instrument of class domination much in the same way as the French Language was in England when the Norman rulers maintained their domination over the Anglo-Saxon masses through the use of that Language. It is not to be confused with the cry of pro-Italianism which, in its true sense, can be applied only to a few but noisy individuals who have succeeded in dominating the Nationalist Party.

It is not known to what extent Maltese interests are to be subordinate to the exigencies of British Foreign Policy, but it is believed that it is high time a remedy was found whereby the people of these Islands be given free and unfettered opportunity to develop their nationality through their own language without the imposition of a foreign language.

Plural Voting.

For a man to have as many as thirteen votes in view of extensive property and other qualifications is, to say the least, outside the bounds of logic in a democracy

born in the XX century. This is more so in Malta where the distribution of taxation, mostly indirect, hits the poorer classes of the population to a much greater extent then in any other country.

Plural voting for the rich and disfranchisement of the very poor would tend to create class hatred.

The Mata Labour Party expects that this injustice will be remedied by the abolition of Plural Voting and the extension of franchise to each and every person.

Reserved Matters.

While in no way wishing to interfere in what pertains to the defence of the Island or to the foreign policy of His Majesty's Government, it is observed that the powers of the Maltese Legislature are, at present, limited in many matters which do not justify their being "reserved". The controversy between Ministers and the Imperial side of the dyarchy in 1929, regarding the interpretation of section 41 of the Malta Constitution Letters Patent, is a case in point, and the Malta Labour Party proposes that the scope of the Maltese Parliament be extended by the exclusion of certain limitations which seem to affect affairs which are purely internal and which, at times, may cause serious friction between the Maltese Parliament and the Maltese Imperial Government.

The foregoing amendments have been suggested in a Memoradum dated 8th September, 1930, to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies; and it is considered these will establish and maintain in Malta a good and permanent system of Government.

It is believed that if the Senate is suppressed, if the masses are placed on a footing of political equality with the privileged classes by the introduction of the Maltese language into Government proceedings and the administration of justice, if plural voting is abolished and the franchise generally placed on a more democratic basis, the old ruling class will realize that, in future, they will have to wage the fight against the masses on the basis of democracy.

The Labour Party does not ask for any amendments other than those already submitted. The suggestion regarding the application to Malta of the English Law relative to undue influence in elections is not considered to bring about a satisfactory solution. The Labour Party has absolute faith in the intelligence and common sense of the masses and believes that, even if the circumstances attending the first election may favour the Party championing the privileged position of a clique, the people will clearly understand, within a very short time, that their interests cannot be left in the hands of their political oppressors. Nor is the Labour Party in favour of the elimination of the Clergy from polities. These have their own interests to defend and should have all the right to do it. Whether it is expedient for the Clergy to mix in party polities concerns only the Ecclesiastical Authorities.

The Labour Party simply asks that the Elections should be free. This would mean the passing of all measures by the Provisional Government to ensure the free exercise of the right of meeting and the right of open speech, not only during the electoral campaign, but also during a reasonably long period preceding the elections.

It is finally desired to make it clearly understood that the Labour Party will, in any case, welcome the earliest return of Self-Government with or without the amendments suggested. It is realised that, notwithstanding the defects which, in the opinion of the Party, exist in the Constitution, the grant of Self-Government to these Islands has been a source of education to the masses who, undoubtedly, are learning to think for themselves and forming a wholesome political conscience.

It is only desired, and this is only natural, that nothing will be done by way of restricting the Liberty of the Press or the Parliamentary Representation of the minority, by a temporary majority that may be returned through undue influence. It is therefore submitted that, until the people are morally free to exercise their franchise, His Majesty's Government will on their part exercise their power of disallowance of any measure tending to curtail the freedom of the press or hinder directly or indirectly Parliamentary representation.

If any form of Crown Colony Government or any other form of administration falling short of the autonomy recently enjoyed is established in Malta, the Labour Party declares that it will maintain its political organization in order to combat, by every kind of systematic opposition and agitation, any such Government as long as it remains in existence. The policy followed by the existing Provisional Government does in no way tend to change the opinion of the Labour Party in this respect.

The whole question has been examined by the Labour Party at a General Meeting when the following resolution was unanimously adopted:–

Resolved

1. The Malta Labour Party at a general meeting held on Sunday, 22nd March 1931, will, on arrival at Malta of the Royal Commission, ask, in the name of the Maltese masses, the re-establishment of the Constitution with the least possible delay, amended as suggested in the Labour Party Memorandum forwarded to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the 8th September, 1930.

2. That if the Royal Commission does not see the necessity of all the amendments suggested in the said memorandum, the Labour Party, requests the re-establishment of the Constitution with any amendments that may be accepted, in order that an election may be held "free" in

the sense that all will have the unfettered right of publicly expressing in writing and speech their opinions.

3. That the Maltese people, adamant in the determination of making Malta a Nation, will in no circumstance tolerate, in this century of progress, Crown Colony Government which is against every democratic principle and which savours of class interest.

The above resolution represents the real feelings of the Maltese workers and, it is believed, the Royal Commissioners will not fail to recommend to His Majesty the King that a permanent system of Government cannot be established and maintained unless it is based on the principles of true democracy.

638. Did your representation extend to Gozo, or to the Island of Malta?—To the Island of Malta. We had candidates for Gozo, but they were defeated—not in the last election, but in the one before.

639. (*Sir Walter Egerton*): Have you branches in Gozo?—Unfortunately no, but we have supporters.

640. (*Chairman*): You talk of making Malta a nation. What do you mean by that?—We mean that we want to uplift, in the first place, our native tongue, the Maltese language. We maintain that if the Maltese language is introduced into the law courts and into the administration there will be no class domination through a medium which is a foreign language. We consider the Italian language to be a medium of domination of a class over the masses.

641. You mean, really, an outlet for the interests which specially appertain to Malta?—Yes.

642. How are the twenty members of your executive committee elected?—The district committees send delegates, and these delegates elect the executive committee.

643. How many delegates would elect the twenty?—Every district committee has ten delegates. It used to have twenty, but we found that was too numerous and we reduced it to ten. The general committee numbers 180.

644. Supposing a district committee falls in number below ten, does it cease to exist?—We have no district committees below ten.

645. It drops out?—It does not drop out. If a district formed a new committee of less than ten we would not throw it out. In some clubs we have 200, 300 and 400, and in others 20 and 30. The number of members of the district committees is over 1,300.

646. Do you give the same authority to a district committee having a small number as to one having a large number?—Yes.

647. Take Valletta, for instance?—In Valletta unfortunately we have not a Club, but there is a district committee.

648. Is Valletta divided into wards, as it were?—No. We have only one district committee for Valletta, and that elects its delegates.

649. Delegates with as much power as those who might come from a rural district?—Yes.

650. (*Sir Walter Egerton*): In which district have you the most members?—In Cottonera district, mostly where there are dockyard people.

651. That is where the dockyard is?—Yes.

652. (*Chairman*): You mention that the interest which the working classes now take in public affairs has increased to an enormous extent. Is that since the grant of the Constitution of 1921?—Yes.

653. Within ten years?—Yes. It has been enormous. I have here a chart showing the increase in the number of Maltese newspapers.

654. (*Count de Salis*): What is the English newspaper of your party?—"The Star". It supports the party.

655. But it does not belong to your party?—No. It is not the official organ.

656 (*Chairman*): In 1927 there was passed a law for compulsory education, was there not?—No.

657. It was in your programme?—Yes. A law was passed by the Nationalists for compulsory attendance. I do not remember the date. So far we have not got compulsory education in Malta.

658. How are the children that should go to schools selected?—The parents apply. They are generally taken at the age of five.

659. What do you say about the *pari passu* system?—Under the present *pari passu* Italian is taught from the third standard upwards, but there is a section of the Nationalists who want to introduce it from the infants school. We are against the *pari passu* system. We want to do away with Italian altogether in the elementary schools merely from a utilitarian point of view. We maintain that under present circumstances children of twelve or fourteen when they leave the government schools do not know either English or Italian. We want to give them at least a fair knowledge of one language and to us it appears that English is more important than Italian. We do not say that because we love English more than Italian, or from spite, or anything like that, but we say that from a utilitarian and practical point of view English is more useful.

660. (*Sir Walter Egerton*): What about the secondary schools?—We do not mind having Italian as an optional subject on the same footing as French, for example.

661. (*Chairman*): Or Spanish?—I think Italian is more important than Spanish.

662. Unless a person is definitely going to emigrate with a family to South America?—That is certainly where Spanish is required more than Italian.

663. I suppose you would like to give the opportunity to a clever boy to learn a language like Spanish or French?—Yes, and even German. The officials of the Emigration Department could give you better information on this question than I could. I am sure they will agree with me when I say that English comes first and the other languages afterwards.

664. Would you say that it was very important that a family emigrating should be able to speak one language well?—Yes.

665. And that English would be of the most advantage to them?—Quite so.

666. As far as your knowledge goes, is it a disadvantage for Maltese to emigrate and to find that they do not speak any langage but Maltese? —Yes. I receive letters from people in Australia and in America complaining that they do not speak English very well.

667. And the inhabitants of those countries do not look upon the Maltese as Britishers because they cannot speak English properly?—Quite so.

668. Do many Maltese of any class go to Italy for the completion of their education? —Some of the doctors and a few lawyers. I know of only one or two lawyers and some doctors. Mostly when they fail to pass an examination here they go to Italy to get a degree.

669. Can you get a degree more easily in Italy than here?—I think so. At least circumstances tend to prove that. People who fail here will go there and obtain a degree, and then come back and ask the Government to give them a licence to practise their profession. They pass a final examination here, and they are allowed to practise just as a doctor who has obtained his degree in Malta.

670. You yourself belong to the medical profession?—Yes.

671. Did you go to Italy for your degree?—No. I studied here.

672. Is there a medical school here of importance?—Yes.

673. And practical work in the hospitals?—Yes, I and others have

been exceptionally lucky, because we had the degree in 1913, a year before the war broke out, and we had plenty of experience as civil surgeons attached to the R.A.M.C. during the war.

674. Are there sufficient doctors in Malta?—Yes, any amount; too many.

675. You say it has been said that the Constitution worked well during the first six years,but you criticize that?—Yes. As the Constitution was in 1921 and to a certain extent as it stands at present, and unless it is amended, only one party can govern in Malta, and that is the Nationalist Party. We had it from the leader of the Nationalist Party in the Senate that the representatives of the special classes are an emanation of the Nationalist Party. It is impossible for any other party to have a fair voice in the Senate. With plural voting and the Senate as it is constituted at present the Labour Party stands no chance.

676. Supposing that the existence of a second House was continued, have you any suggestion to make as to how the Senate could be improved from the view of a chamber of revision, and also from the point of view of the joint meeting of both Houses?—Our contention is that there should be no Senate.

677. Yes, so I gather?—The objection to it is that in Malta a Senate is a luxury. In Malta the Government is a dyarchy, as you know. There is the Imperial Government on the one side and the Maltese Legislature on the other, the function of which is solely administrative and legislative. Foreign affairs are left in the hands of the Imperial side of the dyarchy. The Legislative Assembly is sufficient for purposes of administration and legislation, and if by chance some law which might not be beneficial to the people passed through the Legislature, there is always the Imperial Government, which can disallow any such law passed by the Maltese Legislature.

678. That puts the Imperial Government in a somewhat difficult position, and might make the Imperial Government unpopular in Malta?—That might be an objection, but I am sure that the Imperial Government, if it is a true democratic government, will never go against the will of the Maltese people as expressed in the Legislative Assembly of Malta unless it is a law against Imperial interests or subversive.

679. The other alternative would be fighting it out in Malta?—Yes. The suggestion put forward by the Constitutional Party is only a half measure. It may give the Constitutional Party a chance to govern, but it will never do so for the Maltese Labour Party. The Constitutional

Party might have the Nobles with them, or if this political struggle between the Church ad State be settled, they might have the priests with them; but the Labour Party will never have support from the Senate.

680. Most countries have advanced by steps. It is a question of time? —We agree it is a question of time; we are all agreed on that. Lord Strickland said in his evidence that he made his suggestion with regard to the Senate as a palliative measure to prolong the life of the Senate, and Sir Ugo Mifsud said the time had not arrive to do away with the Senate. We all agree that some day the Senate must go; it is a question of time.

681. You never had in Malta municipal government, for instance?—No.

682. In 1921, as you practically imply in your memorandum, a brand new Constitution was given to a people who took comparatively little interest in political matters?—Yes.

683. Since then you have been educating the people and you have been getting the people to take more interest in political affairs?—Quite so.

684. And you think that will increase?—Yes, it will increase if we have the return of self-government.

685. They are learning?—They are learning a lot, and they are taking an enormous interest in politics. The difference is enormous.

686. Is not the question of education, to which you have alluded, largely bound up with an intelligent interest in politics?—Yes.

687. Improvement of education is of very great importance in Malta? —Yes.

688. Have you gone into the subject yourself of the staff and the methods of teaching and the curriculum and that sort of thing at all?—On general lines, yes.

689. Are there any other points besides the question of language that appeal to you?—No, those are details.

690. The question of being able to read is rather an important matter? —You mean compulsory education?

691. Compulsory education may be rather difficult with a large number of children and a small number of teachers, and a comparatively small number of schools. Possibly compulsory education may be possible in future, but it is important for the people to learn to read and write, is not it?—Quite so.

692. And by reading and writing to be able to understand, not from

a fiery speech but by education and by being able to read sensible articles, what the matter is that they have to exercise their power of voting upon?—Quite so. We want to keep up the struggle. We want to have the Constitution not only to make them read and write, but also to take an interest in public affairs.

693. Is not that valuable?—Yes, of course.

694. Tell me a little about this plural voting?—Here in Malta, according to the Constitution of 1921, a man can have as many votes as there are districts in Malta. He can have 8 for the Legislative Assembly and 2 for the Senate if he has got property in each and every district, besides other votes arising from his special qualifications. If he is a doctor he can vote for the professionals; if he is a Noble he has another vote as a Noble; if he is a member of the Chamber of Commerce he has another vote there. A man can have 14 votes in Malta, whereas another man, whose only fault is that he is poor and ignorant, is debarred from having a vote. We consider this to be a grave injustice, and the Labour Party is of opinion that the Commissioners should take steps to remedy this anomaly of one man having 14 votes and another man not having one at all.

695. Are there many people in Malta with 14 votes?—There are many with 4, 5, 6 or 7.

696. There is a good deal of difference between 14 and 4?—Yes, but there is a greater difference between one man having 6 votes and another man having none.

697. Do you mean this gentleman who may have any amount of property and all sorts of degrees and so on can take a motor car and run round the island and put in 14 votes in a day?—He will vote in one district only. He will have special ballot papers, and vote in that one district for all the districts. This is unjust, especially in view of the fact that taxation in Malta is mostly indirect; 90 per cent is indirect and only 10 per cent. is direct. Yet those who are paying the indirect taxes cannot contribute to representation in Parliament, so to speak.

698. Can a man go to one polling booth and give a vote for all the districts where he has property?—Yes.

699. He can vote at one polling booth for all the districts where he is on the Register of voters?—Yes. They give him a red paper for one district, a green paper for another, a white paper for another, and so on.

700. Voting for the Senate would not be at the same polling station? —Yes, the same polling station.

701. Can a man go in and get a bundle of 14 papers, sit down at a table, cast 14 votes and go out again?—Yes. Of course, as a rule the elections for the Senate do not take place on the same day as for the Legislative Assembly.

702. Are there any figures showing the number of people who have more than one vote?—Yes. I have them here. These are for 1930. In the first district of Valletta there are 385 plural votes, the total number of votes being 3,800; in the second district there are 494 plural votes, with a total of 6,000 odd; in the third district there are 568 plural votes, the total number being 8,000 odd.

703. Where do the figures you are quoting come from?—This paper was given to me by the officials of the Electoral Department; it was distributed to ex-members of Parliament.

704. Are they in an official document?—Not an official document, but this was given to ex-members of the Legislative Assembly.

705. (*Sir Walter Egerton*): Are they recorded in the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly?—No, but they can easily be seen by counting the voters on the Register. I think plural votes have increased since then, because those who have plural votes made it a point of getting their names put down, especially when the election was to be hotly contested.

706. (*Chairman*): Was this a Parliamentary paper given in answer to a Parliamentary question?—I do not remember if it was given in answer to a question, but certainly it was given to us by the department.

707. By the Electoral Registrar?—Yes.

708. He handed it to you?—Yes, to ex-members of the Legislative Assembly.

709. What is the name of the official who gave it to you?—Mr. Borg Cardona, the Principal Registrar.

710. I merely mean I should like to get it officially from him?—Yes. We are against plural voting because those plural votes are undemocratic and cannot belong to our party.

711. Is not this a matter for the Malta Legislature ultimately to decide for itself?—Certainly not. It is for the benefit of the great majority.

712. You speak of the introduction of the Maltese language into government proceedings and the administration of justice. Do you mean all through?—Yes.

713. In everything?—Yes. I have it from lawyers whose names I can give to the Commission now or later on that the Maltese language can be used and applied in the law courts. We possess a Rent Restriction Bill

with a tribunal consisting of a judge, a representative of a trade union and an architect, where 60 per cent of the cases are carried on in Maltese. There has been another case, a jury case, which has been held in Maltese as well. Of course, when people go to the lawyers and ask them to plead their cases in Maltese the lawyers will say they find it difficult. We have considered that, and we think it is an excuse to bar the Maltese language. That is our impression.

714. You say the suggestion regarding the application to Malta of the English law relative to undue influence in elections is not considered to bring about a satisfactory solution, and in another paragraph you say "The Labour Party simply asks that the elections should be free"?—We consider that the amendment put forward by the Constitutional Party to introduce the English law relative to undue influence will not provide a solution for the present impasse. By "free" we mean that we should have liberty of speech and writing because we have been debarred from putting up posters and from issuing certain leaflets, because they say: "You cannot attack such and such a person' and so on.

715. Because they were too personal, or why?—No, they were not too personal. For example, we had posters with "Down with Crown Colony Government", and we were no allowed to put them up.

716. (*Sir Walter Egerton*): Was that after the suspension of the Constitution?—Yes, under the present provisional Governmemt.

717. There was no election on then?—No, no election, but that may happen again; we may, for example, want to say "Down with such dictatorship" and they will stop us.

718. You say you are not in favour of the elimination of the clergy from politics?—I do not think we have any right to interfere.

719. You think it should be left to them to decide?—Of course.

720. They should decide themselves whether it is expedient?—Yes, whether it is expedient or not for religion to mix in party politics. But we maintain that if they come into party politics and attack us they must be attacked; if they throw mud, we must throw mud; they cannot be exempt from attack. Whether a man is a noble or a blacksmith or a priest, it does not exempt him from attack if he takes part in a political fight.

721. He is delivering blows and has to take blows?—That is out contention, but is appears that the mentality of the ecclesiastical authorities is not like that; in fact, the accusation against Lord Strickland is that

he called Mgr. Dandria "a little priest", and other accusation like that. That is their mentality; they can attack us in public meetings and we cannot retort, or if we do we are called anti-religious, anti-clerical. Bolsheviks and so on, and all these fine names, which are beginning to make no impression on the people.

722. (Chairman): Are there any other members of your party who desire to give evidence, or do you speak on their behalf? If there is no objection I shall reserve the right, either myself or by some member of our party, to supplement what I have said.

723. If another member of the party desires to give evidence, perhaps he would communicate with the Secretary and send a memorandum giving the headings to which he proposes to devote himself? Yes. The programmes of the different parties were referred to yesterday by Sir Ugo Mifsud. May I give you our programme for the last election? It was also said yesterday that the Nationalists polled a greater number of votes that the Constitutionals. The last two elections were fought on the issue of the Maltese language, the introduction of the Maltese language into the law courts and the adminstration. In 1924 the Constitutional and Labour Parties returned 17 candidates and the Nationalists 15, and in the 1927 elections the number of candidates of the Compact Parties with the same programme was 18, notwithstanding the affidavit against Lord Strickland, as against 14 Nationalists. At two elections, therefore, the people have expressed their will and determination to have the Maltese language introduced in the law courts and the adminstration. I should also like to hand this document in about the fight between Church and State. We have been accused of being anti-religious, but we maintain in Malta there is no religious question; there never was and there never will be or can be. It is a political fight in which, unfortunately, the clergy, at first individually and then collectively, have taken sides with one party against the other two, which mostly represent the workers.

724. In the programme you have put before me we have first of all the amendments to the Constitution to which you have already alluded, and then, para. 2, social legislation. You say:

"The Party will endeavour to ensure a living wage for all working men, and will bring forward the following legislation:—

(a) Old Age pension;
(b) National Health Insurance;

(c) Law to regulate rural rents;
(d) Law to enable farmers to acquire ownership of their lands;
(e) Banks for helping those employed in Agriculture and the Fishing Trade;
(f) Formation of an Arbitration Board to decide appeals regarding wages, hours and conditions of work. Steps will also be taken to reduce the high cost of living"".

Then you have "(3), Education", under which you have "(a) Compulsory education". I see you put that in your programme?—It has been in the programme of all three parties.

725. Then you have "(b) Radical reform in elementary education", and "(c) Technical instruction". Is the "radical reform in elementary education" really the full introduction of Maltese?—And English, and the elimination of Italian.

725a. You go on:

"4. Taxation. The Party while maintaining in principal the reduction and abolition of indirect taxes and the substitution thereof by direct taxes, will bring forward the following:—

(a) Tax on land values;
(b) Increase of succession duties and amendments to certain details of the existing law.

5. Industries. The Party is for the encouragement of local industries, utilizing for this purpose Government money invested abroad in bonds".

What does that mean?—The Government of Malta has a lot of money invested in Australian bonds.

726. As a reserve fund?—And then unfortunately a crack occurred in Australia lately.

727. The Government is not in a very happy situation in that respect; this is not a very good time to realize?—No, but that was written before the "crack".

728. You go on:

"6. Public Works.

(a) Building, of workmen's dwellings;
(b) Building of schools.

7. Administration. It is the intention of the Party to effect a reorganization of all Government Departments and reclassification of trades".

What does "reclassification of trades" mean?—Here we have no classifi-

cation of trades; anyone can call himself a carpenter and so on. We want to encourage technical schools, so that workers may have a sort of certificate for efficiency. It is done in one trade, masonry, at present; a mason gets a certificate from the Government, but that is not done in any other trade.

729. You want a man to be described as a shopkeeper, a carpenter or a joiner?—Not such a general term as shopkeeper, but for the principal trades of the Island, yes.

730. (*Sir Walter Egerton*): You want them to serve apprenticeships before they are allowed to call themselves bricklayers, and so on?—Yes.

731. (*Chairman*): Technical education?—Yes.

732. Finally you have:

"8. Other Measures:—

(a) Establishment of a Labour Exchange;
(b) Reform in the Law Courts;
(c) Government monopoly of the tobacco trade"?

—Yes. That is a bit of socialism.

733. A wide programme, and requiring some money?—There is a remedy, taxation of land values, which we hold will bring in the money.

734. What is the draft Bill which you have put in?—We are in favour of this amendment to the Constitution.

735. What is it?—Imperial Government civilian employees are debarred from becoming members of either House by the Letters Patent of 1921.

736. (*Sir Walter Egerton*): Do you mean that they are now, or that you want them to be?—No, we want them to be able to get in. The objection is that the Imperial Authorities will not give them permission, but we have nothing to do with the Imperial Authorities, and we want that right to be put down on paper.

737. The addition you want is to section 31 of the Letters Patent of the 11th April, 1921, namely:

"Notwithstanding any provision of this section, Civilan Employees of Our naval, military or air force establishments within the Island shall be capable of being elected Member of the Senate or Legislative Assembly, and, if elected, of sitting and voting therein"?

—If there is a Senate, of course.

739. (*Sir Walter Egerton*): Is that to apply only to Maltese, or to

everybody?—Even to English, provided they are civilians.

740. (*Chairman*): That is the operative clause of this document?—Yes.

(*Chairman*): Thank you. I congratulate you on the clear way in which you have given your evidence.

(The witness withdrew)

SIR UGO P. MIFSUD, Kt., LL.D., B.Lit., re-called and further examined.

741. (*Chairman*): Before you begin I want to ask Lord Strickland a question. In the proposed amendment to section 11, where it says "Provided, however, that the nominated members shall hold their seats in the Senate until the Legislative Assembly is dissolved or expires by effluxion of time and no longer" were the nominated members intended to include the ecclesiastical representatives nominated by the Archibishop?—(*Lord Strickland*): It was not the intention to affect in any way the ecclesiastical members.

742. "Nominated Members" refers to those who it was proposed should be put in as four membes to be nominated by the Governor: those, and those only?—That is the proposal.

743. Thank you. Now, Sir Ugo, we had got to section 11?—(*Sir Ugo Mifsud*): Before proceeding may I make clear a point in regard to which, in answer to your lordship's question yesterday, I might be misinterpreted or in reference to which here might be a misunderstanding. It refers to a question as to the status which the Nationalist Party asks for Malta. We ask for the return of the 1921 Constitution, without the amendments made in June last; that is to say, by virtue of the Order in Council of the 26th June and the Letters Patent of the 26th June, and without those other amendments which were passed in 1928 and 1929, and against which we objected for reasons submitted in my evidence-in-chief and which are contained in the papers. The passage of that legislation, according to us, was illegal. I have been told that I was asked whether I wanted the Constitution of Malta restored at the stage at which it was when the elections were suspended. We hold that the amendments of 1928 and 1929 are illegal, for the reasons submitted in the judgement of the Court of Appeal of the 25th June. Therefore we hold that the Constitution of 1921 has never been altered, and we ask for the return of the Constitution of 1921.

744. The Constitution of 1921 as it stood in 1927?—That is so.

745. Before any of these other actions took place, which you contend are not legally carried?—Yes, or not properly carried, with the reservation to us legally to carry any such amendments which the people might wish or ask for.

746. Can we go on now and deal with section 11?—With regard to these amendments to the Constitution of Malta, they are in the hands of experts, and any remarks I may make upon them are simply of a summary nature. It being a technical matter, there might be many remarks to make from a constitutional point of view; but summarily I am prepared to state my objections to them.

747. I think the amendment to section 14 (1) has already been dealt with?—Technically I think it does not correspond with the principles of English public law. I am told that indirectly it is meant to hit Dr. Enrico Mizzi, whose mother is not Maltese; but in general it is an exclusion of British subjects whose mothers were non-British before marriage.

748. Will you comment on section 14 (2)?—We think that the provision should remain unaltered.

749. You put the comment upon it that £5 was rather a low franchise, if it were granted?—Besides that the comment is that military persons full pay, paying £5 rent per annum, and naval and air force people, should not be registered as votes unless they really possess a legal domicile.

750. That is the criterion?—That is the criterion.

751. That is the existing criterion?—Yes. By this proposed amendment it is intended to give them the vote provided they have an interest in a tenancy of £5. Any soldier or sailor, or any officer on full pay, can rent a house for £5 a year and their votes collectively would serve to swamp the electors of Malta. The dyarchy provides for the protection of all Imperial interests, including those of the men of H.M. Forces. Secondly, military and naval people are here just for a few months, and it is not fair, simply because they happen to hire for a few months a room or a house, they should have a vote. I do not think this would tend to happy relations between the local people and English people. The *arrière pensée* behind it, from a political point of view, is that perhaps the proposer of this amendment might succeed better in presenting before them the bugbear of pro-Italianism and of Malta's annexation to Italy, and all that, because it is the Constitutional Party's Press which goes to these people most. On general lines I have already said I do not see, if

the elections were suspended in 1930 on account of the Pastoral, what sort of connection all these amendments have to the question at issue. Proposals of this nature have nothing to do with the solution of that main problem, which has been the whole cause of the trouble.

DOCUMENT 63

The Request in 1932 that Malta be granted Dominion Status

MEMORANDUM ON THE DOMINION STATUS OF MALTA IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS

1. We have the honour to submit to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that, inasmuch as Malta had been granted Self-Government in internal affairs to the same degree as a Dominion this unit of the British Empire should hence-forth be placed under the Dominions Office.
2. Halsbury's Laws of England define Dominions as being "*those Colonies which possess elective Legislatures to which the Executive is responsible as in the United Kingdom; the only officer appointed and controlled by the Crown being the Governor or Governor-General*".
   (Volume X, para. 809, page 504).

   The authoritative treatise by Chalmers and Asquith, "Outlines of Constitutional Law" equally defines Dominions as being those "*Colonies possessing responsible Government, namely, the Ministers are responsible to the Legislature of the Colony*".
   (4th Edition, 1930 page 363.)
3. When the Malta Constitution Letters Patent of 1921 are examined, it will be found that they include all the requirements of responsible Self-Government. Both Houses of the Maltese Legislature are elective and the Ministers are responsible to the Legislature in exactly the same manner as in the United Kingdom.
   The Head of the Ministry and all the Ministers are under the control of the Maltese Parliament and the only officer in the Executive Council who is the nominee of the Crown is the Governor of Malta.

4. This construction of the Malta Constitution is borne out by the official despatches emanating from His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom either immediately preceding, or else acompanying, the grant of the Malta Constitution:–
   (a) On the 19th November, 1919, Lord Milner, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, telegraphed to the Governor of Malta as follows: "*His Majesty's Government have decided that the time has come to entrust the people of Malta with full responsible control of their purely local affairs.*"
   (b) The despatch was followed by an explanatory letter of Lord Milner to the Governor, dated the 14th December, 1919, two paragraphs of which, i.e. the 1st and 9th, dealt with the principle in question:–
      (i) *I have the honour to inform you in confirmation of my telegram of the 19th November, that His Majesty's Government have decided to grant full responsible Government to the people of Malta in all matters of purely local concern.*
      (ii) *The system of Government which will be established in Malta will be substantially that which has been asked for by the National Assembly. An Elected Legislature will have complete control over legislation and finance in regard to local affairs, and the Executive Heads of all the Local Departments will be members of the Legislature and amenable to its control.*
   (c) On the 28th May 1920, the Secretary of State addressed a further letter to the Governor of Malta from which the following extracts are quoted as being relevant:–
      (i) *The main principle embodied in these instruments is to give to the Maltese People as a community real and complete responsibility for the legislative and adminstrative conduct of their own affairs.*
      (ii) *Notwithstanding these reservations, Malta with an area of a little over a hundred square miles and a population of less then a quarter of a million, will under the new Constitution, enjoy powers as great (or indeed greater, in so far as Malta will also have the control of Postal Services and of Customs and Excise), of Self-Government as, for example, the Australian State of New South Wales, with a population eight times and an area more than a thousand times as great, or any one of the States of the American Union.*
      (ii) *It will be seen that the main body of the Constiution is, as the*

National Assembly desired, irrevocable by any instrument issuing in the United Kingdom other than an Act of the Imperial Parliament, since full power is given to the new Legislature to alter any of the provisions of the Constitution Letters Patent other than those specified in Section 41 (51), which will in future be alterable only by Amending Letters Patent."

5. The Malta Constitution Letters Patent of 1921, have in fact, established a diarchical system of Government in Malta. There are in the Island two concurrent Governments based on the principle that matters of Imperial interest should be controlled, with the advice of the Nominated Council, by the Governor, as the nominee of the Crown, whilst all matters of national and local interest should be under the full control of the elected representatives of the people of Malta. The position of Malta in internal affairs is in effect one of a Dominion status and from the constitutional point of view, the Government established there is closely akin to that of Southern Rhodesia which also possesses a diarchical system of Government. The only difference between Malta and Southern Rhodesia is that the reserved matters in the case of Malta relate to Imperial interests, defence and her position as a strategic centre of military and naval importance. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, the reserved subjects relate to: (a) all laws concerning the collection or allocation of mining revenues in force in the Colony; (b) the imposition of any special tax on minerals; (c) all railway bills; (d) everything, in the widest sense of the word, referring to the enormous native population. A very serious Southern Rhodesian reservation is that whereby the Crown has power to alter Section 26, which confers to that Colony legislative powers. This specific reservation "constitutes the possibility of a legal revocation of the Constitution in its essential feature by the Crown." (Prof. Berriedale Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, 2nd Edition, 1927, page 357, para. 6).

It will thus be seen that the reserved matters are much more extensive and substantial in Southern Rhodesia than in Malta. The fact that there is in Malta a Nominated Council and that such Nominated Council does not exist in Southern Rhodesia does not, in any way, detract from the Dominion Status of Malta as regards local affairs. The Nominated Council's functions in Malta is to advise the Governor on reserved matters solely and, on constitutional principles,

it makes no difference whether the Governor, within the sphere of reserved matters, acts alone or with the help and advice of the Nominated Council.

6. All the leading authorities who wrote on Imperial Constitutional Law in the last ten years have considered Malta as possessing exactly the same status within the Empire as Southern Rhodesia. The following are some extracts from the works of British Constitutional writers on the subject:—

Prof. Berriedale Keith, in his work on *The Costitution, Adminstration and Laws of the Empire*, (1924 Edition), classifies Malta and Southern Rhodesia together as "Colonies possessing Responsible Government" (page 240 to 246). At page 323 of the same work in the "Scheme of the political organization of the Empire," Malta is grouped along with Southern Rhodesia and defined as follows:—

IX— *Malta—the Island enjoys responsible Government in regard to internal affairs subject to the restrictions rendered necessary by the presence of an Imperial naval base with a garrison.*

X— *Southern Rhodesia—the territory enjoys responsible Government subject to restrictions in the interests of the native population and limitations arising out of the mining and railway rights of the British South Africa Company.*

The same authority in his treatise on *Responsible Government in the Dominions*," includes Malta and Southern Rhodesia within the same category.

There two countries are likewise grouped together in the official Publicaton issued by the colonial Office entitled *Regulations governing His Majesty's Colonial Service.*

Prof. J.H. Morgan, K.C., Professor of Constitutional Law in the University of London, in his Lectures delivered at University College, deals as follows with the constitutional position of Malta and Southern Rhodesia:

Colonies possessing responsible Government, subject to a reservation of certain matters for the legislation of the Imperial Government. These constitute self-governing colonies of a new class of which Malta and Southern Rhodesia are at present the only examples.

The authoritative *Journal of Comparative Legislation* (Third Series

(1925), Vol. VII, page 91), in an article on "The Malta Constitution," states:

The Malta Constitution Letters Patent, 1921, *establish a form of Government for which there has hitherto been no parallel in the history of the Empire. Although closely akin to Dominion Status, it differs therefrom in one or two characteristics which relate mainly to certain specific reservations of the legislative powers of the Maltese Parliament and to the bestowal of somewhat wider functions upon the Governor as the official representative of the Crown. On the other hand, the Malta Constitution represents such an advanced stage of local autonomy that it cannot properly be classed under any of the existing types of Colonies possessing representative Government. Imperial policy has evolved a new form of Constitution which, although stading in a class by itself in certain main particulars may conveniently be regarded as of Dominion status in internal affairs. During the short period of its existence, the Malta Constitution has already served as a precedent for Southern Rhodesia.*

7. The system of Self-Government granted to Southern Rhodesia in 1923 was based on that embodied in the Malta Constitution of 1921. The former territory depends from the Dominions Office and we submit that it is just and equitable that Malta should be accorded an identical status. The Colonial Office deals at present with approximately 47 Crown Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories and Malta is the only British Community under its administration possessing a full responsible Government. This has created, in our view, an anomalous situation which is not in accord with the status of a self-governing community and there appears no conceivable ground on which a distinction could be drawn between Malta and Southern Rhodesia.

   Both these countries have been granted self-government to the same degree as that contemplated by the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1907, when for the first time the distinction was drawn between His Majesty's "Dominions beyond the Seas" and "Self-Governing Dominions beyong the Seas." (Memoradum, Cmd. 3523.)
8. The question of the transference of Malta to the Dominions Office, as being in consonance with the status of a self-governing unit within the British Empire, was one of the principal issues in our Electoral Programme and our present submissions are bases on the mandate we received from the people of Malta.
9. We consequently have the honour to request that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom may be pleased to take such steps

as may be necessary to grant to Malta the same status as that which has already been recognized to Southern Rhodesia and to sanction accordingly the transfer of Malta to the Dominions Office.

London, 30*th July*, 1932

UGO P. MIFSUD
Head of the Ministry and Minister for Justice.

ENRICO MIZZI
Minister for Industry and Commerce and of Public Instruction.

C. MIFSUD BONNICI
Minister for the Treasury and Police.

CARLO MALLIA
Member of the Legislative Assembly; Secretary of the
6 Maltese Deputation to London.

To the Rt. Hon.
The Secretary of State for the Colonies,
Downing Street,
Whitehall, S.W. 1.

DOCUMENT 64

News Report in "Malta" on London Mission requesting Dominion Status

MALTA

Organo del Partito Nazionale

Sabato, 16 Luglio 1932

LA DEPUTAZIONE MALTESE A LONDRA

La deputazione parlamentare maltese, che si trova a Londra oramai da circa dieci giorni, va proseguendo alacremente nei suoi lavori e, sebbene nessuno pretende che essa abbia ad essere qui di ritorno carica di lauri e di vittorie riportati nei campi della lotta, pur nondimeno è certo che, presto

o tardi, non potremo non avere che dei buoni risultati dalla missione, che quella deputazione va espletando nel nome carissimo delle nostre isole.

Il Secretario di Stato per le Colonie ha già debitamente ricevuto la nostra deputazione: egli si è messo in diretto contatto colla stessa ed oggi conosce personalmente chi sono Sir Ugo Mifsud, l'onor. dott. Enrico Mizzi, il prof Carlo Mallia ed il Dr. C. Mifsud Bonici e sa molto bene che essi sono dei gentiluomini perfetti, animati solo dal bene della Patria nelle loro lotte politiche, profondi conoscitori dello stato vero delle cose in Malta ed incapaci di mentire e travisare la verità dei fatti allo scopo unico di ingannare il Governo di S.M. sul vero stato delle cose in Malta per potere tornare ad un vecchio monopolio, qual'era quello della Secreteria di Governo, la sola che governasse allora il paese a seconda dei suoi capricci e dei suoi interessi.

Tutto ció è già tanto di guadagnato pel paese, siccome fino a ieri i capi del nostro movimento popolare venivano dipinti coi più foschi colori davanti alle autorità imperiali da chi aveva tutto l'interesse di ingannarle. Il Secretario di Stato per le Colonie oggi, però, non ha solo il vantaggio di conoscere *de visu* i membri della nostra deputazione parlamentare, che sono nel contempo i rappresentanti più eminenti del nostro movimento politico, ma ha avuto il vantaggio non meno significante per noi di conoscere dalla loro stessa bocca il valore del risultato delle elezioni di recente tenute, valore che i nostri avversarii politici avrebbero desiderato di menomare davanti le autorità centrali dicendo che era dovuto esclusivamente alla questione ecclesiastica sorta fra il Conte Strickland e le autorità ecclesiastiche di qui e di Roma.

Sir Ugo Mifsud tenne a dichiarare al Secretario di Stato per le Colonie, a nome suo, della deputazione parlamentare maltese e dell'elettorato in generale che quel risultato è nella massima parte dovuto allo scontento generale creato in paese dalla condotta politica del Conte Strickland, alla sua pessima amministrazione, all'odio che porta allo studio della lingua italiana in Malta e sopratutto al fatto che il Conte Strickland colle sue viltà e colle sue perfidie crede di aver raggiunto il suo intento nel bando assoluto, che viene dato alla lingua italiana in Malta, essendosi il Governo di S.M. alleato con lui in questa lotta indecente.

A questo è dovuto il risultato di quelle schiaccianti elezioni e ciò viene dimostrato non solo dal fatto che nel corso della campagna elettorale i nazionalisti non fecero altro che combattere la political disastrosa del Conte Strickland, specialmente sulla questione della lingua, ma anche dal

fatto molto importante che il Conte Stricland con una mossa evidentemente premeditata volle gettarsi all'undecima ora ai piedi del Pontefice a recitare il *mea culpa* allo scopo evidentemente di assicurarsi un buon voto nelle elezioni. Il perdono gli era stato concesso, ma l'elettorato maltese volle tenerlo alla larga e mandare al potere chi avrebbe potuto rimediare al male immenso recato al paese dal Conte Strickland, specialmente riguardo alla lingua italiana, che si era voluta bandire, e la si è bandita, dalle scuole elementari.

Questo è stato il colpo di grazia, che aveva mandato il Conte Strickland ed i suoi mirmidoni a gambe per aria nelle ultime elezioni generali ed è del tutto falso che si era esercitata una pressione ecclesiastica da parte del Clero in Malta per la eliminazione del Conte Strickland dalla nostra vita politica. Il clero non poteva diportarsi più nobilmente in quella occasione e cio lo sanno molto bene i nostri stessi avversari politici, ai quali oggi interessa di dire l'opposto allo scopo di attutire la violenza dello schiaffo subito.

Il Secretario di Stato, però, non conosce solo il valore del risultato delle elezioni di recente tenute in Malta, ma la stessa portata della questione linguistica, che evidentemente a Londra viene falsata da chi ha tutto l'interesse di sviare il Governo di S.M. ed il Parlamento inglese nelle sue decisioni: ed oltre questo sa anche, e molto bene che, dal momento che ci è stato concesso il *self-government* non è giusto che una questione come questa, che è per sua natura affatto locale, abbia ad essere decisa dal Governo di S.M., che ci aveva concesso la nuova costituzione allo scopo appunto di lasciarci affatto liberi nel governo e nell'amministrazione delle nostre cose locali.

Sir Ugo Mifsud volle essere molto chiaro e molto esplicito sul riguardo, e ciò viene rilevato dalla stampa inglese, la quale oggi va guardando alle cose da un punto di vista molto diverso e va ammettendo che i Maltesi non hanno tutti i torti di lamentarsi della indebita ingerenza dell'Ufficio Coloniale nella soluzione delle nostre questioni domestiche.

Sir Ugo Mifsud insistette, finalmente, sull'espedienza di sottrarre Malta al controllo dell'Ufficio Coloniale e di metterla sullo stesso piede dei Dominii inglesi.

Questa è una questione di massima importanza per noi, che da oltre cento e trenta anni ci troviamo alla mercè di impiegati nell'Ufficio Coloniale, che fanno di noi ciò che vogliono. Delle volte, anzi quasi sempre il Governo di S.M., vale a dire gli stessi Ministri del Gabinetto inglese, non

sanno alcun che delle cose nostre e ripetono pappagallescamente quanto viene loro riferito dagli alti papaveri dell'Ufficio Coloniale. Così p. e. quando Mr. Asquith aveva visitato una ventina di anni fa le nostre isole nella sua qualità di capo del Ministero Inglese era stato avvicinato da una deputazione maltese, della quale formavano parte Sir Arturo Mercieca, il Conte Sant Fournier, Mons. Panzavecchia, noi che scriviamo e lo stesso Sir Augusto Bartolo, oltre ad altri ancora di cui ci sfugge il nome, per domandare precisamente non solo una riforma nella nostra costituzione, ma anche e sopratutto una soluzione della questione della lingua nel senso desiderato dai maltesi, vale a dire che si dovessero coltivare le due lingue in Malta, l'inglese e l'italiano, e che non si dovesse far perdere del tempo ai ragazzi nelle scuole elementari collo studio inutile del maltese.

Mr. Asquith era rimasto oltremodo sorpreso a questa nostra domanda, dicendo che egli non c'entrava per nulla in quella questione e che stava a noi di deciderla nel modo più conveniente ai nostri bisogni. E quando allora gli fu spiegato da Sir Art. Mercieca, che era allora deputato del popolo nel cessato Consiglio di Governo, che l'Ufficio Coloniale andava imponendosi nella soluzione di quella questione, parve cadere dalle nuvole, ripetendo sempre che l'Ufficio Coloniale non aveva alcun diritto di metterci bocca a che stava a noi di decidere la questione della lingua nel modo che più ci piaceva, perchè essa era una questione di interesse puramente locale.

Era Mr. Asquith, che parlava; ma con tutto ciò noi restammo alla mercè dello Ufficio Coloniale, il quale forte, dei suoi cannoni e delle sue baionette, sa mettere a tacere anche il Capo del Ministero in Inghilterra, che ha un controllo molto limitato in *Downing Street*. È tempo oramai, quindi, che questo esoso controllo abbia a cessare una buona volta per sempre e dal momento che ci è stato dato il *self-government* è molto giusto che le cose delle nostre isole vengano d'oggi in avanti ad essere di spettanza dell'Ufficio dei Dominii, sullo stesso piede del Canadà, dell'Australia e della Africa meridionale. Sarà tanto di guadagnato per noi e per la stessa Inghilterra, che potrà meglio conoscere lo stato vero delle cose nostre.

Da quanto abbiamo detto è facile rilevare che la nostra deputazione va procedendo magnificamente bene a Londra e ciò sia detto a conforto di coloro, che si lasciano un pò sfiduciare dalla stampa avversaria, la quale si contorce e si morde le labbra per la rabbia al vedere la deputazione maltese fare il suo dovere in Londra, e nell'impotenza di più nuocere

cerca di gettare il ridicolo sulla stessa. C'è di bene, però, che tutto il ridicolo, che vorrebbe gettare sulla deputazione, gli ricade addosso, come lo sputo che vien lanciato al cielo.

Avv. Gius. Mizzi.

DOCUMENT 65

1932 Editorial on Dominion Status for Malta in *Malta Tagħna*

IL MISSIONI MALTIJA F'LONDRA

Sir Ugo, Dr. Mizzi, Dr. Mifsud Bonnici, Prof. Mallia, bli stenografu u Segretariu maghhom, telku minn Malta ghal Londra, seu seu uara ftit sighat, mil meut tal mahbub mil Maltin collha Mons. E. Dandria li il-lum jinsab fil hdan tal Cbir Alla, jitlob ghal Malta, hecc imcasbra? Bghaghathom il Poplu f'Missioni kuddiem il Gvern Inglis biex juruh, li il killa collha li ureu il Camra tal Lordi u il Camra tal Comuni, f'dac it-tbiccir li ghamlulna fil Costituzioni tal 1921, mghotija lilna an-nom tar-Re, u il kerda tal lingua Taliana li ghal secoli shah zammitna f'ic-Civiltà Europea bhala uirt tan-nisel latin taghna, hia killa li xejn ma tixrak l'id-Democrazia ta istituzioni parlamentari inglisa, xejn ma tixrak lil poplu, li meta l'Inghilterra instghabet fil ghaug tal guerra il Cbira, uettak il lealtà tighu m'hux bil cliem, izda b'hajtu li offriha ghar-rebha tar-Re tighu li uighed mad-dinja collha li dina il guerra keghda issir, biex il kdusija tat-Trattati ma tigiex nieksa, biex il popoli iz-zghar icunu jistghu ighejxu fil libertà, immexxijin fil parlamenti taghhom, minn dauc in-nies li f'idejhom icun irid jafda il Gvern, bla ma hadd jindahlilhom fil hacma ta huejjighom, ta flushom, tal ghadiet taghhom, tar-Religion taghhom u tal lingua tal coltura taghhom, bhal ma li stess Ministru Inglis an nom tar-Re kalilna bil mictub, meta tauna il Costituzioni tal 1921 li il-lum, Ministri Inglisi an-nom tar-Re Inglis iridu jekerdulna, jeu ahjar jisirkulna . . .

Ghalecc il Poplu baghat il Missioni Maltija geuua Londra. Ghalecc in-nies li ighakkduha, patriotti liema bhalhom, halleu il pajjishom, il familji taghhom, u dac collu li jistghu isofru bghejd minn Malta ghad-drittijet tal Maltin, li ghaz zghar, min jiflah bl-armi tal canuni,

u m'hux ghax il Hakk jitlob hecc, k'ed icasbrilna bla ebda ragiuni, bla ebda giustizia, bla ebda lealtà, anzi b'imgiba li tghamel ghajb lil lealtà tal poplu Malti, hecc kadima!

Il Missioni, li xi ftit rinnegati Maltin, ta demm imhassar, sefturi ta setet contra ir-Religion taghna, xtakuha ankas biss tmidd riglejha gio Londra, bdiet xogholha milkuha mill ahjar nies tant tal Colonja Maltija chemm minn nies li huma midhla tal giornalismu u ta Circoli Politici. Izda il poplu Malti, li b'maggioranza hecc cbira ta 21 membru fil Parlament, li thares lejn il votazioni proporzionali, tista issejjahlu miraclu, jinsab bhal hagia uahda uara il Missioni Matija, hsiebu hua biss fiha, jitlob l'Alla biex il hidma taghha tirnexxi, l'euuel biex il lealtà tal Gvern Inglis versu lejna tatina prova li ahna fil Comonwealth tan-Nazzionijet m'ahniex imdahhlin bic-ciajt, izda bil fatti—it-tieni, biex immissu b'idejna, uara seclu u izied ta battalji ghal libertajet taghna, li il lealtà taghna ghandha tisua uisk izied mir-rigimenti li jista ichollu Stat Civil, li is-sahha tighu ghandha tigi mibnija m'hux fuk il biza u il minacci tas-sahha materiali, izda fuk l'imhabba ta poplu li meta hemm bzonn, jati hajtu ghalic, ghax icun ihobboc u m'hux jobghodoc, ghax zammejtu imxecchel taht il pìs ta xcubetta!

L'Europa avolja fit-tahuid li fieh tinsab, ma jistax jaharbulha minn taht ghajnejha, id-dakkiet ta curbacc li il Lordi u il Comuni ta l'Inghilterra keghdin jatu fuk dahar il Costituzioni ta Malta. L'Europa, fejn tuieldet ic-civiltà politica u morali, ma tistax ma tithassibx, meta tilmah poplu zghejr, bi storia hecc cbira, imghaffeg fil libertajet tighu hecc bla hniena, hecc straxxnat biex ighid *ormai* u jehdulu il fdal tac-craret li bakghela il Costituzioni li fil 1921 donnom tauhielna ghal taparsi, ghax x'izied, sthau mid-demm bil glieghel li inxtered mad-dinja ghal libertà tal popoli zghar u biex daun jintakdu ma ommon. L'Europa li chella sehem fit-trattat ta Parigi tal 1814, meta l'Inglisi sejjahnilhom bhala protetturi taghna minn rajna, uara li irbahna lil forzi ta Napuljun u conna indipendenti fid destin taghna, ma tistax ma tahsibx, li id-disarm, sejjer icun il jasar tal popoli zghar, u, min floc il Germania, sejjer jiffaccia xi persecutur jehor li ihassar u ixejjen is-sacrificciu ta miljuni li mietu biex tghejx ghal dejjem il Libertà, il Giustizzia, l'Unur tat-Trattati! U chif tahseb l'Europa, hecc tahseb il Missioni li il poplu Malti baghat gio Londra, biex turi, jecc izidu jarau, fejn hua ir-ragiun u fejn hua it-tort, ta dauc li mil banda iridu il paci u il lealtà bejn poplu u Imperu, u mil banda l-ohra ta dauc li iridu dejjem ibghabsu.

DOCUMENT 66

A Maltese Definition of British Imperialism

Malta, Sabato 6 Agosto 1932

L'IMPERIALISMO

Avremmo desiderato di continuare i nostri articoli sull'attuale situazione economica e sui suoi possibili rimedii; ma dal momento che ci troviamo strascinati a parlare dell'imperialismo, date le insistenze del *Malta Chronicle* a volerci a tutti i costi persuadere di abbandonare la questione della lingua per ottemperare una buona volta per sempre ai desiderii del Governo di Sua Maestà, il quale, alla fin dei conti, stando alle dichiarazioni del *Malta Chronicle* dello stesso Governo di Sua Maestà, non si cura d'altro che del nostro bene e del bene dei nostri figli, è bene stabilire una buona volta per sempre che cosa significa ed a che cosa tende l'imperialismo.

I nostri lettori già sanno che per noi imperialismo non significa altro che asservimento e che, secondo noi, l'imperialismo in Malta non tende ad altro che ad asservirci completamente al giogo dell'impero inglese. Però taluni dei nostri lettori potranno talvolta credere che noi esageriamo in questi nostri apprezzamenti e che il diavolo talvolta non è così brutto come noi lo dipingiamo. Sir Augustus Bartolo pel primo potrà, infatti, gridare allo scandalo a questi nostri apprezzamenti e dichiarare invece che l'imperialismo tende a ben altro che ad asservirci al giogo della Gran Brettagna; ma tende all'opposto a diffondere per tutto il mondo la cultura e la civiltà anglo-sassone e ciò allo scopo appunto di assicurare a tutti i popoli della terra, ed in modo particolare alle Colonie inglesi nella loro qualità di terre sorele nel vasto impero inglese, non solamente quel progresso intellettuale, morale e politico, che si gode in Inghilterra e quella educazione politica di cui l'Inghilterra è maestra nel mondo, ma anche e sopratutto quella libertà, che si gode in Inghilterra, educando in modo particolare i popoli soggetti alla bandiera inglese a governarsi da sè e ad essere gli arbitri dei proprii destini.

E' a questo che tende l'imperialismo, ci potrà dire pel primo il Dr. Augusto Bartolo, che oggi è stato elevato al grado di Sir appunto perchè egli pel primo è un imperialista puro sangue. Ma, come abbiamo detto nei nostri precedenti articoli sul riguardo, a parole si possono dire tante

belle cose, ma quando siamo ai fatti ci troviamo di fronte al rovescio della medaglia, completo e disastroso, che basta da solo a dimostrare che dal dire al fare c'è di mezzo il mare, specialmente quando questo mare è costituito di interessi ben diversi da raggiungersi.

L'interesse degli statisti inglesi è quello di assodare la posizione dell'Inghilterra nel mondo e questa posizione dal suo canto non può venire mai assodata, se non viene prima assodata la sua posizione nelle sue immense colonie. E' necessario, quindi, che l'Inghilterra faccia sentire tutto il peso della sua autorità anzitutto nelle sue stesse colonie ed è, pertanto, assolutamente ridicolo attendersi che gli statisti inglesi pei primi possano in alcun modo desiderare di vedere le Colonie inglesi elevate a quel grado di civiltà e di coltura, cui si trova elevata l'Inghilterra, e peggio ancora di vederle reclamare quella libertà e quella indipendenza, che si godono in Inghilterra.

Ciò sarebbe contro gli stessi interessi dell'Inghilterra e quindi, quando ci si dice che l'Inghilterra col suo imperialismo non tende ad altro che al progresso continuo ed incessante dei popoli soggetti alla Corona inglese, non possiamo fare a meno di ridere ad una simile buaggine, che basta da sola a dimostrare quanto poco senso comune racchiuda nel suo cervello chi talvolta, in buona fede, anzi in tutta buona fede, beva così grosso.

Ma c'è di più. Se è vero quanto si dice, come va che nel fatto il Governo inglese non va facendo atro che sfruttare le Indie e l'Egitto, invece di attendere al loro progresso morale e politico? come va che nel Sud Africa si trova sempre pronto a soffocare nel sangue qualsiasi movimento di libertà e di indipendenza, che si manifesti contrario agli interessi imperiali? e come va finalmente, che vuole tenere asservita perfino l'Irlanda, che forma parte integrale della Gran Brettagna?

Andiamo avanti. L'Inghilterra non è da ieri, che si vanta una delle più grandi potenze del mondo, ma fin dall'epoca napoleonica, ed anche prima, aveva gettato i suoi tentacoli sopra delle larghissime striscie di terra sull'orbe terraqueo: non è come l'Italia, che vanta soli sessanta anni di vita nazionale, vale adire dal 1870 solamente. Se è vero, quindi, quato si dice che l'imperialismo cioè, non tende ad atro che al progresso intelletuale, morale e politico, dei popoli soggetti alla bandiera inglese, data la lunghissima storia dell'Inghilterra sia come regno e sia come impero, si dovrebbero trovare delle specifiche dimostrazione di fatto per dimostrare che quanto si dice è vero; e ciò perchè, se nessuna prova di fatto si porta avanti per dimostrare la verità di ciò che si dice, vuol dire

che a parole si dicono tante belle cose, che nel fatto poi risultano in un magnifico zero. Ebbene: quali prove di fatto ci si possono addurre per dimostrare che alle parole corrispondono i fatti, e che non è vero ciò che diciamo noi, vale a dire *vox pretereaque nihil?*

Non c'è una sola colonia inglese, che possa dire di essere stata beneficata dalla civiltà anglo-sassone; non c'è una sola colonia, che possa dire di dovere al Governo inglese il progresso fatto sotto il dominio della bandiera inglese; non c'è una sola colonia, che possa dire di godere la propria autonomia alla esclussiva generosità dell'Inghilterra; anzi all'opposto la storia di tutte le colonie inglesi ci dimostra che esse hanno dovuto lottare, e lottare gagliardamente, per ottenere quel pò di libertà, che godono; che dovettero resistere, e resistere fortemente, per non abdicare alla loro civiltà, che veniva loro minata col futile pretesto di introdurre la civiltà anglo-sassone; che si trovarono costrette a salvare talvolta colla forza il sacro patrimonio della lingua e della Religione; e finalmente che esse devono a loro stesse la loro libertà, ed alle lotte, che dovettero subire per conquistarla.

E' questo, e non altro, che noi impariamo dalla storia delle colonie inglesi e quindi, quando ci si dice che l'imperialismo non tende ad altro che a migliorare le sorti delle colonie inglesi e ad elevarle a quel grado di civiltà e di coltura, cui si trova giunta l'Inghilterra, perchè esse possano godere quella libertà che si gode in Inghilterra, noi non possiamo fare a meno di ridere a simile buaggini, che fanno a calci con tutto ciò che c'insegna la storia delle stesse colonie inglesi: una storia questa che c'insegna invece a resistere e fortemente alle pretese dell'imperialismo, se non vogliamo anche noi soggiacere al disprezzo degli stessi inglesi, quado ci avranno del tutto asserviti ed imbastarditi.

Il bando dello studio della lingua italiana dalle nostre Scuole Elementari preludia precisamente a questa brutta sinfonia dell'asservimento. Allo scopo di indorare la pillola agli imbecilli si piglia come pretesto il maltese e si dice che lo si vuole inalzare agli onori di lingua nazionale e che l'italiano viene eliminato alo scopo appunto di coltivare meglio il maltese nelle Scuole Elementari.

Non intendiamo tornare sull'argomento del maltese, perche già ne abbiamo parlato diffusamente nei nostri precedenti articoli sul soggetto. Ripetiamo, però, quanto abbiamo detto non più tardi ieri, vale a dire che è del tutto inutile insegnare il maltese nelle Scuole Elementari, anzi non solo inutile, ma una effettiva perdita di tempo, che va meglio impiegata; e ciò perchè collo studio dell'italiano si può acquistare benissimo la

conoscenza del maltese. Ma è l'italiano che si vuole badire dall'Isola per potere oggi o domani imporre l'inglese ....

DOCUMENT 67

A Motion recording what happened during the Constitution's Suspension in 1930–1932

Suspension and Mutilation
of the Constitution

Sospensione e Mutilazione della Costituzione

MR. SPEAKER: In risposta alla mia lettera del 22 dicembre ultimo scorso, ho ricevuto la seguente lettera da S.E. il Governatore:

THE PALACE – VALLETTA.
20th February 1933.

Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 22nd December 1932, I have the honour to forward to you a copy of a despatch which has been addressed to me by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject of the Resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly on the 19th December praying for the restoration of the Constitution as originally granted in 1921.

I have, etc.
(Sd.) D. CAMPBELL
Governor.

The Honourable
The Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

Onor. Sir. U.P. MIFSUD: Ho una mozione da proporre, che cioè la Commissione già nominata da questa Camera venga incaricata a redigere la protesta o qualsiasi sottomissione al Segretario di Stato in riguardo alla sua risposta trasmessaci oggi (*Approvazioni*).

MR. SPEAKER: Io ho inteso che l'onor. Primo Ministro propone di trasmettere il dispaccio alla Commissione per poter relatare sullo stesso.

Onor. SIR. U.P. MIFSUD: La proposta è che la Commissione già incaricata da cotesta Camera, relativamente alla protesta inviata da

questa Camera e dal Senato a proposito delle emende costituzionali, venga oggi incaricata, in seguito alla risposta da parte del Segretario di Stato, a redigere essa stessa la risposta o qualsiasi altra sottomissione che crederà proprio, perchè poi tale risposta o sottomissione venga discussa e approvata da questa Camera.

MR. SPEAKER: Si compiaccia redigere la mozione.

HON. PROF. ROBERT V. GALEA: May I ask that, while this motion is being drafted, the despatch be read to the House?

MR. ERCOLE VALENZIA: Hear, hear.

ONOR. DR. GIOVANNI ADAMI (Ministro dei Lavori Pubblici): Lo legga.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Lo legga.

MR. SPEAKER: Prego il Segretario di leggere il dispaccio in parola.

The Clerk of the Parliament read the following despatch:

Il Segretario Generale legge il seguente dispaccio:

DOWNING STREET,
6th February 1933.

Sir,

1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 15 of the 13th January trasmitting, in compliance with the request of the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, a copy of a Resolution passed by both Houses at the sittings of the 19th and 20th December 1932 praying for the restoration of the Constitution as originally granted in 1921.

2. I would observe with reference to this Resolution that there can be no question of His Majesty's Government taking any steps to effect alteration of the Malta Constitution (Amendment) Letters Patent, 1932. The provisions of these Letters Patent represent their considered decision, which in the Malta Constitution Act, 1932, received the confirmation and approval of the Imperial Parliament.

I have, etc.

(Sd.) P. CUNLIFFE-LISTER

Governor.

General Sir D.G.M. CAMPBELL, K.C.B.,
etc., etc., etc.

HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR SPEAKER: La proposta è la seguente:

Che la Commissione già nominata ed incaricata da questa Camera per redigere la protesta del Parlamento maltese in merito alla sospensione della Costituzione

e Mutilazione della Carta Costituzionale venga oggi in seguito alla risposta del Segretario di Stato incaricata da questa Camera a sottomettere alla Camera per definitiva approvazione l'abbozzo e il testo della replica da presentarsi dalla Legislatura alla risposta del Segretario di Stato.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Secondo e mi riservo il diritto di parlare più tardi, occorrendo.

MR. SPEAKER: Any remarks?

HON. PROF. GALEA: Sir, the sorry figure cut . . .

HON. SALVATORE BORG OLIVIER (Minister for Public Health): By Professor Bartolo: (*Laughter*) (*Interruption*).

HON. PROF. GALEA: ..... by the Head of the Ministry and his colleagues to-day in not rising to support their motion is unprecedented in the history, not only of the Parliament of Malta, but of any other Parliament of the world.

HON. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Quite so! (*Laughter*).

HON. PROF. GALEA: The Head of the Ministry finds no words to support his proposal. In fact, what is his proposal? Nothing else but a request, a humble request I should say, to a Commission of this House, already appointed for another purpose, to suggest to the Head of the Ministry and Ministers the policy they should follow.

HON. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Not the policy.

HON. PROF. GALEA: It is the tail wagging the dog.

ONOR. SIR U.P. MIFSUD: Io sono il Presidente di quella Commissione.

HON. PROF. GALEA: The Head of the Ministry should have had the courage of his convictions. He knows too well to-day that he could only have condemned himself by speaking in support of his own resolution; his silence shows that he is aware of the true course he should have taken on receipt of this despatch (HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear), which constitutes nothing else but a complete and thorough collapse of the whole Nationalist policy (HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear) (*Laughter*).

SIG. ALBERTO W. MIZZI: Non cederemo mai. I vigliacchi cedono.

MR. SPEAKER: Order! Si compiacciano fare silenzio; e lascino libera la parola all'oratore.

HON. PROF. GALEA: It is a collapse of the Nationalist policy, a collapse which, after all, has taken place not to-day, but several days, nay several months, before, because this reply is nothing else but a repetition of what has been stated again and again by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. (HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear).

ONOR. DR. E. MIZZI: Continueremo a lottare, stia pur sicuro; non ci scoraggiranno.

HON. PROF. GALEA: After the last elections the Secretary of State took the opportunity—in replying to a speech delivered in the House of Commons—to state that he had made it abundantly plain that the considered decision taken by the Imperial Government would not be gone back upon. Notwithstanding that, Ministers and their supporters decided to send a Delegation to England in the hope of making the Secretary of State change his mind. They went there, but only to hear, with their own ears, a condemnation of their policy in the very House of Commons. Notwithstanding that, the Imperial Government granted them the desired interview; and again they were informed that the policy decided upon by the Imperial Government would not be changed. In order to save their faces, for even then they should have resigned (*Interruption*). They were granted an interview, and yet they had to come back to Malta with their hands empty. In order to justify their existence in the Cabinet, they proposed a motion of protest against the action taken by the Imperial Government in amending the Constitution, especially in regard to the language question. That they knew from then what the answer was going to be, was made clearly by the fact that, while the resolution was brought before the House as urgent, the Committee of the House took no less than two months to write a single page of protest; and that single page of protest only found its way in this Parliament on the eve of the Christmas holidays, with a request from the Government that, as it had already been discussed by the House, it was not desirable to go into it any further. Hon. Members on this side of the House could not in fact go into it much further for the reason that it was brought forward as an urgent motion without previous notice. Hon. Members of the Opposition are strangled by the Standing Orders . . .

HON. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Which you made when you were in power.

HON. PROF. GALEA: No, which were passed by the present Government. The Government availed itself of those Regulations in order to bring the matter before the House and pass it as urgent, after the Commission had taken no less than two months in order to draw up that protest. Sir, as Ministers have not spoken, I find nothing to answer, but I simply wish to remind them of their duties if they wish to be honoured as Ministers (*Laughter*)—and to tell them that, if they are not prepared to work the Constitution in its present form, then they have no business to be in the

Government (HON. MEMBERS: Oh! oh)!

ONOR. DR. E. MIZZI: Facciamo una Costituzione a sua immagine e somiglianza.

HON. PROF. GALEA: They come here with protest after protest; they open broadsides on the Opposition and on the Imperial Government; but all these broadsides are nothing else but blank volleys for they are words, words, and nothing but words. When Ministers come to take action, then courage lacks them.

PROF. DR. CARLO MALLIA: I cannoni li hanno gli inglesi.

HON. PROF. GALEA: The Head of the Ministry is proposing a motion similar to the one already proposed in this House, during this same Legislature, and therefore, properly speaking, he is out of order.

MR. SPEAKER: The motion of the hon. Prime Minister is quite in order and is in accordance with Rule 43(c) that is "a motion for the consideration of a message from the Governor". (HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear).

HON. PROF. GALEA: This is the same message that was received before.

MR. SPEAKER: It is the only message which we have received on this matter.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Sono loro che hanno insistito affinchè il dispaccio fosse letto.

HON. PROF. GALEA: The resolution is the same. But I am not raising this point of order to ask for any ruling, but simply to point out that this is a repetition and nothing else. Therefore, the arguments which were brought forward on the previous occasion when a similar motion was presented to the House by the Head of the Ministry, can only be repeated in brief to-day. And these arguments can be summed up in the statement that the amendments to the Constitution, both as regards the language to be used in the Law Courts and the study of languages in the Elementary Schools, are such as to be considered by us as improvements and not as mutilations in as much as they answer the true and real needs of the Maltese Nation (HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear), and whoever goes against them may be a patriot, but not a Maltese patriot.

SIG. A. W. MIZZI: La loro qualità dunque.

HON. PROF. GALEA: Whoever goes against his own language and against the language of his flag, in order to give preference to another language, which may have been in the past the language of culture .....

ONOR. DR. E. MIZZI: Parli in maltese.

HON. PROF. GALEA: .... but which to us is always a foreign language (Voci: Parli in maltese) in as much as its flag is a foreign flag, can only be an enemy of his own country.

MR. ROBERT BENCINI (*In Maltese*): Why does the hon. Minister (Hon. Dr. E. Mizzi) not speak in Maltese himself?

ONOR. DR. E. MIZZI: Parlo in italiano, la lingua della nostra coltura, e sono coerente; ma lor signori dovrebbero parlare in maltese per essere coerenti con se stessi.

HON. PROF. GALEA: Whoever carries out a policy which is contrary to the characteristics of the Maltese Nation and to its interests should not be in the Ministry, but should fall in with the enemies of his country! Ministers consider themselves strong because they say they have a large majority, an almost two-thirds majority behind them; but in order to obtain that majority and to be able to win the elections—and hon. Members opposite know this sufficiently well—they had to mix the question of language with another question, which is greatly at heart to the Maltese Nation (HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear). Otherwise the elections would have been fought under the same conditions as those existing in 1927.

ONOR. DR. E. MIZZI: Questa è ripetizione.

ONOR. EDWIN P. VASSALLO: La risoluzione è ripetizione.

HON. PROF. GALEA: ..... when a complete victory was won by the Compact Parties, who really represent the interests of the country (HON. MEMBERS: Here, hear). Of course, now that I have spoken, and that the possibility of speaking again has been taken away from me, hon. Ministers and their supporters on the opposite side will naturally rise and attack me for all they are worth.

PROF. DR. MALLIA: E' in nostro potere di farlo, e lo faremo.

HON. PROF. GALEA: ... but they will do this to save their faces. It will be nothing else but a smokescreen to cover the real issue of the question, the dutiful resignation of the Ministry (HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear) (*Laughter*).

MR. SPEAKER: Order!

HON. PROF. GALEA: I wish to conclude by considering the practical side of the question. Ministers sent in a protest to the Secretary of State for sticking to the Constitution in its present amended form. The reply has come that the reversion to the Constitution of 1921 is not possible. Ministers, instead of taking the course which they have shown to

understand quite well to-day but which they are unable to take, have come forward with another resolution; not even a resolution of protest against that despatch, but a resolution to leave the matter in the hands of a Committee of the House. This is being done simply to gain time, because there is no unanimity of opinion amongst Ministers (HON. MEMBERS: Oh!). What is going to happen now? This protest will be prepared, perhaps with another delay of two months as previously....

MR. ANTONIO DALLI: Four months!

HON. PROF. GALEA: Four months was the delay to open Parliament. Then the protest will be sent to England, and another despatch will come confirming the first one. We shall then again ask the Committee to draw up another protest (HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear), and Ministers will so save their position indefinitely. By not speaking in support of the motion they have brought before the House, Ministers have shown that they are ashamed of their action (*Laughter*). Let hon. Members opposite laugh as much as they like, that is my sincere conviction.....

PROF. DR. MALLIA: Almeno non dica che è *sincere.*

HON. PROF. GALEA: ..... and the conviction of everyone in Malta, including I am sure Members on the Government side. (HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear).

MR. SPEAKER: Tanto l'onor. Primo Ministro quanto l'onor. Ministro del Tesoro che ha secondato la mozione hanno dimostrato di conoscere i Regolamenti, perche si tratta di una mozione di natura formale che secondo il Regolamento No. 43 non ammette discussione. Ho però permesso la discussione in vista dell'importanza del soggetto (*Approvazioni*).

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: L'onor. Capo dell'Opposizione si è mostrato meravigliato che i Ministri non abbiano parlato. Non intendevamo parlare e non avremmo parlato se in questa Camera tutti fossero all'altezza del loro compito (*approvazioni*) ed avessero capito l'insulto e lo schiaffo che il dispaccio ministeriale costituisce, non al Ministero o al Partito che sta al potere, ma a questa Camera perchè è ad una risoluzione di questa Camera che il dispaccio ministeriale risponde. (*Approvazioni*).

SIG. A.W. MIZZI: Non sono tutti maltesi.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Mi appello ai miei onor. colleghi, specialmente quelli che sostengono il Governo, a lasciarmi fare le dichiarazioni che sto per fare, perche l'occasione odierna, ed il discorso infame ed abbietto pronunziato da quella parte (HON. MEMBERS: Order!) fanno di questa seduta una seduta storica.

HON. MR. VASSALLO: Order!

MR. SPEAKER: Mi lascino regolare. Si compiaccia l'onor. Ministro cambiare la parola "abbietto" per rispetto al Parlamento.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Cambierò tutto quello che vuole Vossignoria. Per me quello che preme è qualificare il fatto quale è, e se la mia lingua, e le mie qualità culturali, son troppo povere perchè io possa sostituire quella parola; ne spiego il senso e lascio la lacuna della parola. Nel Senato, quando il Presidente lesse questo dispaccio, il Capo del Ministero si levò subito a dichiarare che avrebbe riservato alla Camera dalla quale era partita la protesta di redigere la risposta apportuna al Ministro della Colonie. Niente più qualifica il successo della nostra tattica quanto questo dispaccio davanti al fatto che una questione che era una questione di partito oggi è diventata una questione del Parlamento di Malta, come nel paese la stessa questione è cessata di essere questione di pochi intelletuai per diventare una quetione delle masse. Noi oggi, abbiamo davanti non più l'espressione di un Partito, di un Ministero, ma una risoluzione presa in quest'Aula sorretta dall'altra Aula: perciò la risposta del Segretario di Stato non è intesa per noi, ma è intesa sopratutto alla Nazione rappresentata dalla maggioranza delle due Camere in Parlamento. (*Approvazioni*).

HON. PROF. GALEA: We opposed the resolution.

MR. ANTHONY P. MONTANO: We opposed it.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Probabilmente lei, signor Presidente, mi chiederà di ritirare di nuovo la parola, ma come qualificare questa interruzione del Capo o del rappresentante di un cosidetto Partito Costituzionale, il quale perchè ha opposto la mozione passata regolarmente da questa Camera dice che quella mozione non è la mozione della Camera? Noi siamo un Governo di maggioranza e tutto quello che passa da questa Camera rappresenta quella che è l'opinione di questo Parlamento. Questi sono elementi di diritto costituzionale che non occorre a me di spiegare, e specialmente a quei liminari li che si atteggiano a rappresentanti del Partito Costituzionale non credevo mai di dover ricordarli in quest'Aula. Ma questo fuoresce dal nostro argomento. Dunque, il Segretario di Stato non si trova davanti a noi Partito e Ministero; si trova davanti al Parlamento di Malta, ed è al Parlamento di Malta che dà lo schiaffo e l'insulto perchè inerme e piccolo, e quelli le si gioiscono dell'insulto del potente che li ha protetti per cinque anni ed aiutati per due anni a prendere il loro salario a dispetto del popolo

maltese, senza rappresentarlo, perchè erano paravento di quella politica infame che doveva avere le conseguenze dispiacevoli che tutti conosciamo. Davanti a questo dispaccio l'Opposizione poteva pur tenere le proprie idee; l'Opposizione non è chiesta di respingere le proprie idee od accettare le nostre; ma oggi la questione nostra supera tutte queste beghe partigiane e di partito. Si tratta invece di ciò: se l'opinione del popolo rappresentato oggi da questo Parlamento—domani potrà essere rappresentato dal Parlamento con una maggioranza loro—se il Parlamento di Malta, rappresentato da una maggioranza qualsiasi, ma da una maggioranza, debba essere trattato così in una cosa che è sua propria da un'autorità estranea al Parlamento di Malta, quale è il Segretario di Stato per le Colonie? (*Approvazioni*) Questa è la questione vera ed importante che presenta il dispaccio e l'onor. Primo Ministro non può e non deve arrogarsi i diritti che spettano a questa Camera che votò prima la protesta e oggi è tenuta a rispondere al dispaccio che il Segretario di Stato ha mandato in risposta alla protesta del Parlamento. Questa è la posizione vera, di fatto, legale e costituzionale. Ma io voglio affrontare l'altra ipotesi, l'ipotesi cioè che fosse veramente nostro il dovere di rispondere, che cioè fosse una questione ministeriale e puramente ministeriale. Che cosa si pretende da quella parte: di portare la Costituzione a quest'assurdo che il Ministero di questo paese non debba dipendere dal voto di questa Camera o dal popolo che l'ha eletto ma dal Segretario di Stato? E così tutte le volte che ci sarà qui un Ministero che non piacerà al Segretario di Stato, questi gli opporrà una qualsiasi legge e farà così sorgere, secondo i luminari della scienza costituzionale di quella parte, il dovere nel Ministero Maltese di dimettersi perchè il Segretario di Stato non gli è piacuto di passargli una data legge. La Costituzione valeva poco, colle emende costituzionali vale assai e assai di meno ma interpretata a guisa della codina e meschina mentalità degli onor. signori che ci stanno opposti viene a non valere neanche la carta sulla quale è stampata (*approvazioni*). L'onor. Galea tanto ha mostrato di non capire, tanto si è mostrato al di sotto della situazione odierna che é andato a discutere i dettagli, se cioè le riforme linguistiche siano o no nell'interesse della Nazione. Il Capo del Partito che rappresenta l'Opposizione non ha capito il contenuto spirituale ne della protesta mandata nè della risposta ricevuta. Ha creduto che noi fossimo a discutere i dettagli. No; noi respingiamo la discussione o meno dei dettagli. Noi non vogliamo vedere oggi e non è competenza di questa Camera vedere oggi, se l'emada del Segretario di Stato sia nell'interesse o no della Nazione.

Quello che noi vogliamo e quello che noi avvochiamo ai popolo maltese è che quello che è bene o quello che è male debba spettare al popolo ed unicamente al popolo di farlo (*Approvazioni*). Il Prof. Galea e noi ci troviamo separati da questo baratro che, mentre lui ancora pensa con quella mentalità retrograda che rappresenta il suo Partito, che abbiamo bisogno di essere tutelati e presi per la mano per governarci ed essere presi dalla mano, non già nel nostro interesse, ma nell'interesse di chi vuol farci da tutore, noi, viceversa, conoscendo tutto quello che può valere la Costituzione di un Governo autonomo, vogliamo per il bene o per il male che sia conscio e signore dei propri destini il popolo di Malta, soltanto il popolo di Malta, rappresentato in queste due Aule secondo la Costituzione (*Approvazioni*).

HON. PROF. GALEA: Why have you accepted the Constitution then?

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Veramente, come ho già detto, in un momento così solenne della storia, mi dispiace sinceramente, e dovrebbe dispiacere a tutti quelli che hanno il culto delle cose patrie, che in questa Aula abbia suonato una voce non in unisono coi diritti e privilegi del paese ma colle angherie e coi sorprisi di una autorità estranea a questo Parlamento. Data la solennità di questo momento, non avrei voluto dire più di quello che ho detto. Ma certi punti del cosidetto discorso dell'onor. Capo dell'Opposizione meritano, per quello che potrebbero significare e perchè sono registrati nei dibattimenti, una piccola discussione. Che il Governo Imperiale dovesse approfittarsi del momento anormale nel quale ci siamo trovati come popolo per effettuare quella politica che non gli era riuscito di effettuare negli ultimi cinquanta anni di dominazione coloniale, noi lo sapevamo. Infatti, tanto lo sapevamo che davanti alla Commissione, come tutti si ricordano, la politica del nostro Partito è stata di respingere fin dal primo momento il diritto della Commissione di occuparsi della questione linguistica. Noi dicemmo loro, e lo ripetiamo oggi, che la Commissione non era venuta per altro se non per servirsi da paravento solamente e unicamente per questo strappo alla Costituzione (*Approvazioni*). Lo intuimmo allora e tanto lo intuimmo che l'abbiamo detto e si trova registrato. D'altronde, l'onor mo Capo del Partito Costituzionale, che non fa misteri della sua politica, lo disse anche lui che la Commissione doveva effettuare unicamente l'arrosto per loro ed il fumo per noi. E l'arrosto era di incorporare nella Costituzione quella politica, quel punto del programma politico dell'onor.mo Capo dell'Opposizione che Strickland non era riuscito di effettuare dietro le spalle e nel nome del popolo, e

neanche con una maggioranza fittizia o col prendere due uomini dalla strada e nominarli Senatori (*Approvazioni*). Questa è storia. Questo lo sapemmo e ne avemmo la prima conferma quando si pubblicò il rapporto della Commissione. Ma i Regi Commissionari almeno salvarono il proprio onore, o cercarono di salvare il proprio onore, quando dissero che, quatunque la opinione loro fosse quella, si dovesse dare al popolo l'agio di esprimersi. E noi pur sapendo che su questa politica il Governo Imperiale aveva già formato la sua opinione, siamo usciti a lottare contro la stessa, siamo usciti a lottare anche quando il Governo Imperiale applicò il rapporto in tutto fuorchè in quello di veramente costituzionale che c'era, cioè che almeno si dovesse consultare questo troppo buono popolo maltese. E non è vero quel che si disse che avevamo deciso di andare in Inghilterra dopo le elezioni. Lo dicemmo prima delle elezioni che saremmo andati in Inghilterra per mostrare quanto iniquo era l'agire del Governo Imperiale non solo nella sostanza me anche nella modalità; e ci siamo andati credendo nella buona fede del Governo Britannico, come avevano creduto Annibale in quella romana, e Napoleone in quella inglese, e siamo venuti colla stessa conseguenza che avea Annibale dai romani e Napoleone dagli inglesi (*Approvazioni*). La storia la conosciamo e niente ci sorprende, neanche quel dispaccio. Pero noi credevamo nella bonta della questione umana, credevamo che forse vi sarebbe qualche rimorso, quache piccolo pentimento da persone che professano il culto religioso della patria ed in questo ci siamo rimasti ingannati. Ma per riguardo al Governo Imperiale, non abbiamo nessuna sorpresa. Sappiamo quale è la politica del Governo Imperiale. Sappiamo chi sono i nostri avversari e noi non siamo gli uomini che non apprezzano nel loro vero valore gli avversari. Ed il Governo Imperiale ancora oggi ci ha detto di no. Però, l'ha detto questa volta non a noi, ma l'ha detto, ripeto, a quest'Assemblea, anzi al Parlamento. A noi, come Ministero, il Governo Imperiale non ha risposto ancora. Il Ministero ancora non ha ricevuto alcuna risposta ai quattro memoranda che si trovano davanti al Governo Imperiale da tanti mesi. Per riguardo a quei memoranda, noi ancora non abbiamo alcuna risposta a comunicare a questa Camera. Alludo ai quattro memoranda tra cui vi è uno sulla lingua; il Governo Imperiale non ha ancora risposto a noi come Ministero. Sulle diverse questioni sottomessegli per mezzo di memoranda, il Governo Imperiale non ha ancora risposto a noi come Ministero. Il Governo Imperiale ha riposto a questo Parlamento e quindi spetta al Parlamento ora di

rispondergli. Quando il Governo Imperiale risponderà a noi, noi sapremo rispondergli senza chiedere l'aiuto di questa Camera e tanto meno l'aiuto degli onor. signori di quella parte. Però, come ho detto moto bene, se il Governo Imperiale risponderà anche a noi, noi continueremo a batterci. L'unico privilegio che ci rimane ancora non distrutto, l'unicao privilegio inerente alla nostra piccolezza di popolo, è precisamente quello di lottare. Dovendo subire delle angherie e dei soprusi, almeno finora ci si conceda il diritto di lottare. Se il Prof. Galea nella sua mente liberale, ispirandosi a quelli che egli crede siano principii inglesi – ma che io chiamo balcanici o ottomani di Abdul Hamid e non inglesi crede che sarà ad arrivare il momento in cui le circostanze non ci permetteranno neanche di lottare, allora sar il colmo a cui potrà arrivare la perfidia umana, allora non vi sarà più luogo di parlare di politica ma di disperazione, che è cattiva. Però, io mi auguro, non solo pel mio paese ma anche per l'onore della bandiera inglese, che questo non abbia ad avverarsi mai, perché é gia troppo che nell'anno del Signore 1933 e dopo la grande Guerra, al popolo di Malta ancora non si è concesso di educare come vuole, col proprio denaro i propri figli (*Approvazioni*). E l'Europa forse questo non lo sa.

ONOR. SIG A.W. MIZZI: Lo saprà.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Prima del 1921 i nostri padri lottarono per cinquant'anni per la Costituzione. Se i nostri padri avessero adottato la politica abbietta del Partito che ci sta di fronte—il quale appena parla il Governo Imperiale, ovvero al suo primo rabbuffo, si mette in ginocchio dicendo: "Va bene, fate quello che dite voi", come se il Governo Imperiale fosse un Padre Eterno – noi non avremmo questa Costituzione. Dopo una durissima lotta il popolo di Malta ha potuto avere un pò di lume, un pò di sole nel 1921. Le tenebre ritornarono nel 1927, ed ora che sembra che siamo in uno di quei periodi tra l'inverno e l'estate, in cui il sole c'è ma non tutti i giorni, gli onor. signori di quella parte vogliono che noi adottiamo la loro politica. Noi non l'adottiamo. Come hanno detto molto bene gli onor, miei amici, a noi popolo piccolo l'unica cosa che ci rimane è quella di lottare, e noi continueremo a lottare finchè sia sviluppata almeno una coscienza nazionale tale da non tollerare più gente come quella li in questa Camera (*Approvazione*). Gli onor. signori si sono mostrati molto entusiasmati della pretesa loro trovata costituzionale, *resign*. Vogliono che noi ci dimettiamo. Quale è il punto programmatico nostro che, portato davanti a questa Camera, è

stato respinto? Quale è il punto? Quale e la fiducia che il paese ha posto in noi e che noi abbiamo tradito? A proposito di questa cosa stessa, su questa questione così tenace e difficile noi abbiamo detto che faremo tutto quello che è nostro possibile di fare, e continueremo a farlo; ma non vi è nessuna ragione di dimetterci perchè sentiamo che il paese ci sorregge ancora; come ci ha sorretto nelle elezioni. Ma in materia di dimissioni, gli ultimi a parlare dovrebbero essere i signori che ci stanno davanti, che nella storia del paese e nella storia di tutto l'Impero Britannico hanno avuto un *record* unico per la loro sfacciataggine ed incoscienza. L'onor. Prof. Galea ha detto che non troverebbe in tutte le storie di tutti i paesi, specialmente dell'Impero Britannico, un Governo che propone una mozione simile e non parla. lo primo gli domando: "In quale paese si sospende così una Costituzione da un potere estraneo al Parlamento? Abbiamo in Italia Mussolini; in Germania Hitler; in Russia Stalin: Sono dei dittatori, ma sorgono da una posizione costituzionale creata da loro; sono dei dittatori che emanano dal popolo, e non da un'autorità estranea (*Approvazioni*).

DR. PAUL BOFFA: Non parlamentare.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI. Costituzionale, non parlamentare, dico. Essi escono da una posizione costituzionale creata da loro, e sono in casa propria. Ma l'onor. Prof. Galea non mi troverà in tutta la storia dell'Impero Britannico un'altra nazione che ha subito l'affronto che abbiamo subito noi; ed il Prof. Galea ed i suoi, invece di sentire ribrezzo e sentimenti di ribellione a questa situazione, come quei certi cantanti del Vaticano, applaudono. (*Ilarità*). Signor Presidente, alludevo ai Cantori della Cappella Sistina. Essi applaudono e pretendono che noi perchè non applaudiamo dobbiamo dimetterci: è l'immoralità o la bassezza che pretende di prendere il posto della logica. Alludevo all dimissione che pretendono da noi; gli onor. signori li si dimenticano che per due anni hanno rubato (*Approvazioni*) vilmente, contro le grida e le proteste del popolo, di tutte le sezioni del popolo, il danaro pubblico, chiamadolo salario, posando come Ministri quando non erano che un paravento, un paravento di una politica infame contro gli interessi del popolo maltese in vantaggio del settarismo estraneo, e solo per poter poi venire alla conclusione a cui si è addivenuto, cioè la mutilazione della Costituzione. (*Approvazioni*). Dopo di aver creato una crisi dove hanno buttato tutti i pregiudizi e tutto il settarismo protestante, scandalizzando perfino i protestanti dell'Alta Chiesa che non erano dalla loro parte, ma

erano dalla parte dell'autorità violata, facendo uso del settarismo più assoldabile ed assoldato, che è quello delle pessime razzumaglie dei Foot e dei Henderson, e dei predicatori senza chiesa e senza rito, hanno potuto rimanere li, furando il popolo del suo danaro; e poi vengono a parlare di dimissioni a noi!! Quello che ho detto nell'altra sede del Parlamento al loro Capo, della sfacciataggine e della incoscienza criminale, oggi bisogna farlo un punto programmatico del Partito Costituzionale. (*Approvazioni*). E credo di aver risposto a tutti i punti sollevati della discorsata dell'onor. Capo dell'Opposizione. Voglio dire alla fine questo, e in questo credo che la Camera sarà a mantenere alto il proprio decoro ed onore. La Camera si è espressa su un problema attinente ai privilegi ed ai diritti di questo popolo; ha creduto di dover associare alla sua decisione quella dell'altro corpo del Parlamento, e l'altro corpo del Parlamento ha assentito, ed ha dato la sua adesione alla decisione di questa Camera. L'espressione dei due rami del Parlamento è l'espressione più alta e più solenne, legalmente e costituzionalmente, emanata a nome del popolo; e il Segretario di Stato per le Colonie ha risposto a voi, ha risposto al Parlamento; noi, Ministero, avremmo voluto avere l'orgoglio e la fierezza di poter rispondere noi, ma noi non vogliamo privarvi di questo privilegio e di questa fierezza; noi vogliamo che voi con noi dimostrerete un'altra volta all'Inghilterra come l'ha qualificata l'onor.mo signore, l'ex-Capo del Partito Costituzionale, il Conte Strickland, Barone di Sizergh, all'Inghilterra dei cannoni, all'Inghilterra dei soldati, all'Inghilterra della flotta. (Voci: Bravo!) che il popolo di Malta, pur senza tutte queste cose, ma credendo ancora nella santità dei diritti e nella intangibilità della giustizia umana che spetta a tutti i popoli, grandi e piccoli, che questo Parlamento che rappresenta questo popolo ancora all'Inghilterra dice: "Voi potete negarmi i miei diritti, io sono troppo piccolo per poter questi diritti rivendicarli, ma io solamente vi dico e vi dirò che continuerò a gridare ed a gridare giustizia e diritto finchè si credera nella giustizia divina. (Voci: Bravo! Bravo!).

PROF. DR. MALLIA: Ho ascoltato tutte le parole che questa sera l'onor. Capo dell'Opposizione ha voluto dire contestando la mozione dell'onor. Capo del Ministero, parole che avrebbe fatto molto bene a non dire e che rimarranno scritte nei dibattimenti ad infamia del suo Partito. A tutte le cose che egli ha detto, molte sono state già risposte dall'onor. Ministro del Tesoro, ma una sola frase, sulla quale comincio le mie poche osservazioni odierne, ha detto lui che può reggere e che abbiamo tutti condiviso. Prima

di sedersi egli ha detto: "Io ho finito la mia parte; io non potrò replicare; ed ora chi sa di quante insolenze ed ingiurie, di quante infamie, voi, Membri del Governo e sostenitori del Governo, mi sarete a coprire?" Il Prof. Galea ha capito molto bene quello che diceva e sapeva molto bene quello che si sarebbe meritato, e che noi volentieri, con tutte le nostre forze, gli diamo, non per colpire lui, individuo, ma lui in quanto questa sera ha esternato tale opinione, è una di quelle persone che noi dovremmo additare alle future generazioni come un vero e proprio venduto e rinnegato maltese. Parlando a lui, noi per mezzo di lui parliamo a tutti i Membri dell'Opposizione per mezzo loro a tutti quelli che li sostengono, che hanno la disgrazia di covare sentimenti che sono cosi contradditori che sono cosi opposti ai diritti di ogni maltese. E veramente l'onor. Prof. Galea ha capito quale cumulo di ingiurie egli avrebbe attirato su di sè colle sue parole perchè nel fatto quello che questa sera arreca meraviglia e ci offende di più non è tanto il dispaccio del Segretario per le Colonie—anche quello è uno schiaffo, un oltraggio, che si fa non a noi ma ai nostri connazionali maltesi—ma è il vedere che ci sono ancora fino ad oggi persone che pretendono di essere maltese, che si chiamano maltese, le quali gioiscono dello schiaffo, dello oltraggio fatto a Malta (*Approvazioni*). E come se il dispaccio non fosse abbastanza eloquente, abbastanza offensivo, l'Opposizione arriva al grado dell'incoscienza, al grado dell'inabissamento nella miseria, morale e spirituale, di avere questa soddisfazione di indole non solo dubbia, ma proprio triviale, meschina, di domandare cioè che la Signoria Vostra, o il Segretario, si compiaccia leggere parola per parola il dispaccio, per avere la soddisfazione di poter applaudire, di poter mostrarci che la nostra politica è stata, come ha detto l'onor. Prof. Galea, definitivamente sconfitta. Di fronte a persone che arrivano a questa bassezza morale, di fronte a persone che sono cosi basse da dimenticare la loro patria d'origine, i propri interessi, di fronte a persone che arrivano al punto di tradire il loro paese per servire un paese diverso, è bene che il popolo maltese si ricordi i nomi, uno ad uno, degli onor. Membri che questa sera prendono parte al dibattimento e alla votazione, perchè saranno recordate nella storia maltese in una pagina di infamia mai l'uguale. Signor Presidente, e come non chiamare infamante la condotta di supposti rappresentanti maltese i quali gioiscono, i quali cantano vittoria quando il Governo Imperiale ha reiteratamente ripetuto questo gesto oltraggioso alla popolazione maltese? La quistione odierna non è ne la

quistione della lingua, nè la quistione della nomina e rimozione di Giudici. La quistione è una ed è costituzionale. È una di quelle quistioni che trascende ogni spirito di partito. E quando non si vede l'elevatezza di questa quistione, la sua grande e suprema importanza sopra qualunque idea di partito allora voul dire che abbiamo di fronte, non solo oppositori ciechi, ma oppositori a cui non rimane il più lantano bricciolo di coscienza nazionale. Il popolo di Malta ha lottato per oltre cento anni —altro che i cinquant'anni menzionati dal Ministro del Tesoro—per avere dal Governo Imperiale la propria autonomia. È un popolo che si è dato all'Inghilterra volontariamente; un popolo che ha mostrato abbastanza giudizio nel sapere scegliere i suoi protettori; è un popolo abbastanza civile, anzi di una civiltà ben più antica della stessa civiltà britannica. E intanto questo popolo è stato trattato come una delle colonie conquistate quando ha domandato le sue franchigie constituzionali. La storia dal 1921 ci ha dimostrato non uno ma centinaia e centinaia di rifiuti da parte di successivi governi britannici. Anzi quando il popolo maltese nell'antico Consiglio di Governo petizionava Sua Maestà per ottenere il diritto di governarsi da sè, sentivama alora gente che precedeva il Capo dell'Opposizione odierno, gente venduta anima e corpo al Governo Imperiale, ridere e gioire quando il Governo inglese ripeteva la sua solita stereotipata risposta: "È inutile che voi, popolo maltese, vi illudiate; voi non siete maturi per avere l'autonomia". Ma il popolo maltese non ha accettato quelle che apparivano essere sconfitte, non le ha accettate a bocca baciata. Il popolo ad ogni risposta negativa si stringeva sempre più compatto nelle sue schiere, alzò più alta la sua voce, finchè, dopo oltre un secolo, perchè tanto ci è voluto perchè la liberale Inghilterra ascoltasse il nosto grido di giustizia ed di diritto, 'Inghilterra ci ha fatto sapere per mezzo di un dispaccio che il tempo era venuto perchè Sua Maestà ci potesse concedere l'autonomia. Allora hanno dimostrato di gioire anche i rinnegati maltese che prima ci prendevano in dileggio quando domandavamo 'autonomia all'inghilterra. La storia si ripete e si ripeterà, anche se non piace ai Membri dell'Opposizione, come dopo oltre un secolo di lotta l'Inghilterra ha dovuto rimangiarsi le sue ripetute decisioni di negarci completamente l'autonomia. Oggi con tutto ciò che ce l'aveva concessa nel 1921, oggi che l'Inghilterra ha voluto con mano sacrilega manomettere la nostra autonomia, dietro le spalle e contro la volontà del popolo, oggi il Ministro Britannico ci dice: "È inutile che gridiate perchè noi la

Costituzione non ve la restituiremo mai più come era prima. Le emende fatte sono la politica decisa e considerata del Governo Imperiale". Sono appena passati cinque o sei anni dacchè questa manomissione sacrilega del Governo inglese è avvenuta. Se abbiamo aspettato cento anni e più per avere l'autonomia possia non aspettare un numero maggiore di sei anni per vedere la Costituzione ripristinata. Sappiamo che cosa vuol dire opinione politica, decisione politica e deliberata del Governo Britannico. Sappiamo che tutto si riduce alle vedute individuali del Ministro per le Colonie; e il Ministro per le Colonie sfortunatamente oggi, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister l'ha pensata così: Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, ha un grande merito si di essere un cocciuto fino alla massima potenzialità tanto di non voler più ascoltare ragioni qualunque esse siano, ma di voler averla vinta a tutti i costi. È bene che questa Camera ricordi una breve frase, breve ma inessiva, patriotica, che merita di essere tramandata, una risposta data dall'onor. Dr. Mifsud Bonnici in pieno *Downing Street*, nell'ufficio dello stesso Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister a questo onorevole Ministro. Quando egli diceva che questa è l'opinione decisa, deliberata del Governo Britannico, l'onor. Ministro del Tesoro, il Dr. Mifsud Bonnici, da vero maltese che è gli ha detto:

"Sir, we quite agree that this is your point of view. Ministers, however, come and go, and when you go out of office and will be nobody, your successor in office may, perhaps, be too late to remedy the evils you are doing at present to Malta". (HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear). Signor Presidente, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister non ha saputo e non ha potuto ritorcere una sola parola a questa frase giustissima dell'onor. Dr. Mifsud Bonnici. E difatti se noi vediamo i dispacci di Amery, di Milner, a anche quelli di Chamberlain stesso, che per Malta non ha mai professato veruna simpatia particolare, noi troviamo una sola cosa che la quistione delle quistioni, vale a dire la quistione liguistica, essi non l'hanno mai voluta decidere. La potevano decidere prima del 1921 perchè prima del 1921 Malta non aveva una Costituzione; la potevano decidere benissimo allora con tutta legalità sebbene non con legittimità. Questo lo poteva fare anche Lord Strickland durante il suo triennio di amministrazione, eppure non l'ha fatto il Governo Imperiale durante la sua dominazione centenaria e non l'ha fatto Lord Strickland, e si è provato di farlo chi? Uno dei più inetti Ministri delle Colonie, una delle persone che, nell'interesse del Governo inglese, farebbe bene a scomparire oggi prima di domani. E non son io che esprimo questa opinione sul conto dello

attuale Ministro delle Colonie. Per far comprendere quale è il valore delle sue opinioni, per spiegare il perchè di questa sua cociuttaggine, mi riferisco ad un brevissimo brano che ho letto nel *Tablet* del 2 aprile, 1932, Volume 159. pagina 4795, che diceva testualmente così:

No portfolio in H. M.'s Government requires a better and wiser holder than that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. An ideal Colonial Secretary would have to be a superman for tact, knowledge, statesmanship and industry. Even to be passably efficient, he must be a man above the ordinary. When Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, a politician to whom Fate and his friends.....

—notino gli onor, signori il giudizio della stampa inglese sul conto di questo Ministro—

.....have been kind, became Colonial Secretary.....

—vale a dire è una cosa dovuta alla fortuna, ad amici, a sostenitori, forse dovuta al fatto che il Partito ha interesse di sostenere una persona simile, indipendentamente dalla sua attitudine intellettuale—

.....we had hopes of him which may yet be fulfilled. We confess, however, to feeling keen disappointment over Sir Philip's handling of the divorce measures in Trinidad and Tobago. He seems to have tamely accepted the very worst of all possible policies in these restless days. We mean the policy of running a colony with excessive deference to the small floating population of exotic persons and with too little regard for the convictions of the permanent, home-born population. This is the policy which has lost us colonies in the past and has made trouble even where it has not led to outright secession.

Questa è l'opinione di un autorevolissimo giornale sulla condotta di questo Ministro; è il bollo che mette molto chiaro le cose in riguardo a questo Ministro, di voler sempre procedere a dispetto delle grandi maggioranze delle popolazione nelle Colonie e di non badare mai alle conseguenze delle sue azioni, provocando la conseguenza estrema di far perdere la Colonia o addirittura la secessione. Questo è l'uomo sulla cui autorità i Membri dell'Oposizione hanno voluto fare tanto scalpore; è questo l'uomo che ha dato oggi col suo dispaccio uno schiaffo alla popolazione maltese. Ed il gioire perchè un uomo simile, che notoriamente disprezza le maggioranze, che non guarda al di là delle proprie opinioni, che non guarda alle conseguenze, gioire perchè le opinioni di questo signore capitano in questo momento di combaciare con quelle dell' Opposizione—e dovevano per forza combaciare, perchè l'Opposizione non è che la *longa manus* della politica rappresentata da un

uomo simile—questo non può essere se non l'atteggiamento di colui che, non solo non sente da maltese, ma che è un traditore autentico, un vile traditore del proprio paese. Ed il Partito che si è cosi diportato osa, per bocca del suo esponente, parlare della figura meschina fatta dal presente Governo in questa circostanza. Signor Presidente, prima di poter parlare di figure meschine fatte dal Governo Nazionalista, che altro non ha in vista se non l'interesse supremo del paese, bisogna guardare prima un pò nella propria conscienza, se ancora ci sia. Bisogna vedere se chi usa il vocabolo meschino non è invece inabbissato nell'oceano della più sordida, squalida miseria, spirituale e morale; bisogna vedere se non sono persone che non hanno nessun Partito, che sono legati mani e piedi, corpo ed anima, al collo del Governo Imperiale; persone che non hanno saputo mai fare altro che guardare gli interessi del Governo Imperiale a discapito anche degli interessi più genuini della Nazione maltese (*Approvazioni*). E, signor Presidente, questo Partito vuole chiamare il nostro Governo un Governo di miseria! Sarà, non lo nasconde, un Governo debole per forza di cose, perchè non ha a sua disposizione quei mezzi che ha l'Irlanda, il Canadà, l'Australia o l'Unione del Sud Africa. Se noi avessimo quei mezzi, come avrebbe ragionato diversamente Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister! Questo è uno dei punti che rende maggiormente dura l'offesa fatta a noi: sapere che noi abbiamo tutto dalla parte nostra, la giustizia ed il diritto, ma non potere avere la forza subire la prepotenza e l'oltraggio di chi ha tutti i mezzi per poter offendere, di chi per ironia ha fatto tanto scalpore per la difesa dei popoli deboli nel 1914, e poi ha inflitto questa continua umiliazione alla Nazione maltese. Questo è il vanto del Governo Imperiale! Certo, il Governo nostro non può reagire, ma l'impossibilità della reazione non ridonda a disonore del nostro Governo: essa invece è tutta corona di disonore, d'infania in capo di Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister (*Approvazioni*).

Signor Presidente, un'altra delle cose che l'onor. Capo dell'Opposizione questa sera ha voluto dirci è che il dispaccio attuale è la sconfitta definitiva della politica nostra. No; questo non l'accetto; finchè rimane Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister al potere, potrebbe essere questa la politica miopissima, pettegola e vendicativa del Governo Imperiale; ma un giorno o l'altro questa triste figura passerà dalla stroria in cui essa ha trovato, così senza alcun suo merito, un posto importante; e allora auguriamoci, per il bene dell'Inghilterra e per la pace di Malta che il suo successore la penserà diversamente da quanto la pensa Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, come Milner

e anche Amery, quando era genuino, l'hanno pensata molto diversamente da quanto l'ha pensata il loro successore. Nessun Ministro è eterno. Potrebbero non essere in vita i presenti nostri Ministri, ma il giorno verrà, perchè vi è una di quelle forze che soccorre sempre i piccoli popoli, vi è la Nemesi della storia, la quale se oggi ci schiaccia, domani o anche in un lontano futuro ci farà alzare la testa. La prepotenza non ha schiacciato la nostra forza politica, anzi se l'onor. Prof. Galea vuol sapere di più, questa prepotenza ha aumentato il rafforzamento delle nostre energie. Non ci sentiamo nè vinti nè disfatti. Noi constatiamo che stiamo lottando con un despota che vuole assolutamente fare quello che è la sua volontà, che è un uomo che non guarda al di là della punta del naso; ma sappiamo che questo è uno stato di caso che non può durare a lungo e che un giorno a l'altro la fortuna ci arriderà, e che quando ci arriderà, se ci coglierà deboli in questo nostro sforzo, allora si che la politica imperiale ci condannerà alla disfatta. Ma una volta che si cerca di stringere le spire intorno a noi, non si fa altro che dar impeto a questo nostro sforzo. E sappiamo come nel 1921, in un momento di gioia e estasi è uscito dal cuore di ogni vero maltese un "evviva" al proprio paese, perchè si è vista la nascita dell'autonomia; oggi che abbiamo avuto questa autonomia, che abbiamo avuto il riconoscimento dei nostri principii politici, si vuole che ci diamo per vinti e battuti. Mille volte no, nè per fare un piacere all'attuale Capo dell'Opposizione, nè per fare un piacere all'attuale Ministro delle Colonie. Questo è il nostro grido incoercibile che un giorno a l'altro potremo gridare più forte di quanto abbiamo gridato nel 1921.

Un'altra parte del discorso del Prof. Galea vale anchè la pena che sia menzionata perhè a sfacciataggine del Partito Costituzionale evidentemente non ha nessun limite. Ci si dice che, avendo noi appreso oggi quello che del resto già sapevano da parecchi mesi, cioè che la politica decisa di Cunliffe-Lister è di manomettere la nostra Costituzione e una volta che non sappiamo lavorare la Costituzione tale quale è noi non dovevamo far altro che dimetterci. L'unica cosa che aspettavo è questa predica che è venuta da quel pulpito dove siede il Prof. Galea, il quale dovrebbe essere l'ultimo a venire fuori con questo grido. Quando abbiamo di fronte un Partito che è rimasto al potere per intascare lo stipendio non meritato, o, come ha detto l'onor. Dr. Mifsud Bonnici, rubato dallo erario pubblico; quando abbiamo di fronte un Partito che ha sentito e subito tutte le umiliazioni, anche da parte delle Autorità Imperiali e con tutto ciò ha voluto rimanere al potere e non ha voluto mia rassegnare le proprie

dimissioni, questo Partito avrebbe meno il diritto di parlare di dimissioni.

HON. PROF. GALEA: We have sacrificed ourselves to save the Constitution.

PROF. DR. MALLIA: L'onor. Prof. Galea dice che con questo loro gesto essi si sono sacrificati—e sottolineo la parola sacrificati—per salvare la Costituzione. Dico che se c'è una cosa così ridicola e così smentita dai fatti è questa, perchè quando si venne al ripristino della Costituzione uno dei più importanti suggerimenti della Commissione Regia era quella dell' allontanamento dei Ministri dal potere. Abbiamo cosi la prova più lampante che si è voluto disfare dei Ministri. Se i passati Ministri avessero avuto quel certo senso di prudenza politica, che avrebbero magari dovuto sentire nell'intimo della loro coscienza, noi non avremmo avuto il fatto che la Commissione, mandata dal Governo Imperiale, ha detto più di sei volte che l'unica cosa che si potesse fare per restituirci la Costituzione era di mandar via a pedate i Ministri. Quindi non possiamo prendere sul serio questo loro scusa che essi sono rimasti per un altro biennio, esecrando e esecrabile, per salvare la Costituzione. Anzi i fatti ci giustificano a dire che la loro permanenza in potere non ha fatto altro che ritardare il ripristino della Costituzione. Questo è un argomento *ad hominem.* Voi, ex-Ministri, che in materia di dimissione avete dato questa maggiore prova di voi stessi, non avete nessun diritto di parlare; quindi noi prendiamo questa vostra domanda per dimissione come il frutto di beghe partigiane, e noi, Membri privati, sosterremo i presenti Ministri con tutta la nostra forza fina a tanto che essi continuino a tutelare, incoraggire e progredire gli interessi, non del Governo Imperiale, perchè per quegli interessi ci sono abbastanza tutori, ma gli interessi del popolo maltese. Noi sosterremo il Governo, se il Governo sarà fedele al popolo maltese, e a lui solo. Questo è un punto che è bene che capiscano i Membri dell'Opposizione. Non è giusto che un Ministero debba rimanere anche per un solo minuto al potere se ha perduto la fiducia del popolo che lo ha mandato qui a rappresentarlo: ma dallo altro canto se un Ministero gode la fiducia del popolo maltese, non è giusto, ed è contro ogni principio costituzionale, che esso debba essere licenziato da una autorità estranea. Se così fosse, allora la Costituzione che abbiamo non sarebbe solo una burla, ma una vera e propria derisione, vale a dire noi dovremmo essere governati da un Governo voluto dal popolo maltese non da un Governo voluto dal Governo Imperiale; se non fosse cosi, questo sarebbe contro gli interessi di ognuno che si chiami veramente maltese. Questa può essere

la politica del Partito opposto, di quel Partito che non ha un programma maltese, ma che ha solo lo scopo di servire a tutti i costi gli interessi britannici. Se il Ministero inglese perdurerà in questa sua politica offensiva al sentimenti dei maltesi, se il Governo Imperiale continuerà a ricorrere a questa angherie, che la nostra Costituzione monca e quasi ridicola permette, incombe a noi il dovere di vedere che i nostri sei Ministri continuino ad attingere, dal nostro sostegno e dall'amore del popolo maltese, la forza per affrontare, non solo questa di oggi, ma tutte le future umiliazioni che il Governo Imperiale sarà ad imporre a loro, e rimanere ad occupare il loro posto e stare sulla breccia a lottare per gli interessi dei maltese, che li hanno madati qui, senza badare per nulla e senza dare caso del buono o cattivo vento che spira a *Downing Street.* Questo è il mio voto per i nostri sei Ministri; e dalle parole dell'onor. Ministro del Tesoro si vede che il mio voto è molto facile ad essere esaudito, perchè il cuore dei nostri Ministri è coure di veri maltese e patrioti genuini, e in questo combinano con me tutti quelli che hanno a cuore gli interessi del nostro paese. Se continuiamo a lottare e soffrire, non lo facciamo per il gusto di rimanere attaccati alle nostre sedie, non per avere la soddisfazione del titolo di "Ministri" o "Deputati", ma lo facciamo perchè questo è il nostro sacrosanto dovere; perchè questa è la missione affidataci dall' elettorato con una maggioranza la più schiacciante, con una di quelle maggioranze che i nostri avversari non possono distruggere per quanto tentino di menomarne l'importanza, con una di quelle maggioranze che era imprevedibile, che era quasi una cosa cervellotica aspettarsi sotto il sistema della rappresentanza proporzionale.

Tra la altre cose sfuggite questa sera al labbro dell'onor. Capo dell'Opposizione è quella di un richiamo che ha fatto ai sei gentiluomini maltesi che sono i nostri Ministri, di mantenersi all'altezza della loro posizione di sentire la loro dignità di Ministri. È molto facile ritorcere questa raccomandazione, inutile per questi nostri Ministri perchè essi la sentono questa dignita' ed hanno dato prova di sentirla e noi siamo più che persuasi di essi. Non vogliamo tanto dai nostri oppositori; non diciamo a loro: "Mantenetevi all'altezza della vostra posizione di deputati del Parlamento"—forse sarebbe esigere troppo, ma diciamo a loro una cosa sola: "Sappiate essere sopratutto e davanti a tutti unicamente maltesi" (*Approvazioni*).

Onor. Dr. E. Mizzi: Dopo i due magnifici discorsi pronunziati dagli onor. Dr. Mifsud Bonnici e Prof. Mallia, sono arciconvinto che l'onor.

Capo dell'Opposizione si sia persuaso di aver fatto molto male a parlare quando avrebbe potuto tacere.

ONOR. PROF. GALEA: Male per loro, non per me.

ONOR. DR. E. MIZZI: Ormai dopo tutte le botte ricevute, l'onor. Capo dell'Opposizione deve aver ben compreso che avrebbe fatto molto meglio ad appoggiare l'onor. Capo del Ministero, il quale desiderava limitarsi oggi ad affidare l'incarico alla Commissione, riservandosi di parlare sul dispaccio di Cunliffe-Lister nella seduta in cui la Commissione avrebbe presentato il proprio rapporto. Ma giacchè si è preferito discutere oggi stesso questo dispaccio, credo di avere il dovere di far sentire la mia voce per aggiungere qualche argomento a quelli già magnificamente svolti dai miei onor. Colleghi di questa parte. E in primo luogo, avendo il Capo dell'Opposizione accennato alla questione linguistica, desidero rilevare che il dispaccio del Segretario di Stato per le Colonie, communicato oggi alla Camera, riguarda la questione costituzionale, non la questione linguistica. È vero che le due questioni sono strettamente connesse fra di loro, ma è un fatto che il dispaccio di Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister responde semplicemente alla protesta delle due Camere del Parlamento contro le mutilazioni della Costituzione. Ciò premesso, osservo che la parte più importante del dispaccio di Cunliffe-Lister è quella in cui egli accenna alla approvazione da parte del Parlamento Britannico di quelle mutilazioni della Costituzione. Ebbene, è precisamente in quell'accenno che spicca tutta la malafede delle Autorità Imperiale. Non tutti sanno, e probabilmente anche i Membri della Opposizione non lo sanno, che quando la Delegazione Maltese arrivò a Londra nel luglio dell'anno scorso, la prima cosa che essa domandò al *Colonial Office*—e sono stato io il primo a domandarla—fu appunto la sospensione della discussione parlamentare dell'Atto relativo alle mutilazioni costituzionali. Domandammo una breve sospensione di pochi giorni allo scopo di discutere la questione non solamente col *Colonial Office* ma anche coi membri più autorevoli della Camera dei Comuni. Il *Colonial Office* respinse recisamente la nostra domanda e si affrettò l'indomani a far passare l'Atto per cogliere di sorpresa il voto dei parlamentari britannici. Il *Colonial Office* sapeva molto bene che se la Delegazione Maltese avesse avuto il tempo di avvicinare i capi dei vari partiti ed i membri più prominenti del Parlamento Britannico essa li avrebbe probabilmente convinti della giustizia e della santità della nostra causa, o che Cunliffe-Lister non avrebbe potuto far passare tanto facilmente quell'Atto. È notorio che

quell'Atto fu approvato dalla Camera dei Comuni nel breve giro di pochi secondi, dopo tante ore dedicate alla questione irlandese; la Camera non discusse quell'Atto nemmeno per un minuto ; e a noi il *Colonial Office* non volle dare nemmeno poche ore di tempo per avvicinare i gruppi parlamentari e metterli al corrente della nostra situazione. In *Colonial Office* era evidentemente tanto convito della sua malafede e dell'ingiustizia della sua causa da aver paura di darci l'opportunità di illuminare la mente dei suoi stessi sostenitori nel Parlamento Britannico. Personalmente sono convinto che se i membri della Camera dei Comuni avessero conosciuto bene la nostra questione, sarebbero stati i primi a darci ragione, perchè gli inglesi, presi individualmente, quando si persuadono della giustizia di una causa, hanno anche il coraggio di riconoscerla e difenderla. Spero perciò che la commissione incaricata di sottomettere alla Camera la risposta da darsi al dispaccio di Cunliffe-Lister, proporrà pure che una copia di tale risposta, accompagnata dal noto Libro Verde già approvato dalle due Camere del Parlamento, sia distribuita a tutti i membri del Parlamento Britannico.

L'onor. Capo dell'Opposizione, parlando sempre a nome dei suoi colleghi, ha insistito in modo particolare per le nostre dimissioni. Tutti sanno che noi siamo stati eletti e mandati al potere col programma esplicito, non equivoco, come ebbe a dichiarare S.E. il Governatore, di difendere i diritti costituzionali e nazionali del Paese. Noi ci troviamo oggi sulla breccia e dobbiamo combattaere e continuare a lottare in sostegno dei nostri diritti. Le nostre dimissioni equivarrebbero oggi ad una diserzione dal campo della lotta. In nostro dovere è di continuare a combattere, e noi dobbiamo compierlo finchè godremo la fiducia del Parlamento e del Paese. Noi non dipendiamo da *Downing Street*, come i membri cosidetti costituzionali; noi dipendiamo unicamente dal popolo e dai suoi leggittimi rappresentanti. E perciò, finche godiamo la fiducia popolare, noi abbiamo, non solo in diritto, ma l'assoluto dovere di rimanere al nostro posto, come il soldato ha il dovere di rimanere sul campo quando combatte il nemico. Tutto pertanto si riduce ad una questione di fiducia, e se gli onor. signori di quella parte credono che questa fiducia noi non la godiamo più, io tengo a dichiarare che il Governo non trova la minima difficoltà di dare alla mozione proposta dal Capo del Ministero lo stesso identico valore parlamentare di un voto di fiducia. E quindi conchiudo dichiarando che gli onor. membri di questa Camera che approveranno la mozione proposta dal Capo del

Ministero riconfermeranno con ciò la loro piena fiducia nel Governo, il quale sostiene e intende continuare a difendere gli interessi supremi del paese nel campo politico e culturale. (*Approvazioni.*)

MR. VALENZIA (*in Maltese*): I expect the same luck that befell the hon. the Head of the Opposition, for most probably I shall be greeted with the same invectives that have been launched against him, but in my opinion every Member of this House should have enough courage to rise and express his convictions and those of his Party in face of all opposition. When we opposed the previous proposal of the hon. the Head of the Ministry, we showed ourselves to be consistent with our principles, for we have been returned by our constituents under the pledge to maintain the Constitution as was restored in 1932, including the amendements to the language question. We have been told several times that the Nationalist Party is the continuation of the Party formed by the late Fortunato Mizzi, a declaration which was repeated in the Senate when the question of erecting a monument to commemorate Fortunato Mizzi was mooted. History teaches us that that Party waged a merciless war against the great patriot Sigismondo Savona on this same language question. The present Government has already expressed its disinclination to erect a monument in commemoration of this great patriot...

MR. SPEAKER: This is out of order; it has nothing to do with the motion under discussion.

MR. VALENZIA (*in Maltese*): One of the main conditions of the fusion between the *Unione Politica Maltese* and the *Partito Democratico*, whose leader was the present Minister for Public Instruction, was the defence of the rights of the Italian language. The defence of the Italian language has always been the principal scope of the Nationalist Party to the detriment of the general interests of the people of Malta and Gozo. History also teaches us that owing to the question of the Italian language, a question which affects only a small number of the people of Malta and Gozo, the Maltese people were deprived of the Constitution of 1887, and I am afraid that , with the tactics adopted to-day by the Nationalist Party, the danger is looming large of losing the present Constitution, which has been obtained after so many sacrifices and for which the Maltese people shed their blood in 1919. The hon. the Minister for the Treasury stated that we have not a party question before us. If a glance is cast at this Green Book, published by the Nationalist Party, one does not find anything else but explicit and clear declarations

to the effect that if the Nationalist Party were returned to power and the Imperial Government did not give in on the language question, they would feel bound to resign in order to show to the Imperial Government that they have the support of the people and that the main political plank on which they fought the elections was the language question. We hold that the Nationalist Party was returned to power owing to moral pressure which was brought to bear on the elctors during the elections of 1932. I shall now read the following extract from the Green Book:

LA PRONTA E FIERA PROTESTA
DEL PARTITO NAZIONALISTA.

(*Estratto dal quotidiano "Malta" del 3 marzo, 1932, No. 13,548*).

Verso le 11.30 di stamane, i capi del Partito Nazionale, Sir Ugo Mifsud ed Enrico Mizzi, si recarono da S.E. il Governatore per protestare energicamente contro l'annunciata intenzione del Governo Imperiale di abolire l'insegnamento della lingua italina dalle Scuole pubbliche elementari e di menomarne l'uso nei procedimenti penali dei Tribunali superiori ed inferiori, e contro l'adozione di altre proposte lesive degli interessi morali e materiali del Paese. I due capi ricodarono a Sua Eccellenza la Risoluzione approvata ad unanimità dalle 30,000 persone intervenute al Comizio popolare di domenica scorsa, e dichiararono che il popolo difenderà a costo di qualunque sacrificio la sua lingua italiana e non accetterà mai alcuna iniqua ed odiosa misura antinazionale del genere di quelle annuziate ieri dal Ministro della Colonie alla Camera dei Comuni.

Rispondendo a certe domande di Sua Eccellenza, rifecero brevemente la storia della questione linguistica e della crisi politico-religiosa colla quale la detta questione non aveva nulla da vedere, e deplorarono, nei termini più vibrati, l'agire ingiusto e sleale del Governo Britannico.

Sua Eccellenza il Governatore prese atto della protesta, dichiarando che l'avrebbe comunicata al Segretario di Stato per le Colonie.

I find in the Preface to this Book also this declaration:

Questo spontaneo ed autentico plebiscito scolastico "pro lingua italiana", che si è esteso a 19,000 padri di famiglia, suggella magnificamente la grandiosa vittoria elettorale dello scorso giugno di cui il presente opuscolo è una storica e inconfutabile documentazione non meno importante, anzi più significativa degli stessi risultati ufficiali delle ultime elezioni, pubblicati nella Gazzetta di Governo del 18 giugno, 1932.

I ask, do not the points raised in the above extracts form an integral part

of the electoral programme of the Nationalist Party? According to the Nationalists, those are the principal points of their programme, for which they are prepared to fight.

MR. SPEAKER: Il programma del Partito Nazionalista è quello stampato e sottomesso all'elettorato.

MR. VALENZIA (*In Maltese*): If hon. Ministers want to persuade the Imperial Government that the people are with the Nationalist Party and not with us on this question, all they have to do is to resign (*laughter*) and have another election to be fought without any moral pressure. All they have to do is to ask the people of Malta and Gozo to give their verdict on this particular question. Let the Nationalist Party have the courage to fight again the election on this particular question, without any moral pressure, so that we may be able to know whether the people are with them or with us. Hon. Members opposite are always displaying their admiration for Gandhi and De Valera, but when they come to take some sort of action, they are very careful not to imitate either Gandhi or De Valera.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI (*In maltese*): Certamente, noi non siamo dei ribelli; siamo leali.

MR. VALENZIA (*In Maltese*): Let them seek re-election and let the people decide for themselves and in their own interest.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Vorrei chiedere all'onor. Capo del Ministero di studiare l'opportunità di pubblicare e di dare alla stampa il discorso dell'onor. Valenzia perchè il pubblico comprenda con quale incoscienza una discussione simile si tiene in questa Aula. Vorrei raccomandare all'onor. Primo Ministro perchè si faccia questo. Che si pubblichi questo discorso dell'onor. Valenzia e che copia dello stesso sia dato alla stampa perchè si veda con quale incomprensione si discute una simile mozione in questa Camera.

MR. SPEAKER: Questa proposta non va fatta in questo stadio.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Io l'ho sottomessa all'onor. Capo del Ministero.

DR. BOFFA (*In Maltese*): I hope that the few remarks I am going to submit to the House in order to justify my vote will not raise the same storm we have witnessed this afternoon during the speeches made by hon. Members on this side of the House. I feel it my duty to say a few words so as to justify the attitude I am going to take up. I wish to say that I am against the motion we have before us for various reasons. The

principal reason is that in the electoral programme, on which I have been returned to Parliament, I promised my constituents that I would fight for and support the amendments recently made to the Constitution. The people who voted for me have sent me here to support the amendments made to the Constitution after the report of the Royal Commission. Another reason why I am going to vote against the motion is that we have already expressed ourselves on this same question when the Government brought forward a motion with a view to forwarding to the Secretary of State a protest against the amendments to the Constitution. The third reason is that we hold that those amendments—and it is here where we differ from the Government—are not a mutilation but an amelioration of the Constitution. HON. MEMBERS: (Hear, hear). Besides these reasons, there are others which I duly submitted to the House at a previous sitting. I may also add that the amendments to the Constitution are those very same amendments or at least some of them, for which I in the name for our Party had asked the Royal Commission.

ONOR. DR. E. MIZZI: Siete paraventi di *Downing Street*!!

DR. BOFFA (*In Maltese*): For these reasons and also in order to be consistent with my previous attitude, I feel bound to vote against the resolution of the hon the Head of the Ministry. I am not going to express my opinion as to whether the Government should or should not resign. If I have undertstood the hon. the Minister for Treasury aright, he did not agree with the hon. Minister for Education. He said in fact that they had no popular madate on this question.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI: Non ho detto questo. Ho detto semplicemente che questa questione concerne la Camera e non il Ministero. Ho detto pure che se questa questione dipendesse dal Governo Imperiale e se le nostre dimissioni dipendessero dall'attitudine del Governo Imperiale, la Carta Costituzionale non vorrebbe niente. Ho fatto pure la domanda: Che cosa abbiamo fatto noi per perdere la fiducia del popolo?

DR. BOFFA (*In Maltese*): I do not agree with the hon. Minister for Education when he said that on this question the Nationalist Party had a popular mandate. Nobody can deny the fact that the last elections were not fought on the language question; the people of Malta did not understand that question at all.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI (*In Maltese*): Sta ripetendo quello che ha detto l'onor. Valenzia.

DR. BOFFA (*In Maltese*): I maintain that the popular conscience was focussed upon the religious question.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI (*In Maltese*): Il Governo Imperiale non avrebbe dovuto toccare la questione della lingua.

DR. BOFFA (*In Maltese*): I am not defending the Imperial Government; I am quoting facts. I hold that the last elections were not fought on the language question.

ONOR. DR. E. MIZZI: L'onor. signore sta citando il proprio programma.

DR. BOFFA (*In Maltese*): Therefore, the Party opposite cannot tell the Imperial Government that they represent the people, or rather the majority of the people of Malta, on this question.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI (*In Maltese*): Allora loro lo rappresentano?

DR. BOFFA (*In Maltese*): No.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI (*In Maltese*): Allora nessuno la rappresenta?

DR. BOFFA (*In Maltese*): And this apart from the fact that the figures prove that the Constitutionals polled 14,000 votes and the Labourites 4,000 votes, that is a total of 18,000 votes against 28,000 votes polled by the Nationalists, from which is to be deducted the large number of plural votes, which amount to about 4,000 and also the large number of persons who were influenced morally by the Clergy on the religious question.

PROF. DR. HYZLER (*In Maltese*): Non rimane niente allora?!

DR. BOFFA (*In Maltese*): This clearly shows that the last elections were not fought on the issue of the language question. The language question was the issue before the people in the elections of 1924 and 1927, when there was no religious question and when our election cry was the Maltese language against the conservatism of the Nationalist Party (Hon. MEMBERS: No.). At those two elections the Nationalists were returned in a minority. Therefore, Sir, as the Nationalist Party did not recieve a mandate on this question from the electorate, we, the opposition, are not concerned as to whether they should resign or not. Let them obtain a mandate from the electorate on this question. Sir, I have given the reasons for which I am going to vote against this resolution. I feel that the question at issue touches my political programme. In the amendments made to the Constitution I see an improvement and not a mutilation of the Constitution, apart from the defence or otherwise of the action of the Imperial Government.

ONOR. DR. MIFSUD BONNICI (*In Maltese*): Alla conferenza che ha

tenuto ultimamente ha ammesso quello che abbiamo detto noi.

DR. BOFFA (*In Maltese*): I am not going to take up the defence of Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, but Prof. Mallia's argument drawn from a quotation from a paper which is in opposition to the Government does not convince me. The "Times" praises Sir Philip, because it supports the Government, not so the "Tablet". Prof. Mallia's argument can only convince boys and not people who have even a claim to a little common sense, which every representative of the people should have. For these reasons, in order to adhere to the programme of the Labour Party, and to the attitude we took up at previous sittings, I feel that I should have no fear in voting against the resolution proposed by the hon. the Head of the Ministry, which is a superfluous repetition of the resolution already passed by the House.

ONOR. DR. E. MIZZI (*In Maltese*): Paraventi di *Downing Street*!!

DR. BOFFA (*In Maltese*): Finally, I am glad that my speech has not provoked any electricity or storm and thank my hon. colleagues for having listened to my remarks (HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear).

ONOR. SIR U.P. MIFSUD: Nel levarmi a proporre il riferimento ad una Commissione di questa Camera del soggetto principale della mia mozione, io avevo precisamente in mente oggi di esonerare questo Parlamento da un dibattito abbastanza animato e lungo sopra una quistione che tutti noi qui abbiamo cara, che l'hanno dimostrato i diversi oratori che da una parte e l'altra hanno parlato. E, signor Presidente, nel levarmi a far ciò io mi sono sentito precisamente nel dovere di setuire la stessa tattica adoperata allorchè all'inizio dei nostri lavori parlamentari, dopo la retrocessione della Costituzione, questa Camera ha creduto essere doveroso per lei, come suo primo passo, di fare una regolare protesta contro la sospensione della Costituzione. Ho innanzi a me l'originaria mozione da me proposta a questa Camera il 24 ottobre dell'anno scorso, che corre nei termini seguenti:

> L'Assemblea Legislativa delibera, come primo atto del nuovo Parlamento, di spedire al Segretario di Stato una doverosa protesta contro la sospensione e susseguente mutilazione della Costituzione di Malta.

Essa nominò allora dal suo seno alcuni onor. Membri di quest'Assemblea per redigere il testo della protesta. Era ben naturale quindi che, avuta dal Segretario di Stato la risposta alla protesta del Parlamento maltese, fosse doveroso che questo Parlamento nuovamente

replicasse. E siccome l'originaria protesta era stata l'opera di una Commissione, era più che doveroso che la stessa Commissione redigesse la replica. Per aver fatto ciò, signor Presidente, io ho sollecitato le ire del Capo dell'Opposizione, il quale di tutto ha parlato meno sulla saggezza o meno della mossa da me proposta. Non voglio aticipare il lavoro che sarà a fare questa Commissione. Nel proporla io non mi son sentito mosso dall'istinto di evadere il mio dovere. Tutt'altro; io capito di avere l'onore di essere Presidente di quella Commissione; quindi non deferivo ad altri ciò che è stata spettanza mia. Come capo di quella Commissione io avrei risparmiato tempo a questa Camera che onor. Membri hanno occupato oggi discutendo questa mozione. Ma giacchè l'onor. Capo dell'Opposizione ha voluto metterla sul tappeto, è incombenza mia, che ho il diritto di parlare in ultimo, ed anche esprimere a nome del Governo la mia opinione. E' inutile che ci si venga a dire che l'atteggiamento del Segretario di Stato, chiunque esso sia, è definitivamente quello da lui dichiarato in pieno Parlamento inglese. E' stato in pieno Parlamento inglese nel 1926, che l'onorevole Thomas, allora Segretario di Stato per le Colonie e per i Domini, in risposta ad un suggerimento fattogli dal Primo Ministro del Canadà, qualificò "humbug" una certa proposta che il Primo Ministro Canadese faceva pubblicamente alla Nazione Britannica per l'introduzione di dazi preferenziali. E toccò proprio a me di essere presente in pieno Parlamento inglese nel 1932 quando lo stesso Ministro per i Domini, Mr. Thomas, ha proposto egli stesso che tutta l'Inghilterra adottasse il sistema dei dazi preferenziali (*Approvazioni*). Vale a dire lo stesso Segretario di Stato per le Colonie ha dovuto ritornare su i suoi passi e avendo detto un anno una cosa ha dovuto anni dopo tenere un atteggiamento del tutto opposto. E la nostra storia, in materia di lingua, ha subito le stesse vicissitudini acora. Mi ricordo il giorno quando l'allora Segretario di Governo, allora Sir Gerald Strickland, gongolava di gioia in pieno Consiglio di Governo perche il Segretario di Stato per le Colonie, Chamberlain, aveva annunziato ai Maltesi che tra una quindicina di anni la lingua italiana sarebbe sparita dalle Corti di Giustizia dell'isola. E' rimasto storico l'atteggiamento assunto una volta da Sir Gerald Strickland in Consiglio, quando coll'orologio in mano rispondeva con tanto di sarcasmo ai Deputati del Popolo, che tra tante anni, tanti mesi, tante settimane, tante giornate, tanti ore, tanti minuti e tanti secondi, la lingua italiana sarebbe sparita dai Tribunali. Eppure più tardi la storia ha registrato un Ordine in Consiglio susseguente che scancellave tutto quanto aveva formalmente

dichiarato anni prima il Ministero inglese. In senso inverso, che cosa abbiamo visto noi nel corso degli ultimi 15 anni, nel corso della storia recentissima che noi abbiamo vissuto ultimamente? Tengo ancora innanzi a me il *White Paper* messa sulla tavola del Parlamento Britannico in occasione della concessione della autonomia nel 1921. Da esso stralcio il dispaccio di Mr. Amery del 24 dicembre, 1919, allorchè egli si esprimeva così dirigendosi al Governatore nostro:

I need not say that it has caused me great pleasure to hear from you that the announcement of the intention of His Majesty's Government has been received in Malta not only with enthusiasm but with fervent demonstrations of loyalty to the Throne.

Egli si riferisce all'intenzione del Governo Imperiale di concedere l'autonomia e la Costituzione come voluta dall'Assemblea Nazionale di Malta:

I trust and believe that the new system of Government will not only give free and full scope to the desire of the Maltese people to vindicate their capacity and sense of responsibility in the control of their own affairs, but will increasingly strengthen their loyal attachement to the Crown and to British Institutions, and their pride in being members of the world-wide British Commonwealth.

Ho anche innanzi a me l'annunzio fatto dal Governatore allorchè egli rendendosi il portavoce della concessaci autonomia, dichiarava al popolo maltese, che egli sperava che l'autonomia concessaci sarebbe stata sorgente di felicità pel popolo di Malta, e che avrebbe posto fine alle tante antipatiche quistioni che avevano agitato il paese, e che erano state causa di dissensi tra la popolazione maltese e la popolazione inglese.

Ho anche innanzi il paragrafo 32 del famoso dispaccio di Mr. Amery al Governatore di Malta in data del 9 aprile, 1921, allorchè esso, parlando della Costituzione che ci veniva promulgata, dichiarava quanto segue:

It is for the people of Malta themselves to cloth it with the living tissue of a healthy and truly national political system, and to inspire it with those ideals of patriotism, progress and responsibility which are the only guarantee of its permanent success. The opportunity now offered them is a great one. I am confident that they have both the determination and the capacity to make the best use of it. And in that confidence I wish them all success in the direction of the affairs of their ancient and renowned Island.

(*Approvazioni*).

E, signor Presidente, ho anche innanzi a me il telegramma mandato in quell'epoca da Lord Plumer al Segretario di Stato per le Colonie allorchè nel paragrafo 3 il nostro Governatore così si esprimeva:

The reading of your despatch of the 9th April ...

– vale a dire il dispaccio accompagnante la Costituzione –

... and of the various Instruments by which it was accompanied evoked enthusiastic cheering, which was renewed when, on the conclusion of the ceremony, the National Anthem was played and I called for cheers for His Majesty the King. The 30th of April was observed as a general holiday in the two Islands, and the popular demonstrations held during the day confirm my belief that the provisions of the Letters Patent have been received with general satisfaction and that the generous concession of His Majesty's Government has been fully appreciated by all classes of the community.

Ed ho ache innanzi a me quello che è stato detto a proposito della lingua allorchè nel paragrafo 14 del Dispaccio dello Segretario di Stato al Governatore in data del 28 maggio, 1920, Lord Milner così si esprimeva:

The question of language required, and has received, the most careful consideration so as to do justice both to the position of Malta as a member of the British Commonwealth, and to the traditions of its history and culture.

Signor Presidente, è notorio che la Costituzione di Malta e stata formulata sopra il testo desiderato dai maltesi stessi; l'Assemblea Nazionale è stata quella che formulò la specie di Costituzione che doveva concedersi a noi, e su quell'abbozzo il Governo Imperiale, seguendo dopo tutto la pratica usuale in altri paesi dell'Impero, concesse a noi la Costituzione. Ed è perciò quindi, che se noi contro la sospensione costituzionale infame avvenuta nel 1930, e contro il cntinuato regime interinale di due anni, dal 1930 al 1932, abbiamo elevato la nostra voce di protesta, noi oggi non possiamo fare altro che adempiere ad un altro dovere identico di cittadini, quale quello di tutelare il partimonio per cui avevamo lottato noi, e anche lottato i nostri padri nei tempi antichi (*Approvazioni*).

Vedo che nel corso della discussione appassionata di oggi si è finanche voluto discutere da quella parte in quest'Assemblea il valore delle ultime elezioni. Da altri si è discusso il contenuto del Libro Verde il quale racchiude le varie risoluzioni passate dal Popolo di Malta nei vari comizi

i quai sono stati tenuti dai Capi Nazionalisti insin dal memorabile giorno del 2 febbraio, quando il Segretario di Stato per le Colonie pur dichiarado a noi di voler ridarci l'autonomia, ha dichiarato di voler ridarcela mutilata. Signor Presidente, sfido tutti a dichiararmi se ci è stato mai in acun paese del mondo un plebiscito più chiaro e più categorico di quello maltese (*Approvazioni*). I Capi Nazionalisti, giorno per giorno, nella stampa e nei comizi hanno posto al popolo maltese sempre la stessa quistione, e la quistione era quella di voler retrocessa la Costituzione del 1921 salvo al Popolo di Malta di cambiarla a volontà sua più tardi, se e quante volte occorresse. E in materia di lingua esplicite sono state le proteste nei comizi da parte del popolo contro l'attacco alla lingua italiana in materia di lingua, spettava unicamente al Popolo di Mata di decidere nelle elezioni fissate pel giugno del 1932. E le elezioni hanno pariato, e hanno plebiscitariamente dichiarato quale fosse la volontà dei maltesi. (*Approvazioni*). E la volontà popolare si espresse senza pressioni, senza ambagi e senza titubanze (*Approvazioni*). Lo stesso Rappresentante del Re, inaugurando il Parlamento di Malta dopo la retrocessione della Costituzione, non ha avuto esitazione a dichiarare nel Discorso del Trono che sopra un mandato chiaro ed inequivoco il popolo di Malta si era espresso chiaro e preciso (*Approvazioni*). E anche ultimamente il Rappresentante del Re in un'allocazione fatta ai parroci di questa Isola ha spontaneamente voluto dichiarare chiaramente che il Governo di Malta ora si trova in mano di coloro che godevano in paese, dietro regolare madato del popolo, una piena maggioraza in paese. Non voglio entrare nei dettagli, ma questo devo dire che mi ha fatto una certa quale impressione per la sua audacia il discorso del Dr. Boffa. Egli ha voluto niente di meno menomare il risultato delle elezioni del 1932 paragonato coi risultati del 1924 e 1927. E' notorio che gli attachi e le critiche che si facevano al Partito Nazionalista dopo le elezioni del 1921 e del 1924 erano fatti sul motivo che si pretendeva che non si potesse dire chiaramente se il Governo rappresentasse la maggioranza della popolazione perchè non era stato ancora compilato il Registro degli elettori e perchè non tutti i cittadini strettamente intitolati al voto in quelle elezioni avevano votato. E' notorio che il numero degli elettori nel 1921 e nel 1924 è stato molto minore di quello in quest'ultima elezione. Non ho le cifre innazi a me, ma se non erro nel 1921 il numero degli, elettori era di 22,000 e nel 1924 so non erro era di 33,000. L'argomento agevolerebbe la tesi nostra e non quella avversaria presentata dal Dr. Boffa. Imperocchè dalle necessarie ricerche fatte risulta che, mentre

nelle elezioni del 1924 e del 1927 il Partito Nazionalista poco si è curato, perchè poco era organizzato allora, ad ottenere per i suoi gregari i necessari certificati elettorali e a presentare tutta la sua forza alle urne, il Partito Costitutionale e quello Laburista, e particolarmente il Partito Costituzionale, mediate la loro organizzazione sono riuscti nelle elezioni del 1924 e 1927 a far inscrivere un numero stragrande di nuovi elettori all'undecima or nell'intento di cogliere all'improviso gli avversari e di far cambiare di soprassalto la bilancia. Per l'elezione del 1932, condotta sotto l'egida di persone non appartenenti ad alcun partito politico e sopra il sistema voluto dagli stessi Costituzionali, si è avuto un Registro Generale di tutti gli elettori, e così in quest'ultima occasione si è realizzato il desiderio di tutti di avere un regolare Registro di tutte le persone in Malta intitolate al voto. Il risultato delle elezioni del 1932 non ammette discussioni siccome (a parte la quistione della votazione che è stata libera e non obbligatoria) abbiamo avuto il fatto che nelle elezioni del 1932 ha concorso alle urne tutto l'elemento democratico delle due Isole perchè fu fatta consegna dell'opportuno certificato elettorale a tutti coloro che non si erano dati la briga di "procurarselo per se stessi, giacchè lo Stato stesso lo aveva procurato a loro stessi." Ripeto non è più soggetta a discussione l'elezione del 1932.

Dinanzi al risultato elettorale ottenuto, il Governo Nazionalista che deriva il suo mandato dalle ultime urne è deciso di espletare l'opera sua ai termini del suo programma. Se fosse buona la tesi avversaria che ad ogni ostacolo che noi fossimo ad incontrare da parte del Segretario di Stato, noi dovessimo dimetterci, noi o lascieremmo il paese nel caos ovvero vedremmo nuovamente perpetuato il sistema da noi combattuto, cioè di vedere all'inizio di questa Legislatura nei nostri posti persone che non godono la fiducia della maggioranza del popolo (*approvazione*). Io mi sono sentito insin dal primo momento nel dovere di dichiarare chiaro e tondo al Rappresentante del Re che io derivava la posizione di Capo del Ministero e di esponente della nazione maltese dalla maggioranza che mi aveva eletto (*approvazioni*) e che io dipendeva unicamente da quella maggioranza che lealmente rappresentava il popolo in seno a questo Parlamento. Fintanto che la mia posizione sarà a rimanere forte in questa Assemblea, io poco mi curerò dell'atteggiamento di questo o di quell'altro Segretario di Stato. I Segretari di Stato cambiano, ma la politica nazionalista non sarà a cambiare come non ha cambiato per il passato, mentre ha dovuto cambiare per necessità di cose la politica imperiale a

riguardo dei maltesi (*approvazioni*). Oggi, per partito preso, abbiamo avuto l'atteggiamento del Segretario di Stato Cunliffe-Lister in questo senso. Con lui abbiamo discusso la quistione maltese lealmente e francamente a visiera alzata noi dal primo giorno in cui siamo stati nominati Ministri e personalmente con lui l'abbiamo discussa l'indomani del nostro stesso arrivo in Inghilterra, perchè così andava discussa la quistione. Mi ricordo di essere stato esplicito nel dire in Inghilterra a Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister che poteva benissimo darsi che le nostre reciproche responsabilità non necessariamente ci portavano ad una soluzione unica. In materia di lingua il popolo maltese ci ha autorizzato di discutere e far risolvere la quistione dal punto di vista maltese. Da questa linea di azione noi non intendiamo indietreggiare. Da quella parte ci si dice: "Voi cosi agendo sarete a mettere in repentaglio ed in pericolo la Costituzione di Malta." Quello che ci preoccupa è di poter vivere sotto un regime di libertà, quella libertà che godono gli altri paesi entro l'Impero, siano essi di sangue britannico o di sangue francese o siano essi di sangue olandese o latino. Noi aspiriamo agli stessi diritti, alle stesse franchigie e allo stesso trattamento di costoro. Non intendiamo accettare altre forme di autonomia che quelle che vogliamo noi. Con tale fine in mente continueremo a lottare a costo di qualsiasi conseguenza.

MR. SPEAKER: La mozione e la seguente:

Che la Commissione già nominata ed incaricata da questa Camera per redigere la protesta del Parlamento Maltese in merito alla sospensione della Costituzione e mutilazione della Carta Costituzionale, venga oggi in seguito alla risposta del Segretario di Stato incaricata da questa Camera a sotto-mettere all Camera per definitiva approvazione l'abbozzo e il test della replica da presentarsi dalla Legislatura alla risposta del Segretario di Stato.

The House divided on the motion of the hon. Sir U.P. Mifsud: Ayes 20, Noes 9:

La Camera passa a rotazione sulla proposta dell'onor. Sir U.P. Mifsud: Favorevoli 20, Contrari 9:

AYES – FAVOREVOLI.

Adami, Dr. G.
Agius Muscat, Dr. G.
Azzopardi, Dr. A.W.
Azzopardi Castaldi, Dr. L.
Borg, M.
Cremona, Dr. G.,
Dalli, A.
Delia, Dr. N.

Fenech, Dr. T.
Hyzler, Prof. Dr. G.
Maempel, Dr. F.W.
Mallia, Prof. Dr. C.
Micallef, Dr. G.
Mifsud, Sir Ugo P.
Mifsud Bonnici, Dr. C.
Mizzi, A.W.
Mizzi, Dr. E.
Mizzi, Dr. R.
Schembri, Dr. P.
Soler, G.

NOES – CONTRARI.

Bencini, R.
Bugeja, Dr. J.
Galea, Prof. R.V.
Gera de Petri, A.
Montano, A.P.
Salomone, W.
Strickland, R.
Vassallo, E.
Valenzia, E.

Motion carried.
La mozione è approvata.

DOCUMENT 68

The Governor's Address on the 1936 Letters Patent

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

You have heard the Letters Patent read and I have signed the Proclamation bringing into operation the Constitution under which Malta will be governed for some time.

It becomes our duty to use that Constitution to the best of our ability for the benefit of Malta. The Letters Patent, however, only state the main principles which govern the Constitution; many of the details are given in the "Instructions to the Governor". As the Instructions are long and will be published I propose to read now only those paragraphs which provide more fully for the procedure to be followed by the Executive Council and ensure that the Executive Council shall be regularly consulted on all measures. They are the following:–

Paragraph 4	Constitution of the Executive Council.
" 10	Minutes of meetings.

"	11	Report to the Executive Council of urgent action.
"	12	Questions for discussion.
"	13	Governor's opposition to advice.
"	14 (4)	Draft Ordinances.

In respect to the paragraph last read there are certain Ordinances which must be enacted at once to carry out the policy laid down in the Letters Patent. These Ordinances are required immediately, either to amend existing legislation to give effect to certain specific sections in the Letters Patent, such as Section 20 regarding languages, or to bring existing legislation into line where it is contrary to the principles laid down in the new Letters Patent. In the urgency of the case it is not possible to publish these Ordinances in draft form for a month before enactment nor is it even possible to allow the Executive Council two or three days, as would be necessary, to consider them before they could be expected to tender their advice to me in regard to them. I propose, therefore, to take the only course open, which is to enact the Ordinances in question immediately, after the close of this ceremony. I wish to make it clear that I personally accept full responsibility for the enactment of these Ordinances. When these Ordinances have become law. I hope the occasions when any Ordinance is enacted without publication in draft form for a month will seldom arise. It is my firm intention to avoid such occasions, and I see no reason why they should arise other than in very exceptional circumstances.

The minimum number of nominated members fixed by the "Instructions to the Governor" is three. I have decided to nominate five unofficial members and one representative of the Admiralty from H.M. Dockyard. I would explain with regard to the latter that twenty times more persons find employement in the Dockyard than in any other industrial undertaking in Malta. It is therefore most important that there should be the fullest opportunity for exchange of ideas and co-operation between the Dockyard and the other interests which will be represented on the Council. The Executive Council will therefore consist of the following *ex officio* and nominated official members:–

Ex officio – The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir H.C. Luke, C.M.G.; the Legal Adviser, Mr. C.C. Gerahty, K.C.; the Treasury Counsel, Sir P. Pullicino, LL.D.; the Treasurer, Major J.A. Galizia, C.B.E., during whose absence Mr. G. Beck. Acting Treasurer, will be a member; the

Secretary to Government. Mr. E.R. Mifsud, C.M.G., O.B.E.
Nominated Official Members – Vice-Admiral W.F. French, K.C.B., C.M.G.; Vice-Admiral Superintendent, H.M. Dockyard, Malta; and Mr. R.O. Ramage, who will be a nominated member during the absence of Sir Harry Luke.

The following gentlemen have consented to serve as nominated unofficial members:-

The Most Noble Captain I. de Piro, Baron of Budaq; Mr. Edgar Arrigo, M.B.E.; Mr. P. Boffa, M.D.; Professor P.P. Debono, M.D.; and Mr. C. Mifsud Bonnici, LL.D.

I wish to emphasize that I have not asked these gentlemen to serve as representative of any particular interest or political party, but because I believe that, with their past experience in connexion with those interests or as members of a political party, they have knowledge which will render their counsel of value to the good government of Malta. I have asked them to serve their country in this manner because I judge them to be men who will state their opinions frankly, and who have the courage and strength of character to refuse the influence or dictation of any interested party. In their oath Members will swear to give counsel and advice to the best of their ability and to be at all tims true and faithful Councillors. I have the fullest confidence that the gentlemen who have accepted nomination will not fail in this or any other respect to serve their country.

In speeches in the Houses of Parliament, representatives of the Imperial Government have stated that the Constitution now established must be regarded as an interim form of Government, and, though the Imperial Government has not bound itself in any way as to how long the present Consitution shall remain unchanged or what changes shall be made, an undertaking has been given that there shall be an extension of representation at some future time. My interpretation of that undertaking is that the life of the present Consitution will be short or long in proportion to the success or failure of those responsible in gaining the good will of the people of Malta, and in governing these Islands for their benefit. The gaining of good will is, however, not a one-sided matter and presupposes that the people are prepared to co-operate with the Government and to extend their good will. I am convinced that the great mass of the people, who have at heart the welfare of Malta, are so prepared.

Criticism of the form of government will not bring a change. Helpful criticism, on the other hand, of measures proposed by the Government will be most valuable. To be helpful, criticism must be constructive and bases on an accurate statement of facts. It must be free from personal vituperation, which is seldom more than an indication of a weak case. You will, therefore, all appreciate that the more all classes and interests co-operate to make the present Constitution a success, the nearer will be the day when a wider Constitution will become a matter for practical consideration, bases not on theory or surmise but on the proved and tangible evidence of the public spirit of the people of Malta and of their ability to take an increasing part in the management of their own affairs.

I can assure the people of Malta that my councillors and I are fully aware of our great responsibilities. I speak for everyone of them when I say we are fully determined to work together in harmony, in spite of the differences of opinion that are bound to develop among us, considering only the weal of all who inhabit these Islands. But no Council alone can attain success. The Council may build but the cement for their work is the good will of the people without which the work of the Council will be fruitless. I appeal with confidence to all section of the population to provide this, their share in the great task which is being undertaken to-day. And I also appeal to all who offer us advice, either with their pens or with their tongues, to help us by being not only constructive but considerate in their criticisms, giving us all credit for single-mindedness in one respect – in our determination to work for the good of Malta and its Dependencies.

DOCUMENT 69

The Governor's Address on the 1939 Letters Patent

SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR AT THE PROCLAMATION OF THE MALTA LETTERS PATENT, 1939.

It must have fallen to the lot of few Governors to exercise their functions under such different conditions during their period of office as has been mine. When I arrived in Malta nearly three years ago, the Constitution

was under suspension and I had the duty of governing with the advice of officials only. After five months we took the first step on the return to a democratic form of government, when an Executive Council was brought into being, and for the past $2\frac{1}{2}$ years I have had the advantage of the additional help and advice of a few chosen advisers who are not Government servants, and I have been able to share my responsibility in some measure with councillors both official and unofficial. Now we are about to take another stride forward. The Letters Patent which I have just proclaimed are the first step in bringing into being a Council of Government which will exercise great power and influence.

The distinguishing feature of the Council is that it will be composed of 12 unofficial and 8 official members. This arrangements gives a preponderance of votes to the unofficial members. When the Secretary of State made his announcement of his proposals in the House of Commons in July, a criticism was made frequently in the Council of Government there would be 10 elected members against 10 members whose vote would be at the disposal of the Governor, and that with his casting vote he could always command a majority. There was perhaps some excuse for the statement when in order to obtain wider representation it was considered sound policy to belittle the new proposals. But I hope that it will not be repeated that the full details of the Constitution have been made public. The Governor will not be a member of the Council of Government but will be the presiding with a casting vote only. But he will be given the right to speak. The object of giving the Governor power to nominate two members is to enable him to call into the Council men whose advice could be of exceptional value but who have not sought election. Nominated members will be completely be, and I should never try to influence them in any way except by speech in Council or by conversation such as I might use quite properly in the case of any member. I claim that in the nominations I made for the Executive Council of the present time. I never gave a moment's thought as to whether a member would vote as I wished or not, but only whether his knowledge, experience and character would make him a valuable councillor. I shall not be guided by other considerations in any nominations for the Council of Government.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Commons on the 29th July, 1938, said that the language question would be excluded from discussion on control by the Council of Government. The Letters

Patent contain provisions which remove the language question from the sphere of legislative contain action by the Council, Control of the discussion, as distinct from legislative action, will be provided by the Standing Orders.

As it is considered necessary that the Governor should be presiding officer, the language of debate must be English. This is to be regretted but it is necessary for I cannot understand Maltese, and it is most unlikely that any Governor will do so. It is improbable but possible that this provision may prove a disadvantage to some members; the presiding officer is therefore empowered to allow any member who has difficulty in expressing himself clearly in English to speak in Maltese, his speech being interpreted. I shall of course apply that provision with the sole object of ensuring freedom of debate.

There has been in the past much criticism both of the present form of Government and of the actual gentleman who have acted as advisers of the Government. It has arisen partly no doubt from the fact that the deliberations of the Executive Council have necessarily taken place behind closed doors, and I agree that the difficulty of keeping the public informed of the actions of Government and of explaining its intentions, lay it open to criticism which must often be ill-informed criticism one cannot complain, so long as it is made in good faith. But frequently it has been concentrated on the nominated members of the Executive Council, it has often been unfair, and sometimes, I regret to say, abusive. I wish therefore to take this opportunity to say that for the establishment of representative Government which I have just proclaimed, the people of Malta owe a large measure of gratitude to those gentlemen who in certain cases acceded very unwillingly to my request that they should help me in the Government of this Island by their advice as Nominated Members of the Executive Council. It was because I was able to point out to the late Secretary of State that these gentlemen, together with the Official Members, had formed a thoroughly business-like Committee upon every member of which I could depend to judge problems from a detached point of view, considering only what was best for their country, that he was persuaded that the time had arrived for establishing a legislative Council. I was also able to point out that the conduct of these gentleman had proved that the fears freely expressed in many quarters that a rapid return to representative institutions in Malta would lead to disaster, would prove groundless. I wish, therefore, to thank all members

of the Executive Council, both Official and Nominated, for the service and advice they have given me, and specially to express my personal gratitude to the Hon. Dr. P. Boffa, the Hon. Prof. P. P. Debono, the Hon. Prof. C. Mifsud Bonnici, the Hon. Mr. J. Cauchi, and to Baron DePiro D'Amico, whose resignation I much regretted. I should like also to express my appreciation of the wise counsil given during the early days by the late Mr. Edgar Arrigo, whose death was a great blow to us.

We shall now press on to the preparation of the register of electors as rapidly as possible. An Ordinance enabling a register of electors to be prepared will be punished in draft to-day. May I ask that criticisms of this draft may be sent in or published early, so that they may be considered and the Ordinance at the end of the statutory period of one month.

Government in its present form will continue until it is possible to hold the election. When the time arrives to prepare for the election, all preparations will be made by permanent officials, when they take place, I myself will be responsible for directing their supervisions, and I will ensure to the best of my ability that they are conducted with fairness and impartially. The elections will be held under the system of proportional representation to which voters are accustomed from the past experience.

I have no intention of allowing the Government to stand during the coming months, rather shall I try to enact those measures which are necessary to prepare the ground for the activities of th Council of Government and give it a fair start.

I hope to carry out the measures which I have announced.

First, the finances must be placed on a sound footing. A year ago I said that I considered that the incidence of taxation was not fairly distributed, and that I intended to lighten the demands made on the poorer members of the community. The Committee on the Finances of Malta, whose report has just been published, make certain recommendations with this object in view, and I have decided to adopt them. There may be certain changes in detail. For instance, should the proposed reduction of the allowances at the present paid to Government employees cause real hardship to individuals their cases will be considered and justice will be done. But the principle must be strictly observed that the Government has a right to demand from its employees their full time services and to allot to them any duties. It may prove advisable to modify to some extent the new Customs Tariffs which it was necessary

to enact at the same time as the publication of the Finance Report to prevent evasion – e.g. expensive medicines, which are essential in certain cases might be placed on the free list.

There has been much criticism of some measures proposed, especially of that to remit £52,000 of the duty on corn. It has been said that it would be wiser to retain the duty and use the £52,000 to establish Old Age Pensions, that the money thus remitted is more likely to go into the pockets of the millers than to the relief of the consumer, that the reduction of the duty on wheat will ruin the farmer and even that the object of the proposed remission is to stimulate class antagonism. I cannot but believe that the writer of the last suggestion must now regret his words and realise that they were a slander unworthy of publication in an honourably conducted journal. It has been stated that a large proportion of the wheat grown by farmers is consumed by themselves, the agricultural community. This statement might have expanded. I have made careful enquires and it appears that the home-grown wheat is about 14% of the total consumption. The number of farmers and their relatives excluding labourers engaged in agriculture, is over 8,000 males and the population they represent 45,000. The farming population, therefore, grow less wheat than they consume and have to buy. I cannot believe that any less wheat will be grown in the future than in the past.

I have no reason to suppose that the mill owners are less honest than other members of the commercial community; the price they will demand on their costs, and if these are £52,000 less, they will sell their flour to the bakers at a lower price. Moreover, they will have to complete against imported flour, which will in a large measure be the ruling factor.

The objection to the remission of a large portion of a tax that falls most heavily of all on the very poor appears to me quite unworthy. The poorer the family, the higher is the proportion of bread in their diet, and I have no doubt that a great part of the £52,000 will go to the improvement of the food of the poorest people.

The suggestion that Old Age Pensions should be established is one which would meet everyone's approval were it practical. But here its high cost forbids it at the present time.

In the United Kingdom the maximum pension is 10s/- a week, and of course a great number of recipients receive less, and the cost is just over £1 per head of the population. Here at the same rate the cost would be

£265,000 and even if the cost could be halved it would be far beyond our present resources.

But there are other social services equally desirable which it may be possible to establish at less cost and which I hope to investigate and if feasible to submit to the consideration of the Council of Government.

The incidence of taxation in Malta is at present less than £3 a head. If all the additions proposed by the Committee be imposed the incidence will be about £3.4s.6d. To provide the many social services which now exist in the United Kingdom, the people submit to taxation on a scale which would be quite impossible in Malta. In other countries where social services are in an advanced state taxation in comparison to the wealth of the people is even higher.

There has also been criticism of the decision to form a reserve fund for the Government Savings Bank from the profit of £32,000 which hitherto has each been transferred to the General Revenue Fund. It is considered that this money should be regarded as belonging to the depositors and should be used for their benefit not for that of the tax-payers as a whole. When the reserve fund has reached an adequate sum, the possibility of increasing the rate of interest on deposits will be considered. I have decided to defer beginning to create this Reserve Fund until the Financial Year 1940–41.

In the estimates now in preparation, the provision for extraordinary works will be restricted. I have decided that this is necessary because the amount of labour to be employed by the Navy, Army and Air Force during year will be increased by over 4,000 men, and the demand for labour to carry out the works to be paid from loans will also be heavy.

If, therefore, foresight is not shown, there is a danger that the boom caused by this special demand for labour during the next few years will be followed by a serious slump, similar to that which occurred after the completion of the breakwater.

I trust that the negotiations for floating the loan will soon be completed. I have asked that the full amount considered by the amount of bankers as likely to be demanded in Malta shall be available. The widely expressed approval of the various schemes which will be paid for from the loan was most encouraging when proposals for them were first put forward, and it is only since it became clear that it would be necessary to raise a loan that it has been said that it is wrong to do so and that in adopting this course I am saddling Malta with a public debt

that will prove a great burden. If funds for these works were provided from revenue, they would not be completed for many years and their cost would be greatly increased. Moreover debts incurred for reproductive services cease to be a burden on revenue after a few years, and the revenue derived from them will pay both interest and sinking fund. I am convinced that I should have been lacking in my duty to Malta, had I refrained from pressing forward with these schemes or proposed that funds should be provided for them in any other way except by Loan. The Loan will provide funds for the new electricity generating station, for the extension of the domestic water supply, for the Milk Pasteurization Scheme, and for the extension of sewerage, all of which will be self-supporting within a few years and for rebuilding the Manderaggio, a scheme which will of course give only a partial return on its cost. The irrigation scheme at Wied il-Għasel will be financed by a loan from the Colonial Development Fund upon which no interest is payable for 5 years. By that time it will be self-supporting and will never be a burden on the revenue.

The schemes have been undertaken because the Government considers that they are essential for the development of Malta; it is equally essential that full provision should be made to carry them out before the Council of Government undertakes its duties.

I am responsible for the schemes, and I cannot pass the responsibility for financing them on to others.

Criticisms of the proposals of the Finance Committee have been mainly destructive. I have read scarcely any constructive suggestions for providing the revenue necessary for these important works to be carried out. The recommendations of the Finance Committee, therefore, stand. Neverthless, after the Council of Government meets I will welcome any suggestions from members as to alternative sources of revenue, so long as they do not involve any increase in indirect taxation or additional burdens on the poor. I desire to place this on record now and so that all will understand that the Council of Government will have full opportunity to offer constructive suggestions in regard to the finances of Malta. For the present, it is my duty to ensure that the budget balances, since if it did not, urgent schemes, such as the new power station, would have to be delayed to the great prejudice of the interests of the whole community.

I promise to do my utmost to ensure success to the Council of

Government, and I should like to state now what are the conditions which appear to me essential for success.

It was three well-known Maltese Judges who in 1919, when the Constitution of 1921 was in contemplation, wrote the following:-

There is no doubt that no constitution however perfect can be worked unless gentlemen of moderate ideas and unshakeable loyalty come forward to help form the Governor.

These gentleman stated a profound truth. Written words are but the skeleton which men have to clothe with flesh and blood. The men chosen to do it must show restraint in their speech and loyalty in their actions.

Viscount Samuel in a broadcast talk last October used words to this effect:

You may read the Canada Act, the Australia Act, the India Act or other "Acts of Parliament in which the structures of Governments are defined, but the real Constitutions are not there; they are in the peoples who live under them and work them, they are in the Council Chambers, the polling booths, in the public meetings, in the law courts and in the press.

Before the new Council of Government begins work there will be many public meetings; many articles and letters will be published in the press. May the tone of these articles and letters be such that when the polling booths are opened, men of honour, of loyalty and men temperate in speech will be chosen to work in the Council Chamber, and the Constitution may become a living organism.

Much will depend on the way in which these instruments which I have just proclaimed are studied and judged, and I ask all who read them to bear in mind these truths.

In every written Constitution there must be a number of restrictive clauses. These clauses have to be enacted though they may rarely or never be brought into operation. There are a number of restrictive clauses in the Letters Patent of 1936 which brought into being the present Executive Council, yet I cannot remember a single occasion on which action has been taken under them. They appear, however, just as prominently as the constructive clauses, and it would be easy, by concentrating on the former and disregarding the latter, to frame a destructive indictment of this Constitutional Instrument. The way to

progress is to consider these documents with a determination to exercise control, to judge calmly and dispassionately. It is only by judging the whole with a well-intentioned eye that the different parts fall the right relationship and that true picture of the whole structure can be painted. These Letters Patent bring a Constitution which is, I know a dissappointment to many. The best way to obtain wider representation, and a more liberal Constitution, is to make a success of this one.

Before closing I wish to add one personal note. There are absent from this meeting to-day a large number of important and representative citizens. With a few exceptions, these gentlemen have refused my invitation to be present because they consider that this Constitution that I have just proclaimed falls far short of what is due to Malta. Attendance here does not mean that those present agree that this Constitution is adequate or what they had hoped for, and the attendance of those absent would not have committed them to approval of the new Constitution. I have no complaint to make of the terms in which those refusals were expressed, practically without exception they have been perfectly polite. But I have to-day an important ceremony as His Majesty's representative and at His command, and I feel bound to express my regret that, in the instances to which I have referred, that courtesy was not shown which was due to this occasion.

DOCUMENT 70

Ugo Mifsud's speech of 9 February 1942 defending the Right to Live in One's Country and to a Fair Trial

EMERGENCY POWERS (REMOVAL OF DETAINED PERSONS) BILL.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— I beg to lay on the table a declaration signed by Your Excellency the urgency of the Emergency Powers (Removal of detained persons) Bill, and in accordance with Standing Order 36, I beg to move, as authorized by that declaration, that the Bill, the title of which I have just given, be read a first time.

SIR UGO P. MIFSUD:— May I ask that we be given five or three minutes to read it?

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— No objection.

THE PRESIDENT:—Is the House now agreed that it be read the first time?

SIR UGO P. MIFSUD:— No, Sir. May I ask for a division?

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— There is no division on the first reading.

SIR UGO P. MIFSUD:— All right.

Bill read a first time

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— Under No. 36 of our Standing Orders, I ask leave of the Council to proceed with the second and third reading of this Bill. I may read, for the information of hon. Members the Standing Order in question:

> Under no circumstances, except as herein below provided, shall more than one stage of a Bill be taken at the same sitting without the unanimous consent of the House.
>
> Provided that if a declaration of urgency by the President shall have been laid on the Table . . .

and that is the declaration which I laid on the Table a moment ago –

> . . . any Bill may, by leave of the majority of the Council, be passed through one or more of its stages.

Accordingly, Sir, under that Standing Order, I ask leave of the Council to proceed with the remaining stages of this Bill?

THE PRESIDENT:— Is the Council willing that we should proceed with the remaining stages of the Bill?

SIR UGO P. MIFSUD:— I am against that it be continued in its further stages and I ask for a division.

DR. BOFFA:— I take the word of the Chair that the Bill is urgent. Apart from the merits of the Bill, I cannot but vote in favour of its urgency, once it has been declared as such by Your Excellency.

THE PRESIDENT:— Am I to understand that the hon. Sir Ugo Mifsud object to the further stages of the Bill being taken?

SIR UGO P. MIFSUD:— I am entitled to vote "yes" or "no" on the question whether the stages of the Bill should be proceeded with to-day or not.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— The hon. Member is entitled to ask for a division, and I suggest therefore that a division be taken.

The Council divided on the motion of the Lieutenant-Governor:
Ayes 17; Noes 2:

AYES

Prof. Ferro
Mr. Cesareo
Capt. Formosa
Dr. Sacco
Mr. Montano
Dr. Boffa
Mr. Bartoli
The Collector of Customs
The Chief Government Medical Officer
The Director of Education
Mr. Valenzia
Lieut.-Col. Strickland
Mr. Cohen
The Secretary of Government
The Acting Treasurer
The Attorney General
The Lieutenant-Governor

NOES

Sir Ugo P. Mifsud
Dr. G. Borg Olivier

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— In pursuance of the leave which the Council has just given to me, I rise to move that a Bill entitled an "Ordinance to empower the removal from Malta of persons lawfully detained therein" may be read a second time.

The reasons which have made it necessary to call the Council together at such a short notice arise from a judgment of the Superior Courts given last Saturday. I refer, of course, to the case relating to the proposed removal from Malta to another part of the Empire of certain persons detained by Your Excellency's order under the Defence Regulations. I shall try to explain to the House, as briefly as I can, the position arising from that judgment.

Two Acts of the Imperial Parliament, called the Emergency Powers Defence Acts of 1939 and 1940, enable Defence Regulatios to be made by certain authorities for purposes connected with the prosecution of the war. Those Acts have been extended to Malta and to other parts of the Colonial Empire by Orders issued under the authority of the Acts themselves. Those Acts of Parliament to which I have referred are the authority for the issue of Defence Regulations both in the United Kingdom and in all parts of the Colonial Empire, including Malta to which the Acts have been extended. Under such Defence Regulations as the Council will be aware, a person can be detained if in the opinion of

the proper authority its detention is necessary, and here I quote from the Regulations "with a view to preventing him from acting in a manner prejudicial to public safety or defence"; and it is under a Defence Regulation in these terms that certain persons are detained here by Your Excellency's order and in the exercise of Your Excellency's sole responsibility for the security and defence of Malta. All that, of course, is well within the knowledge of hon. Members but Defence Regulations can and do go further than that. It has been recognised that it may sometimes be necessary for a variety of reasons to transfer detainees from the place in which their detention was ordered to some other part of the Empire. Sometimes the reasons are the interests of the detainees themselves, sometimes the reason is the safety of the place in which they are detained and the safety of the public in that place. That is, of course, much the most important reason and it is the reason with which Your Excellency is concerned in this case. I said that the system of the transfer of detainees is recognised in Defence Regulations and I shall endeavour to explain quite shortly how it is supposed to work. In the first place arrangements are made between what I may call the transferring country and the receiving country for the removal of the detainees to the latter and for their detention there. The receiving country is authorised to make these arrangements by its own Defence Regulations, and it is also authorised when such arrangements have been made to issue an Order covering the removal of the detainees to that country and their detention there. That Order is issued under regulations authorised by Act of Parliament extending both to the transferring and the receiving countries, and it was considered that such an Order was sufficient by itself to empower the transferring country to and over the detainees to the custody of the receiving country. The Court has now held that in Malta at any rate such an Order is not sufficient to authorise the removal of British subjects from the Island. For that purpose there would have to be an expressed power in the Law of Malta itself authorising the Governor to deport British subjects in the circumstances contemplated, and there is no such power in our law at present. The consequence of that judgment is that the Order of the receiving country, though issued under the ultimate authority of an Act of Parliament applicable both to Malta and to that country, is of no effect here. That is the legal consequence. We have also to consider the practical consequences. Your excellency, as Commander-in-Chief, is charged with the sole responsibility for the defence and security of these Islands in time of war.

MR. BARTOLI:— Hear, hear.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— In the exercise of that responsibility you have ordered the detention of certain persons here. Your Excellency now consider that it is necessary for defence and security that some of these persons should be temporarily removed from Malta. The responsibility lies on Your Excellency but our present law gives no power to discharge it. Therefore we come to the Council to ask that the powers necessary for the defence of the people of Malta should be given to Your Excellency by their representatives here. The power could not be taken by means of a Defence Regulation issued by Your Excellency alone. I have already explained that Defence Regulations have established another method for the transfer of detainees and an express power of deportation is not therefore included in them and cannot be. There are three authorities which have power to legislate for Malta. There is, of course, the Imperial Parliament, there is His Majesty-in-Council and there is this Council, and when Your Excellency became convinced that a power which the present law does not give was necessary for the discharge of Your Excellency's responsibility for the safety of the people of Malta, we felt confident that we could come before their representatives here and ask that that power should be given.

A word, Sir, with regard to the urgency with which we have treated this measure. We do not know at all when an opportunity to transfer these detainees may arise. It may arise quite suddenly. It may be deferred for some period of time. That depends on a number of considerations which are not within our power to influence, but in case an opportunity occurred suddenly we thought it right, in the exercise of what we then supposed were our legal powers, to give the longest possible notice to the detainees in order that they might make themselves ready for the journey and for their life elsewhere, and might put their affairs in order here before they went. The decision of the Court means that the notice which we gave them is of no effect, and therefore they would be quite right in interrupting their preparations and in carrying them no further. We think that it is necessary that if the powers that we ask for are to be given to us by this Council, these preparations should go on as they were intended to go on in order that everything may be ready for the removal of these persons whenever an opportunity may occur, and that is why we felt obliged to come before the Council without any delay. The Bill itself is exceedingly short and I think it will be clear from its quite simple terms that it does only what the recent judgment of the

Court has shown to be necessary. It fills a gap which that judgment has shown to exist in our present law and it does no more.

It is an emergency measure which will come to an end when the emergency ceases and it is to cover that period only. Therefore, Sir, I and hon. Members, with confidence in their support in these special circumstances, to give this Bill a second reading.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL:— I second.

SIR UGO P. MIFSUD:— I should have expected that on an important measure like this, the Party representing the majority of votes taken at the election should have been the first to speak in this House immediately after the words proffered by His Honour the Leader of the House. This is a very important Bill and most important constitutional questions are involved. Apart from the question of policy and apart from political partizan questions, very important constitutional questions are at stake, and for this reason I have objected and would have objected to this Bill on behalf of my Party, which represents in this House half the votes recorded in the first district at the last general election and one third of the votes recorded in the second district at the same general election— not to say a very considerable number of all those 12,000 voters who on account of fear of persecution, or for other reasons, which I had occasion to explain at the time, refrained from voting, and not to say that now after three years of experiment of this constitutional machine public opinion has changed as it has always changed. I am concerned with the constitutional aspect of this matter. Unfortunately we have been given very little time to ponder and consider: we were told of this Bill at noon by the Lieutenant-Governor. When, I say "we" I mean our Party because the Members of the other Party were told yesterday afternoon of what was going to be presented before this House. But the actual text of the Bill was handed to us exactly at 3 p.m. If I had come more prepared, if I had been given the chance of coming more prepared —and, I open a parenthesis: I had hardly time to get some lunch in order to prepare myself a little—I would have shown to this House, with texts and authorities in hand, that the whole Bill is illegal, *ultra vires*. I take my stand first of all from a statement which was made by the Lieutenant-Governor that this is the consequence of a judgment which was given by our Courts, by the Courts of His Majesty in Malta which according to the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, who is a legal man and who has held high and important positions in the Empire in his legal

capacity has shown a gap which he has tried to explain. He has limited himself only to the technical reasons which have moved him to present this measure. Sir, that judgment, like many other judgments given in our Courts and sanctioning the constitutional rights of the people of this Island will stand out as one of the landmarks with regard to what constitutes the right of the citizens. That very same judgment on which the Government to-day taken its stand, has enunciated many and many important principles which are the birthright of every British citizen, which are the birthright of every subject and which are the birthright of us Maltese who, when accepting and asking for the protection of Great Britain, made it a point that our liberties would be respected. We also made it a point to assume and to ask that we would be given the liberties which are enjoyed by free Englishmen—not to say the principles contained in the Magna Carta, and the principles, the unwritten principles, which constitute the unwritten law of England regarding the rights of the citizen. The citizen has rights which are recognized by custom and by usage and which have not and need not ever be incorporated in any written law. These are: the right of liberty; the right not to be condemned except by a judgment of a competent court; the right not to be detained long in arrest; the right not to be extradited out of England. On the occasion of imminent war, or the possibility of imminent war, the Parliament of England, which is omnipotent in the technical sense of the word, that is to say, King, Commons and Lords, passed an Act for the defence and safety of the realm and of the Empire, and by that Act they imposed limitations on the liberty of the subjects. They thus permitted the Executive to exercise the right of arrest or detention of individuals even without trial, but they went no further; they did not give in England the right to extradite British citizens—mark you I always mention the words "British Citizens"—and the law which was passed in 1939, which has been mentioned as the Emergency Powers Act under which also certain powers could be extended to the Colonies did not grant to the Government or to the Executive the power to deport, therfore it did not grant to the Secretary of State for the Colonies nor to any Governor under a Secretary of State, or one who receives instructions and orders from the Executive in England, the power to deport.

This important right of the citizen not to be extradited has been well commented upon in the judgment of the 8th of this month; that very same judgment has stated clearly that the Defence Regulations as

applied to Malta, that is to say the Malta Defence Regulations, did not give power to the Governor to do what was the intention of the Government of Malta to do; at the same time it made it clearly evident by quoting authorities, *inter alia*, Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England, Hawk, and other authorities that no power on earth except the authority of Parliament can send a subject even if he be a criminal out of England, out of the land, against his will.

Mr. BARTOLI:— Except Parliament.

SIR UGO P. MIFSUD:— Except Parliament and Parliament is the King plus the two Houses. I will deal later on with the authority and the functions of and the distinctions between Parliament and the Council of a Colony when I will explain the marked difference which exists and which is recognised by the authors on Constitutional Law between a sovereign law-making body and a non-sovereign law-making body. In England no power exists to deport a British subject out of England who had been condemned by a competent court, and I will quote here Hawk on Common Law, that is the unwritten law of England as applied by the judges there. There is no legal method of exporting or removing a subject from his country, no power on earth except the Authority of Parliament could do this. In fact whenever it was felt expedient to do so the Parliament of England had to pass laws such as the Penal Servitude Acts of 1855 as regards deportation of convicts and other laws such as those passed during the reign of George III regarding the deportation of Indians, which, however, were afterwards altered. Deportation was always looked upon as an extraordinary measure contrary to the rights of the citizen, which required a particular authority in order to receive execution.

The Court has shown that the Malta Defence Regulations gave no greater power to the Executive here than the Executive has in England, and in England when the Emergency Powers Act was passed and promulgated no authority was granted to the Executive to deport people from the United Kingdom. With us something very particular happened; when the law was published a despatch or rather a law intended to be prepared in Malta in 1939 and intended to be promulgated whenever and when the emergency would arise, was printed and published and therefore enacted in August of 1939. In that law the power to deport did exist; however when the Imperial Parliament passed the Emergency Powers Act, when therefore the Emergency Powers Act which was passed

by the Chamberlain Government a few days before the outbreak of war was promulgated, that particular clause regarding the deportation of British citizens was deleted, deliberately deleted, because it did not receive the approval of Parliament. It was against the spirit of the British Constitution itself, it was against the birthright of Britishers, and here in Malta we had to publish again, that is the authorities concerned, had to publish again new Malta Defence Regulations, in which Regulations that particular clause was absolutely non existent and was purposely deleted in order to fall into line with the spirit of the British Constitution. We stand therefore in this particular position. In view of the particular legal state of this question, the Law Officers of the Crown of Malta pretend that, by passing the Bill which we had simply the time to cursorily read and which perhaps might be open to many other objections, this Council will fill up the gap. My contention, my strong contention on constitutional grounds apart from political grounds and questions of expediency, is that it will not, and the reasons are clear. There are, or there is, a sovereign law-making body and that is the Parliament of the United Kingdom and the Parliament of the Dominions which now have won for themselves an equal position. But the Councils or Legislative Assemblies in the Colonies are not sovereign law-making bodies and it has been recognised in Constitutional Law that they cannot—by legislation or by administrative Acts—go against the general principles which are now the Common Law, not only in England but throughout the whole Empire, regulating the rights of the citizens: and amongst others, as I said, there exists the right of non-deportation—and I use the word deportation because it has been mentioned *expressis verbis* by the spokeman of the Government—that is to say the right to transfer elsewhere people for any reason whatever. I am not discussing now the merits of Your Excellency's decision, for the time being I am not discussing that. I am discussing the fact that a decision, the responsibility of which has been placed on Your Excellency as supreme Commander here has been taken and is intended to receive execution. Deportation as explained by the judgment of our Court on the 8th of this month, is a penalty; it means a punishment for something. Deportation is not preliminary detention: deportation means and involves something worse; it involves not only restrictions on the liberty of the man who is deported but involves separation from his family to a much larger extent. A man in his land may have his friends or his enemies; a man detained may have people who know him, but

outside his own land he is looked upon as a criminal. Apart from the perils of the voyage, a deported man cannot receive that assistance and that aid which . . . There is nothing to laugh at, Mr. Bartoli! I hope you can understand the strength of my argument. I am speaking here frankly. There is a section in this country who is thirsty for blood, but I am speaking to free men who, I hope, will consider this matter on its own merits and without any political passion. What has happened to these internees may happen to anybody and we stand here for the rights of the individual. We have always been clamouring for the return of Self-Government. Let us begin by respecting our own constitutional rights for which our ancestors have always fought in this Chamber. Many of us have devoted their life, their money and their health in order to be free men under the British Crown—not to be employees or to make money out of their representation of the people by asking for jobs. I was saying —and I hope I shall not be interrupted—that deportation is a penalty, a very grave penalty and it means therefore the consequence of a crime. Now, Sir, in the case of these detained persons, there has not been any formal accusation. There has not been any charge proffered against them, much less has there been a judgment of any Court before which, either as a Court specially constituted, or else as a Court assisted by a Jury, these people might have defended themselves. It is for this reason and this reason alone that I had asked that at least a Jury of Honour ought to have been appointed to consider their case. For this reason and also on political grounds I interceded a week ago for these people and asked that no execution should be given to the decision to deport them. So far this is the constitutional view I have submitted. There are also many political considerations which should weigh against such a decision. It is known—because we all read the papers—that a certain section of the Press has been advocating all sorts of recriminations, all sorts of ill-treatment, against the people detained first at Corradino and then at St. Agatha. There can be no question that a recrudescence of this campaign against these internees might bring about reactions at a time when we are here all united and should be united in a common effort, at a time when we should sink all our differences and contribute as much as possible towards the war effort and do all in our power to win the war. All we who read history and have political experience know what sort of ill-feeling certain measures create. May we suggest, if it is in the mind of the Government to deport these people, that such a step be not

taken? In August, 1928, I had the good fortune, with a colleague of mine in the Parliament we had in Malta, to land in Canada as the guest of the Canadian Government. We were then presented with a lot of literature dealing especially with the history of Canada. It struck me to read an episode which concerned the deportation from Cape Breton, from Halifax and from Nova Scotia, of those French citizens which—in the opinion of the authorities then concerned in the imminence of war between England and France—might have been a danger to the Empire. The French-Canadians have never forgotten it. I remember, too, that when a member of the Australian Parliament mentioned something about the concentration camp during the Boer War, all Parties—both Hertzog's and Smuts'—rose and cried out "Shame!" for what had happened. There still stands a monument to remind the people of what took place. I pray God that recriminations like these which leave an indelible mark in our history will not happen in Malta. I am feeling ill . . .

LIEUT.-COL. STRICKLAND:— I have been chided by the hon. Member who has just sat down for not having risen to speak on the Bill before the House as a leader of the elected majority. I should like to say that the Party which commands a majority in this House considers that as regards questions pertaining to defence we are responsible for taking your leadership as Governor of the Islands of Malta and Gozo. Consequently, having been summoned here urgently to give Your Excellency added powers, powers which are considered necessary to strengthen your position in order to ensure more adequately the security of the people of these Islands, it was our duty as the representatives of the people to give Your Excellency these added powers which you are demanding of us. I did not consider it necessary to speak at all. Speech has in fact been forced upon me by rather wild and rabid statements made by the last hon. speaker whose passion was not sufficiently tempered with cool and clear judgment. We have a glowing example of the reason why it was necessary for Your Excellency to call us here to-day. To-day the world is divided into two separate systems of Government. Under one system of Government it would not have been necessary to summon any Council, Assembly or Parliament. There would have been possibly no detainees to talk about. Under our system of Government not only are there detainees, but it is considered necessary for freely elected members of the people to be called together to decide as to whether Your

Excellency is to have added powers with which to deal with these detainees, always in the interest of the security of these Islands and for the benefit of the large majority of the people. It is absurd to make numerical quibbles as to which Party represents a majority or minority of the people. The fact is that the Imperial Parliament of to-day has the same confidence in the people of Malta as past British statesmen, such as Lord Hawkesbury, who stated that "independently of every consideration Your Excellency well knows that the Maltese inhabitants, if attached to their Government, are equal to the defence of the Island . . .". That is the chief thing which today enables us to meet as a freely elected Assembly, instead of being a people subject to martial law or a people with no Government at all. I am not prepared to enter into the legal aspect of the question. The question with which I and my colleagues find ourselves faced is that you, Sir, as our supreme defender, as His Majesty's representative in these Islands, has called us here urgently to ask for powers to remove from these Islands certain persons because their removal would be in the interests of the security of these Islands, and we have no option, evein if our constitutional rights were being infringed upon, but to grant Your Excellency the powers which you are asking of us in time of war. I am not prepared to enter into legal arguments. I personally feel that if similar circumstaces were to arise in England, steps on exactly similar lines would be taken; in other words, if it were necessary to deport any Englishmen from England, exactly the same treatment would be meted out to them as that which it is intended to mete out in Malta. The old gag of trying to play on distinctive treatment at between Maltese and English was again very brazenly and very cleverly put up by the last speaker. Even if our constitutional rights were being infringed upon, we are convinced that if it were necessary to infringe on constitutional rights in England that would certainly be done as long as it was in the interest of defence. It has been stated that certain Members and a certain section of the press are bloodthirsty and that they have advocated the ill-treatment of internees. I should like to say that as far as I know there is not one single Member of my Party, either inside this House or outside it, who is in any way blood-thirsty towards individuals without any specific reason. I have not heard any blood-thirsty expressions. I have not heard anybody advocating the ill-treatment of any internee. But what I should like to say is this, that the large majority of the people of these Islands both prior to the war and

to-day have stated that there are Quislings at large whose liberty, or whose presence in the island in the case of detained persons, is a menace to its security. The large majority of the people think that and they know that. To talk of the free British flag as being a protection for persons who being suspected of disloyalty consequently work against that flag which is protecting them, is what the majority, the large bulk, the enormous bulk of the people consider to be detrimental to their own security and to the security of the fortress. That is why we, as freely elected representatives of the large majority of the people, have not the faintest hesitation in giving Your Excellency the powers which you demand of us. The last speaker spoke about history. The history which he dwelt on was the history of the Middle Ages. The history which I ask this Council to consider is the history of the last two years. What happened to countries like Norway with her Quisling, France with her Laval, Holland and Belgium, which failed to take energetic steps to eradicate Fifth Columnists and persons who were only too ready to be bloodthirsty against their own fellow-countrymen and who advocated the ill-treatment of their loyal fellow countrymen and carried it into effect? Those countries are to-day under the heel of the invader. Those countries are to-day in a very deplorable state. That is the history that I would ask the last speaker and hon. Members of this Council to keep before their eyes. We, the Members of the elected majority, are representing the views of the large majority of the people when we say that we do not want to be in that position, and we hope that one of the reasons, security reasons, which Your Excellency has in mind in asking us for these powers is to remove the possibility, if it ever were a possibility, of Malta sharing the same fate as the countries which I have mentioned. I should like to end up by saying that thanks to the energetic work of the Services, and thanks to the loyal population, this Island is still free. If there is anything, however small, that we can do to maintain an impregnable position it is our duty, whatever it costs us, to see that we do it.

Mr. BARTOLI:— Hear, hear.

LIEUT.-COL. STRICKLAND:— There is no doubt that there are some persons detained who are a menace to the security of the fortress, therefore it is wholeheartedly that we give to Your Excellency the powers that you have to-day asked of us (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

DR. P. BOFFA:— We have been asked this afternoon to come to this Council and discuss as urgent an "Ordinace to empower the removal

from Malta of persons lawfully detained therein". Sir Ugo Mifsud started his speech by saying, quoting Gladstone, that British citizens have a right of non-deportation. If we were living in normal times I would be the first to be inclined to agree with him, and I would hesitate to vote the Bill under discussion which throws such a burden on Your Excellency's shoulders, and I am sure that Your Excellency would be the first not to be willing or to be lukewarm to assume such a heavy responsibility. But Sir, we are living in times of war, a kaleidoscopic war, a war full of surprise. We are living in very abnormal times, and I, as Member of this Council, as a man of the street, am convinced and my conscience tells me that Your Excellency should and ought to have the necessary powers to remove, not as a penalty, but for the safety of the majority, such elements as may be dangerous to their fellow countrymen, especially in Malta, a fortress, a small fortress and very near the shores of our enemies. I will not shirk my responsibility to vote such a Bill. My responsibility rests with giving powers to Your Excellency to remove such persons whom you think fit. Whether this law is to apply now or tomorrow on "X" or "Y" is not my business. My responsibility ends with the voting of this Bill. Your Excellency's begins in enforcing the Bill. Sir Ugo contested that this Bill is illegal and invalid. Again, that is not my responsibility. That is the responsibility of the Government. I am here simply and solely to give the powers to Your Excellency which I consider in these times Your Excellency ought and should have to remove those persons whom Your Excellency and the Authorities concerned consider that they are or may be a danger to their fellow countrymen.

Mr. BARTOLI:— Hear, hear.

CAPT. FORMOSA:— Sir, I am sure that the proposer of this Bill will, in winding up, answer all the arguments of the hon. Sir Ugo Mifsud as to the legal aspect of the question. History, history and history we have had from Sir Ugo, and as the leader of my Party said it is old history that has been mentioned here. We are living in an era where the past is very remote and the future is almost on us. We know what happened yesterday. We do not know what is happening tomorrow, and if we can make the morrow for our children, for our families, a happier one we should not be in any way backward in doing all what we can for the benefit of the inhabitants of this Island. If the morrow is to be a day of horrors, a day of Nazism, a day of puppet Government, we had better die today than live to the morrow of that kind, and it is just to prevent

this that we are willing to give Your Excellency what powers you need to remove from our midst people who have proved and whom we know, without any assurance even from Your Excellency, to be a peril to the Island fortress. We do not need any assurance either from the Government or from Your Excellency as to the desirability of these people being removed. We know that and we know that well. We have known that in the past. We know their feelings towards the British flag, which is defending us; therefore we should be willing, nay anxious, to give these powers to Your Excellency. It is not lust of blood; it is simply the spirit of self-preservation which makes us cry and shout aloud that we do not want possible Quislings amongst us. We have seen in occupied countries people of the same type as the internees created into Presidents, made leaders of a people who do not want their leadership, and made shadows of powers under the Nazi Regime. We do not want this to be repeated in this country of ours. We prefer even to infringe on the rights of the citizens than to see all the rights of the citizens squashed. In my opinion this Bill is giving a chance to the representatives of the people to do what the people want. As generally thought, the law, as it was before, gave Your Excellency the power to deport these people. We, the representatives of the people, had no hand in that; but now, following on the judgment given by His Majesty's Court, we are getting the chance to give you the powers to remove snakes from our midst. It is better that these powers be given to you by us than they should be given without our consent or our assent. Sir Ugo said that we should beware lest a monument be erected showing that we have tried to take away the rights of the citizens. But I say that we should beware, Sir, lest a pillar of shame be erected in this Island to show that in a moment of peril we were afraid to take the necessary action in order to defend our homes (Hon. Members: Hear, hear). We should be really happy to be in the position we are to-day. Our country is not to be defended only by force of arms, but also by the will of the representatives of the people who are ready to take any steps, however dangerous, to see that their country remains free and British, because only a British Malta is a free Malta.

Mr. VALENZIA:— Sir, I have heard with the greatest attention the speech delivered to this House by the hon. Sir Ugo Mifsud. We have heard a first class dissertation on Constitutional Law but I am afraid that the hon. and learned gentleman has lost sight of the present abnormal situation which requires abnormal measures. Your Excellency has asked

us to assemble here this afternoon to give our vote on the measure now before the Council. Your Excellency has asked us to give you powers to deport from these Islands certain individuals that in Your Excellency's opinion as Commander-in-Chief of the Fortress may be a menace to the Fortress. We have had a declaration from the hon. the Leader of the House that this Bill has been presented for our consideration because Your Excellency needs powers to deport from this Island certain persons who may be a menace to this Island, and because our law does not give this power to Your Excellency, you have asked us to give this power by virtue of this Bill. Sir. I feel nothing on my conscience in voting for this measure. I have said it here in open Council that there are amongst us potential Quislings and I advocated their internment. We know that certain of the internees have been for a considerable time a menace to this Island Fortress and that some of them have been cheered in Italy as Italian patriots, and it is high time that some measures were taken whereby the security of this Fortress may not be shaken at any time. The judgment delivered by His Majesty's Civil Court First Hall last Saturday has shown that Your Excellency has no power to deport these internees and that is why we are asked today to give you that power. As has already been declared by the hon. Col. Strickland we are here this afternoon to give Your Excellency full support in order to carry out any order that Your Excellency thinks necessary for the deportation of certain individuals who are not desirable citizens, and who should no longer, at least during the time of this emergency, live in the Fortress.

This free vote of a free Council I am sure will make history and will in itself show the Empire and the world that the Maltese are well worthy of full self-government. This free vote I trust will show the world that if even in war time they had self-government after the last Elections the Maltese would have themselves been quite capable of defending their Island by every means available to a civilian democratic Government. This free vote will put a end to the needless nonsense of a small minority who have dared to outrage public opinion by openly showing sympathy with the internees in Rabat or at Naxxar. The vote of the majority will put an end to the pressure brought to bear on Your Excellency by a minority and to the ridiculous suggestion that the people do not see eye to eye with Your Excellency and the Military Authorities on this matter of deportation which so closely concerns not only the defence of Malta

but also, in case of an invasion, the lives and liberties of the loyal majority of the people.

Besides, the defect existing in our laws to the effect that Your Excellency has no power to deport such undesirable persons will give to Quislings still at large some food for thought and they will be under the impression that they can do what they like. I quite agree with the hon. Dr. Boffa who has stated that we were giving Your Excellency power to issue an Order whereby Your Excellency would be empowered to deport any person whom Your Excellency considered as undesirable to live in this Island. We do not know who these persons are, but once that Your Excellency has by a message to this House presented this Bill and asked us to give you powers, we are here as free citizens forming part of the Free British Commonwealth of Nations prepared with a free conscience to give you those powers you have asked us to give you this afternoon.

Dr. BORG OLIVIER:— I have nothing to add to what the hon. Sir Ugo Mifsud has said in his own name and on my behalf: the fact remains that the persons who have been detained and who are now threatened with deportation are those same persons whom the hon. the Lieutenant-Governor has told us on one occasion and in this same Council have been interned as a mere precautionary measure and who have committed no crime. They were being detained because the Government had the right to take the necessary precautions for the safety and the defence of the Island; but the Bill under discussion goes beyond what one would mean by precautionary measure.

Sir, we have seen what deportation means and is. In all the European codes deportation is nothing else but a commutation of the capital punishment and we are now threatening with deportation people who have not committed a capital crime; people, who, as far as we know and as far as we have been told, have committed no crime at all. Is it a punishment that we want to inflict on the persons for whom this Bill is intended? If it is a punishment, our answer is "*nulla pena sine crimine*". Even if they had committed a crime, they should not be compelled to go and suffer the punishment on territory which is not their own. The Malta Defence Regulations gives Your Excellency no power to be exercised on a territory which is different from our own land. All laws in connection with defence are to have a very strict interpretation, because they are restrictive of the liberty, the personal liberty, of the

individual. It only remains for me to register a negative vote in my own name and on behalf of Sir Ugo Mifsud who has authorised me to say that he was going to vote against the Bill under discussion consistently with the speech which he could not finish because at the time he was feeling unwell.

Mr. BARTOLI:— Because his time was up.

PROF. FERRO:— Sir, in the abnormal times we are living I am firmly and honestly convinced that Your Excellency should have all the powers to do anything in the best way you think best for the defence of the Island. It is quite true that the general public is not informed of the special charges about the internees but I think we can take it for granted that the Government has had more than valid grounds for such a step, as otherwise many more should have been interned (Hon. Members: Hear, hear). I am sure that all of us are sorry for the consequences that the enactment of this Ordinance will cause to the families of the internees, but we have nothing to do with that; we are not here for sentimentality. The internees themselves should have foreseen the consequences that would follow on their families on account of their behaviour. For the reasons I mentioned I will vote in favour of the Bill (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— I think the speeches we have heard this afternoon leave me little or nothing to say at this stage of the Bill. Dr. Borg Olivier referred to my having described the internment of these people who are at present detained as a mere precautionary measure. That I think might be calculated to give an erroneous impression of my view on that subject. I should like to refer again to the reasons why such persons are detained. They are detained only because Your Excellency is satisfied that, with a view to preventing them from acting in a manner prejudicial to public safety or defence, their detention in necessary.

Dr. BORG OLIVIER:— I was referring to a remark made by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the occasion of the discussion of the vote on pensions to certain internees. I am sorry I had not sufficient time at my disposal to look up the debates for the statement made by His Honour on the subject because we have had too short a notice of this sitting.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— I doubt if I referred then to the matter as a mere precautionary measure. It is a responsibility and a very heavy responsibility indeed which is thrown upon Your Excellency personally. The responsibility of carrying these precautions further by the removal

of persons from their Island home is a responsibility which is exceedingly heavy and which all of us here will realise that Your Excellency will feel to be a very difficult responsibility to discharge. But that is not the responsibility of the Council. The responsibility of the Council is confined to giving to Your Excellency the power necessary to discharge the heavy responsibilities which have been laid upon you by other sources (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

The Council divided on the motion of the Lieutenant-Governor: Ayes 17; Noes 1.

AYES:

Prof. Ferro
Mr. Cesareo
Capt. Formosa
Mr. Montano
Dr. Sacco
Dr. Boffa
Mr. Bartoli
The Collector of Customs
The Chief Government Medical Officer
The Director of Education
Mr. Valenzia
Lieut.-Col. Strickland
Mr. Cohen
The Secretary to Government
The Acting Treasurer
The Attorney General
The Lieutenant-Governor

NOES:

Dr. Borg Olivier

Motion carried and Bill read a second time.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— I now move that the Council do go into Committee to consider the Bill clause by clause.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL:— I second.

Motion agreed to and the Council went into Committee.
Clauses 2 and 3 carried and ordered to stand part of the Bill.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— There is a new clause which I think my hon. friend the Attorney-General wishes to propose as an insertion in the Bill for reasons which he will explain.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL:— I move that a new clause, numbered 4, be added to the Bill now before the Committee. The proposed new clause runs as follows:—

4. The operation of any Order made under this Ordinance for the removal of any person from Malta shall not be affected by any proceedings instituted or by any procedural act under any other law with the object of preventing or delaying the departure of any such person

HON. MEMBERS:— Hear, hear.

THE CHAIRMAN:— I will read it again:

4. The operation of any Order made under this Ordinance for the removal of any person from Malta shall not be affected by any proceedings instituted or by any procedural act under any other law with the object of preventing or delaying the departure of any such person.

Dr. BORG OLIVIER:— That is illegal.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL:— In the present times of emergency it goes without saying that shipping matters are highly confidential and very often the movements of ships are not known beforehand and the hour of departure is known a very short time before the actual departure. If delaying action were allowed to be taken against the immediate operation of an Order issued by Your Excellency in terms of the Bill now before the House, a delay of even a few hours might make the Order ineffective. It is not always that opportunities for giving effect to such an Order can be found and when an occasion does offer itself it would be contrary to the spirit of the whole Ordinance not to avail oneself of that opportunity. It is with this object in view that the amendment has been put to the House; to prevent possible obstruction to the operation of an Order made under the Bill now before the Committee. I ask the Committee to accept the addition of this section to the Bill now before it.

Dr. BORG OLIVIER:— It is very much regretted that an amendment of this importance should only be made known to us at this stage. The amendment in question affects the established rights of citizens to institute legal proceedings against any Act or enactment whatsoever. As a legal man, I can never accept the Bill now before the Committee because, as I have already said, no punishment should be inflicted where no crime has been committed. For the same reason I am also against the amendment which has just been moved by the hon. the Attorney General. It involves the infringement of very sacred principles, and as I

have already said it is much regretted that it was not made known to us before the second reading.

CAPT. FORMOSA:— As a legal man, the Hon. Member who has just sat down ought to have distinguished between the right of instituting legal proceedings, which this amendment does not prohibit at all, and the effect of such proceedings on the Bill in question. The amendment does not prevent anybody from instituting proceedings even under this very same Bill. What it does is that it prevents citizens or so called citizens who might wish to evade the incidence of the law, from doing so.

Dr. BORG OLIVIER:— A lawful evasion.

CAPT. FORMOSA:— That is just what we are trying to prevent, evasions.

THE CHAIRMAN:— Is this new clause agreed to? (Hon. Members: Aye).

Dr. BORG OLIVIER:— No.

New Clause read a first and second time and ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 1—Short Title.

THE CHAIRMAN:— Do hon. Members agree to Clause 1 and the Title? (Hon. Members. Aye).

Dr. BORG OLIVIER:— No.

Clause 1 and the Title carried and ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Bill reported with an amendment.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— In accordance with the leave already given to me by a large majority of the Council to proceed with all the stages of the Bill at this sitting, I move now that the Bill entitled "An Ordinance to empower the removal from Malta of persons lawfully detained therein" be read the third time and passed. (Hon. Members: Aye).

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL:— I second.

Dr. BORG OLIVIER:— No, division.

The Council divided on the motion: Ayes 17; Noes 1:

AYES:

Prof. Ferro	The Director of Education
Mr. Cesareo	Mr. Valenzia
Capt. Formosa	Lieut.-Col. Strickland

Mr. Montano
Dr. Sacco
Dr. Boffa
Mr. Bartoli
The Collector of Customs
The Chief Government Medical Officer
Mr. Cohen
The Secretary to Government
The Acting Treasurer
The Attorney General
The Lieutenant-Governor

NOES:

Dr. Borg Olivier

Motion carried and Bill read the third time and passed.

DOCUMENT 71

Borg Olivier's tribute to Ugo Mifsud

COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT,
MALTA

Third Session

SITTING NO. 12.

THURSDAY, 12TH FEBRUARY, 1942.

The Council met in the Tapestry Chamber at the Palace, Valletta, at 3 p.m.

PRESENT:

PRESIDENT: His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief (Lieutenant-General Sir William G.S. Dobbie. K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.)

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Edward St. John Jackson, K.B.E., K.C.)

The Honourable the Attorney General (Dr. Louis Galea, LL.D.)
" the Acting Treasurerer (Mr. Edgar Cuschieri)

" Mr. Andrew B. Cohen
" Lieutenant-Colonel Roger Strickland, (2nd Division)
" Mr. Ercole J. Valenzia, L.P., (1st Division)
" Mr. Albert V. Laferla, C.B.E., LL.D.. (Director of Education)
" Professor Albert V. Bernard. C.B.E.. M.D., (Chief Government Medical Officer)
" Mr. Eustratius L. Petrocochino, C.B.E., (Collector of Customs)
" Mr. Albert V. Bartoli, (2nd Division)
" Notary Giorgio Borg Olivier, LL.D.. (1st Division)
" Mr. Henry Sacco, M.D., (2nd Division)
" Captain John Formosa, (1st Division)
" Mr. Cesare Cesareo, (Nominated Member)
" Professor Edgar H. Ferro, M.D., B.A., (Nominated Member)

PAPERS

Dr. SACCO:— I beg to lay on the Table the report of the Select Committee appointed by this House on the 8th of January last to report on Air Raid Shelters.

DEATH OF SIR UGO P. MIFSUD, LL.D., B. LITT.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— Sir, I would like, with the permission of the House, to make reference to the loss we have suffered by the sudden death of our late Member, Sir Ugo Mifsud. I am sure, Sir, that none of us who were present at our last sitting on Monday could have heard of Sir Ugo Mifsud's death, yesterday afternoon, without very genuine emotion. We saw him here, three days ago, striving against the onset of what proved to be a fatal illness, in his last effort to express views which, whether we agreed with them or not, we must all recognise that he held and maintained with sincerity and courage. (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

His death at the comparatively early age of 52 removes one who has been a prominent figure in the public life of Malta for over 21 years. He was a Minister at the age of 32 and Head of the Ministry three years later, an office which he held in two parliaments for five years in all. In recent times his position as the leader of his party in this Council cannot always have been an easy one to fill, but in spite of the difficulties which his strongly held views may sometimes have imposed on him, I believe that he strove always to place first the overriding necessity for the successful prosecution of the war.

I cannot end without a reference to the charm of the hospitality which, when less exacting days made hospitality possible, he and Lady Mifsud were accustomed to offer in their home. Then political differences were of no account and the wide interest of host and hostess made their company a memorable pleasure to their guests.

I feel sure, Sir, that Hon. Members will wish to offer to Lady Mifsud an expression of their deep sympathy with her in her sorrow.

LIEUT.-COL. STRICKLAND:— In seconding the views expressed by His Honour the Leader of the House, I should like to say that, on my own behalf and on behalf of my colleagues, we extend to Lady Mifsud our sincerest and deepest sympathy. Sir Ugo Mifsud took an active part in politics since 1919 and in the years of Self-Government he led the Nationalist Party. His premature death will deprive his supporters of a personality in whom they had the greatest confidence. As a representative of the people, he fulfilled his mission in that he made himself available to the man in the street. He was of a charitable disposition and he will be mourned by a large section of the people who always looked on him as a godfather, irrespective of his political leanings. We never did or could ever see eye to eye with him in politics, but we will remember him as a man who loved his native land and who strove, according to his lights, to do the best he possibly could for Malta and its people (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

Dr. BORG OLIVIER:— May I too join in the noble words expressed by His Honour the Leader of the House and by the hon. and gallant Leader of the Constitutional Party. May I too add a word and pay a tribute to the memory of so distinguished a Member of this House. Hon. Members can imagine the pressing grief which is weighing so heavily on me at this moment. The loss of Sir Ugo means to me the loss of a leader, a father and a friend.

At the age of 21 Sir Ugo Mifsud graduated at the University of Malta —that University which remained in his love for all his life—and he then immediately joined the Bar. Sir Ugo Mifsud's forensic career was indeed a brilliant and a remarkable one, and all those who are in any way connected with our Courts will bear me out in stating that his loyalty and esteem towards His Majesty's Judges, his clients and his colleagues should stand as an example to the rising generation. As one of the leading lawyers, he was elected a member of the Chamber of Advocates in which he maintained keen interest even before he was elected President, which position he held for the last three years. He was extremely proud of his profession, and he strove to keep the dignified position which it deserved. A lover of Constitutional Law, a writer on International Law, he attended many conferences both in England and on the continent, organized by the International Law Association of which he was a Member. His country had the honour to have Sir Ugo Mifsud elected as Chairman of the conference held in Berlin in 1928 as well as of that held in Budapest in 1934, on the occasion of the Budapest Law Congress.

Sir Ugo Mifsud's career as a public man is well known to all his fellow countrymen because it constitutes the actual history of our Island. From the day on which he was elected Secretary of the "Assemblea Nazionale" in 1919, that is to say at the age of 30, his interest in local politics was incessantly great and he had at heart the welfare of Malta which he so dearly wished could enjoy a well-deserved Dominion Status in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The welfare of Malta was foremost in his thoughts and activities as Minister under the leadership of Mgr. Panzavecchia on the grant of Self-Government, when he belonged to the "Unione Politica Maltese"; as Prime Minister in 1924 whilst he was still in his thirties, the youngest Premier in the British Empire; as Leader of the Opposition in 1927; and then again as Premier in 1932–3 when the 1921 Constitution was withdrawn. During all this brilliant and troubled career Sir Ugo, as he was universally called, never shirked his responsibilities and was always upright and loyal to his cause. In 1939 he was re-elected, under the aegis of the Nationalist Party, as Member of this Council of Government. This was not the form of Government for which he had been fighting all his life, but still he stuck to his guns till the end in face of heavy odds, very heavy odds. Sir Ugo, too, died in harness.

In his private life he had a real charm of manner and courtesy as well

as consideration for the failings and shortcomings of whoever came in contact with him. He had a profound sense of religion, an unfailing sense of honour and a great sense of humour. He loved good company and a good joke. One can hardly forget Sir Ugo's smile. Using tact throughout he never wavered from speaking the truth when and where necessary. He was conscientious and scrupulous in the management of his affairs, professional or otherwise; always generous with sympathisers and political adversaries alike, always ready to see the good points in others and equally ready to condemn the bad. He had a good word for everybody and that is why good words have been forthcoming even from his political adversaries, as was expected. I had better sit down and say with the great poet:

Dear son of Memory, great heir of Fame,
What need'st thou such weak witness of Thy name?

PROF. FERRO:— Your Excellency, in my own name and in that of my colleague, the hon. Mr. Cesareo, I wish to express our sorrow and regret at the premature death of Sir Ugo Mifsud which has shocked all Malta with its most unexpected suddenness. Malta has lost a most valuable citizen and the Maltese Bar one of its most brilliant members. Sir Ugo showed his exceptional ability even in his early University days, and after obtaining the Degrees in Literature and Law, he started his professional career in which he made a marked success. He showed special ability in 1919 in Prize Court matters in which he was considered as the leading barrister. Some years after, he started his political career and, as Secretary of the National Assembly, he was mainly responsible for the framing of the 1921 Constitution. After the first election, he was appointed Minister of Industry and Commerce and subsequently Prime Minister and his work has been appreciated by His Majesty the King by conferring on him a Knighthood. Sir Ugo also showed his interst in legal matters by being a member of the International Law Association in which he took a great interest, was present at several sittings of that Association and on one or two occasions he also presided its meetings. He was well read and travelled a great deal and in consequence he was broadminded and moderate in his views. He was a gentleman and a good friend and I am sure that all Malta regrets his loss (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

THE PRESIDENT:— I wish to associate myself most warmly with the remarks expressed by my colleagues, and I would ask that I may be

authorized by this House to convey to Lady Mifsud our deep sympathy in her great loss (Hon. Members: Aye). I will be glad to do so.

Motion agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR:— As a mark of respect to the memory of our late Member, I beg to move that the Council do now adjourn. I understand from consultation with Members that it would be suitable to them if we adjourned until next Tuesday week.

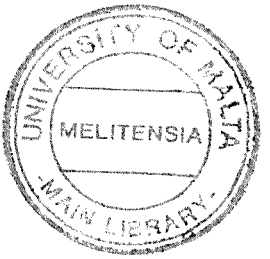
LIEUT.-COL. STRICKLAND:— On the adjournment may I just suggest, with regard to the report of the Select Committee on shelter construction, which was laid on the Table to-day, that it be considered as soon as possible and that any recommendations which are practicable should be acted upon without any delay (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

Motion agreed to and the Council at 3.20 p.m. adjourned until Tuesday, 24th February, 1942, at 3 p.m.

PART 7

1943–1958

Malta's slow climb back after the devastation of World War II, the question of Marshall aid, the Labour Party split and the beginning of a Mintoff ascendancy. Borg Olivier's desire for Dominion Status, the Integration proposal and its defeat, resignations, riots and once again the revocation of Self-Government in 1958.



DOCUMENTS 72–85

An Introduction to Maltese Political Development (7)

Victory in war in the mid-forties once again raised expectations for a constitutional settlement. Economic recovery and indeed war damage and reconstruction in Malta were priorities. The Island had been badly battered. In a report prior to the "return" of Self-Government, Sir Harold MacMichael[1] traced the events of the thirties and forties.**(72)**

As in Britain Malta returned a Labour Government—the first, in the case of Malta, and the most popular. Back from his Uganda exile, Nerik Mizzi started to mention Dominion Status, even independence, referring to the Ceylon precedent, while denying allegations that he had received money from Italy.**(73)** In the British "fortress colony" context of Malta, Mizzi's "italianità" was his Achilles' heel.[2] Financial and economic relations with Britain assume great importance in the late forties and early fifties. One of Boffa's young and pugnacious Ministers, Dominic Mintoff, raises the question of Marshall Aid, to which Malta as a colony had no direct claim.[3] Shortly after Mintoff had staked his political career on a split in the party which he successfully engineered, we find him making an issue of financial and constitutional arrangements with Britain.**(74)** Following "the split", Boffa's Workers' Party elect an equal number of seats. The *Partit Nazzjonalista* heads the poll and governs with support from the Workers' Party. Dr Borg Olivier succeeds Mizzi as Party Leader and as Prime Minister in 1950. In 1952 we find Borg Olivier arguing—not unlike Mintoff, albeit in a markedly different style —that Malta was entitled to "compensation" from Britain "for the uses which that government makes of the Island for its own purposes,"[4] in a statement to the House.**(75)** In 1953 Borg Olivier insisted that during the Coronation celebrations in London the Maltese national flag be flown and that the Maltese premier be accorded the same rights as other Commonwealth premiers.[5] His successful stand on these issues met with approval in Valletta.**(76)** However in the same year Borg Olivier's request that Malta be transferred to the Commonwealth Relations Office

led to the British counter-offer of transfer to the Home office. In an article in *New Commonwealth* in 1954,**(77)** Mabel Strickland conditionally welcomed this prospect while criticizing the policies of both the P.N. (for Dominion Status) and of the M.L.P. (for Integration with Britain).[6] The implications of both these policies were subjects of debate in the parliament: Mintoff upheld the option "Integration or Independence" **(78)**[7] while Borg Olivier, Paris and others upheld Dominion Status or Fully Responsible Government, sometimes also described as Independence within the Commonwealth.**(79)**[8]

The M.L.P. and P.N. positions were spelt out at the Malta Round Table Conference held in Lancaster House, London, in 1955. While the concerns of both the main parties were political and constitutional no less than financial and economic, these were perceived and presented somewhat differently. Parts of the presentations by both parties, the P.N.**(80)** and the M.L.P.**(81)**[9] have been included here from the transcripts of these talks.

The Integration plan came apart in December 1957 when Mintoff, seconded by Borg Olivier, passed the "Break with Britain" resolution through the Maltese Parliament in unanimity.[10] The speeches of both leaders are given here in view of the departure which this move represented.**(82)** The issues responsible for the breakdown in the Anglo-Maltese talks emerge from statements and exchanges of correspondence. **(83)** One of the issues was whether if the Labour government resigned it would hold elections and whether the opposition would or could form a government unless that was done. Eventually it was not, and the constitution again reverted to a non-representative one for four years (1958–62). An overriding concern was economic survival in view of Britain's disengagement policy. In December 1958 the M.L.P. offered a New Plan for Malta**(84)** which, *inter alia*, proposed the neutralization of Malta as a free port "with our freedom guaranteed by the U.N. Security Council", and joining the Common Market (at the same time as forming "similar commercial bonds with our Arab neighbours").[11]

In 1959 we again find the somewhat lonely voice of Strickland casting a curse on both party political houses.[12] She records the improvement in public safety and order after the Crown had assumed control of the Malta Police, following the violent riots that had accompanied Mintoff's resignation in April 1958.**(85)**

Notes

1 MacMichael was reporting in his capacity as Constitutional Commissioner. His report was printed for the Colonial office (no. 207) in 1947. The parts quoted in our text here are taken from pages 8–17 of that report.

2 This debate is from sitting no. 8 of 17 March 1949, pp. 378–93.

3 The sitting in question is no. 57 of 26 January 1950. This selection covers pp. 2710–23.

4 Borg Olivier's statement to the Malta Legislative Assembly was made in sitting 54 of 22 October 1952.

5 The debate on this statement regarding Malta's role and status in connection with the Coronation festivities started in sitting no. 89 of 21 May and continued in the following sitting on 23 June 1953. Cf. pp. 3949–65 and pp. 3985–93 respectively.

6 See M. Strickland (Ed.): *A Collection of Essays on Malta, 1923–54* (Progress Press, Valletta, n.d., ?1956), pp. 40–46. This article appeared in *New Commonwealth* of 29 April 1954.

7 This M.L.A. sitting was no. 50 of 15 November 1955.

8 The person in possession of the House here is Dr A. Paris (P.N.); the sitting is no. 114 of 29 August 1956.

9 The verbatim transcripts of these talks are contained in the archives at the Office of the Prime Minister in Valletta.

10 The so-called "Break with Britain" resolution was moved in sitting no. 207 of 30 December 1957; debate continued until sitting no. 216 of 11 February 1958.

11 The "New Plan" was published in D. Mintoff (Ed.): *Malta Demands Independence* (M.L.P., Valletta, 1959), pp. 99–102. It also appeared in *The New Statesman.*

12 This report of Mabel's Mosta speech appeared in M. Strickland (Ed.): *Maltese Constitutional and Economic Issues, 1955–59* (Progressive Constitutional Party, Progress Press, Valletta, 1959), pp. 139–41.

DOCUMENT 72

The 1947 MacMichael Report

CHAPTER 3

The Course of Events from August, 1936 to the end of 1945.

The Letters Patent of the 12th August, provided for a Constitution which included an Executive Council composed of five ex-officio members (in addition to the Governor) and such other persons (nominated members), not being less than three in number, as the Governor might from time to time appoint with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In 1938 there were six nominated members.

At the same time, provision was made for the final settlement of the language question. English and Maltese were made the official languages of Malta—the former as the official language of administration and the latter as the official language of the Courts. The Italian language was not referred to—an omission which was fully justified by the attempts which had been made during the preceeding years to utilise the official sanction given to the Italian language as a cloak for intrigue and encroachment by those who sympathised with Mussolini's belligerent nationalism.

On the 25th February, 1939, yet another Constitution (now commonly known as the "MacDonald Constitution") was framed for Malta. It provided an Executive Council of five ex-officio members (in addition to the Governor) and such other persons (nominated members) as the Governor might from time to time appoint with the approval of the Secretary of State. Provision was also made for a Council of Government of twenty members, composed of eight official members, ten elected members and two unofficial members nominated by the Governor.

As a result of the first elections held under this Constitution (on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th July, 1939) the Constitutional Party led by Lieuten-

ant-Colonel Roger Strickland obtained six seats, the Nationalist Party three seats and the Labour Party one seat.

Italy entered the war on the 10th June, and during the next two years the people of Malta suffered grievous hardships. The splendour of their resistance to the vicious and concentrated onslaughts of the enemy "will long", in the words of His Majesty, " be famous in history".

On the 10th November, 1942, statements were made in the House of Lords by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and in the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the following terms:—

"The repair of heavy damage inflicted by the enemy on Malta is clearly a task which will be beyond the unaided resources of the Government of Malta and property owners within any reasonable post-war period. I think there will be general agreement that the outstanding gallantry shown by the people of Malta in the face of enemy attacks of unprecedented length and severity calls for some special recognition. In view, therefore, of the unique position of Malta and the extraordinary sufferings which it has so gallantly undergone, His Majesty's Government proposes to seek approval of Parliament for a free gift of £10,000,000 to the Government of Malta to be used for the purposes of restoration of war damage and the rebuilding of Malta after the war. They propose that this sum should be paid in the first place to trustees to the nominated, who will make the money available to the Government of Malta as and when required. The gift will be available for meeting liabilities under legislation which, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, the Government of Malta has just put before the Council of Government, providing for schemes of compensation for war damage to property on lines generally similar to those in this country, as well as any other expenses incidental to post-war rebuilding. If the actual expenditure under those heads falls short of the total voted, the balance will be applied to other purposes beneficial to Malta after the war. If on the other hand the total liability of the Malta Government for compensation and rebuilding, after allowing for contributions from property owners, exceeds the sum of £10,000,000. His Majesty's Government will be prepared to make available such further sums as may be to meet liabilities which are found in the circumstances as existing after the war to be beyond the capacity of the Government of Malta to meet from its own resources, having regard to all other calls upon those resources at

that time. A vote will be submitted to Parliament for the purpose as soon as possible.

Shortly afterwards, on the 29th November, the Executive Committee of the Constitutional Party adopted unanimously a resolution which read as follows:—

"(i) That since the people of these islands only expected to work the present Constitution as a stepping-stone towards the attainment of Malta's rights and status, the next elections be held under a new Constitution, which would make Malta a self-govering partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations;
(ii) that an early declaration by the Secretary of State for the Colonies outlining the policy of the Imperial Government would be desirable;
(iii) that His Excellency the Governor be asked to submit this resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

On the 1st March, 1943, the Executive Committee of the Constitutional Party were informed that the Secretary of State did not regard the time as opportune to consider the question of future constitutional changes in Malta.

As a result of further representations made to the Governor by Colonel Strickland as leader of the Constitutional Party, which at that time comprised a majority of the elected members in the Council of Government, a statement was made by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons on the 7th July, 1943, which is quoted in the second paragraphs of this Report.

In a further statement in the House of Commons on the 13th July, 1943, the Secretary of State used the following words:—

"There was a period before the war when Malta enjoyed internal self-government. Honorable Members will recollect the circumstances which led to its withdrawal. Italian influence, Italian propaganda and, I am afraid, in some cases, Italian money, wrecked that particular period of self-government, but in an Island which now has nothing for the Italians but hatred and contempt, all of us can look forward, after the war, to an experiment which was not a success before meeting with full success.

On the 15th July, 1943, rhe following motion was passed in the Council of Government with the support of all the elected members (i.e.,six Constitutional members, three Nationalist members and one Labour member):—

"That this Council welcomes the announcement made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Commons and by His Excellency the Governor in this Council on the 7th July, 1943, which promises full legislative and administrative responsibility under the Crown to the people of Malta in the conduct of their internal affairs after the war. And that the thanks of the Council, in the name of the people of these Islands, be forwarded to His Majesty's Government at Westminster."

On the 23rd July, 1943, four days before the Council of Government which had been elected in 1939, was due to expire, new Letters Patent were passed amending the Malta Letters Patent, 1939, so as to provide for the continuance of the Council of Government until dissolved by the Governor.

On the 8th December, 1943, the elected members of the Council or Government circularised all constituted bodies recognised by the Government, inviting them to send two representatives each to a congress which would take steps to convene a National Assembly for the purpose of drafting a new Constitution for Malta. The Congress held their first meeting on the 10th February, 1944, at the De La Salle Palace in Valletta. Colonel Strickland took the chair and, after reviewing the various steps which had been taken since November, 1942, when the Executive of the Constitutional Party had petitiond the Secretary of State for the Colonies for a declaration of policy by His Majesty's Government, announced that the elected members of the Council of Government had decided that a National Assembly should be called by a Congress of the delegates of all constituted bodies recognised by Government in order to draw up a new Constitution for Malta.

Delegates of the following constituted bodies recognised by Government attended the Congress:—

Church;
Nobility;
Chamber of Advocates;
Camera Medica;
Chamber of Commerce;
Trade Union Council;
Chamber of Architects;
Notarial Council;
Chamber of Chemists;
Chamber of Legal Procurators;
Society of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce;
Agrarian Society;
Malta Union of Teachers.

The Congress decided to elect a Chairman and a Secretary who would remain in office until such time as the National Assembly had been

convened and, after a secret ballot, Professor the Contino L. Preziosi, former president of the Senate under self-government, was elected. Professor G. E. Degiorgio was elected Secretary by acclamation.

A Committee was then appointed with the following terms of reference:—

This Congress—met on the National Feast of Malta—nominates the following:—

Contino L. Preziosi, President of the Congress,
Professor G. E. Degiorgio, Secretary of the Congress.
Notary R. Frendo Randon, Assistant Secretary of the Congress,
Lt.-Col. R. Strickland, Constitutional Party,
Notary G. Borg Olivier, Nationalist Party,
Dr. P. Boffa, Labour Party,
Professor V. Caruana,

to study and submit to the Congress at another sitting the best means of calling country and which will draft a new Constitution for responsible government in keeping with the promise made by the Imperial Government."

The National Congress met for the second time on the 11th March, 1944, at De La Salle Palace. The report of the Committee appointed at the first meeting to suggest the best ways and means of calling a National Assembly was then considered. It was agreed than in order to avoid unwieldiness representation of the various bodies should be limited to a maximum of two persons.

The National Congress held a third sitting on 20th May, 1944, and it was decided to invite the bodies set out above to send delegates to from the National Assembly. It was also decided that any other bodies, who were not included in the list who considered that they should be invited, should submit applications not later than the 29th June.

The National Congress met for the fourth time on 19th August, 1944, and the Secretary (Professor Degiorgio) referred to correspondence which had passed between the Congress and the General Workers' Union in which it was stated that the General Workers' Union felt compelled to abstain from participating in the National Assembly owing to their dissatisfaction with the representation allowed to them.

Further sittings of the Congress were held on the 2nd September, the 7th October and the 2nd December, and the question of the representation of the General Workers' Union in the National Assembly was again discussed. As a result of a decision taken, the General Workers' Union

agreed to participate. The National Congress then passed a motion "that the National Assembly be convoked on the 20th January, 1945, at three o'clock in the Hall of St. Michael and St. George at the Palace, Valletta," and adjourned *sine die*.

In January, 1945, the Government of Malta made it known that the Secretary of State proposed to appoint a Financial Adviser to visit Malta to examine and report on the financial position.

On the 22nd March, 1945, the Governor forwarded to the Secretary of State, at the request of the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, a copy of a resolution which, it was stated, had been approved by acclamation at a mass meeting held in Hamrun, intimating that the elected members of the Council of Government no longer enjoyed the confidence of the people and requesting the Governor to take immediate steps for the holding of elections. Eventually it was decided to hold elections under the existing Constitution in the autumn of 1945.

Meanwhile, throughout 1945, the National Assembly had been meeting periodically under the chairmanship of Professor the Contino Preziosi, but not much progress had been made by the time the Governor broadcast to the people of Malta on the 1st September, 1945.

In the course of broadcast, the Governor emphasized that His Majesty's Government recognised Malta's great services to the allied cause during the war and that they were most anxious to implement the promise made in 1943 to restore to the Maltese people responsible government in the same sphere as they enjoyed between 1921 and 1933. The Governor said that it was indeed fitting that the Maltese should now assume their former responsibility for the management of their own affairs, and stressed that it was a matter of concern to His Majesty's Government that there should be no excuse for or any cause of avoidable delay in making their promise. The Governor went on to say that His Majesty's Government had hitherto been awaiting the recommendations of the National Assembly on the form the new Constitution should take, and being most anxious to afford any assistance that might be possible in hastening the introduction of the new Constitution, they felt it would be helpful if a Commissioner of suitable standing and wide experience were appointed to visit Malta to consult representative opinion. In his terms of reference the Constitutional Commissioner would be empowered to discuss the formulation of detailed proposals regarding the form of the new Constitution and any other matters bearing on the grant of

responsible government. The Governor also pointed out that His Majesty's Government were fully alive to the importance of the financial problems on which a decision had to be reached before the new Constitution could be inaugurated, and announced that it was with the object of obtaining a full survey of these matters that the Secretary of State had appointed Sir Wilfrid Woods to visit Malta. The point was also stressed that since, pending decisions on these problems, the Government of the country had to be carried on, it was essential that there should be a Council of Government in being to advise the Government of Malta and to pass any legislation which might be necessary for the conduct of the administration. In these circumstances, the Governor stated, he proposed to dissolve the Council of Government and hold new elections.

The Council was dissolved on the 8th September and the electons for a new Council, which were held on the 10th, 11th and 12th November, resulted in the election of nine Labour members and one Independent member.

Meanwhile, in May, 1945, Sir Wilfrid Woods had arrived in Malta "to examine the present and prospective financial position of the Malta Government in the light of the policy of His Majesty's Government that responsible government should be granted to Malta after the war." The object of his enquiry was to make a comprehensive survey on the basis of which the Secretary of State reach a decision in regard to the financial relations between His Majesty's Government and the Malta Government.

Sir Wilfrid Woods returned to London in July and submitted his Report to the Secretary of State on the 6th September, 1945 . . .

CHAPTER 4

The Course of Events in 1946—Discussions with the Finance Committee and formation of the Constitutional Committee.

It was announced on the 4th January, 1946, that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had appointed me as Constitutional Commissioner to visit Malta with the terms of reference already cited in the opening paragraphs of his Report. During the months of February, March and April, I was engaged on preliminary work in the Colonial Office, and on

the 4th May I arrived in Malta by air, accompanied by Mr. Fletcher-Cooke of the Colonial Administrative Service. Two days later I broadcast to the people of Malta a brief address, a copy of which forms Appendix IV of this Report.

One of my first, after paying a number of courtesy calls, was to confer with the Chairman of the National Assembly, Professor the Contino Preziosi, regarding the procedure to be followed. A cordial welcome was accorded to me and it was arranged that I should be introduced by him to the National Assembly St. George on the evening of the 10th May. Of the four hundred and twenty-one members of the National Assembly two hundred and sixty-three attended. The proceedings were of a friendly but purely formal nature. A copy of my speech is given in Appendix V, and in Appendix VI will be found a statement furnished by Mr. R. G. Miller, Secretary of the National Assembly (and also Secretary of the General Workers' Union), setting out the various bodies represented in the National Assembly as at the date of my meeting with them.

During the days which followed I was able to make many informal contacts with individuals and groups among all classes of the population, and to see something of the islands of Malta and Gozo at my leisure. No progress could, however, be made with formal business, since it was clear that public opinion favoured some elucidation of financial background before committing its representatives to discussion of constitutional issues, and until the contents of the Woods Report and the extent of the assistance which might be expected from His Majesty's Government were known, this background remained obscure.

A finance Committee has been elected by the National Assembly on the 18th May, 1945, "to enquire into the economic situation of the Island and to report to the National Assembly". It consisted of seven members, namely, Mr. A. Cassar Torregiani, O. B. E. (Chairman), Mr. J. Ellul Mercer (Secretary), The Hon. Dr. P. Boffa, O. B. E. (Leader of the elected members in the Council of Government), the Most Rev. Canon Mgr. C. Bonnici, D.D., B.L. Can., Professor P. P. Debono, O.B.E., M.D., D.P.H., F.R.C.S., Mr Moses Gatt, and Mr R.G. Miller. The Report of this Committee had been completed but had not been considered by the National Assembly pending the Committee's discussion with myself.

On the 20th May, Mr J. Ellul tendered his resignation from the

Finance Committee for reasons of health, and shortly afterwards The Hon. Dr. A.F. Colombo, M.D., was elected in his place.

On the 15th May I was able to arrange my first meeting with this body (three of its members were unable to attend) and on your instructions, I handed to them in confidence copies of the Woods Report.

In paragraph 162 of his Report, Sir Wilfrid Woods had made a series of recommendations for *ad hoc* grants purposes as follows:—

	£	£
(*a*) Budget deficit (£277,000 in 1946–47 and £304,000 in 1947–48)		581,000
(*b*) Extension of sewers		1,600,000
(*c*) Extension of water supply		500,000
(*d*) New Education buildings and equipment		408,750
(*e*) New Medical and Health buildings and equipment		548,000
(*f*) War Damage, including £10,000,000 already transferred to trustees		26,800,000
(*g*) War Damage to property of the Malta Government		2,000,000
(*h*) Reconstruction	3,000,000	
Town improvements, dwellings, shops, &c	7,000,000	
		10,000,000
Total		£42,437,750

He had added:—

"... but any such sum as £40,000,000 would seem to be a far in excess of anything which His Majesty's Government could reasonably be asked either to meet by a single payment or to commit itself irrevocably to meeting by instalments".

I took the opportunity of drawing members' attention in particular to these precautionary words.

My next meeting with the Finance Committee took place on the 23rd May, in order that they might furnish me with their general comments

on the contents of the Woods Report. This they did without prejudice to the raising of other points at a later stage, and during the proceedings the Chairman handed me a formal resolution signed by himself, which read as follows:—

"With regard to the recommendations as to a mentioned of settlement, it is the considered opinion of the Broad of the National Assembly that the items appearing in paragraph 162 (f) and (g) should not be included as a subject due for settlement, once the House if Commons in England has already pronounced itself on the question when a definite promise was given to make all damage to buildings to make good all damage to buildings effected through hostilities by the generus grant of £10,000,000 and more if necessary (*vide* Appendix "E", page 67). A special law, similar to that prevalent in the United Kingdom was enacted in Malta, and the property owners have contributed towards as provided for in the law. We therefore submit that this payment, whether it exceeds or otherwise the suggested £28,800,000 should not form part of our discussion, but should be treated as a settled affair, independently of self-government and under the present organisation, and in accodance with the relative legislation approved both by His Majesty's Government and the Government of Malta".

At the request of the Committee I promised to forward this resolution, together with the Committee's general comments to you.

On the 31st May, 1946, the Woods Report was laid on the table at a special meeting of the Council of Government and published simultaneously in the United Kingdom.

The next ten days provided an opportunity for the Maltese Press and public in general and the Woods Report, and in the evening of the 10th of June I had a further meeting with the Finance Committee at the Chairman's country house at Wardia. At the close of our discussions the Committee asked me to telegraph to you in the following terms:—

"After discussing the economic position of Malta with the Constitutional Commissioner, it was agreed that he should be requested to ask His Majesty's Government to indicate as soon as posssible the extent of assistance that they are prepared to give to Malta, apart from the reimbursement of war damage."

I undertook to convey this request by telegram, together with various other representatives upon which members of the Committee had laid special stress.

Pending the response of His Majesty's Government there was little I could do but continue the process of making myself amicably acquainted with the personalities and life of Malta and Gozo. It was apparent that

no inclination existed to force the pace in any quarter and press comment upon my Mission almost ceased.

On the 9th July the new Governor, Mr. F.C.R. Douglas, arrived. On the same day the decision of His Majesty's Government on the financial settlement was made public (see Appendices VII and VIII). Considerable attention was naturally given during the following months by the Press and public to the implications of this settlement and its effects upon the prospects of self-government. On the whole, it may be said, the decision of His Majesty's Government was received, if not manifestiations of gratitude, with some degree of relief, but the controversy, which confused largely upon the twin questions of the taxation likely to be imposed and the agency to the undertake the responsibility of imposing it, did not altogether die down during the period of my stay in the Island. It was clear on the 18th July to the Finance Committee, and consequently to the public, that the financial settlement was final but this did not prevent recurrent attempts to reopen the question.

It was not until the 25th July that it was possible to open discussions upon purely constitutional matters. The National Assembly had, it is true, appointed a Committee for this purpose as early as the 7th June, but, first the uncertainty regarding the financial background and, subsequently, the need for the dominant political party to make sure of sufficient popular support to justify their acceptance of office, had led to delay.

Eventually the Committee expressed themselves as ready to do business. They were a strong and representative body, consisting of the following:—

Chairman: Professor the Contino L. Preziosi, B.Sc., M.D., D.O. (Oxon.), Chairman of the National Assembly, Chairman of the National Congress of 1944, and a former President of the Senate.

The Hon. Dr. P. Boffa, O.B.E., leader of the Labour Party and of the elected members in the Council of Government, and prospective Prime Minister under the new Constitution.

Professor J. Hyzler, B.Sc., M.D., Professor of Forensic Medicine at the Royal University of Malta and ex-member of the Legislative Assembly.

The Most Rev. Canon Monsignor C. Bonnici, D.D., B.L. Can., Professor of Moral Theology at the Royal University of Malta.

Mr. R.G. Miller, Secretary of the National Assembly and also of the General Workers' Union.

I do not question that there may be among the people of Malta others possessing, but it is a truth of general appreciation that business discussions are more effective and fruitful when the number of participants is limited to a comparatively small number of those well qualified to conduct them. This granted, I find it difficult to believe that any stronger or more representative body could have chosen to speak for the National Assembly or that any other body than the National Assembly could have been more representative of the people of Malta as a whole. I feel, therefore, that in dealing with a Constitutional Committee composed as above, I was in truth consulting, as my terms of reference required, with "representatives of the Maltese people".

On my first arrival in Malta, both in my broadcast of the 6th May (Appendix IV) and in my address of the 10th May (Appendix V) I made it clear that I was very ready to listen to all and sundry who might have views to express, and a certain number of bodies and individuals took advantage of the invitation. I did not, however, go out of my way specifically to invite others for two reasons:— in the first place, it would have been difficult if not impossible, to avoid charges of discrimination; in the second place, I was anxious, while remaining accessible to anyone who wished to see me, to avoid any action likely to give offence to the National Assembly or its Constitutional Committee or lead the public to imagine for the moment that I doubted the qualifications of their chosen representatives to speak for them.

Part II of this Report contains a record of the matters discussed between the Constitutional Committee and myself between the 25th July and the 20th August, and my recommendations. At the close of the discussions the Committee reported to the National Assembly, which met for the purpose on the 30th August, the 6th September and the 14th September. On the 16th September our final meeting was held at the Palace, Valletta, and the Committee informed me that the National Assembly had endorsed in their entirely the views which they had expressed during their discussions with me. Despite the fact that unanimity had not been possible on all points, the atmosphere, as ever, was most cordial and friendly.

I left Malta with my party by air on Thursday the 19th September for the United Kingdom.

PART II

Discussions with the constitutional committee and recommendations

CHAPTER 5

Introductory

My first meeting with the Constitutional Committee was held on the 25th July and was largely concerned with questions of procedure. Thereafter we met, as a rule, on alternate days. Minutes were kept throughout in agreed form, one copy being signed by myself and initialled by the Chairman of the Constitutional Committee and one signed by the Chairman and initialled by myself. The full record of these minutes will be found in Appendix IX.

Both at our first meeting and subsequently it was made clear by the Committee that though they represented the National Assembly as a whole, and the National Assembly represented the people of Malta as a whole, they were bound by their terms of reference only to discuss the various subjects at issue within the terms laid down by the National Assembly. They were not empowered to accept amendments, but were prepared to recommend to the National Assembly and fully support any amendments the case for which seemed to them good. This position I accepted.

The National Assembly's Draft, in its arrangement of sections, closely followed the Constitution of 1921 as amended up to 1933. By common consent, however, in the discussions with the Constitutional Committee, matters were discussed under the heads of principles and subjects, the order being chosen at will, rather than section by section in the order adopted in the two documents before us. This procedure had the advantage of allowing subjects which were inter-related by principle, or which had affinity to one another, to be taken at the same or at the consecutive sittings. It also served to emphasize the fact that the work of the joint session was not an attempt to draft a legal document—a matter to be left to your Legal Advisers—but to come to the greatest possible measure of agreement upon principles or, when agreement was impossible, to clarify and define the arguments underlying conflicting views.

By general agreement we tackled the most contentious subjects first, namely, the Second Chamber and, thereafter, in turn, the "reserved matters" and the method of enactment of the new Constitution and various points arising therefrom.

DOCUMENT 73

Nerik Mizzi on Dominion status and connections with Italy

Dr. MIZZI: Mr. Chairman, certain questions which today are being considered by the Joint Committee, such as the question of lands and buildings occupied by the Imperial Government, were, under the 1921 Constitution, submitted to a Parlamentary Commission together with an arbitrator appointed by the Imperial Government; that is, at that time we had no need to submit all these questions to a Joint Committee after they had been decided upon by an Imperial Arbitrator in conjunction with a Parliamentary Commission. Apart from all this, however, I am aware that the complications and the Reserved Matters existing under the present Constitution are so vague and generic that they may merely be extended to every branch of the administration if the Imperial Government wants to give them a wide and extensive interpretation. I can therefore understand that the present Government may have a great number of questions which have to be discussed in the Privy Council and in the Joint Committee. I can perfectly understand this, because as I have had occasion to state even in the Press, I have been long observing that the present Imperial Government is interfering in our affairs much more than the Imperial Government used to do under the 1921 Constitution when the Nationalists were in the Government. During the administration of the Nationalist Government we had several divergences of opinion, for example, one was about the famous Ordinance which refers to Military manoeuvres which prejudiced enormously the interests of the public and we naturally had to defend the public interest and quarrelled with the Governor. We not only delayed the promulgation of that Ordinance but we even succeeded to amend it not as completely as we would have wished but we amended it considerably; this apart from the fact that we had delayed its promulgation by some two years. I still remember Congreve, who was Governor at that time, telling me: "You

have been able to persuade me to delay, for I do not know how many times, the promulgation of this Ordinance". He was somewhat surprised at this and I told him that we had not only to delay it but also to amend it. Apart from this, however, the fact is that the Imperial Government under the 1921 Constitution used to interfere in the affairs of the Civil Government much less than it is doing at present. I am now remembering another thing: Mr. Robertson, who was Lieutenant-Governor at the time, used to beg us to give him something to do because he was ashamed to be receiving all that salary when he had practically nothing to do; and Mr. Mahaffy, who was then Legal Adviser, had so little to do that he used to while away the time by submitting his observations, which were generally out of place, on any Bill which we proposed to the House. . . .

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I am allowing you to speak with much latitude; the important point, however, about which you are to speak, is the relations existing between the two sides of the Diarchy.

Dr. MIZZI: I have mentioned certain facts because the hon. Prime Minister has compared the present Government's activities with those of the Nationalists when we were in Office. I have, therefore, had necessarily to speak in this manner.

As to civil aviation, the hon. the Prime Minister may rest assured that we shall support him if he really wants to have this item removed from the Reserved Matters; he may rest assured that in this matter he will receive our most cordial support. When he moves the resolution which he intends to propose we shall approve it and subscribe to it whole-heartedly.

I cannot enter into the merit of certain questions which the hon. the Prime Minister has just mentioned simply by name.

The previous Government had already taken preliminary steps in connection with a new Power Station. In this, too, the present Government naturally agrees with the previous Government that the whole plant of the new Power Station should be purchased from England. For this reason, the Imperial Government would naturally be prepared to grant, apparently, some concession so that the necessary plant will be bought from England. This is a presumption of mine; it may be that I am mistaken, but I believe that from my experience . . . .

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: What are you presuming?

Dr. MIZZI: You have mentioned the Power Station and stated that there has been a concession on the part of the Imperial Government.

This concession has already been referred to some time ago in this House, by the hon. Mr. Mintoff, a concession of, I do not know which, an underground tunnel which costs, according to him, some one hundred thousand pounds. I admit that it may be an important concession, but the Imperial Authorities had every interest to grant it because naturally they have an interest that the one and a half million pounds which the Power Station will perhaps cost will be spent, if possible, in England. . . .

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: It is an underground tunnel which had been excavated for war purposes.

Dr. MIZZI: I know, but the Imperial Government is granting it because, if it has no further need of it, it belongs to us, and also because it has an interest that when an apparently international call for tenders is made, the accepted one would in fact be only an English tender. Naturally it is to everyone's advantage that the large industries of one's country will tender successfully for one and a half million pounds!

It is nearly absolutely useless for us to speak on the details of this Vote because they will not be submitted for our approval as they are imposed by the present Constitution. I, however, avail myself of this opportunity to protest against the appropriation of public monies without the approval of our Parliament. I know that such a protest has only a moral value, but I feel that I should make such a protest.

What I consider to be most important is the fact that I can avail myself of this opportunity to raise again the Constitutional question. As is well known the Nationalist Party, which I have the honour to lead, upholds that Malta has a right to a real political and administrative autonomy and has therefore been for several years claiming, as it did also before the Royal Commission in 1931, Dominion Status, that is, what is today known as Fully Responsible Government, which is equivalent to independence! Mr. Speaker, the English Press itself, the reporters of the English Press who came to Malta in November, 1947, when the present Constitution was inaugurated, had to recognise that Malta could have been given and had a right to receive much more than what it has been given. I did not have the time to make a complete investigation, but I can, for example, quote the London "Daily Express". The reporter of this paper published an article, in its issue of the 31st October, 1947, wherein he declared that Malta has not obtained all that she had a right to. A more authoritative and important correspondent, Dr. C.A. Smith, stated in the authoritive and very important periodical, the "Tribune",

that the man who is actually interpreting the natural aspirations of the Maltese People is precisely Dr. Mizzi, the Leader of the Nationalist Party. This was stated by Dr. Smith in the London "Tribune" of the 7th November, 1947. Other English reporters who came to Malta had to recognize, through their liberal mentality—a mentality which unfortunately not everyone in Malta has because unfortunately there are several Maltese whose mentality is worthy of their inferiority complex—that Malta had actually the right to obtain much more than she has been given and that the real representatives of the rights and aspirations of the Maltese people are precisely the leaders of the Nationalist Party. I have recently, in February last, been interviewed by another English correspondent, the correspondent of the "Illustrated", and as usual, I spoke frankly and told him what we want. (*Laughter*). The hon. Dr. Boffa may laugh as much as he likes, but he does not suppress the fact that I spoke frankly. I speak frankly to the English just as I speak frankly to the Maltese and to everyone else, without flattering anyone and without subjecting myself to anyone. I have spoken frankly and told the correspondent of the English periodical what the Nationalist Party is after. He told me: "What do you want then? Annexation with Italy?" I replied, "this does not come in at all, we simply want Dominion Status within the British Empire".

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: We do not know what you said somewhere else!

Hon. Mr. J. COLE (MINISTER OF EMIGRATION): What did you say in Rome?

Dr. MIZZI: I have not heard what you said and please do not interrupt me. We want a Constitution more or less analogous to that which the Imperial Government granted to Ceylon some fifteen months ago. Strategically the Island of Ceylon is today much more important than Malta. And yet the British Parliament has passed an Act of Independence with regard to Ceylon. This independence, this complete autonomy, which we want, is not, however, incompatible with the agreement entered into between the Government of Ceylon and the Imperial Government. I have always been and still am against the dyarchical form of Government in Malta. Today we have two Governments, the Malta Government and the Imperial Government. We want Malta to be governed by one Government, that is by the Maltese Government, that would, however, be in a position to enter into the necessary agreements with the Imperial Government as has been entered into precisely by the

autonomous Government of Ceylon. What happened in Ceylon could *mutatis mutandis* happen again in Malta without prejudice to certain legitimate Imperial interests. I will read, so as to be more exact and so that no one will say that what I am stating is not exact, the Note of the Agreements which was annexed to the Constitution granting to Ceylon Fully Responsible Government, that is full autonomy or independence.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: On a point of order, I shall rebut all these points, and say that Dr. Mizzi is not the person to speak on these matters and that if there is a person who can obtain fully Responsible Self-Government for Malta it is not Dr. Mizzi.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Order! I have to call the attention of Dr. Mizzi that I am allowing him to speak generally on the merit of the Constitution, but if he is going to compare one Constitution with another. . . .

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: He had better leave this alone!

Dr. J. FRENDO AZOPARDI: He had better not!

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: He had better! When he receives money from Italy he had better not speak about this!

Dr. MIZZI: The Prime Minister is trying to restrict the discussion as much as possible because of his inferiority complex. I have read also the White Book in connexion with the Ceylon Constitution, and I was going to read precisely the text of that Agreement, because the Independence Act passed by the British Parliament in November or December 1947 proves that there can be one Government, and at the same time certain Imperial interests could be safeguarded by a reciprocal Agreement. I repeat that I am quoting Ceylon as an example, because today, strategically, the island of Ceylon is much more important to England than Malta is. In spite of all this they found no difficulty in granting such a Constitution. Why did they not reach such an Agreement with us too?

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Because they do not trust us!

Dr. MIZZI: Mr. Chairman, please see that he does not interrupt me because I have a right to speak. This shouting of his which is intended to confuse me, is, in my opinion, unworthy of a Prime Minister. He should behave himself, without shouting like a man from the slums. In the "Patria" is reproduced the Maltese translation of the text of the Agreement with Ceylon:

The Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of Ceylon will afford each other military assistance for the safeguard of their territories, for their

defence against aggression and for the protection of essential lines of communication, which it would be in their mutual interest to afford.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I regret I have to interrupt the hon. Leader of the Opposition, but I consider him to be out of order when he reads the Ceylon Constitution.

Dr. MIZZI: Mr. Chairman, I have to find a concise way in which to show that even in the case of Ceylon, which strategically is much more important than Malta, there may be a single Government and I am therefore amazed how the Prime Minister, instead of approving what I have said, does not allow me to speak and interrupts me. I hope, Mr. Chairman, you too will not limit my speech.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform the hon. the Leader of the Opposition that when I give rulings I do so on my own initiative. You are saying that we could have a Constitution providing for a single Government instead of a Diarchy; there is however no need for you to read that statement from the "Patria".

Dr. MIZZI: Mr. Chairman, the Imperial Government probably has certain particular influences in Ceylon. I am, however, speaking on the form of Government *ut sic* and am not entering into certain circumstances particular to that Island, into its political circumstances and into the circumstances of the influence which certain personalities may have in Ceylon. I am speaking simply about the form of the Constitution they have and I consider that in our present circumstances such a form would be much better for us. I have never thought of saying under present circumstances that because we aspire towards Dominion Status, we should therefore become immediately independent like Ireland, Australia and Canada, but everyone has the right to aspire towards a Constitution which is most suitable to one's country and I repeat this without entering into the particular circumstances of political influence of other countries. On the question of Ceylon I refer to that White Book which I have already mentioned and which contains all the information. The Act passed by the British Parliament is called nothing less than the "Ceylon Independence Act". This is precisely the title of the law which was passed by the British Parliament whilst we are still today a simple colony, a British possession; we do not have real Self-Government, nay the present Constitution is a parody of Self-Government, and so long as there is a Diarchy with an Imperial Government stronger than our own

Government, we cannot say that we have autonomy and, much less, independence. In the name of my Party, I avail myself of this opportunity, to protest, as I have done on other occasions, against the present Constitution and in this case I feel I should repeat what Dr. Smith said: "The Maltese desire wider autonomous powers than those which the present Constitution grants them".

I also deplore the fact that the expenditure of the local Imperial Government is progressively increasing and as it has our money at its disposal I fear that expenditure will further increase in future.

Prof. HYZLER: Mr. Chairman, the hon. the Prime Minister, when speaking on this Head stated that the relations existing between the two sides of the Dyarchy are very good. . . .

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I said they were normal, fluctuating.

Prof. HYZLER: This is something about which we should all be pleased, because once we have a diarchical system of Government, the existence of cordial relations is essential. I have also been pleased to hear that several sittings of the Privy Council have been held. Sir Harold MacMichael was of the opinion, which he expressed in his report, that sittings of the Privy Council should be held more frequently. On page 40 of his report, dealing with the request that Maltese Ministers should have access to English Ministers he wrote:

"But the desire remained, and is not in itself unreasonable, that some machinery should be devised whereby the Maltese should be enabled from time to time to state a case and argue it with those in whose hands lies the penultimate, if not the ultimate, decision. I drew attention to the machinery already provided under the Constitution of 1921 in the form of the Privy Council of Malta. . . ."

It was suggested by the Committee of the National Assembly that this question should be submitted to the Imperial Government. Further down we find:

"which was presumably intended to afford opportunities for the discussion of the kind of matters in mind, but the view taken was that meetings of the Privy Council could not be regarded, in the light of past experience, as affording sufficient guarantees for anything but disappointment and frustration, nor did the setting up of any local machinery meet the case. It is relevant to note that there is only one recorded case of the Privy Council of Malta meeting, namely in 1930, and that its convocation, under the terms of the Constitution, lay entirely in the discretion of the Governor."

That is MacMichael himself recommends that any differences which may arise between the two sides of the Dyarchy should if possible be treated locally, before they are submitted to the Secretary of State, and I am pleased to hear the Prime Minister say that several sittings of the Privy Council have been held to discuss differences and this augurs well, because though there are several restrictions in the Constitution the existence of which we cannot deny, we have something and I hope that we shall save what we already have.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to see Members on the other side of the House behave like realists and treat matters as they should be treated. I am pleased that time has served to develop the minds and that this development is still progressing; I repudiate however, that the hon. Dr. Mizzi can speak in the name of the people. I feel Mr. Chairman, that Dr. Mizzi's policy has proved harmful and will continue to prove harmful to the country; I feel that if we had an Italian Culture, which today is no more, that was due to the intrigues of the hon. Dr. Mizzi; I feel—and I believe that Hon. Gentlemen do not approve of Dr. Mizzi's attitude in the past and in future. . .

Dr. C. CARUANA: Even the future?

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: The present; I mean to say that the hon. Dr. Mizzi is no longer the man *senza macchia senza paura.* We know, Mr. Chairman, that the hon. Dr. Mizzi has received money from Italy *a traverso il "Banco di Roma"* as a subsidy for the paper "Malta".

Dr. G.M. CAMILLERI: Divest yourself!

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I shall divest myself tomorrow!

Dr. CAMILLERI: And produce evidence.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Let me start. From the Propaganda Ministry (*shouts*). . . .

Dr. FRENDO AZOPARDI: The first one is false.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA! What sort of defence is this! He says that the document is false! Allow me.

Dr. CARUANA: Attack, you have not said anything yet!

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Does he deny?

Dr. CARUANA: And proves!

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I simply want him to deny.

Dr. MIZZI: Mr. Chairman, let him say all he has to say but then I shall reply without being interrupted.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Mr. Chairman, I shall put a direct question to him

and he should give a direct answer and not beat about the bush. I want him to tell me whether any money was sent from Italy *a traverso il "Banco di Roma"* to subsidise the "Malta". I await a reply.

Dr. MIZZI: Go on.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: "Go on"; he has already started to retreat.

Dr. MIZZI: It is Boffa who retreats not Nerik Mizzi. You may lay on the Table any documents you like; you should, however, allow me to lay what I deem fit that I should.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I am prepared to reply, Mr. Chairman, that I will give these documents to the Press and that he may forward to the Press and lay on the Table whatsoever he deems fit.

Dr. MIZZI: I shall lay whatever I consider I should.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: He may lay on the Table whatever he likes, Mr. Chairman; I am not afraid. I have put a direct question to him and this is not the first time I have put such a question to him. (*Uproar*) I have asked him whether he knows that he has received, not once, but every year, a sum of money from the "*Banco di Roma*" to subsidize the "Malta".

Dr. MIZZI: Read the documents. (*Uproar*).

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Order!

Dr. CARUANA: Mr. Chairman, on a point of order, we are giving our consent and not raising the point that what the hon. Prime Minister is saying is out of order. We are not raising a point of order so that he may say whatever he has to say; I hope, however, that we shall then have the chance to say what we want to say.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: They would not say that I am receiving money from Russia!

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Order!

Dr. FRENDO AZOPARDI: Do not make any affidavit that it is not so!

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: That is an opinion, these are facts. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to note that the Nationalist Section is reacting. The hon. Dr. Mizzi has not only received money to subsidise the "Malta" but he himself has gone to Italy to get it and he had discussions with Mussolini himself—he even tried to involve the Vatican. The only argument which they have as yet brought forward is that these documents are false. Let me read a letter from a friend of Dr. Mizzi, Scicluna Sorge, addressed to the Italian Ministry of Propaganda:

Ministero per la Stampa e la Propaganda

Gabinetto

Visto dal Duce

Sottoposta al Duce
Roma, 19 Novembre, 1936. XV.
Ho trascorso ieri. . . ."

These are serious matters and from them I conclude that we can never achieve Dominion Status so long as we have the Hon. Dr. Mizzi amongst us; we shall be granted Dominion Status when, as in the case of Ceylon, it is certain that there is nobody who wants a change of flag. I quote:

Ministero per la Stampa e la Propaganda

Gabinetto

Visto dal Duce

Sottoposta al Duce
ROMA, 19 Novembre, 1936. XV.
Ho trascorso ieri la serata con Enrico Mizzi.
Egli mi ha nuovamente fatto presente lo stato di completo abbattimento morale in cui si trova gran parte del nazionalismo maltese.
Dopo tante lotte, dopo tante sofferenze, di fronte alla continua pressante azione logoratrice, terroristica, poliziesca delle autorità imperiali, facilitata in questi ultimi tempi da scandalosi tradimenti o eclissamenti di alcuni capi nazionalisti, ogni resistenza si è accasciata in uno stato di amara angosciosa passività. Ciò che ha tolto quasi ogni speranza ai maltesi, non è stato tanto il fatto della soppressione di ogni forma di libertà politica, nè la ormai totale soppressione della lingua italiana dalle scuole, dall'amministrazione, da ogni atto legale, ecc. . . . . "

—I will now ask the Hon. Dr. Mizzi whether he denies this—

"*. . . ma è il fatto che istituzioni governative italiane, quale ad esempio l'Istituto di Coltura Italiana, siano state soppresse e ben venti regnicoli italiani siano stati espulsi da Malta senza che alcuna apparente reazione del Governo Italiano si verificasse; ciò ha indotto gran parte di nazionalisti maltesi a convincersi che l'italia aveva abbandonato il destino della Italianità colturale di Malta alla mercè britannica.*"

This was stated by Scicluna Sorge. I would now like to see Dr. Mizzi deny these facts!

Dr. MIZZI: Go on reading, then I shall reply.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I continue reading, Mr. Chairman:

"Se l'Italia non può, non vuol far nulla per noi, per la nostra libertà e per i nostri diritti, che possiamo far noi, piccolo popolo inerme che si vede anche ridotta ogni sua possibilità economica a dipendere dalla flotta e dalle amministrazioni Inglesi locali? E' questa la considerazione che domina ogni buon maltese nel suo presente profondo accasciamento.

Un altro segno del grave collasso attuale è constituito dal clero il quale è stato sempre uno delle roccaforti del nazionalismo isolano, mentre ora, guidato da un vescovo (Mons. Caruana) completamente inglesizzato. . . ."

—and we heard all this in Malta—

". . . . incomincia ad adattarsi al nuovo stato di cose e sembra abbandonare ogni velleità in favore della coltura italiana di cui sempre si è nutrito.

Secondo Mizzi è necessario che il Vaticano corra ai ripari. L'italianità colturale di Malta è la migliore difesa del suo cattolicismo. Col graduale imbastardimento dei maltesi, procederà il graduale affievolimento del loro spirito religioso.

Il Governo italiano . . . "

Dr. FRENDO AZOPARDI: This is all false.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA:

"Il Governo italiano . . . " (*Interruptions and uproar*).

Let us be calm! Let us not alarm ourselves!

"Il Governo italiano potrebbe dalla sua parte rappresentare tale pericolo alla Curia Romana. Enrico Mizzi, che è ansioso di essere ricevuto dal Duce, spera che nella trattazione del 'Gentlemen's Agreement' anglo-italiano, l'Italia non vorrà dimenticare Malta."

Now, calmly . . . .

Dr. FRENDO AZOPARDI: As yet there is nothing in what you have read.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: There is more. Let the hon. Dr. Mizzi deny that he did say such words to Scicluna Sorge!

Dr. Mizzi: Go on reading and then I shall reply.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I have put a question to the hon. Dr. Mizzi as to whether he had received any money and he said: "Go on reading." I kept reading and now I have put another question to him – and I believe that he has understood what I have read because he knows Italian well. . . .

Dr. CAMILLERI: He knows Italian much more than you do!

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Once hon. Members of the Nationalist Party are taking part in this question, I consider that, after the questions which I have put to the hon. Dr. Mizzi they should leave him alone and say: "Reply to these questions if you want us to continue supporting you."

Dr. CARUANA: We know what we have.

Hon. Mr. COLE: You know what you have!?!

Dr. MIZZI: If the hon. the Prime Minister has any other documents by Scicluna Sorge or by others, he may read them as well; he should read all he has and then I shall reply. (*Interruptions*).

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: So far we have read two documents. . . .

Dr. MIZZI: Have you read the whole of the document by Scicluna Sorge?

Dr. CARUANA: He has only read one document.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I have read one document, and I believe that the hon. Dr. Caruana should not interrupt.

Dr. CARUANA: The hon. Prime Minister said he read two documents, whilst he had only read one. I believe I have the right to tell him that he has read one and not two documents.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I said two, because I was also referring to the document which I read the other day. I will now read another one, and according to this document the hon. Dr. Mizzi has received money from Italy.

Dr. FRENDO AZOPARDI: According to that document!

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: This document is marked "Segreto," dated "*Roma, 5 Gennaio,* 1938—*XVI*" and signed "*Luciano, Il Capo di Gabinetto*".

"*G.I.* 1.207
148 *GAB.*

APPUNTO PER L'ON. DIRETTORE GENERALE DEL TURISMO

Sede.

S.E. il Ministro ha avuto superiore ordine di assecondare l'Enrico Mizzi nella sua azione tendente ad assicurare la vita del giornale 'Malta'.

Si prega pertanto ove non fosse già stato fatto, di voler rinnovare per il corrente anno il contributo a carattere pubblicitario che la S.V. On, ha deciso di concedere lo scorso anno al predetto giornale sui fondi dell'E.N.I.T.

L'importo del contributo lo si dovrebbe far pervenire all'On. Mizzi tramite il Banco di Roma di Malta (sede della Valletta) specificando (e ciò per evitare

eventuali interpretazioni che potrebbero indurre le Autorità inglesi ad accusare il Mizzi di ricevere aiuti a carattere politico) che si tratta di un pagamento derivante da un contratto a carattere pubblicitario tra l'E.N.I.T. e il giornale stesso.

Si fa presente che il 'Malta' è l'unico quotidiano di lingua italiana che si pubblica nell'isola e costituisce l'unica superstite voce del nazionalismo maltese.

Il Capo di Gabinetto.
(Fto.) Luciano.

Now—they should take this calmly—I have read two documents. One of them says that the Hon. Dr. Mizzi—

tramite il Banco di Roma (sede della Valletta)

—has received money to keep the "Malta" going, and then there is the other document which is a statement made by Scicluna Sorge—and this statement has been *sottoposta al Duce* and it bears the stamp *Visto dal Duce*—on the political situation in Malta and in it he requested that something be done to save the cultural italianity of Malta from extinction and, if need be, the Vatican should also interfere so that the Clergy, who were lead by a Bishop who was *completamente inglesizzato* and who were one of the *roccaforti* of italianity, would not anglicize themselves. I will now ask the hon. Dr. Mizzi. . .

Dr. Mizzi: Speak slowly so that I shall be able to take down the questions.

Hon. Dr. Boffa: These are my questions: Whether the Hon. Dr. Mizzi has personally received, or through some other person, money from Italy, *tramite il Banco di Roma*, as a subsidy of the "Malta"; whether the hon. Dr. Mizzi knows of a discussion with Scicluna Sorge, and whether the points mentioned in the statement I have just read were given to Scicluna Sorge by the hon. Dr. Mizzi.

Dr. Frendo Azopardi: What is there in them?

Hon. Dr. Boffa: Nothing! Nor is there anything in the fact that he has received money. Mr. Chairman, if he denies this, especially that he has received money from Italy, I shall reply and go on reading other documents!

Dr. Camilleri: Read them now!

Hon. Dr. Boffa: No, because I want to prove that, if the Hon. Dr. Mizzi denies that he had received the money, he would be lying! That is what I want to prove.

Dr. MIZZI: Mr. Chairman, first of all I call on all Members including my colleagues on this side not to interrupt me and to listen to the whole question as I shall explain it; and as Nerik Mizzi does not lie, you may be convinced that what I am going to say is the truth.

First of all I ask the hon. the Prime Minister to lend me for a few minutes the documents which he read. . . .

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Will he allow me? I may give an assurance that I have read what there is in the documents!

Dr. MIZZI: If you do not want to lend me the documents for a few minutes you would be showing a lack of confidence in me and I would say that you have said the truth!! (*Uproar*). I would not have expected such a show of non-confidence in me. I am simply asking in this House to peruse the documents read by the hon. the Prime Minister. The second document which he has read today was ready by him some four months ago and to date I have not seen the original though I have a right to see it!

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Mr. Chairman, I have read two documents; now if there is no truth in what I have read the hon. Dr. Mizzi may state that there is no truth in it. We are not verifying the authenticity of the documents. Let us assume they are false. . . .

Dr. CAMILLERI: Then why did you profer such a charge?! Is this dignified of a Prime Minister?!!

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Allow me. Let us assume that these documents are false, that is I am reading false documents. I have now asked him whether what is said in these documents, false or otherwise, is true.

Dr. MIZZI: I have been accused through those documents and the accused has the right to see the documents produced against him!

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I have put a question which you are to reply!

Dr. MIZZI: First of all, Mr. Chairman, with regard to the question put to me by the Prime Minister, I have to state that in here I will never admit that anyone has the right to question me. Once, however, he has read those two documents in order to accuse me, I should certainly have the chance to see them, nay according to parliamentary practice they should be immediately laid on the Table.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I have, however, here in this dossier documents which do not belong to me.

Dr. MIZZI: It does not matter, lay on the Table those you have read.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I intend to lay them on the Table and also to give

them to the Press in due course! These, however, are mine and I shall lay them whenever I please!

Dr. FRENDO AZOPARDI: After next Sunday! (*That is after the meeting of the General Conference of the Labour Party*).

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Next Sunday has nothing to do with it. I shall lay them at the appropriate psychological moment!

Dr. MIZZI: Mr. Chairman, I ask for a ruling. Those documents, even if they did not contain anything against me or against anyone else, once they have been read should be laid on the Table. Hon. Members of this House are requesting that those documents be laid on the Table.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I am surprised at the hon. Dr. Mizzi when he says that if a member reads a document in this House, though every member has the right to say that such document is false, he considers that the document has necessarily to be laid on the Table.

Dr. MIZZI: I simply want to see the originals for reasons of my own. Perhaps, for example, you have omitted to read something! I have a right to see whether what you have said corresponds to the truth!

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I am amazed at the hon. Dr. Mizzi who asks for a ruling because he claims that whoever reads a document should lay it on the Table. I shall lay it if and when I want to, and not when he wants me to! No Speaker can make me lay it on the Table, and no one can force a Member of this House who reads a document to lay such document on the Table!

Dr. MIZZI: Yes, when an orator reads a document and he is requested to lay it on the Table he has the duty to do so. I know of a case, when Lord Strickland had read a letter sent to him by my uncle against me and at the request of Members of the House he had to lay it on the Table, even though at first he refused. What I asked, however, is principally that he should lend me for a few minutes, in this House and not outside, those documents which I have a right to see!

Mr. CHAIRMAN: On this point of order, I have to inform the Committee that there is nothing in the Standing Orders which indicates that the hon. the Prime Minister should forcibly lay on the Table those documents which he has read.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Mr. Chairman, these were the facts: I have read two documents which concern Dr. Mizzi, and apart from whether they are false or authentic, whether I have omitted something or not, whether I have written them myself in order to profer such a change because I took

it into my mind to do so, whether they are genuine, whatever they are, I have put two questions to him and he should reply yes or no. The hon. Dr. Mizzi however is afraid and has evaded a reply, and he has raised the question that he wants to see the documents after that I will have laid them on the Table.

Dr. MIZZI: No, that is not so. I am saying that I require to see the originals and that he should lend them to me here before the whole House for a few minutes and I shall return them to him. Once he does not accept my request he must have something to hide!!! One of the documents which he has read was read by him some four months ago in this House: to date, however, I have not yet seen the original, I have a right to see it for certain reasons. When he read that document I wrote a letter to the "Times of Malta", the "Times of Malta", however, failed to publish it. Amongst other things I said that I had not yet seen the original of that document.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Once the hon. the Prime Minister refuses to lend you the original of the documents which he has read, I do not allow any further discussion on this point.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Mr. Chairman, I have simply this to say: I did not say that there is a document by which I accuse the hon. the Leader of the Opposition. . . .

Dr. CAMILLERI: What did you say then?!

Dr. CARUANA: What did you say then?!

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Had I risen to say that I had a document in my possession with which I categorically accused the hon. Dr. Mizzi, then the hon. the Leader of the Opposition would have been justified to tell me: "give me the document which you have read": I however repeat that I have read a document, true, false, faked or not, it does not matter. . . .

Dr. MIZZI: Oh no?!!!!!

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I have read a letter, and I told him: "I will put two questions to you".

Dr. MIZZI: First of all I repeat that I have a right to see the document, I have a right to see it, first. . . .

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I shall reply!

Dr. MIZZI: . . . so that I may see whether it is false or not. Then I shall reply. The Prime Minister must have some reason for not showing it to me.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I have read two documents, one states that Dr. Mizzi has received money, and the other states that Dr. Mizzi wanted to involve the Vatican in Malta politics. Let us assume that they are false. I have asked him whether the facts alleged in those documents, apart from their authenticity are true or not. He can say this, but as they are true, Dr. Mizzi is trying to escape. (*Hon. Members: Hear, hear*).

Dr. MIZZI: I am prepared to make an exhaustive reply, without recognising anybody's right to submit me to questions or cross-examinations. I do not allow this, because I feel I am above it all; I do not admit that any Member or Minister has the right to submit me to questions or cross-examinations. As, however, I have exhaustively defended myself in the Press as far as the Ciano Diary is concerned, I am prepared to give an exhaustive reply not only to those two documents but also to any other document. First of all, however, I have a right to see the original. I am not asking him to give it to me outside this House, not at all, but I have a right to see the original here for about five minutes.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I do not claim that I should put questions to him, but when I started putting the questions. . . .

Dr. MIZZI: I do not allow anyone to submit me to cross-examinations.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: When I told him: "I am putting these questions to you", he told me: "Speak slowly so that I may take them down," and he started writing them and told me: "Dictate properly".

Dr. MIZZI: But I want to see the documents.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Before he asked for the documents, he told me to put the questions to him, so much so that he started writing them. I thought that he was going to reply. If Dr. Mizzi now does not want to reply, he has every right to do so, both the intelligent public and myself, however, will reach the logical conclusion. I did not say, I repeat, "Here is a document which condemns Dr. Mizzi". I have read two documents. Let us assume they are false; I have read them; let him reply to what I have read.

Dr. MIZZI: I have an interest to know whether they are false; not only I but the whole House and the public have such an interest.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Let us assume that they the false, the fact remains that I have read an accusation and he should say whether it is true or not.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Dr. Mizzi. . . .

Dr. MIZZI (*addressing himself to the non-Nationalist Members of the Opposition*): As Members of the Opposition you have the duty to rise and

support me! I have a right to see those documents, and I should be supported in this!

Prof. HYZLER: Then you should reply instead of challenging us!

Prof. MIZZI: It's a shame!

Prof. HYZLER: Shame on you!

Mr. CHAIRMAN Dr. Mizzi, you have stated that you will not reply unless the Prime Minister gives you the documents. The Prime Minister refuses to give you the documents. If you are not going to reply I shall put a close to this question. (*Uproar*). Dr. Mizzi, if you rise to speak again on this question I shall suspend you. Address the Chair.

Dr. CAMILLERI: I would like to ask the Prime Minister whether these documents are part of those brought by the famous Superintendent De Gray, and which have been declared false? A bag of false documents! This is not dignified coming from a Prime Minister.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: I am surprised at the mentality and intelligence of the last speaker. I said: "Let us assume that they are false".

Dr. CAMILLERI: Then it is not dignified for a Government to behave this way.

Hon. Dr. BOFFA: Mr. Chairman, let us say they are false. I have put a question to Dr. Mizzi—forget the documents—whether he has received money from Italy *a traverso il "Banco di Roma"*. Forget the documents! These are false! They were brought to Malta by Axisa, by whoever he may have been! Dr. Mizzi should reply if he can, but he cannot.

Dr. MIZZI: I would like to reply. I have in my pocket a document which is a credit to me; I have not read it yet. I am saying that I have a right as a Member of the House, just as any other Member has, to see the original when a document is read in here. This is a privilege of the House, I am upholding a privilege of the House, and I hope I shall be supported by at least all the Members of the Opposition.

DR. A. V. HYZLER: This side of the House is not taking part in the debate. The Leader of the Opposition has told us that we are not defending him, but I believe that if anyone on this side rose to defend him, Dr. Mizzi would have told him: "I can defend myself without anybody's support".

DR. MIZZI: Personally I have no need for your defence, but I wanted you to suport me in a question of principle, that is that the right to see the documents. Every Member of the House has the right to see the Original.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Address the Chair.

DR. MIZZI: Leave my defence to me because I do not need anybody's defence.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition is not going to reply to the charges made against him . . .

HON. DR. BOFFA: These are not charges, but polititcal questions.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are right. Unless he intends to reply I will not allow any further debate on this matter.

NOTARY G. BORG OLIVIER: I am amazed how a man who pretends to be the Leader of the House does not admit . . . . .

HON. DR. BOFFA. I shall reply!

NOTARY BORG OLIVIER: . . . . that when one reads, in a public Assembly, a document containing political accusations, as has been well said by the Head of the Ministry—the charges after all are not personal but political, they are, however, no less infamous because they are infamous and criminal—I am surprised how he does not admit that any Member, not only the one whom the document concerns but any other Member has the right to tell him: "What are you doing? Are you cheating us? Are you deceiving us? Are you upholding the dignity of a Prime Minister and quoting from a *bona fide* document or are you reading a false document?" And documents may be false. This was proved during the recent trials of those who were brought over from Rome, as was well said by the Hon. Dr. Camilleri, and this may be corroborated by the document which has been in the pocket of the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition for more than a week and which to date he has not felt the need to make public, because he knows what he has done. Mr. Chairman, when I say something it is true and should be believed, when the document in Dr. Mizzi's possession will belie any suspicion which the Hon. the Prime Minister may have because I repeat and I uphold that the Hon. the Prime Minister has no suspicion that the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition has received money from Italy. I am personally convinced that he has never received any money and I am convinced that the Hon. the Prime Minister has told a third person that the Hon. Dr. Mizzi has not received any money. The Hon. the Prime Minister cannot play with me because I know what I am saying, I will not allow any trifling.

HON DR. BOFFA: Mr. Chairman, I stated that I would not go so far as to believe that the Hon. the Leader of the Oppositiion has received money for his own personal use, but I am most convinced that he has received money because he has not denied it.

NOTARY BORG OLIVIER: Mr. Chairman, this is no argument. I repeat

that I am most convinced that some time before the elections, the Labour Party received money, received thousands of pounds for the electoral campaign and I am prepared to make an affidavit in the sense that the Labour Party received thousands of pounds. I am prepared to produce to the Hon. the Prime Minister as many allegations as he likes. I said that I am prepared to make an affidavit in this sence, to rebut the argument of the Hon. the Prime Minister who said that he was convinced. Now he may say that it is not true that they received any money.

DR. MIZZI: I would like first of all to say that Nerik takes an oath only before the Court as witness, and does not make affidavits, because his word has the value of an oath. The Hon. the Prime Minister is afraid to give me or to show me for five minutes the originals of the documents from which he has quoted, and this means that what the Hon. the Prime Minister has read is not exact, or there is some other reason which he wishes to hide. I am today upholding not only my personal right but also the right of every other Member of this House, because when a document is read this House, every Member of the House has the right to see it.

NOTARY BORG OLIVIER: Mr. Chairman, I was unable to be present earlier today and therefore I did not hear the document being read, I would not be surprised, however, that it is some document by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition as editor of the Maltese journal for advertisements which the "Malta" used to publish. That is a pack of lies the people have already read it and they are tired of reading it.

DR. MIZZI: I have written to the "Times of Malta" on the subject, but my letter has not been published.

NOTARY BORG OLIVIER: Mr Chairman, the Hon. Leader of the Opposition has clarified this point in this House and everywhere else.

HON DR. BOFFA: Mr. Chairman. I have to put a question to the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition to see whether he will reply to it.

HON. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Mr. Chairman, the Hon. the Head of the Ministry can put the question to me because the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition confides in me and in all his collegues. We all show him respect and we are all convinced that those are false and base inventions. I, too, will put a question to the Hon. the Prime Minister and ask him whether his Party was received money for the elections. He said he does not known that the Party received any money but he does not exclude the possibility.

HON DR. BOFFA: Mr. Chairman, I cannot exclude the possibility. I said

that I was not aware that it received any money. I have put the same question to the hon, Leader of the Opposition: whether he knows that his Party, or some individual, has received any money *a traverso il "Banco di Roma"* and he has not replied.

HON DR. G. GANADO (MINISTER OF EDUCATION): Mr Chairman, I would like to put out one question: whether it is true that when Lord Strickland and Sir Augustus Bartolo asked for an interview with Mussolini, they received a negative answer and when the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition made the same request, his request was granted. (Interruptions).

DR. MIZZI: This is very true and I have the great honour of having been received three times.

HON MR. D. MINTOFF (MINISTER OF WORKS AND RECONSTRUCTION) Mr Chairman, some Member has asked whether the Labour Party has received any money for the last elections. I would like to give a solemn assurance and to declare in this House that the Labour Party never received money from abroad. As General Secretary of the Party I may give a categorical assurance and say that our Party has not received a single penny from abroad. Mr Chairman, some Members of the opposition are saying that it is the Treasurer who received money: the Secretary, however has not and it is the Secretary who tells the Treasurer how the money is to be spent. No serious association spends money without the knowledge of its leaders, nay in the case of the Labour Party, the spending of money has to be approved by the executive of the Party and a report has to be given annually. There is no mud in the Labour Party; my Party is clean and pure.

NOTARY BORG OLIVIER: Mr. Chairman, we still await the Hon. the Prime Minister to be so kind as to let us see that document, which he should already have laid on the Table. It appears, however, that this is a matter which the Labour Party Executive try to raise whenever they have trouble at home and this, Mr. Chairman, so as to deviate public opinion. The Hon. the Prime Minister is doing his best to raise again the language question on the pretext that we are the ones who want to raise it. They do this whenever they have their backs against the wall.

HON DR. BOFFA: Mr. Chairman apart from what he says that I want to deviate public opinion, I had no intention of raising this question. (Uproar). I have repudiated that Malta can be self-governed so long as we have people who work in the interest of another flag.

DR. FRENDO AZOPARDI: What colour?

HON. DR. BOFFA: Green, red and white and if the Hon. Dr. Mizzi will allow me to say what he once told me in a conversation at the Cafe' Premier—which was confidential—I will say it.

DR. MIZZI: Mr. Chairman, if he wants to mention some conversation, he may do as he likes. (Uproar).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order!

DR. MIZZI: He should behave chivalrously, as I do. He should not behave cowardly as he is doing.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order!

HON. DR. BOFFA: I will show him one of those documents but not the others. If he comes to my Office tomorrow I will show it to him.

DR. MIZZI: No, now; because I want to reply now. All this discussion is out of order and had I wanted to escape—I do not want to escape—I could have asked Your Honour to declare all this out of order because at the moment we simply have before the House the Estimate of the Imperial Government.

HON. DR. BOFFA. Mr. Chairman, I agree that this question is out of order just as what he said about Ceylon was out of order.

DR. MIZZI: No.

HON DR. BOFFA: He says that what he said about Ceylon was not out of order whilst this is.

MR CHAIRMAN: Order!

MR. MIZZI: Had I wanted to escape this, I could; but I did not want to. I should now have the right and the time to reply.

HON DR. BOFFA: Mr. Chairman, apparently we are misunderstanding each other. Perhaps I understood wrongly I thought that he asked you to . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: He said that had he wanted to escape this he would have asked me to declare you out of order.

HON DR BOFFA: I misunderstood him. I will say no more. I have put those questions he has not yet replied.

MR CHAIRMAN: If I have understood correctly, the Hon. Dr Mizzi will not reply to the question of the Hon. the Prime Minister unless the Hon. the Prime Minister lays the papers on the table.

HON. DR BOFFA: The Hon. Dr Mizzi may come to my office and he will be able to reply at another sitting.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Hon. Dr Boffa has stated that he will not lay the

documents on the Table and the Hon. Dr Mizzi refuses to go to the Office of the Prime Minister. If the Hon. Dr. Mizzi is not going to reply, I will put a close to this discussion.

DR. MIZZI: I have upheld the right to speak. I have not received your support.

HON DR. BOFFA: There is no question of a right.

DR. MIZZI: I am prepared to explain all the facts, I do not naturally remember the text of all that the Hon. Prime Minister has read. In order to be able to submit my comments, I require to see the documents even so as to verify whether all he has read is exact and whether it is really authentic because I know the handwritten of Scicluna Sorge well. I may say that Mr. Scicluna Sorge never spoke to me about that letter and today is the first time I have heard about it. It is a long letter and I would have liked to see it to be able to comment upon it. I do not remember the whole of it. I may say, however, that this is the first time I came to know about it. I am prepared to take an oath before the Court, because before the Court everyone whoever he may be, is equally but as an Hon. Member of this House and above all else as Nerik Mizzi I feel that my word is worth as much as an oath. Had I, however, to take an oath before the Court I would confirm what I have stated (Uproar).

With reference to the second document read by the Hon. the Prime Minister and which refers to money paid for advertisements published in the "Malta", I may remind the House of what I said when he read that document for the first time. When he read it for the first time, I thought that he was saying that I received some money under a pseudonym. In fact I replied that every time that I received money for some advertisement or something else I have always acknowledged receipt under my own signature. I understood that he was speaking of the pseudonym "Enis". I believe that if we look up the transcript we shall find the word "Enis" because that is what I understood him to say. I have however always acknowledged receipts under my own signature. It is a fact that I had some friends in Italy who used to obtain some advertisements for the paper "Malta".

HON DR. BOFFA: It was the Italian Government.

DR. MIZZI: The money for these advertisements did not amount to thousands or hundreds of pounds, but it only amounted to tens of pounds. After all these advertisements were made public because one cannot hide an advertisement, and the payment I used to receive for

these advertisements was according to a tariff indicated in the paper, and not according to some special tariff. In connection with these tariffs, I remember that the advertisement was for "E.N.I.T." (*Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche*) and not for the Ministry: nay, I assure the House that the first time I heard of that letter written to the Ministry, I do not know by whom, was from the Prime Minister, I did not even know it and I have never asked for anything. Only, I was naturally not so foolish as to refuse some subscriptions or some advertisement which some friends were pleased to obtain for me so as, in this manner, to support the Nationalist Party, because the paper was the organ of the Party; just as, after all is being done by the Government today; that is, giving advertisements to the "Dawn" to support the organ of the Party. That is, whenever some friends of mine, in order to support the paper, used to obtain for me some advertisement or subscription, I never refused. In fact, the only resources of the paper were the subscriptions and the advertisements, though had I wanted it, I could have received payment for certain articles and I would have pocketed much more money. For example, certain articles, from Italy used to appear even in the "Malta Chronicle" and were very well paid for and had I wanted to do the same I would have earned a lot of money. I have, however, always wanted and insisted that anything appearing in the paper was only to be paid for if it was an advertisement and I never received a single penny for other articles. Therefore, even the money of the "E.N.I.T." was for advertisements only.

When, however, this question was raised for the first time, I did not even know that the Prime Minister was referred to "E.N.I.T.". So much so—and I believe that the Hon. Prof. Hyzler remembers this—that when I left the House after the Sitting, the Hon. Prof. Hyzler told me: "He, that is the Prime Minister, was referring to "E.N.I.T.". . . .

Unfortunately I misunderstood him, and I had therefore defended myself against the charge that I used to receive money under the pseudonymn "Enis"; as I have already stated, however, I realised my mistake as soon as the Hon. Prof. Hyzler told me that the Prime Minister was referring to "E.N.I.T.".

The "Malta" had several subscribers, but I may give assurance that the number of subscribers in Italy amounted to some 100 or 120, if I remember correctly and we used to print some 800 or 900 copies of the "Malta". I cannot remember exactly but it must have been somewhere around that number. I had three machines, and some smaller ones and

an immense quantity of founts and a stock of paper.

In connection with advertisements there were occasions when I was offered advertisements which I refused.

DOCUMENT 74

Mintoff, Malta and Marshall Aid

SELECT COMMITTEE TO REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC FINANCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN MALTA AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. KUMITAT SPEĊJALI BIEX JIRRAPORTA FUQ IR-RELAZJONIJIET EKONOMICI, FINANZJARI U KOSTITUZZJONALI BEJN MALTA U L-GVERN INGLIŻ

MR. MINTOFF I beg to move:

"That this House do appoint a Select Committee to report on the Economic Financial and Constitutional relations between Malta and the British Government and to suggest in what manner these could be improved with a view to benefiting the people of Malta."

MISS BARBARA: Nissekonda.

MR. MINTOFF: Mr Speaker, naħseb illi ma jkunx minn loku li qabel ma nibda nispjega x'inhuma r-raġunijiet li ġiegħlni nitlob din il-Kamra biex isir dan is-Select Committee, inpoġġi għal ftit sekondi l-background tar-relazzjonijiet kemm ekonomici kif ukoll finanzjarji u kostituzzjonali bejn Malta u l-Gvern Ingliż.

Ma hemmx għalfejn naħli ż-żmien billi noqgħod nirriferixxi għall-parti storika fejn il-Maltin fit-tmiem tas-seklu tmintax irvellaw kontra l-Franċiżi u ġiegħluhom jirtiraw ġewwa l-Belt u talbu lill-Flotta Ingliża biex tgħinhom kontra dawk li kienu qegħdin jikkunsidraw li huma l-egħdewwa tagħhom. Naħseb li jkun biżżejjed li kemm kemm nikkwotaw dak li qal Troubridge lil Nelson wara l-assedju tal-Franċiżi u wara li l-Flotta Ingliża kienet laqgħet it-talba tal-Maltin u bagħtet l-għajnuna hawn Malta biex jimblukkaw fil-port lill-Franċiżi bil-vapuri tagħhom. Troubridge qal hekk meta kiteb lil Nelson.

"'Many happy returns of the day to you', wrote Commodore Troubridge

to Nelson. 'I am not very tender-hearted but really the distress here, if he could see it, would move the heart of a Neapolitan.' "

Dan kien qiegħed igħidu fl-okkazjoni meta Nelson kien qiegħed jitlob lir-Re ta' Napli biex jibgħat l-għajnuna lil Malta·biex inkomplu niġġieldu kontra l-Franċiżi u nkeċċuhom. Din hija l-parti ta' l-istorja tagħna fejn il-poplu Malti għat-tieni darba wera li meta għandu volontà u lest biex ibati basta jidhirlu li dak hu sewwa u skond l-unur u skond id-deċenza tan-nazzjon tagħna jittrijonfa. Kulħadd jaf ukoll kif fl-aħħar il-Franċiżi ċedew l-armi u l-Belt ġiet okkupata. l-Ingliżi u Napoletani.

Fl-1802 kien hemm it-Trattat ta' Amiens fejn Malta ġiet mogħtija lura lill-Kavallieri ta' Malta. Il-Maltin ipprotestaw u ma ridux jerġgħu jgħammru taħt il-kavallieri u fl-1814 skond it-trattat ta' Pariġi Malta saret finalment parti mill-Imperu Ingliż.

Jiena qiegħed insemmi dan għaliex hu importanti ferm li kull min jitkellem fuq Malta jżomm f'rasu l-fatt li Malta la ġiet konkwista bl-armi u m'hix bħal Kolonji oħra Ingliżi, u anqas ma ġiet meħuda għal skopijiet ekonomiċi u finanzjarji, u f'Malta ma kienx hemm dak l-iżvilupp ta' ċiviltà kif kien hemm f'bosta Kolonji Ingliżi. F'Malta, meta ġew l-Ingliżi, sabu ċ-ċiviltà u l-poplu ċivilizzat, poplu li għal dak iż-żmien—irridu nżommu f'rasna li qegħdin nitkellmu fuq 150 sena ilu—kien jipparaguna tajjeb mal-popli ta' l-Italja u mal-popli tal-Portugal u mal-popli Spanjoli. Fi ftit kliem kien jipparaguna tajjeb mal-popli kollha ta' l-Ewropa. U wieħed għandu jżomm f'moħħu l-fatt illi kwalunkwe paragun li jipprova jpoġġi l-iżvilupp, kemm ekonomiku kif ukoll politiku, ta' Malta għall-istess livell ta', per eżempju, l-Afrikani jew tan-nies tal-Far East, ikun qed jagħmel żball mill-kbar nett minħabba l-fatt illi waqt li l-Afrikani, n-nies tal-Far East m'għandhom ebda *background* ta' ċiviltà waqt li l-Gvern Ingliż jista' jgħid: Jiena qed namministra, per eżempju, il-Gold Coast, l-Uganda, in-Niġerja, il-Kenja u dawk il-postijiet kollha ta' dik il-parti ta' l-Afrika, u jgħid li qed jamministrahom fl-interessi ta' l-indiġeni, tan-*natives* bħalma igħidulhom, għaliex huma ma jafux jiggvernaw lilhom infushom, żgur li dan ir-raġjonament, żgur illi din it-teżi ma tapplikax għal Malta! U wieħed ma jridx ikun għaref wisq. Kull ma jrid hu li jiftah biss l-istorja ta' l-Ewropa biex jinduna illi f'Malta kien hawn ċiviltà u kien hawn poplu li għal dawk iż-żminijiet kien jipparaguna tajjeb mal-popli kollha ta' l-Ewropa. U lanqas ma wieħed jista' jgħid li l-Maltin kienu minn dejjem taħt sistema kolonjali. Naħseb li ma għandix bżonn

nikkwota awtoritajiet biex ngħid illi fid-dominazzjoni tal-Kavallieri Malta kellha Gvern paternali; kellha min qed jiggvernaha nies li kellhom għal qalbhom lil Malta, nies li kemm jista' jkun ippruvaw iġibu u ġiebu progress f'Malta kif wieħed jista' jara mill-monumenti nazzjonali u mix-xogħlijiet pubbliċi li għamlu u kif wieħed jista' jara wkoll mill-fatt li f'dawk iż-żminijiet meta ġew Malta kien hawn, biex ngħid hekk, kważi dežert u meta waslu biex jitilqu kien hawn bliet u auberges u ħafna affarijiet li kienu lil Malta jkabbruha f'għajnejn l-Ewropa.

Jiena ma għandix għalfejn ngħid aktar fuq dal-punt ħlief nenfasizza illi, jekk aħna rridu verament li jkollna konċezzjoni serja tal-parti ta' l-istorja tagħna sa meta ġew l-Ingliżi f'Malta u ta' l-istat taċ-ċiviltà, f'dawk iż-żminijiet, tal-poplu tagħna li kien jipparaguna tajjeb mal-popoli kollha ta' l-Ewropa, għandna nżommu f'moħħna dan il-background u m'għandniex nippruvaw inżommu dik l-inferiority complex li tpoġġina fl-istess livell u fl-istess pożizzjoni bħalma huma n-nies fil-pajjiżi fejn iċ-ċiviltà għadha biex tibda tidher ħalli tagħti d-dawl fuqhom!

Irrid ngħid li wara t-trattat ta' Pariġi Malta ġiet regalata ħafna *sham constitutions*, jiġifieri ġiet regalata kostituzzjonijiet li wieħed ma tantx irid jaħli żmien wisq biex jara illi ma kienu jservu assolutament għal xejn, u għal żmien 121 sena l-libertajiet politiċi tal-Maltin kienu spiċċaw għal kollox. Naturalment taħt ċirkostanzi bħal dawn beda jidher is-sadid f'Malta. Il-poplu beda jinsa d-drittijiet ċiviċi tiegħu u beda jitlef kwalunkwe konċett tad-doveri ċiviċi u beda jitlef ukoll is-sems ta' partijottiżmu għaliex meta l-libertà ma tużahiex tissaddad; meta ma tkunx qed teżerċita l-fakultajiet kollha tiegħek, dawk il-fakoltajiet li ma teżerċitax jispiċċaw. Din hija l-liġi tan-natura; dak li ma jiġix użat jissaddad, jitmermer u jispiċċa!

Fl-1921, wara ħafna rappreżentanzi serji mill-poplu Malti, ġiet kostituzzjoni li b'paragun ta' l-oħrajn kienet ferm aktar serja u kienet tista' tissejjaħ l-ewwel tarġa biex il-Maltin jistgħu jiżviluppaw bħala poplu ċivilizzat, biex il-Maltin jistgħu joħolqu bejniethom il-progress, biex il-Maltin jistgħu jieħdu posthom fost il-popli ta' l-Ewropa.

Fl-1932—għax il-kostituzzjoni li kienet ġiet fl-1921 u li kienet konsidrata minn kulħadd bħala l-ewwel tarġa biex nimxu 'l quddiem ma kinetx soda—il-Gvern Ingliż ħareġ bi pretest illi minħabba l-ekonomija tal-Gżira deherlu li għandu jissospendi l-kostituzzjoni u jimxi b'liġijiet ta' emerġenza. Illum hu fatt storiku li dak il-pretest tal-Gvern Ingliż xejn ma kien ħlief skuża u li verament il-Gvern Ingliż dik il-ħabta kien qed

jibża' illi l-influwenza tan-*neighbours* tagħna, tat-Taljani, kienet kbira u kien qed jibża' għas-sigurtà tal-fortizza, kien qed jibża' li din il-Ġzira tista' b'xi mod taqa' f'idejn il-Gvern Taljan u ssir ħsara lill-Imperu Ingliż. Dan il-fatt illum hu ammess minn kulħadd kif jammetti kulħadd ukoll il-pretest tal-kondizzjonijiet finanzjarji ħżiena tal-Gvern Malti ta' dak iż-żmien.

Ġara illi fil-perjodu mill-1932 sal-1939 kellna nerġgħu naqgħu fuq il-*Crown Colony administration* u erġajna għall-istat tas-suwed, dawk li lanqas jafu jaqflu żarbun, dawk li, skond ammissjoni ta' nies li jaħdmu fosthom, jaħdmu sempliċement biex jgħixu u ma għandhom ebda inċentiv li jaħdmu għall-frott taċ-ċiviltà. Erġajna biex bdejna bil-Councils of Government, erġajna biex bdejna b'dawk il-kummiedji ta' kostituzzjonijiet li għal Malta assolutament ma jiswew xejn u li għall-pajjiżna ma jistgħu assolutament jagħmlu ġid ta' xejn!

Fl-1939, il-poplu Malti mingħajr ma ġie kkonsultat. . . .

Dr. PACE: Kien ippproponiha Sir George Borg fil-Kunsill tal-Gvern!

Mr. MINTOFF: Irrid nispjega din il-parti għaliex hawn daqsxejn ta' dissidenza. Jiena b'"poplu konsultat" nifhem meta l-*leaders* li jkun għażel hu f'sistema demokratiku, f'sistema li jaf l-importanza li jistgħu jieħdu dawk il-leaders li jkunu magħżulin bil-libertà u apposta biex jieħdu fuqhom ċertu nkarigu, jaqblu ma' ċerti affarijiet. Din tfisser "konsultazzjoni" kif nifhima jien! Jekk inti għandek Kunsill tal-Gvern li l-poteri tiegħu huma limitatissimi biex jagħti parir fuq affarijiet lokali, jiena jidhirli li hija nkonsistenza mbagħad li l-Kunsill tal-Gvern tiġi tikkonsultah biex iddaħħal poplu, li huwa ċivilizzat, fi gwerra. B'dan ma rridx ngħid li l-poplu Malti ma riedx jidħol fil-gwerra. Anzi, il-poplu Malti wera li ried jidħol fil-gwerra, u wera lealtà kbira lejn l-Ingilterra, u l-episodji tal-gwerra huma paġni sbieħ fl-istorja tagħna, paġni li fl-imgħoddi u fil-quddiem wieħed bil-mod jista' jsib ugwali għalihom. Imma l-fatt jibqa' li l-poplu tagħna, f'affari serjissima bħalma hija gwerra, ma kienx ikkonsultat serjament; il-fatt jibqa' li anki għall-miżuri lokali li kienu ta' importanza kbira, bħalma kienet il-conscription, il-poplu Malti ma kienx ikkonsultat. Ġara li wara l-gwerra, wara li l-poplu tagħna kien ha parti serja u kien ġie mfaħħar minn kulħadd fl-Ewropa għall-erojiżmu tiegħu, għall-mod kif għadda minn dawk il-viċendi koroh, għall-mod kien kien kapaċi b'erojiżmu kbir jissaporti l-aktar tbatijiet ħorox, kellna promessa mill-Gvern Ingliż li jkollna libertajiet kostituzzjonali akbar. Issa li wasalna fi żminijiet aktar reċenti, ta' min jgħaddi

daqsxejn in rassegna l-Kostituzzjoni li għandna llum, u rridu nżommu f'moħħna dak li qal il-bniedem li kien l-aktar konċernat fiha, Sir Harold MacMichael. Għalhekk ser nibda mhux bl-ewwel kliem li qal Sir Harold MacMichael, imma kif ikkonkluda r-rapport tiegħu. Sir Harold MacMichael ikkonkluda r-rapport tiegħu hekk:

"Self-Government has been well earned in Malta and must be made a reality within the limits of its application. It is for the Maltese, stimulated by a full sense of responsibility and aided by such assistance as we can give them, to make a success of it. The political soil is fertile and strong ramparts protect the estate from encroachment. If the plan of self-government is to thrive and withstand the periodic gusts of controversy and criticism it must be a hardy indigenous type — no artificial production of the hothouse continually requiring grandmotherly care nor liable to tentative disturbance of its roots whenever the conscientous guardians of the estate feel grounds for dissatisfaction with some transient symptom of weakness."

Hawnhekk Sir Harold MacMichael qed igħidilna li Malta jistħoqqilha Kostituzzjoni li trid tkun robusta, li trid tkun b'saħħitha, li jrid ikollha għeruq fil-pajjiż tagħna, li ma tkunx artifiċjali, u li ma jkollhiex bżonn ta' min joqgħod jieħu ħsiebha bħan-nanna li tieħu ħsieb wisq it-tarbija, u lanqas min joqgħod jibża' għal kull ħaġa ta' xejn, u għaliex jibża' jeqred dak li jkun ġa nħoloq. Issa ta' min jikkontrasta daqsxejn dak li qed igħid hawnhekk ma' l-affarijiet l-oħra li jsemmi biex jiġġustifika r-restrizzjonijiet li għandna fuq il-libertajiet politiċi. Jiena qed nagħmel dan il-kontrast għaliex fir-relazzjonijiet bejn Malta u l-Ingilterra, għal-kemm min-naħa waħda jkollna professjoni ta' *good faith*, ikollna tifħir li l-poplu Malti huwa kapaċi jmexxi lilu nnifsu, u anke ammissjoni tad-dritt li kwalunkwe poplu ċivilizzat, kbir jew żgħir jew fit-triq tan-nofs, għandu jkollu l-poter li jiggverna lilu nnifsu, min-naħa l-oħra dejjem niltaqgħu ma' din l-istorja li se naqra, u li nixtieq nikkontrasta fl-istess rapport li għamel Sir Harold MacMichael:

"On the other hand, so vital to His Majesty's Government and to the people of Malta alike is the need to safeguard Imperial interests, and so closely intertwined are those interests with the general welfare of the Island, that powers must obviously be retained in some way or another to enable His Majesty's Government efficiently and promptly to fulfil their responsibilities in both respects. The vital principle must be kept in mind that responsibilities and powers are coterminous. It is unquestionable that His Majesty's Government are responsible, not only for the defence of Malta, but for its welfare as a Colony of the

Empire. The fact is, indeed, implicitly recognised in every demand of the Maltese for assistance from the United Kingdom, and it derives a peculiar potency from the absence of those natural resources which, when developed, may enable other colonies to pay their way. In a sense, indeed, 'self-government' literal and unqualified, as applied to the case of Malta, involves a contradiction in terms, since no absolutely hard and fast line of demarcation is possible between internal and external affairs."

U dan, wara li wieħed ineħħi x-xinxilli, wara li wieħed ineħħi l-ornamenti, wara li wieħed jistudja l-problema sew, huwa l-*kernel* tal-kwistjoni kollha; dan huwa l-qofol tal-problema. Hawnhekk Sir Harold MacMichael qed igħidilna li l-Gvern li aħna għandna, u l-Gvern li għandha l-Ingilterra hawn Malta, li l-poteri li għandu l-Gvernatur u l-poteri li għandha din il-Kamra, huma coterminous, jidħlu ġo xulxin, u ma tistax tifridhom, ma tistax tagħmel line of demarcation tajba,u huwa mpossibbli li tibda titkellem fuq self-government f'sens assolut għal Malta; u by implication Sir Harold MacMichael hawnhekk qed igħidilna li għall-welfare ta' din il-gżira la hawn dawn il-kondizzjonijiet, huwa responsabbli wkoll il-Gvern Imperjali. Jiġifieri, jew wieħed jammetti r-responsabbiltà fiż-żewġ sferi, jew wieħed jammetti r-responsabbiltà politika u ekonomika flimkien, jew wieħed ma jistax jammetti l-prinċipju li Malta hi fortizza, u li għaliex hija fortizza allura għandu jkun hemm restrizzjonijiet tal-libertà. Il-problema ta' Malta jinsab hawnhekk: jew aħna, flimkien ma' l-Ingilterra, ngħidu li aħna t-tnejn responsabbli għall-welfare tal-poplu, u ngħidu wkoll li aħna flimkien lesti biex nagħmlu s-sagrifiċċji neċessarji biex niddefendu l-Imperu Ingliż, jew inkella r-relazzjonijiet bejn Malta u l-Ingilterra bil-fors jiħżienu biex b'xi mezz jew ieħor nagħmel l-affarijiet aktar ċari, il-problema ta' Malta huwa verament problema ta' lealtà, imma kwalunkwe lealtà biex tkun serja u sinċiera, trid tkun osservata miż-żewġ naħiet. Jekk il-lealtà ma tkunx osservata miż-żewġ partijiet, jekk din il-lealtà ma tkunx osservata min-naħa ta' l-Ingilterra kif sal-lum kienet osservata min-naħa tagħna u aħna l-lum għandna fatti storiċi, għandna fatti storiċi li jitkellmu ċar min-naħa tal-poplu Malti għas-sagrifiċċji li għaddejna minnhom, dik il-lealtà ma jistax ikun li teżisti u tkun qiegħed tibni l-lealtà fuq falsehood u fuq ħrafa, għaliex l-ebda poplu, żgħir kemm huwa żgħir, ma jista' jkun li jissagrifika ruħu għal poplu ieħor meta dak il-poplu l-ieħor ma jurihx gratitudni bħal fil-każ ta' meta jkollu bżonn l-għajnuna; u din hija l-pern tal-kwistjoni kollha li preżentement għaddejja minn fuq Malta.

Issa, il-prinċipju li adotta Sir Harold MacMichael kulħadd jaf ir-riżultat tiegħu, kulħadd jaf fil-lat politiku aħna l-lum għandna r-Reserved Matters u dawn qegħdin hemmhekk għaliex Sir Harold MacMichael telaq mill-prinċipju li Malta hija fortizza, telaq mill-prinċipju li Malta hija neċessarja u essenzjali għad-difiża ta' l-Imperu Ingliż u biex din tkun *safeguarded* u biex ma jkunx hawn *encroachments* ta' *powers* oħra, bilfors irid ikun hawn dawn ir-Reserved Matters u bħala konsegwenza ta' din il-loġika aħna għandna dawn ir-Reserved Matters u għandna wkoll, b'dan il-mezz kostituzzjonali, li l-Gvernatur jista' jagħmel liġijiet taħt l-emerġenza u d-definizzjoni ta' l-emerġenza qiegħda naturalment f'idejn u fil-kriterju tas-Segretarju ta' l-Istati tal-Kolonji, jiġifieri, għandna kostituzzjoni li tillimitalna *our field of action* immensament. Barra minn hekk, għandna kostituzzjoni li meta jrid is-Segretarju ta' l-Istat tal-Kolonji jgħid li hawn stat ta' emerġenza u jagħti poteri lill-Gvernatur biex jilleġisla hu minflok li dawn il-liġijiet isiru f'din il-Kamra.

X'inhuma dawn ir-Reserved Matters? Ma hemmx għalfejn naqrahom, ma hemmx għalfejn ngħid lil din il-Kamra li aħna għandna poteri limitatissimi, imma ngħid biss li dawn ir-Reserved Matters huma ambigwi. Nibda biex ngħid, per eżempju, u nsemmi waħda mill-fatti li ġraw dan l-aħħar meta l-Imperial Side of the Diarchy, jiġifieri l-Gvernatur, f'isem id-difiża lleġisla fuq is-sotterran kollu ta' Malta, jiġifieri fuq dik il-parti li tiġi taħt l-art ta' Malta, u dan għamlu kontra kwalunkwe prinċipju tal-liġi ċivili tagħna, ċjoè li l-proprjetà testendi minn isfelnett għal fuqnett u dan qed ngħidu biex nuri kemm u kif jistgħu jiġu nterpretati dawn ir-Reserved Matters u b'dan jiena rrid ngħid li, għalkemm fir-Reserved Matters għandna l-fatt li l-Gvernatur jista' jilleġisla biex jieħu artijiet għad-difiża ta' Malta, issa din il-parti ġiet interpretata wkoll li l-Gvernatur u s-Services jistgħu jaqbdu u jieħdu kullimkien, fuq l-art u taħt l-art, kontra l-prinċipju li semmejt qabel u ma nafx b'liema mod jistgħu jikkonċepixxu kif il-currency tista' tidħol biex tnaqqas mis-sigurtà ta' Malta, jekk almenu wieħed ma jimmaġinax illi f'Malta xi darba jiġi l-għadu u l-flus Ingliżi jaqgħu f'idejn il-għadu. Nammetti kif qiegħed igħid l-onor. Ministru tar-Rikostruzzjoni li mhux ħaġa impossibbli, però lanqas ma huwa impossibbli li l-għadu jmur band'oħra però huwa fatt innegabbli li huwa diffiċli ferm biex tifhem għaliex għandu jkun hemm Reserved Matters fuq currency u hu wisq diffiċli biex tifhem anke dawk l-affarijiet ċivili l-oħra kolpiti mir-

Reserved Matters bħalma hija s-Civil Aviation, bħalma hija l-Posta u s-Censorship. Kif jista' bniedem jikkonċepixxi, jekk inti tibni fuq il-biża' tal-lealtà bejn żewġ popli, kif tista' tifhem li l-Kostituzzjoni tal-lum taħdem kif nixtiequ aħna? Però l-aktar parti serja u l-aktar parti importanti li għandna quddiemna llum hi mhux il-kwistjoni tar-rapport politiċi, mhux il-kwistjoni li Malta hija fortizza, imma l-kwistjoni importanti li m'aħniex fdati, għandna ħafna libertajiet nieqsa, u minħabba f'hekk, ħafna żviluppi ekonomiċi li għandhom x'jaqsmu ma' l-ekonomija tal-pajjiż ma jistgħux jiġu rranġati minħabba li għandna dawn ir-restrizzjonijiet ta' Reserved Matters u l-pajjiż tagħna ma jistax bihom jimxi aktar 'il quddiem.

Safejn niftakar, u nikkonfessa li ma kkonsultajtx il-programmi tal-partiti politiċi kollha, meta ġiet din il-Kostituzzjoni kulħadd għamel dikjarazzjoni dwar li aħna naċċettaw din il-Kostituzzjoni bħala l-minimum acceptable u bħala mezz biex 'il quddiem inġibu aktar strumenti li jistgħu jagħmlu ġid lill-poplu. Naħseb li wara sentejn u tliet xhur li fihom ippruvajna din il-Kostituzzjoni tista' tiġi improved u kif nistgħu 'l quddiem nimxu aħjar milli aħna l-lum.

L-ewwelnett, aħna għandna nifhmu li m'aħniex a backward country, li l-poplu tagħna mhux wieħed minn dawk il-popli li jgħixu fis-sistema tat-tribù jew tal-clans u li aħna nafu biżżejjed x'inhuma r-responsabbiltajiet taċ-ċiviltà u li għandna l-inċentiv biex nagħmlu minn kollox biex il-pajjiż tagħna jimxi 'l quddiem. L-ewwel ma għandna nżommu quddiemna huma dawk il-prinċipji li ġew affermati fl-Atlantic Charter li kwalunkwe poplu, kbir, żgħir jew fit-triq tan-nofs, għandu d-dritt li jagħżel il-Gvern li jixtieq hu u li jrid hu u meta ninkwadraw l-aspirazzjonijiet tagħna fuq dan il-prinċipju ġenerali, allura nkunu qegħdin inkunu sinċieri u onesti u nkunu qegħdin nikkontribwixxu biex ir-relazzjonijiet tagħna ma' l-Imperu Ingliż isiru aħjar milli huma llum għaliex illum, wara sentejn u tliet xhur li għandna dan il-Gvern f'idejna, sibna li r-relazzjonijiet u r-rapporti bejn Malta u l-Ingilterra m'humiex mill-aħjar u f'ħafna affarijiet aħna qegħdin at a great disadvantage.

Dan l-aħħar dawn ir-rapporti waslu biex ħolqu kriżi fil-Gvern u waslu wkoll biex ġiegħlu lill-Gvern Ingliż joħroġ White Paper b'ċerti statements biex jikkumbatti l-propaganda min-naħa tal-Labour Party Malti dwar li Malta kellha raw deal mill-Gvern Ingliż fuq it-talbiet li għamlet.

Il-Gvern Ingliż tana r-raġunijiet għaliex ma laqax it-talbiet li dik il-

ħabta kienu komuni kemm għall-Gvern kif ukoll għan-naħa tagħna u li llum ġew imwarrba mill-Gvern u saru parti biss tal-Labour Party li għandi l-unur nirrappreżenta f'din il-Kamra.

L-ewwelnett, meta tlabna l-assistenza finanzjarja fil-kwistjoni tal-food subsidies il-Gvern Ingliż qalilna illi hu inkonsistenti mal-prinċipju ta' Gvern Responsabbli li hu jkompli jissussidja lill-Gvern Malti biex iżomm baxxi l-prezzijiet tal-ħajja f'Malta. Issa, ftit minuti ilu kont għadni qed nikkwota minn Sir Harold MacMichael fejn dan bena l-Kostituzzjoni Maltija, il-Kostituzzjoni ta' dan il-Parlament fuq il-prinċipju fondamentali illi Gvern Responsabbli eżatt ma jistax ikun hawn Malta għax bilfors irid ikun hemm interdipendenza bejn il-Maltin u l-Ingliżi għax bilfors il-Maltin iridu l-għajnuna finanzjarja ta' l-Ingilterra u bilfors l-Ingliżi jridu jkunu ċerti mis-sigurtà ta' Malta.

Mela, meta niġu biex nibnu l-Kostituzzjoni ta' Malta, nibnuha fuq il-prinċipju li jrid ikun hemm l-interdipendenza, fuq il-prinċipju li Malta għandha bżonn l-Ingilterra u l-Ingilterra għandha bżonn Malta; imma meta niġu biex dak il-prinċipju nattwawh favur il-poplu Malti, allura naslu biex ngħidu illi konfliġġenti mal-prinċipju tas-self-government illi l-Gvern Ingliż igħin lill-Gvern Malti biex il-ħajja f'Malta żżommha rħisa.

Din waħda mill-akbar kontradizzjonijiet u niskanta kif uffiċjali tal-Gvern Ingliż, anzi niskanta kif is-Segretarju tal-Kolonji jista' jippubblika *statements* minn din il-kwalità meta jaf b'dokumenti u *statements* oħrajn magħmulin minn MacMichael u illi qabel magħhom fil-White Paper l-istess Gvern Ingliż meta ġie biex jifformola l-Kostituzzjoni. Hawnhekk qiegħda l-vera kriżi ta' Malta. Meta niġu biex nattwaw il-prinċipju ta' l-interdipendenza favur il-poplu Malti, il-Gvern Ingliż jgħidilna: "Għandkom Gvern Responsabbli". Meta niġu biex induru fuq il-Gvern Ingliż u ngħidulu: "Allura rridu aktar libertajiet politiċi", jgħidilna: "Hemm l-interdipendenza; ma tistgħux tgħixu mingħajrna u aħna mingħajrkom".

Dan hu l-qofol tal-kwistjoni kollha u wieħed jiltaqa' miegħu l-ħin kollu; jara dan is-seasaw; jara illi daqqa telgħin, oħrajn niżlin; nitilgħu meta jogħġob lill-Gvern Ingliż u ninżlu meta jogħġob lill-Gvern Ingliż ukoll.

Issa sejrin naqgħu fuq it-tieni risposta tal-Gvern Ingliż għat-talbiet tal-Gvern Malti. Qalilna: "The level of service employment". Qabel ma nasal biex nikkritika din ir-risposta, sejjer naqra xi ħaġa li tinteressa

ħafna lil din il-Kamra, ħaġa li, meta qrajtha l-ewwel darba, laqtitni immensament u wżatha f'okkażjonijiet oħrajn għal skopijiet tiegħi. . . .

Mr. SPEAKER: L-onor. Membru ilu jitkellem erbgħin minuta.

Dr. PACE: I move that he be further heard.

Mr. R. BENCINI: Nissekonda. (*Hon. Members: Aye*).

Mr. MINTOFF: Sejjer naqra biċċa mir-rapport tar-Royal Commission, ippubblikat f'Mejju ta' l-1912, ir-Royal Commission li kienet ġiet Malta fuq il-Finances, Economic Position and Judicial Procedure of Malta. Naqra u nitlob lill-Membri illi jisimgħu u, jekk jista' jkun, jimmastikawh. Sejjer naqra paragraph 73 ta' dan ir-rapport:

"73. The present distress, and the greatly extended unemployment of the working people of Malta, have fallen upon them as a calamity which they could not foresee, and against which they could not make provision. To appreciate this, it is necessary to recognise the entirely artificial nature of their former prosperity and employments, which depended to a large extent upon the Imperial expenditure, upon the foritifications and military works, and upon the expenditure of the garrison and the fleet in the Island.

74. For centuries the people of Malta have never been a self supported community. Their own agriculture, industries, and commerce have never supported them. They have always been able to rely on a large expenditure in the Island of revenues drawn from outside sources. This has by no means produced a pauperised and parasitic population, but it has diverted industry from production for internal consumption and external trade to work for the Government and the foreign governing class. . . ."

U hawn sejrin jagħmlu allużjoni għall-Gran Mastri, ħaġa li alludejt għaliha jien.

"Before the British occupation, the Knights of Malta drew revenues from the whole of Western Christendom, and the splendid and numerous public and private buildings of Valletta remain as evidence of the magnificent scale of their public and private expenditure. From the beginning of the British occupation a similar system has existed. The Government expenditure has more than made up for that of the Knights, and has diverted more of the labour of the population to the service, direct or indirect, of the foreign government which applied it to purposes entirely Imperial and unconnected with the special interests of the colony. Doubtless this expenditure has led to immediate prosperity, to an increase of activity, wealth, and population, but the basis of this prosperity is artificial and precarious. A sudden withdrawal of the British fleet and garrison would reduce a large section of the population to idleness and starvation. To a

partial extent this is what has already happened. In 1905, 9,175 men were employed in the Naval Establishments, as compared with 5,181 in 1911. We have no figures as regards the reduction of employment under the War Department but this has also been considerable."

U hawn l-importanza. Fl-1905, meta l-popolazzjoni ta' Malta kienet għadha żgħira, paragun tal-lum, fl-1905, meta nikkalkolaw illi l-popolazzjoni ta' Malta ma kenitx aktar minn mitejn elf—forsi m'inix preċiż—in-nies li kien hemm impjegati d-Dockyard kienu 9,175. Fl-1911 dan in-numru niżżluh 5,181 u f'Malta kien hemm dak id-distress li mhux qiegħed niddeskrivih jien imma qiegħda tiddeskrivih ir-Royal Commission, kien hemm dak il-faqar li r-Royal Commission ikkundannat u qalet li l-Gvern Ingliż—u dan apparti mill-kwistjonijiet akkademiċi u apparti mill-kwistjonijiet lingwistiċi u politiċi—huwa fid-dover li dak il-faqar ineħħih.

Il-lum l-istorja qiegħda tirripeti ruħha. Illum għandna lill-Gvern Ingliż qiegħed igħidilna li fl-1938 in-numru ta' nies impjegati fid-Dockyard kien 8,000. Nesa l-Gvern Ingliz stess illi hawn rapport ta' Royal Commission li jgħid li fl-1905 kien 9,000. X'raġunijiet hu, allura, li tiġi tgħid li ma għandek l-ebda responsabbiltà morali għall-poplu Malti għaliex la fl-1938 in-numru kien 8,000 issa, fl-1950, trid terġa' ġġibu 8,000—u terġa' ġġib dak id-*distress* li kien hawn meta ġiet Royal Commission f'Malta biex tinvestiga?

Dan hu paragun li żgur ħadd ma jista' jmerih. Għandna l-identità talfatti u tal-ġrajjiet. Fl-1905 it-Tarzna kien hemm impjegati fuq id-9,000. Fl-1911 niżżluhom 5,000, u l-konsegwenza kienet illi kien hawn id-*distress*, kien hawn il-faqar. Illum qed jerġa' jiġri l-istess. Fi żmien il-gwerra fit-Tarzna kien hemm impjegati aktar minn 15,000. F'Lulju, 1919, skond ir-rapport li għandi quddiemi, in-numru tan-nies li kien hemm impjegati kien jasal 12,500. Issa qiegħed igħidilna l-Gvern Ingliż illi la fl-1938 in-numru tan-nies li kien hemm it-Tarzna kien 8,000, ma għandniex għalfejn ngħidu li m'humiex qegħdin jieħdu ħsiebna għaliex l-għadd tal-ħaddiema fit-Tarzna għadu ma wasalx kif kien fl-1938. Ma nistax nifhem kif is-Segretarju ta' l-Istat bl-istaff tiegħu u bil-Gvern li għandna li ma jiċċaqlaq xejn, seta' jagħti dan ir-raġunament li ma għandu la fondament morali u lanqas tikka ta' onestà. Ma nistax nifhem kif bniedem jista' jgħid li dan ġej minn Gvern li bniedem jista jsejjaħlu deċenti.

Jiġifieri, għandna dan il-fatt quddiemna: illi l-Gvern Ingliż waqt li

qiegħed igħidilna: "Intom bilfors irid ikollkom il-Materji Riżervati għaliex hemm bżonnhom għas-sigurtà tal-gżira", qiegħed igħid, minnaħa l-oħra: "Għalkemm se nagħmlu Materji Riżervati, ma jimpurtaniex mir-riżq tal-poplu tagħkom. Intom għandkom Gvern Responsabbli u responsabbli intom u ħadd aktar". Din hija l-istorja tar-*representations* fuq is-sensji mit-Tarzna.

Issa naslu għal storja oħra li l-*background* tagħha huwa kemm kemm aktar komplikat, imma li jagħti spinta għal raġunamenti diversi, jagħti spinta għal ideat ġodda f'Malta. Il-Gvern beda jara, qabel ma nqalgħet il-kriżi, li jkun minn fejn idur il-Gvern Ingliż ried bilfors ibaxxi l-impiegi f'Malta. Il-Gvern kien qiegħed jara wkoll bis-serjetà li kienet il-politika tal-Gvern Imperjali li l-ispiża għad-difiża ta' Malta jċekkinha kemm jista' jkun. Hija politika tal-Gvern Imperjali, kemm jekk jerġgħu jitilgħu l-Laburisti kif ukoll jekk jitilgħu l-Konservattivi, li l-ispejjeż tad-difiża jnaqqsuhom kemm jista' jkun. Jiġifieri konna qegħdin naraw, bħalma jista' jara kulħadd, li l-flus li jista' jonfoq il-Gvern Ingliż f'Malta se jkunu limitatissimi u inqas minn ta' qabel u meta ngħid "inqas minn ta' qabel" m'inix qiegħed ngħid "inqas miċ-ċifri" għaliex iċ-ċifri ma jiswew xejn; il-valur tagħhom li jiswa. Jekk wieħed jipparaguna dan li kien qed jonfoq il-Gvern Ingliż fl-1938 ma' dak li qiegħed jonfoq illum, jara, miċ-ċifra, li qiegħed jonfoq wisq aktar illum, imma dak ma jiswa xejn għaliex illum il-valur tal-flus huwa differenti. Wieħed jista' jara mill-politika li qed jaddotta l-Gvern Imperjali, politika li tiġi adottata kemm mil-Laburisti kif ukoll mill-Konservattivi, illi l-flus li se jintefqu f'Malta se jkunu inqas minn tas-soltu. Allura kwalunkwe Gvern responsabbli f'Malta, meta jara li ċ-ċirkostanzi se jġiegħluh jassumi certa responsabbiltà, irid ta' bilfors jara x'sejjer jagħmel b'dawn il-ħaddiema u b'dan il-poplu; irid bilfors jara xi pjani jrid jagħmel għal quddiem biex jassorbixxi l-kwantità ta' nies qiegħda li jkun hawn Malta u jagħtihom l-għixien tagħhom.

Kienet ħaġa naturali li la aħna qegħdin ngħixu fid-dinja u la niftaħru li aħna nifformaw parti mill-Ewropa, nitgħallmu u naraw x'qiegħed jiġri fl-Ewropa, u sibna li hemm għajnuna straordinarja min-naħa tal-Gvern Amerikan biex il-popli ta' l-Ewropa jirrikostruwixxi lilhom infushom u biex itellgħu mill-ġdid l-industrji tagħhom, joħolqu servizzi pubbliċi u joħolqu xogħol għall-poplu tagħhom, ħalli jieħdu parti fil-progress, filgħana, u fix-xogħol tad-dinja, biex fid-dinja kulħadd ikun jista' jgħix deċenti u kuntent. Minn dak l-istudju li għamilna sibna li kulħadd fl-Ewropa, mingħajr eċċezzjoni xejn, qed jagħmel pjani—min għal tliet

snin, min għal erbgħa, min għal ħamsa, u min għal għaxar snin—għar-*rehabilitation* u għar-rikostruzzjoni ta' pajjiżu, u speċjalment biex joħolqu l-aktar kondizzjoni essenzjali u neċessarja għal kwalunkwe poplu ċivilizzat—biex joħolqu l-kondizzjoni għall-full employment. U din l-aspirazzjoni u dawn il-pjani kienu komuni kemm għall-Ingilterra kif ukoll għall-popli kollha ta' l-Ewropa. Kemm l-Ingilterra kif ukoll l-Italja, il-Ġermanja, u pajjiżi oħra, kienu qegħdin jirċievu għajnuna immensa biex jirrikostruwixxu pajjiżhom fuq sistema loġiku, fuq sistema fejn wieħed jista' jibbilanċja dak li jonfoq ma' dak li jaqla'. Dan is-sistema beda miexi u l-Ingilterra għamlu progress immens fil-parti tal-produzzjoni u jekk niftakar tajjeb il-lum l-*output* industrjali tagħhom, ta' l-Ingliżi, qiegħed xi 40% above the 1938 output, jiġifieri li l-external trade tagħhom huwa mill-aħjar. L-istess progress ġie mmarkat l-Italja, fil-Belġju, fi Franza u kullimkien fejn kien hemm l-għajnuna artifiċjali tal-Gvern Amerikan. Issa aħna, il-poplu Malti, l-artifiċjalità ta' l-ekonomija tagħna ma eżistitx biss mill-gwerra li għaddiet 'il hawn imma ilha teżisti minn żmien il-Kavallieri. L-artifiċjalità tagħna ġiet aċċentwata bil-gwerra li għaddiet u aħna l-uniċi nies fl-Ewropa li ma għandna ebda pjan u ebda għajnuna biex l-ekonomija tagħna npoġġuha fuq bażi soda. U aħna qed niġu msejħin poplu li għandna Gvern Responsabbli, u għax għandna dan il-Gvern Responsabbli hija nkonsistenza kbira li jiġi xi ħadd u jgħinna? Hija nkonsistenza kbira li aħna, li għandna biċċa Gvern Responsabbli u Materji Riżervati li lill-Kostituzzjoni tagħna jkerrħuha u jagħmlulha għajb, nirċievu l-għajnuna mingħand xi ħadd mentri l-kbir Gvern Ingliż li m'hux Self-Government biss għandu imma Imperu u industriji. . . .

Hon. MEMBER: Kellu.

Mr. MINTOFF: Għandu. Min qal kellu qiegħed jiżbalja. Jekk tħares lejn l-Afrika tara jekk jiena m'hix qiegħed ngħid il-verità. M'hix inkonsistenza għall-indipendenza ta' l-Ingilterra u għall-Gvern Ingliż li jaċċetta l-għajnuna Amerikana u Kanadiża imma hija inkonsistenza għalina li għandna dan il-miżeru Gvern Responsabbli, hija inkonsistenza għalina li għandna Gvern li ma ngħidlux tad-daħk biex ma nbaxxux lilna nfusna, imma mhux inkosistenti għall-Gvern Ingliż bil-kbir Imperu tiegħu li jaċċetta l-għajnuna Amerikana u Kanadiża u jkompli jgħajjat biex ikompli jirċeviha wara l-1951! Din hi l-pożizzjoni li qegħdin fiha u ma nistax nifhem kif tista' tgħid li int Malti, ma nistax nifhem kif tista' tħoss tgħaddi minn ġo fik anke qatra demm Maltija u ma tipprotestax bil-

qawwa, u ma tiġġelidx biex dawn il-kondizzjonijiet miżeri u koroh neqirduhom darba għal dejjem.

X'qal il-Gvern Ingliż fil-famuż White Paper meta ried jiġġustifika li ma jħallix lil Malta tipparteċipa direttament fil-Marshall Aid? Naqra u nitlob lill-Membri jieħdu paċenzja:

"In reply it was pointed out in a memorandum handed to the Maltese Prime Minister that an essential feature of the sterling area is joint participation by all the countries and territories in the area in a central dollar pool. All members draw from the pool in accordance with their essential needs."

Nieqaf ftit fuq dan. Dan qiegħed igħid, il-Ministru tal-Kolonji jew min kiteb dan il-ktieb, li l-Kolonji kollha jieħdu d-dollari skond in-needs tagħhom. Issa l-Gvern Ingliż għamel pjan ta' ħames snin u programm biex jindustrjalizza l-Ingilterra biex ipoġġi lil pajjiżu viable mhux biss mad-dinja kollha imma anke mal-parti Amerikana. Jiġifieri biex pajjiżi oħrajn daqs kemm jibgħat barra—li ġa qiegħed jagħmel illum—imma wkoll biex meta jiġi biex jipparaguna mal-hard currency areas, l-Amerika u postijiet oħrajn li huma sound, joħroġ dollari daqs kemm jagħtuh, u biex jagħmel dan il-plan il-Gvern Ingliż qiegħed jonfoq miljuni ta' sterlini u fosthom miljuni ta' dollari li ħerġin mill-Marshall Plan biex ikabbar l-industriji ta' pajjiżu biex naturalment ikabbar l-income ta' pajjiżu. U dawn bir-raġun kbir isejħulhom "essential". Mela kemm huma akbar u akbar il-ħtiġijiet essenzjali tagħna b'ekonomija li minn mindu ġew l-Ingliżi Malta hija artifiċjali u li kompliet tnawwret u tfarrket bil-gwerra, u b'danakollu fejn huma l-ħtiġijiet essenzjali ta' pajjiżna li minn dan il-pool qegħdin nieħdu dollari biex nibnu l-ekonomija tagħna? Fejn huma dawn il-ħtiġijiet li bħala nies li qegħdin fil-British Commonwealth qegħdin nieħdu biex inpoġġu lil pajjiżna fuq saqajh?

"The United Kingdom annual bid for aid under the European Recovery Programme is based on the balance required to meet these essential needs after dollar earnings have been taken into account. To finance any of Malta's essential dollar requirements from dollars available under the European Recovery Programme would not increase the size of the sterling area pool or the amount of dollars which Malta could spend. Malta gets her full share of the dollar benefits of the European Recovery Programme, whether or not the dollars she receives are provided specifically under the Programme, since without E.R.P. aid, the total amount of dollars available would be less, and consequently fewer dollars

would be forthcoming from the pool to meet Malta's essential needs for dollar equipment and supplies."

Hawn huma qegħdin igħidulna li meta huma jitolbu l-Marshall Aid jaraw id-dollar requirements kollha ta' l-Imperu Ingliż u t-talba li jitolbu fuq il-Marshall Aid hija bażata fuq ir-requirements tal-Gvern Ingliż. U hija ħaġa naturali li jekk aħna nitolbu għalina u huma jitolbu għalihom id-dollari li jkun hemm fl-Imperu Ingliż mhux sejrin jiżdiedu. Dan huwa fatt li ma mmerihx. Il-kwantità tagħhom it-tnejn flimkien m'hix sejra tkun aktar milli kienet tieħu l-Ingilterra qabel. Aħna li mmeru u ninsistu fuqu hu illi waqt li l-Ingilterra qed tagħmel ir-rehabilitation ta' pajjiżha b'dawn id-dollari u qed tapplikahom għall-ħtiġijiet essenzjali biex l-ekonomija tagħha tirranġa ruħha bl-aspirazzjoni li tkun viable sal-1951, aħna ma aħna qegħdin nagħmlu assolutament xejn! Dan hu l-argument tagħna. Aħna m'aħniex ngħidu li d-dollari fl-Imperu Ingliż ser jiżdiedu. Xejn minn dan kollu. Aħna dak li qed ngħidu hu: la aħna m'aħniex qegħdin nieħdu s-sehem tagħna tal-Marshall aid, ħalluna nitolbu għall-Marshall Aid aħna direttament ħalli naraw x'jistħoqqilna!

Jekk wieħed iħares lejn l-adverse balance of trade li għandna, anke biss ma' l-Imperu Ingliż, anke biss mas-soft currency areas, jara minnufih inneċessità li għandu jkollna dollari iżjed fil-Ġżira għall-qawmien ekonomiku tagħna. Jekk wieħed joqgħod jibbaża l-argument fuq il-ħtiġijiet ta' Malta, ipparagunati ma' ta' l-Imperu Ingliż, wieħed ma jistax jasal ħlief għal konklużjoni waħda, ċjoè illi l-bżonnijiet tagħna huma kbar ħafna u li ma teżistix kolonja oħra li għandha bżonn ta' għajnuna kemm ta' dollari kif ta' sterlini daqskemm għandna bżonn aħna!

Issa l-paragrafu 21 tal-White Paper qed jagħtina l-istorja tal-counterpart funds:

"On the question of counterpart it was explained that under the Agreement with the United States the sterling equivalent of dollar aid received, for the United Kingdom or its oversea territories, had to be deposited in a Special Account in the United Kingdom. Expenditure of these funds on purposes (other than the retirement of debt) agreed with the Economic Co-operation Administration could only be made through votes with the approval of Parliament. The possibility of meeting Malta's sterling needs from monies voted by Parliament could only be considered against the background of a thorough knowledge of Malta's economic position. If an approach to Parliament were thereby justified, there would be no advantage to Malta in the use of counterpart funds as distinct from other sources of public funds."

Din ir-risposta kienet għall-argument tiegħi illi, għalkemm id-dollari qed jinbiegħu lill-Imperu Ingliż kollu, l-Imperu Ingliż, minbarra mill-Ingilterra, għal dawk id-dollars kienu qed iħallsu bl-isterlina. Ħalli niċċara aktar il-konċett. Aħna hawn Malta kellna, jekk niftakar tajjeb, allokazzjoni ta' tmien miljun dollaru aħna konna nħallsu bl-isterlina, jiġifieri li bir-rata ta' qabel kien jitla' żewġ miljun sterlina. Dawn iż-żewġ miljun sterlina li konna nħallsu aħna kienu jmorru fl-iSpecial Account tal-Gvern Ingliż u l-Gvern Ingliż kien għamel ftehim ma' l-Economic Co-operation Administration, jiġifieri, ma' l-Amerikani, mal-Gvern Amerikan, illi dawn il-flus jużawhom biex iħassru d-dejn pubbliku. Issa x'ifisser dan? Ifisser illi, jekk l-Ingilterra trid ta' kull sena tiġbor taxxi biex tħallas l-imgħax għad-dejn pubbliku li għandha, ngħidu aħna ħames miljun lira mgħax, minħabba l-fatt li l-isterlini li jħallas l-Imperu Ingliż barra mill-Ingilterra ser imorru l-Ingilterra, id-dejn li għandu l-Gvern Ingliż man-nies jiġi kanċellat u t-taxxi li trid jiġbor il-Gvern Ingliż ta' kull sena biex iħallas l-imgħax naturalment ser jonqsu u l-benefiċċju qed jieħdu l-Gvern Ingliż.

Ma nafx jekk dan il-konċett spjegajtux tajjeb jew jekk l-onor. Membri segwewnix.

Dr. PACE: Erġa' għidha.

Mr. MINTOFF: Qaluli: "Erġa' għidha". Li qed jiġri bid-dollari li qed jirċievu l-kolonji Ingliżi hu dan: nieħdu l-każ ta' Malta. F'Malta, fl-1948, ħadna tmien miljun dollaru u ħallasna kważi żewġ miljuni liri sterlini. Dawn iż-żewġ miljuni liri sterlini marru għall-Ingilterra biex jidħlu f'dak l-iSpecial Account li qed isemmi fil-White Paper. Issa, skond il-ftehim li għandu l-Gvern Ingliż ma' l-amministrazzjoni Amerikana tal-Marshall Aid, dan l-iSpecial Account jista' jintuża għal żewġ affarijiet: waħda għall-għajnuna teknika minn barra, ta' l-Amerika għall-Ingliżi, u l-oħra biex jiġi mneħħi d-dejn pubbliku jiġifieri, biex jitneħħa s-self ta' flus li ssellef il-Gvern Ingliż mingħand in-nies. Issa naċċerta lil din il-Kamra illi anqas minn wieħed fil-mija ta' dan l-iSpecial Account ma kien dedikat biex imur għall-għajnuna teknika u li aktar minn 99% ta' dan l-iSpecial Account kien dedikat, fiż-żmien kollu li għadda tal-Marshall Aid, biex jitħassru d-djun li għandu l-Gvern Ingliż. Tgħiduli: imma l-poplu Ingliż x'inhu jirbaħ b'hekk? Faċli biex taraw x'inhu jirbaħ; għaliex id-dejn trid tħallas l-imgħax tiegħu u l-imgħax hu rikorrenti, ta' kull sena, u trid tiġbru bit-taxxi. Issa, jekk id-dejn tħallsu u ser tħallsu bil-flus li ġejjin mill-kolonji, int ser tiffranka dak l-imgħax li trid tħallas kieku dak id-dejn ma kontx ħallastu, u l-benefiċ-

ċju sar biss għat-tax-payer Ingliż. Dan kien l-argument tagħna kollu. X'qalilna issa l-Gvern Ingliż fuq dan l-argument tagħna? Isimgħu: "Għalfejn aħna biex ngħinukom nagħtukom minn l-iSpecial Account? Jekk ikollkom bżonn verament għajnuna ekonomika, la biex nagħtukom minn l-iSpecial Account irridu Att tal-Parlament, ma għandniex għalfejn nagħtukom minn l-iSpecial Account imma naqbdu u nagħtukom minn tagħna". Argument sabiħ!! Allura x'żammhom li ma jagħtuniex jekk l-argument hu tajjeb?! Aħna għidnielhom: "Ma rridux karità minn għandkom għaliex dejjem tgħajruna li tagħtuna gifts u grants u dejjem issemmu ħafna rigali; karità ma rridux, imma rridu illi dawk il-flus li qed tieħdu minn dak li hu dovut lilna, jekk l-għajnuna Amerikana tkun b'xejn bħalma qiegħda għandkom, irriduhom għalina u mhux qed teħduhom intom!" X'qalulna? Qalulna: "Le, għax dan jitlob Att tal-Parlament għalih u allura jekk ikollkom bżonn ta' għajnuna aħna ma hemmx bżonn nagħtukom minn dawk imma nagħtukom minn tagħna"!! Dan x'argument huwa? Din tgħidilha serjetà ta' Ministru tal-Kolonji? Din tgħidilha White Paper li jista' jfaħħarha xi Gvern fid-dinja? Dan huwa l-argument.

Mr. SPEAKER: Nosserva lill-onor. Membru li reġa' għalaqlu ż-żmien. Issa hemm bżonn tas-sospensjoni tar-Regulamenti biex ikompli jitkellem.

Onor. Dr. SCHEMBRI ADAMI: Nipproponi s-sospensjoni tar-Regulamenti biex l-onor. Membru jkompli jitkellem.

Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Nissekonda.

Leave granted:
Il-permess ingħata.

Mr. MINTOFF: Nirringrazzja lill-Kamra li unanimament tawni l-fakoltà nkompli d-diskors tiegħi. Inkomplu, u naraw kif iridu jgħadduna minn għajn il-labra. U ma tridx tkun dgħajjef biex tħabbatha ma' dawn in-nies, ma tridx tkun dgħajjef u ma tridx tkun mingħajr kuraġġ, ma tridx tkun tittituba, u ma tridx tkun tibża' titħaddet ma' dawn in-nies. Għandhom nies intelliġenti u għandhom nies li l-affarijiet tagħhom jafuhom sew; jafu kif għandhom itawlu ż-żmien u kif għandhom jgħadduk minn għajn il-labra, u jekk ma tkunx determinat u lest biex tiġġieled sa l-aħħar, inutli li taqbadha magħhom. Naraw issa x'inhuma jgħidulna hawnhekk, u kif iridu jgħadduna minn għajn il-labra:

"The Economic Co-operation Administration has now estabished a small special fund for financing the dollar element in approved development projects in the overseas territories of the participating countries."

qed igħidulna li l-E.C.A., jiġifieri l-Amministrazzjoni Amerikana tal-Marshall Aid, stabbilew fund żgħir speċjali biex igħinu proġett fil-Kolonji—

"The Government of Malta has been invited to submit to His Majesty's Government details of its project for the establishment of a new power station in the Island, in order that the suitability of this project may be examined for submission to the Economic Co-operation Administration as a candidate for assistance from the new fund which has been set up. These details have now been received and are being studied with a view to the submission of this project by His Majesty's Government to the Economic Co-operation Administration."

Meta aħna għidnielhom: "Isma', agħtuna l-parti tad-dollari li għandna bżonn, u mhux inħallsu tagħha bl-isterling; agħtuhilna b'xejn", huma qalulna; "Għalfejn nagħmlu Att tal-Parlament? Jekk għandkom bżonn, naqbdu u nagħtukom minn tagħna, u ma jimpurtana minn xejn". Però ħalli naraw x'qegħdin igħidulna fil-paragrafu ta' wara. Hawn trid tinnota l-kontradizzjoni, biex tifhem il-perversità ta' min kiteb dawn il-paragrafi. Qed igħidilna fil-paragrafu ta' wara: "Issa l-E.C.A. għamlu fund speċjali ghall-Kolonji u intom tapplikaw hemmhekk." Allura mhux veru li huwa inkonsistenti li aħna nidħlu fil-Marshall Aid! Allura m'hux veru li trid iġġib Att tal-Parlament! Jekk hu veru, allura ġibu mill-ewwel biex tgħinuna u ma għandniex nidħlu fil-Marshall Aid! Jew għandna nidħlu, u nidħlu mhux mit-tieqa imma mill-bieb, jew ma għandniex għalfejn nidħlu, għaliex ser tgħinuna! X'inkonsistenza hija din? X'kontradizzjoni hija din, li wara l-paragrafu fejn tgħidilna: "Ma għandkomx għalfejn titolbu dwar Special Account u mhux Special Account" tiġi tgħidilna: "Issa ser indaħħalkom f'tal-Kolonji"? X'kontradizzjoni? Kif tista' taqbad art, u kif tista' tgħid: "Din hija l-politika tal-Gvern Ingliż"? U naraw issa kif verament iridu jgħadduna minn għajn il-labra, u dan mhux ser ngħidu jien, imma ser nikkwota lil ħaddieħor fuq dan il-*fund* speċjali li hemm għall-Kolonji; u ser nikkwota awtorità li jekk imeriha kulħadd żgur ma jmerihiex is-Segretarju tal-Kolonji. Ser nikkwota l-kollega ta' Mr. Creech Jones, ser nikkwota lil Dr. Rita Hinden, li għal snin kbar għamlitha ta' Segretarja tal-Fabian Colonial Bureau, u li tagħha kien iċ-Chief Mr. Creech Jones, is-Segretarju tal-Kolonji preżenti. Jiġifieri, Mr. Creech Jones kien iċ-Chairman, u Dr. Rita Hinden kienet is-Segretarja. Illum, jekk niftakar sew, iċ-Chairman hija Dr. Rita Hinden. Ser nikkwota x'qalet Dr. Rita Hinden f'artiklu li kitbet f'"The New Statesman and Nation" ta' l-14 ta' Jannar, 1950, fuq

dan il-famuż fund speċjali li jsemmulna hawnhekk fil-White Paper:

"Our first experience of realities has come under the Marshall Plan."

"Part of Marshall Aid is earmarked for developing the Colonies of Western Europe. It is laid down that these dollars may be used for three purposes—or providing technical assistance, for the development of strategic materials, or for financing the dollar equipment required in Government projects of which the Americans approve. O.E.E.C. . . ."

—din hija l-Organizzazzjoni Ewropea—

". . . has a special Overseas Territories Working Group on which French, Belgians, Dutch and British engage in a spate of talking and writing, and present the Americans with a pile of documented background information. But the results are meagre. The provision of technical assistance has been to put it inelegantly, a flop.

First, there is no panel of American experts just waiting to be called on."

—u mbagħad tkompli tagħti r-raġunijiet l-oħra kollha. Issa l-importanti huwa dan li tgħidilna:

"The irritation is not diminished by the knowledge that the sum available for all the Colonies of all the Western Powers under this head in 1949–50 is of the order of no more than twenty million dollars."

Jiġifieri, id-dollari kollha li jridu jintefqu fl-1949–50 minn dan il-fund famuż li jridna nikkompetu fih il-Gvern Ingliż huma 20 miljun, u dawn iridu jinqasmu bejn il-Kolonji kollha ta' l-Ingliżi, ta' l-Olandiżi, tal-Franċiżi u tal-Belġjani. Tista' timmaġina, meta għandek dawn il-Kolonji kollha, bil-proġetti tant famużi tagħhom, li jistgħu jipproduċu żejt, ground nuts u l-imbarazz kollu li kulħadd għandu bżonn, x'chance għandna aħna li l-power station, li ser tqumilna £2,000,000, u li meta tikkonvertihom f'dollari jiġu kważi ħames miljun dollaru, issir mill-20 miljun dollaru li hemm allokati għall-Kolonji kollha ta' dawn il-pajjiżi li semmejna. U kif jista' jkun min jaqra dan ma jasalx fil-konklużjoni li hawnhekk iridu jgħadduna minn għajn il-labra? Anzi nkompli: kien hemm speranza illi bil-Fourth Point ta' Truman—u Truman għamel il-Fourth Point fil-programm tiegħu fejn qal li huwa d-dover ta' l-organizzazzjonijiet ċivili li jagħmlu minn kollox biex jiżviluppaw il-backward areas, mhux fis-sens tà-ċiviltà biss, imma wkoll fis-sens industrijali—il-Gvern Amerikan sejjer jalloka funds paragonabbli għal dawk tal-Marshall Aid biex jiżviluppaw il-kolonji wkoll. Ġara iżda, Mr. Speaker,

bħalma jiġri kullimkien fid-dinja, bħalma jiġri fi kwalunkwe fażi tal-ħajja u tan-natura, li min ikun żgħir jinsih kulħadd; dan jgħodd ukoll fil-kwistjoni tal-kolonji; għaliex żgħar u impotenti, għaliex ma għandhomx min jiddiriġihom tajjeb u għaliex in-nies tagħhom għadhom jimxu fil-għama ġew minsija, u, infatti, tgħid li kienu ġew minsija Dr. Rita Hinden stess li jekk żgur imeriha kulħadd, żgur li ma jmerihiex is-Segretarju ta' l-Istat tal-Kolonji. Fuq il-Fourth Point ta' Truman inħalli lilha titkellem, lil Dr. Rita Hinden:

"Now comes Point Four. Nothing has yet happened other than preliminary talk, mainly at the U.N. Economic and Social Council. Here the discussion has been concerned almost wholly with technical assistance. A plan was put forward by the Secretary-General, which would cost 36 million dollars in the first year; but the Council reduced it to twenty million to be contributed, not only by the U.S.A., but by all nations who would agree. Legislation is now before Congress to enable the U.S. to pay its share, but has not yet been passed. In the meantime, it has been indicated unofficially to Britain that her Colonies would rank very low in any claims; and it is even expected in London that Britain may find herself paying into this pool more than she draws out."

U din teqred l-isperanzi kollha tal-Fourth Point tal-President Truman u turi li nduru kemm induru dejjem niltaqgħu ma' l-istess storja.

Issa, wara li tkellimt fuq l-E.C.A. u dan is-small Special Fund ta' dollari, wara li rajna li anke l-isperanza tal-Fourth Point ta' Truman spariet u wara li rajna li ma jistax ikun li naslu mkien, huwa importanti li wieħed jara daqsxejn il-konklużjonijiet li wasal fihom il-Gvern Ingliż u naraw x'inhuma jgħidu llum:

"25. It was not possible, for the reasons explained above. . . ."

—voldieri għar-raġunijiet li tawna li taparsi tant huma sodi—

". . . to concede the specific major requests put forward by the Malta Government, and on the information available to it His Majesty's Government could not accept the view that Malta stood in immediate and pressing need of assistance, seeing that the Malta Government's reserves stood at nearly £2 million at the end of the last financial year and that there are considerable amounts still to be drawn on from the War Damage and Reconstruction grant and Malta's Colonial Development and Welfare Allocation."

U hawnhekk irrid nitkellem daqsxejn fuq il-Colonial Development and Welfare Fund u fuq l-allokazzjoni ta' Malta u irrid nikkwota nerġa' dan l-artiklu fejn b'kumbinazzjoni hemm id-dettalji kollha li għandha bżonn.

Hawnhekk issemmew dawn il-funds kollha, War Damage Grant, Reconstruction Funds, Colonial Development and Welfare Funds:

"The Ten Year Plans for the individual Colonies — financed by our own £120 million under this Act, and by a further £200 million or more raised in the Colonies themselves—are at last gathering momentum."

—u din hija l-parti li tinteressana. Il-Gvern Ingliż ikkontribwixxa s-somma ta' £120,000,000 biex jintefqu fi żmien għaxar snin u l-parti tagħna minn din is-somma hija ta' miljun lira. Dan biex nagħmel l-affarijiet in perspective, għaliex min ma jkunx jaf l-affarijiet sewwa u jisma' b'dawn il-ħafna grants: War Damage Grant, Reconstruction Fund, Colonial Development Fund, eċċetra, huwa naturali li jgħid: dawn kemm iridu affarijiet; ħadu dawn il-grants kollha, ħadu l-Grant in Aid fil-Gwerra, ħadu l-War Damage Grant, ħadu l-Colonial Development and Welfare Grant, dawn kemm huma wiċċhom tost u hija ħaġa naturali li dawn huma l-impressjonijiet li jieħu min huwa green. Issa nieħdu l-Colonial Development and Welfare Allocation li hija ta' miljun lira u li trid tintuża f'għaxar snin, voldieri mill-1947 sal-1957, jekk ma niżbaljax—insomma l-perjodu huwa ta' għaxar snin. Issa ħafna minn dawn il-funds diġà ntefqu u għalfejn qegħdin iservu dawn il-funds f'Malta? Qegħdin jintefqu biex itaffu għal ftit mit-traskuraġni ta' l-amministrazzjoni li kellna, tal-Gvern Ingiż, biex intaffu ftit mit-traskuraġni tal-kwistjoni ta' l-ilma f'Malta, kwistjoni li hija vitali kemm għalina kif ukoll għas-Services, għaliex ma jistax ikun li jkollok fortizza bil-għatx. Kif jista' jkun li tgħid li hija fortizza, imbagħad tħalliha bil-għatx? Huwa interess tat-tnejn reċiproku li f'Malta jkollna l-ilma. Kulħadd jaf kemm ħarġu flus is-Services meta kien hawn nuqqas ta' ilma f'Malta u kulħadd jaf li din il-capital expenditure sejra tagħti benefiċċji li sejrin jirridondaw għalihom ukoll. Ma rridx ngħid li ma jirridondawx għalina wkoll, imma għandna ngħidu li fiha l-benefiċċji għall-parti l-oħra wkoll u li meta aħna għamilna enfasi fuq l-ilma konna qegħdin naraw l-interess reċiproku tagħna, biex ikollna l-ilma t-tnejn, u dan jistgħu jaraw jekk is-Services jgħoddu l-flus li jridu jonfqu biex iġibu l-ilma minn Sqallija. Jaqbel illi l-allokazzjoni tkun tliet darbiet għal Malta u l-Gvern Ingliż ma joħroġx dawk il-flus biex iġib l-ilma minn Sqallija għax dawk recurrent u, jekk isolvu l-kwistjoni ta' l-ilma, isolvuha darba għal dejjem.

DOCUMENT 75

Statements in 1952 on Financial Aid expected from Britain

STATEMENT — STQARRIJA

DELEGAZZJONI MINISTERJALI GĦAL LONDRA

ONOR. NUTAR G. BORG OLIVIER (Prim Ministru u Ministru tax-Xogħlijiet u Rikostruzzjoni): Sur President, nixtieq nagħmel Statement qasir. Ser naqrah fit-test Ingliż u bil-Malti, biex fir-riproduzzjoni ma jkunx hemm żbalji jew ekwivoċi:

It will be recalled that on the 1st August a Parliamentary Statement by the Secretary of State for the Colonies was circulated in the Official Report of the House of Commons containing the details of certain proposals made by Her Majesty's Government to a Delegation of Maltese Ministers following discussions in London on a request for immediate financial assistance to Malta.

Those proposals provided "inter alia" for a sum of £500,000 to be made available to Malta during the current financial year. In spite of the fact that no reference to it was made in the Secretary of State's statement aforesaid, Her Majesty's Government insisted that the said sum of £500,000 should cover also the estimated cost to Malta, amounting to £25,000, in respect of this year's expenditure on civil aviation (a "reserved matter" under the Constitution) which has hitherto been provided for by Her Majesty's Government. In the view of the Maltese Government the question of civil aviation ought not to have been introduced in the present discussions and the Maltese Ministers objected to that provision which involved a constitutional issue to be dealt with separately from the financial discussions.

As a result of further negotiations between the two Governments, Her Majesty's Government have now agreed that the sum to be made available to Malta during this financial year should leave aside entirely the question of Civil Aviation and have, in fact, reduced to £475,000 the said sum of £500,000. On the understanding that acceptance of the financial assistance which will thus be made available does not carry with it any commitment explicit or implicit, on that question and, particularly in order to avert an impending financial crisis which would cause to the people of Malta grievous and most underserved hardship, the Maltese Government have accepted the financial aid mentioned in

the said Statement of the 1st August, which they have agreed to use in the manner therein stated.

Separate discussions on the constitutional issue will start at an early date, but the Maltese Government have already made it quite clear that they can never be prepared to accept the remaining sum of £25,000 for the purpose intended by Her Majesty's Government.

Apart from this short term arrangement, the Maltese Government always took the view that a long term settlement should be worked out with the British Government based on the right which Malta has to compensation for the uses which that Government makes of the Island for its own purposes and, in fact, the Maltese Government have already notified Her Majesty's Government that they intend to press for an impartial investigation into this matter.

I intend to give the House an opportunity of having a more comprehensive report of the proceedings regarding the recent discussions. . . .

Bħala riżultat ta' trattativi ulterjuri bejn iż-żewġ Gvernijiet, il-Gvern tal-Maestà Tagħha issa qabel illi s-somma li għandha tingħata lil Malta ma' tul din is-sena finanzjarja għandha tħalli barra għal kollox il-kwistjoni ta' l-avjazzjoni ċivili u, infatti, naqqas għal £475,000 l-imsemmija somma ta' £500,000. Bil-ftehim illi l-aċċettazzjoni tal-għajnuna finanzjarja li ser tingħata lil Malta kif intqal ma ġġib magħha b'ebda mod ebda preġudizzju tal-Gvern Malti dwar il-kwistjoni, u l-aktar, biex jevita kriżi finanzjarja imminenti li tikkaġuna lill-poplu Malti tbatijiet gravi li xejn ma jistħoqqulu, il-Gvern Malti aċċetta l-għajnuna finanzjarja msemmija fl-istatement ta' l-1 ta' Awissu u ftiehim li jużaha bil-mod li hemm imsemmi.

Fuq il-kwistjoni kostituzzjonali ser isiru diskussjonijiet separati f'data mhux imbiegħda, iżda l-Gvern Malti ġa għamilha ċar illi hu ma jkun qatt ippreparat li jaċċetta l-bilanċ ta' £25,000 għall-iskop intiż mill-Gvern tal-Maestà Tagħha.

Apparti minn dan l-arranġament li ngħidulu short term, il-Gvern dejjem deherlu illi jeħtieġ isir mal-Gvern Ingliż ftehim ta' natura iktar permanenti, ibbażat fuq id-dritt li Malta għandha għall-kumpens għall-użu li l-Gvern Ingliż jagħmel mill-Gżira tagħna fl-interess tiegħu, u, difatti, l-Gvern Malti ġa għarraf lill-Gvern tal-Maestà Tagħha li bi ħsiebu jinsisti biex dwar dan issir investigazzjoni imparzjali.

Jien bi ħsiebni nagħti lill-Kamra l-opportunità li jkollha reżokont aktar fit-tul ta' dak li sar fil-kors ta' dawn id-diskussjonijiet.

Qiegħed nakkludi ma' dan l-istatement, l-istatement li għamel is-

Segretarju ta' l-Istat għall-Kolonji u li kien ġie ċirkolat fil-House of Commons.

Mr. D. MINTOFF: Skond l-aħħar parti ta' l-istatement li għandna quddiemna, nifhmu li l-onor. Prim Ministru f'data li jagħtina, biħsiebu jagħti lok għal *debate*, jew aħjar, għal diskussjoni li ssir fuq il-kwistjoni kollha u nifhmu wkoll li għad ipoġġi quddiemna x'kienu t-talbiet tal-Gvern Malti—naturalment x'kienu l-veduti tal-Gvern Ingliż nafuhom mir-riżultat li għandna. Aħna mill-parti tagħna, il-Partit tal-Ħaddiema, ġa għidna li dan ma huwa *settlement* xejn; għalina dana huwa roqgħa u li l-pożizzjoni ta' Malta sa Marzu li ġej tkun kif hija llum, bħalma jgħidu l-Ingliżi "as you are".

ONOR. PROF. R.V. GALEA: Nixtieq nistaqsi lill-Onor. Prim Ministru jekk l-affarijiet l-oħra msemmija fl-istatement tal-Ministru tal-Kolonji ġewx aċċettati wkoll.

ONOR. NUTAR BORG OLIVIER: Għamilt referenza għalihom.

ONOR. PROF. GALEA: Mhux fuq l-£150,000.

ONOR. NUTAR BORG OLIVIER: Ġew aċċettati. Jiena kont wegħedt li nagħti okkażjoni lill-Kamra li tisma' rapport aktar estiż fuq id-diskussjonijiet u l-proceedings kollha li saru ġewwa Londra u li tkomplew hawn Malta. Dan sejjer nagħmlu u nipprova, kemm jista' jkun, li dan ir-rapport ikun verament eżawrjenti u nagħti, kemm jista' jkun, dettalji,u dan nagħmlu malli nara li nkun nista' nagħmlu. Illum l-interess prinċipali kien li wieħed ikun jaf jekk dawn il-flus ġewx aċċettati jew le, għaliex evidentement, malli jersaq l-aħħar tax-xahar, il-pożizzjoni finanzjarja tal-pajjiż kienet titgħarraq ħafna, tippeġġjora ferm, imma nispera li b'dan li *statement* tal-lum, ix-xewqa tal-poplu ġiet sodisfatta billi issa huwa magħruf jekk din is-somma ta' flus ġietx aċċettata jew le. Jiena nerġa' intenni dak li kont wegħidt: li malli nkun nista', jiena nagħti rapport aktar dettaljat.

DOCUMENT 76

Malta's Status in the 1953 Coronation Festivities

STATEMENT – STQARRIJA

CORONATION FESTIVITIES

FESTI TA' L-INKORONAZZJONI

ONOR. NUTAR G. BORG OLIVIER (Prim Ministru u Ministru tax-

Xogħlijiet u Rikostruzzjoni): Qabel xejn, nagħmel parentesi u niskuża ruħi li għad m'għandix kopji ta' li *statement* li ser nagħmel, imma ma ndumx ma noffri okkażjoni lill-Kamra li jkollha kopji.

Sur President, kif wegħidt dan l-aħħar jiena ħassejt li għandi issa ninforma malajr lill-Kamra bl-iżviluppi li sar dwar ir-rappreżentanza ta' Malta fiċ-ċelebrazzjonijiet ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni u għalhekk illum tlabt lis-Sinjorija Tiegħek issejjaħ din is-Seduta straordinarja bl-urġenza. Fil-ħdax ta' dan ix-xahar jiena tajt lill-Kamra u lill-poplu reżkont taċ-ċirkostanzi li wassluni għad-deċiżjoni tiegħi li ma nattendix ghall-Festi ta' l-Inkorunazzjoni f'Londra fejn Malta ma kienx sejjer jkollha l-post li jixirqilha billi l-Prim Ministru tagħha ma ġiex ittrattat bħal Prim Ministri oħra tal-Commonwealth, u semmejt partikolarment dawk tas-Southern Rhodesia u Northern Ireland u għidt ukoll li ġejt eskluż mill-funzjonijiet kollha fejn kienu sejrin jattendu anke l-Prim Ministru ta' Southern Rhodesia u tan-Northern Ireland.

Minn dak inhar 'l hawn, kif ġa smajt ukoll lill-Kamra, saru trattativi ġodda li fihom interessa ruħu anke l-Prim Ministru, Sir Winston Churchill.

Bħala riżultat ta' dan issa għandi ninforma 'l-Kamra b'żewġ deċiżjonijiet li jiena żgur li jiġu milqugħa tajjeb minn kull naħa tal-Kamra.

Għandi pjaċir ingħid li l-Bandiera li sejra titla f'Londra f'dawn il-festi bħala l-bandiera ta' Malta fost il-bandieri tal-Commonwealth li sejrin jitilgħu f'Whitehall sejra tkun biss il-bandiera tagħna Bajda u Ħamra. (*Applaws*).

MR. J. ELLUL MERCER: Ċedew!

ONOR. NUTAR BORG OLIVIER: Malta f'dawn iċ-ċelebrazzjonijiet kollha sejjer ikollha trattament identiku bħal dak ta' Southern Rhodesia u Northern Ireland. Dan ifisser illi f'dawk iċ-ċelebrazzjonijiet u partikolarment f'Westminster Abbey u fil-proċessjoni uffiċjali minn Buckingham Palace u lura l-Prim Ministru ta' Malta sejjer jieħu postu mal-Primi Ministri l-oħra tal-Commonwealth. (*Applaws*).

Minn dan jidher ċar illi issa spiċċaw għal kollox iċ-ċirkostanzi sfortunati li minħabba fihom kont kostrett niddeċidi, bl-adesjoni wkoll ta' Ministri oħra, li nastjeni ruħi miċ-ċelebrazzjonijiet f'Londra. Għalhekk —u dan ukoll jiena għamiltu bl-adesjoni tal-Ministri kollha—issa stajt bi pjaċir ninforma lill-Gvern tal-Maestà Tagħha illi fil-kwalità tiegħi ta' Prim Ministru u bħala tali in rappreżentanza ta' dawn il-Gżejjer sejjer nattendi għal dawk iċ-ċelebrazzjonijiet fejn jiena żgur li Malta kollha

tixtieq tieħu l-parti xierqa f'okkażjoni solenni ta' ferħ għall-familja kbira tal-Commonwealth madwar il-figura awgusta tal-Maestà Tagħha r-Reġina Eliżabetta II. (*Applaws*).

Nirringrazzja lill-Kamra u billi ma setax ikolli f'idejja kopji ta' dan li *statement*—ma laħqux ittajpjawhuli kollu—naħseb nista' nipproponi aġġornament ta' xi ħin sabiex inkun nista' nagħti kopji.

MR. MINTOFF: Qabel naġġornaw għal nofs siegħa, nixtieq nistaqsi lill-Prim Ministru jekk hux possibbli jaghmel pubbliċi l-messaġġi li għaddew dawn l-aħħar ġranet.

ONOR. NUTAR BORG OLIVIER: Mhux soltu meta l-ħaġa tiġi konkluża tajjeb illi jiġu pubblikati trattativi, negozjati sigrieti. Kieku l-ħaġa ma spiċċatx kif Malta kollha xtaqet li tispiċċa, jiġifieri tajjeb, kont ninsisti illi nkun nista' nagħti r-raġunijiet tiegħi ghar-rifjut li kont inkun kostrett li nagħmel; imma dan mhux il-każ u quindi ma jidhirlix li hemm raġuni għaliex jiena nippubblika t-trattattivi sigrieti li ġew konklużi feliċement.

Jekk il-Kamra trid, nitlob sospensjoni ta' xi nofs siegħa biex jilħqu isiru l-kopji ta' l-istatement li għadni kif għamilt, u nerġgħu nidħlu fil-kamra.

MR. SPEAKER: Hemm oġġezzjoni li s-seduta tiġi sospiża għal xi ftit minuti? (*Hon. Members*: *No objection*).

Motion agreed to and at 5.06 p.m. the sitting was suspended and was resumed at 6.03 p.m.

Il-Mozzjoni għaddiet nem. con. u fil-5.06 p.m. il-laqgħa ġiet sospiża u tkompliet fis-6.03 p.m.

MR. SPEAKER: Hemm xi oġġezzjoni li jiġi diskuss li statement li għamel il-Prim Ministru? (*Hon. Members*: *No objection*).

MR. MINTOFF: Għandi pjaċir għan-nom ta' l-Oppożizzjoni u naħseb li anke għan-nom tal-Membri tan-naħa l-oħra, inressaq din ir-riżoluzzjoni:

"The House after hearing the Prime Minister's statement this afternoon describing the happy outcome of the dispute regarding the white and red flag and the place to be allotted to Malta's Prime Minister in the official celebrations in London, resolves to rescind the decision of the 11th May concerning the cancellation of the local Coronation festivities and requests the Government to proceed with the preparations for the Coronation festivities in these Islands."

"Il-Kamra wara li l-lejla semgħet l-istqarrija tal-Prim Ministru dwar ir-riżultat feliċi tal-kwistjoni tal-Bandiera Bajda u Ħamra ta' Malta u tal-post

mogħti lill-Prim Ministru ta' Malta fiċ-ċelebrazzjonijiet uffiċjali f'Londra, tirrisolvi li tħassar ir-riżoluzzjoni tal-11 ta' Mejju u titlob lill-Gvern biex ikompli bil-preparattivi għaċ-ċelebrazzjoni tal-Festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni f'dawn il-Gżejjer."

Nixtieq ngħid ukoll li Dr. Hyzler, li kien hu li fil-11 ta' Mejju ressaq ir-riżoluzzjoni l-oħra, assikurani li hu sejjer jissekonda din il-Mozzjoni.

Issa nixtieq, wara li nuri l-ferħ ta' din in-naħa tal-Kamra li almenu din il-kwistjoni solviet ruħha feliċement, ngħid ukoll li din id-darba aħna tajna eżempju mhux biss illi fl-affarijiet li jmissu lil pajjiżna aħna npoġġu lil pajjiżna l-ewwel u quddiemnett imma wkoll tajna eżempju li mhux veru dak il-ħafna kliem li jgħidu li meta aħna naqbdu kwistjonijiet bħal din naqbduhom għax nobogħdu lill-poplu Ingliż. Mhux fair inqas meta jiġu min-naħa ta' dawk in-nies li jgħidu li jħobbu l-Imperu Ingliż u l-Ingilterra li jgħidu li aħna għax niġġieldu għad-drittijet tagħna imputawlna motivi—igħidulhom ulterjuri—li aħna ma għandniex.

Nixtieq ukoll nieħu din l-okkażjoni biex nuri kemm għandu raġun il-Labour Party fit-teżi tiegħu illi l-ebda poplu ma jista' jimxi biss b'dawk li huma protesti tal-kliem. Fid-dinja kwalunkwe ħaġa għażiża bħalma huma r-reliġjon u l-libertà u affarijiet oħrajn irridu niddefenduhom mhux biss bil-kliem imma bil-fatti. Huwa importanti li aħna nitgħallmu li, jekk irridu nkunu rispettati u biex ħaddieħor ikollu opinjoni sħiħa tagħna, irridu nkunu pronti, meta nħossu li għandna raġun, li niddefendu d-drittijiet tagħna bil-ħila kollha u bil-mezzi kollha. Jiena naf li ma' din it-teżi ma jaqbelx kulħadd u ma rridx nimputa motivi diżonesti jew motivi ta' kodardja lin-nies li ma jaqblux magħna. Lil dawn in-nies nikkumpatuhom għax dawn l-affarijiet trid tgħaddi minnhom u trid tkun ħassejt int stess l-esperjenza ta' ċerti attijiet biex tkun tista' tirraġuna fuqhom. Jiena naf li ħafna min-nies li ma jaqblux mat-teżi tagħna jgħidu: "Għax kieku forsi għamiltu hekk u forsi kieku din tpoġġiet mod ieħor kien jiġri ħaġa oħra". Dan mhux eżatt. Jiena ċert li kull min ikun fil-Gvern hawn Malta jkollu sens ta' responsabbiltà. Persważ li min jitkellem għall-poplu tagħna, min jasal fil-pożizzjoni biex jitkellem għall-poplu tagħna, iħoss ir-responsabbiltà ta' l-atti tiegħu u ma jiħux gost meta jinqalgħu inċidenti li hu tabilfors irid jieħu ċertu atteġġjament. Dan għal żewġ raġunijiet. Verament ma tistax tieħu gost meta inti żgħir u s-saħħa tiegħek ma tistax tipparagunaha ma' ta' ħaddiehor. Ma tistax tħossok feliċi meta tħoss li fil-ġlieda għandek warajk gżira ta' 95 mil kwadru u ħaddieħor iħoss li għandu warajh

Imperu. Imma jkun hemm ċirkostanzi fejn wieħed wara li jkun ipprova kollox u ma jibqagħlu ebda arma tar-reżistenza u meta l-moral tal-bniedem ma jkunx jitkejjel biss bil-kobor tal-popolazzjoni imma bil-kobor tal-moral tiegħu u tal-kuraġġ li tagħtih il-kawża ġusta li jiġġieled għaliha, allura ma jħaresx iktar kemm għandu warajh imma jħares biss lejn dak li hu sewwa u jwebbes rasu u jgħid: "Jew nirbħu jew nitfarrku".

Dan qiegħed ngħidu għax naf li kien hemm ċerti titubanzi u qiegħed ngħidu wara li spiċċa l-eżitu biex iservi għal li ġej. Kien hemm in-nuqqas ta' ħeġġa li wieħed jistenna meta jidħol fi kwistjonijiet bħal dawn. Jien qed nalludi għall-fatt li kont naħseb li fil-11 ta' Mejju ma kienx ikun hemm bżonn li aħna nagħmlu s-sigħat fil-lobby biex nieħdu konklużjoni bħal dik li ħadna. It-triq kienet ċara u dritta. Il-ġlieda ma għażilnihiex aħna. Kien id-dover ta' kulħadd biex jara x'jagħmel biex juri bil-fatti illi aħna konna maqrusin u li ma ħassejniex illi taħt dawk iċ-ċirkostanzi nistgħu nimxu bħas-soltu. Nalludi għall-fatt ukoll illi kważi kienet grazzja t'Alla u bi ħniena illi dik ir-Riżoluzzjoni għaddiet minn hawn ġew id-darba l-oħra. Kien hemm argumenti illi llum wara li għadda ż-żmien minn fuqna naraw illi ma kienx hemm għal fejn jinġiebu. Per eżempju, kien hemm l-argument, kien hemm it-teżi illi aħna Membri tal-Parlament aktar avanzati fl-ispirtu nazzjonali mill-popolazzjoni li nilliedjaw. Kien hemm l-argument illi aħna suicide squad u li, jekk aħna mmorru 'l quddiem bl-atteġġjament tagħna kontra l-Gvern Ingliż, ma jkun hemm ħadd li nsibu warajna. Kien hemm l-argument l-ieħor ukoll illi minħabba l-fatt li dawn il-festi sejrin iġibu xi telf fil-kummerċ forsi kien ikun hemm min ifixkilna fil-fehma tagħna illi jekk il-Gvern Ingliż ma jibdilx l-atteġġjament tiegħu dawn ma jsirux. Jiena ħassejt u għadni nħoss illi llum dawn ir-raġunijiet ma għadhomx jeżistu f'pajjiżna.

Hu veru illi kulħadd għandu dritt għall-opinjoni tiegħu u li kulħadd għandu dritt jaħsibha kif jidhirlu imma hu importanti, hu dover ta' min jiggverna li jqis tajjeb fejn waslet il-popolazzjoni, xi spirtu hemm ġewwa Malta u jara sewwa liema passi jieħu u la jeħodhom dgħajfin wisq u lanqas naturalment ma jeħodhom spinti żżejjed. Però jien kont ċert mill-bidunett illi, kieku verament kellna naslu biex dawn il-festi ma jsirux, kien ikun hemm 90% mill-popolazzjoni, ma ngħidx kulħadd, għaliex l-eċċezzjonijiet jinsabu fid-dinja kollha, il-cranks jinsabu fid-dinja kollha. Dawk li jħobbu jservu żżejjed jinsabu fid-dinja kollha, imma jiena ċert illi 90% mil-popolazzjoni kienu jissupportaw lil dan il-Parlament, kienu juru lill-Gvern Ingliż illi meta aħna nagħmlu dawn

l-affarijiet nagħmluhom mhux biċ-ċajt imma bis-serjetà. Hu għalhekk li aħna f'dik il-ġurnata li għaddiet ir-Riżoluzzjoni konna qegħdin inħeġġu lill-Prim Ministru biex iħassar dawk il-preparativi kollha li kienu saru. Aħna ridna nkunu biex il-Gvern Ingliż josservaha bis-serjetà u jkun persważ illi jekk verament din id-deċiżjoni ma jbiddilhiex aħna konna all out biex il-festi ma jsirux.

Jien inħoss illi din hija ġurnata ta' ferħ għall-Maltin kollha u nħoss dan mhux għaliex il-Gvern Ingliż ċeda, għaliex jekk toqgħod tara din il-kwistjoni ssib illi assolutament ma kienx hemm għalfejn tinqala', imma nħoss ukoll illi l-Gvern Ingliż b'hekk ma kellu ebda *loss of face* għaliex min jagħmel żball u jammettih dak ma jkollux *loss of face*. Ikollu loss of face min jagħmel żball u jkompli jippersisti fih u jkompli jġib ħsara lilu n-nifsu. Jiena nħoss u nispera illi dan hu forsi indizju dan hu forsi sinjal ta' politika ġdida tal-Gvern Ingliż dwar Malta. Il-kwistjonijiet li għandna Malta mal-Gvern Ingliż m'humiex qegħdin limitati għal dik tal-bandiera jew inkella għall-post li għandu jieħu l-Prim Ministru ġewwa Londra fi żmien ċelebrazzjonijiet bħal dawn. Aħna mal-Gvern Ingliż għandna kwistjonijiet kbar, għandna kwistjonijiet serji, għadna kwistjonijiet li għal pajjiżna jfissru ħajja jew mewt. U l-lejla meta nifirħu, mhux forsi bħalma qed jaħseb xi ħadd għaliex qegħdin naraw il-Gvern Ingliż umiljat jew inkella għaliex il-Gvern Ingliż ċeda unconditionally, imma qegħdin nifirħu għaliex qegħdin nisperaw—u dan hu l-aktar importanti—illi din tal-lejla xejn ma hi ħlief sinjal, xejn ma hu ħlief awgurju ta' change of heart min-naħa tal-Gvern Ingliż ta' change of heart min-naħa ta' dawk li jiggvernawna. U aħna min-naħa tal-Labour Party ngħidu illi mhix il-gwerra mirbuħa imma hi battalja mirbuħa. Warajha hemm ħafna oħrajn. Minn din il-battalja tgħallimna. Naħseb li wasal il-mument—u l-Membri ta' dik in-naħa tal-Gvern raw li ma hemmx għalfejn igħidulna illi aħna estremisti jew ħaġa jew oħra—naħseb li wasal il-mument biex nieħdu b'idejn xulxin ħalli mil-lum 'il quddiem fi kwistjonijiet bħal dawn nimxu id f'id fl-istess triq u meta nieħdu ċerti passi niħduhom bis-serjetà u mhux nillimitawhom aktar għal kliem biss!

Kont qiegħed ngħid illi din hija battalja mirbuħa. Warajha għad jiġu oħrajn. Xi ftit minnhom nirbħu u xi oħrajn nitilfu. Ma għandniex nippretendu li ser nirbħu dejjem. Ħadd ma għandu jippretendi dan fid-dinja. Imma l-aktar ħaġa importanti li għandna nesiġu f'pajjiżna hu l-fatt illi dawk li huma Maltin u jħossu bħalna għandhom jagħmlu

kwalunkwe sagrifiċċju f'dan iż-żmien, fi żmien meta l-poplu tagħna qed iqum dan l-ispirtu ta' nazzjon u ta' ċittadinanza, biex naħtfu din l-opportunità biex nuruhom li bit-tbatija, bis-sagrifiċċju u anke forsi billi nsofru l-insulti u l-kalunji u billi nsofru lil min jipprova jpinġina jew komunisti jew ħaga oħra, aħna lesti biex niġġieldu battalja wara battalja ħalli fl-aħħar pajjiżna mhux biss bil-bandiera, mhux biss bil-post li jieħu l-Prim Ministru tagħna f'Londra imma bil-fatti f'affarijiet oħra, fil-ħajja ekonomika, politika u soċjali, jieħu postu ma' ġenb l-Ingilterra, mhux aktar baxx mil-livell li qegħdin jokkupaw l-Ingliżi lanqas ogħla imma daqshom bl-istess sagrifiċċju u bl-istess responsabbiltà imma wkoll bl-istess privileġġi u bl-istess drittijiet! Dan aħna qegħdin ngħiduh il-lejla ferħanin għaliex nisperaw illi dan hu awgurju għal żminijiet oħrajn, żminijiet li fihom forsi ma jkunx hemm bżonn li aħna nerġgħu nuru reżistenza u nuru bil-fatti li meta nkunu maqrusin u meta l-argumenti ma jkunux jistgħu jikkonvinċu lil ħaddieħor għaliex ma jridx jikkonvinċi ruħu, għal dawk li huma drittijiet tagħna u ta' pajjiżna aħna ma nċedux u ma nobdu ebda liġi ħlief dik ta' mħabba lejn pajjiżna. (*Hon. Members. Hear hear*).

Dr. A.V. Hyzler: Mr. Speaker, nissekonda bil-qalb kollha din il-mozzjoni li l-Leader ta' l-Oppożizzjoni ressaq il-lejla quddiem il-Kamra. Kif għidt il-bieraħ, jien kont lest biex naqbel, jekk il-Gvern Imperjali jirrikonoxxi d-drittijiet tagħna, li aħna nagħmlu l-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni b'aktar ħeġġa, biex hekk nuru li ma kellna ebda astju għar-Reġina, imma sempliċement kwistjoni mal-Gvern Ingliż. Għalhekk, kif ġa għidt, nissekonda bil-qalb kollha din il-mozzjoni. Għalija llum hija ġurnata ta' ferħ kbir għaliex, mhux biex niftaħar, imma kont jien li xhur ilu qanqalt il-kwistjoni tal-bandiera, għaliex ipprevedejt li ġo Londra, għall-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni kienu ser idendlu l-bandiera Maltija, bħalma dejjem dendluha, mhux fil-kuluri ta' sekoli tagħha, l-abjad u l-aħmar, imma mitlufa ġol-Blue Ensign. Din il-kwistjoni tal-bandiera ilha sejra snin u snin, u tkellmu fuqha qabli politiċi oħra, biss qatt ma rnexxielna niksbu dak li ksibna llum. Kienet dejjem sogħba kbira għall-Maltin, kull meta ppartečipajna f'xi sports internazzjonali, bħalma huma l-Olympic Games, li flok ħallewna nuru l-bandiera tagħna, il-bajda u ħamra, ġegħluna nimxu wara l-Blue Ensign b'sinjal żgħir abjad u aħmar biex forsi jiddistingwina minn nazzjonijiet oħra: però ċertament qatt ma tawna l-jedd sagrosant tagħna li l-bandiera bajda u ħamra tperper fejn kien hemm Maltin jirrappreżentaw lil pajjiżhom.

Għalina l-Maltin il-bandiera hija l-aktar ħaġa sagra wara r-reliġjon u għalhekk il-poplu Malti għandu llum għaliex jifraħ li kiseb dan id-dritt, li kien tiegħu.

Jiena tgħallimt kif trid timxi mal-Gvern Ingliż, u għalhekk ta' sikwit, kull ħmistax, kull tliet ġimgħat jew xahar kont intektek fuq il-kwistjoni tal-bandiera u nagħmel Interpellanza wara Interpellanza biex nara l-Prim Ministru x'risposti kellu minn Londra, u fl-aħħar il-Prim Ministru ħareġ bl-istatement tiegħu tal-11 ta' Mejju, li llum jafu kulħadd; u għaliex naf kif jimxi l-Gvern Ingliż issuġġerejt mill-ewwel, malli nqara dak l-istatement, mingħajr ma qgħad: nieħu l-opinjoni ta' ħadd u l-parir ta' ħadd minn din il-Kamra li, jekk il-Gvern Ingliż ma jilqax it-talbiet sagrosanti tagħna, aħna ma nagħmlux il-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni—għaliex naf li aktarx iva milli le d-deċiżjonijiet tal-Colonial Office jittieħdu minn xi skrivan żgħir u ma jaslux f'livell ministerjali kif għandhom jaslu. Dan huwa difett li jeżisti fil-Colonial Office, bir-riżultat li ħafna mid-deċiżjonijiet li qegħdin jittieħdu qed jagħmlu ħafna ħsara lill-Gvern Ingliż mhux biss hawn Malta imma fl-imkejjen kollha fejn tperper il-bandiera Ingliża, għaliex jittieħdu deċiżjonijiet mingħajr ma l-Ministru jkun jaf bihom. Għalhekk jien ħassejt mill-ewwel li, jekk nuru li aħna lesti biex ma niċċelebrawx il-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni, ikun hemm ċerta reazzjoni mhux fl-Ingilterra biss, imma fl-Imperu u fid-dinja kollha. Il-fatti tawni raġun. Fl-Ingilterra qajjimna kuxjenza favur tagħna, id-dinja kollha rat li aħna kellna raġun u tagħtulna u l-ħaga waslet fejn kellha tasal mhux fil-livell tal-Ministru tal-Kolonji imma saħansitra f'idejn il-Prim Ministru Ingliż—u meta l-Gvern Ingliż ra l-ġustizzja tat-talbiet sagrosanti tagħna, aċċettahom.

Hi rebħa għall-poplu Malti li ksibna dak li ridna, u dan, kif qal tajjeb il-Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni, huwa biss il-bidu ta' dak li għad irid jiġi—u hawn irrid ngħid li mhux bla minaċċji li nieħdu, minaċċji fis-sens li nfarrku, le, imma minaċċji dekorużi, kif kienet ir-Riżoluzzjoni tal-Kamra. Jien ċert li għalkemm aħna żgħar, meta nieqfu lill-Gvern Ingliż, dak li huwa tagħna l-Gvern Ingliż ikollu jagħtihulna. L-ewwelnett m'għandniex naħsbu li huma nsew malajr is-sagrifiċċji li għamel il-poplu Malti, għaliex allura tkun daħka fil-wiċċ li tawna l-George Cross, tkun daħka fil-wiċċ dak kollu li qalu fil-gwerra li għaddiet, tkun daħka fil-wiċċ li aċċennaw għal Malta bħala eżempju glorjuż ta' eroiżmu liema bħalu. Għalhekk jien ċert li, meta nipprotestaw għad-drittijiet tagħna, il-Gvern Ingliż jeħodhom in konsiderazzjoni; u meta jagħmel hekk, il-

Gvern Ingliż mhux ser jiċċekken f'għajnejn id-dinja jew f'għajnejn il-potenzi ta' wara l-purtiera tal-ħadid li ta' sikwit jgħajjarhom b'nuqqas ta' libertà fil-pajjiżi tagħhom, mhux ser jiċċekken jekk jammetti d-drittijiet tal-poplu Malti, dak il-poplu li, kif qalu kbarat Ingliżi u kbarat alleati fil-gwerra li għaddiet, qassar il-gwerra b'xi tliet snin. Jekk nieqfu għad-drittiiet tagħna, is-sagrifiċċji li għamilna fil-gwerra li għaddiet ma jkunux għal xejn.

U hawn hemm bżonn li l-poplu kollu—u nagħmel enfasi fuq il-kliem "il-poplu kollu"—ikun solidali ma' min ikun qed imexxih biex fil-gwerra tagħna mal-Gvern Ingliż għad-drittijiet tagħna — gwerra ta' protesti, għaliex ċertament aħna ma nistgħux nagħmlu gwerra bl-armi — inkunu unanimi. Hemm bżonn li ma jkun hawn ħadd li jipprova jbenġel minn hawn u minn hemm, jew jipprova jaqsam il-poplu tagħna billi jpinġi sezzjoni llum faxxista u għada komunista. L-istorja tgħallimna li dik in-naħa li llum qed tiddefendi lil dawk li dari kienet issejħilhom faxxisti u ma kinux, illum qed tipprova tgħajjar lil ħaddieħor komunista. X'inhu l-iskop ta' din is-sezzjoni ta' ftit ta' irmixk tal-pajjiż? Dan l-irmixk tal-pajjiż, li tgħoddu fuq il-ponot ta' subgħajk, għandu l-interess li jaqbeż mhux għal pajjiżna iżda għall-Gvern Ingliż. Qed jipprova jġelled lill-poplu tagħna, jipprova jġelled sezzjoni li qed tikkumbatti għad-drittijiet tal-pajjiż; daqqa jgħajjar lil dik is-sezzjoni faxxista u daqqa jgħajjar sezzjoni oħra komunista, u ma nafx għada x'sejjer isejjaħ lill-ħaddieħor. Dan qiegħed ngħidu biex nuri li, jekk verament irridu li niksbu d-drittijiet tagħna mill-Gvern Ingliż, hemm bżonn li nkunu unanimi. Dik is-sezzjoni li sejjaħt bħala irmixk tal-pajjiż, hemm bżonn insoddulha ħalqha. Il-Gvern Ingliż jista' jaħseb li hija qawwija ġewwa Malta. Dana mhux il-fatt. Poplu li jrid jiġġieled għad-drittijiet tiegħu hemm bżonn li jkun magħqud.

Kont. Mr. Speaker, riżolut fil-11 ta' Mejju illi anke kieku kelli nibqa' waħdi — u kont naf li miniex sejjer nibqa waħdi — ir-riżoluzzjoni kont xorta waħda sejjer inressaqha quddiem il-Kamra. Għalhekk ħadt gost li ressaqtha b'dak il-mod, biex, jekk il-Gvern Ingliż ma jaċċettax it-talbiet tagħna, il-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni ma jsirux. U hawn la biex immaqdar u lanqas biex niftaħar irrid ngħid li meta tagħmel protesta trid tagħmilha sħiħa u mingħajr mezzi miżuri. Kieku aħna dakinhar aċċettajna l-emenda, kieku ċertament illum m'aħniex hekk ferħanin, għaliex ma konniex nirbħu mal-Gvern Ingliż. Ma' kwalunkwe Gvern għandek tiġġieled bis-saħħa. Mezzi miżuri ma' jwassluk imkien; aktar u aktar ma

jwassluk imkien meta inti taf li għandek raġun. Jiena nirrispetta l-opinjoni ta' kulħadd, biss irrid infiehem lil dawk li ma qablux mar-riżoluzzjoni tiegħi li llum rajna li kelli raġun li aħna kellna nagħmlu xi ħaġa konkreta. Illum huwa pjaċir tiegħi li nara r-riżultat ta' dak il-pass li bih wasalna fejn wasalna. Kieku aħna għamilna *ad futuram rei memoriam* sempliċement protesta bil-kliem biss kontra l-aġir skifuż tal-Gvern Imperjali, ma konna naslu mkien. Wasalna għaliex għamilna dik il-protesta, għaliex urejna lill-poplu Ingliż li aħna m'aħniex lesti biex niġu aktar kalpestati mill-Gvern Ingliż li ma jridx jismagħna. Għalhekk nippretendi li dik il-mozzjoni li għaddiet b'maġġoranza kbira kellha l-effett tagħha. Illum qegħdin naraw kemm kellna raġun ngħaddu dik ir-riżoluzzjoni.

Ma rrid nagħmel deni politiku lil ħadd u lanqas irrid nikseb unuri politiċi, però meta xi ħadd ipprova jbenġel minn hawn u minn hemm u jgħid li jekk ma jsirux il-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni, ibatu l-kummerċjanti, jien irrispondejt li l-festi jistgħu jsiru l-istess imma jsiru fit-8 ta' Settembru bħala protesta kontra l-Gvern Ingliż talli ma onorax il-bandiera tagħna. B'hekk il-preparativi li kienu saru u l-ispejjeż kollha li saru kienu jsiru l-istess. B'din l-idea stess kont bgħatt ittra lill-Prim Ministru fejn tlabtu biex iwaqqaf Kumitat Nazzjonali biex isiru l-festi ta' protesta fit-8 ta' Settembru u l-Prim Ministru bagħatli *acknowledgement.* Illum irrid nissuġġerixxi lill-Gvern illi, għar-rebħa kbira li għamilna, rebħa li tibqa' tinstama', il-Gvern jagħti a public holiday minn hawn u ftit taż-żmien ieħor biex niċċelebraw din ir-rebħa. L-onor. Bezzina Wettinger qalli across the Table nagħmlu £22,000 oħra. Din mhix kwistjoni li tarmi l-flus; il-kwistjoni hija li meta aħna għamilna din ir-rebħa għandna lill-poplu nuruh li aħna rridu niċċelebraw din ir-rebħa kbira u dan jista' jsir billi nagħtu *a public holiday* f'dan is-sens li jiena tlabt.

Kont ukoll, iddiżapprovajt sezzjoni żgħira ferm ta' rresponsabbli li waslu biex għamlu atti ta' vandaliżmu u lill-Prim Ministru kont għidtlu biex jieħu l-passi meħtieġa sabiex il-protesta tagħna tkun dinjituża. Illum aħna lkoll kuntenti minn dak li l-Gvern Malti kiseb permezz tar-riżoluzzjoni li għaddiet minn din l-Assemblea. L-awgurji tiegħi huma li aħna nkunu ilkoll magħquda biex, dawk id-drittijiet li huma ħafna u mhux wieħed niġġieldu għalihom. L-ewwel dritt li għandna niġġieldu għalih huwa fuq it-Table of Precedence. Nitlob lill-Prim Ministru li meta jkun ġewwa Londra jipprova jirranġa t-Table of Precedence. Aħna jidhrilna li l-Prim Ministru huwa l-ewwel ċittadin tal-Gżira u ma

għandu jkollu qablu lil ħadd, la l-Ammirali u lanqas lil-Lieutenant-Governor. Din il-Kamra ddeċidiet li ma tridx il-Lieutenant-Governor u jekk il-Prim Ministru jkollu okkażjoni li jaqbad din il-kwistjoni, li qanqalnieha f'din il-Kamra kemm-il darba, illum għandu l-akbar argument. Il-Prim Ministru għandu joqgħod mal-Primi Ministri l-oħra tal-Commonwealth. It-Table of Precedence hija insult ieħor u għandu jara li tirranġa ruħha minnufih.

Jien nagħlaq l-erba' kelmiet tiegħi bl-awgurji illi l-Prim Ministru, meta jkollu okkażjoni jiltaqa' mal-Maestà Tagħha r-Reġina Eliżabetta, itiha x-xewqat ta' din l-Assemblea (*Hon. Members*: *Hear, hear*) illi ċertament hi takkolji bil-qalb kollha għax taf illi l-poplu Malti lilha, lill-familja reali tagħha, jħobbha u li l-ġlieda li kellna kienet mal-Gvern Ingliż għax hija biss hija simbolu. Għalhekk nixtieq illi din ix-xewqa tiegħi l-Prim Ministru jtiha lill-Maestà Tagħha meta jkollu l-okkażjoni li jiltaqà magħha fl-Inkoronazzjoni.

Dr. ATTARD MONTALTO: Għandi pjaċir bl-istatement li għamel l-Onor. Prim Ministru tagħna u nifraħlu ħafna talli ressaq il-każ u ttratta l-każ tant tajjeb li rnexxielu jakkwista kollox. Fuq kollox għandi pjaċir illi l-kwistjoni tal-bandiera Maltija ġiet riżoluta u l-bandiera bajda u ħamra ġa ġiet rikonoxxuta mill-Gvern Ingliż fis-sens illi din il-bandiera tinsab tperper fit-toroq prinċipali ta' Londra.

Nifraħ ukoll illi l-Prim Ministru ġie lilu akkordat il-post lilu xieraq biex jieħu parti fil-festi ġewwa Londra.

Dawn il-kwistjonijiet illum ġew riżolti u milli stajna nintebħu u naraw mill-fatti, dawn il-kwistjonijiet ġew mishandled mill-Colonial Office u mhux mill-Kabinet Ingliż, li l-Kap tiegħu hu Sir Winston Churchill. Il-Maestà Tagħha r-Reġina anqas kienet biss mgħarrfa.

Għaldaqstant, *una volta* illi l-kwistjonijiet ġew riżolti u spiċċaw darba għal dejjem, aħna bħala Maltin għandna niftaħru—u nispera illi llum il-poplu kollu hu magħqud u ferħan—u nieħdu din l-okkażjoni biex inkunu nistgħu niċċelebraw il-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni anke f'din l-Isola.

Aħna nafu tajjeb illi l-Maestà Tagħha r-Reġina dejjem kienet affezzjonata lejn Malta u għamlitilna l-unur illi għal tliet darbiet għażlet biex tiġi toqgħod xi ftit żmien ġewwa Malta. Aħna nafu illi waqt dawn l-okkażjonijiet hija ħadet interess ħafna fi kwalsijasi klassi, sija fqira u alta.

Nixtieq nagħmel appell lill-poplu Malti biex, waqt iċ-ċelebrazzjonijiet li jsirulha, oltre illi jagħmel festi billi jagħmel ornamenti fil-ħwienet u postijiet oħra, oltre illi jieħu parti fl-entertainments li jkun hawn, jitlob

għaliha direttament biex aħna nesegwixxu x-xewqa tagħha illi l-popli kollha jitolbu għaliha biex hija tkun tista' tirrenja fit-trankwillità u fil-paċi.

Mr. ELLUL MERCER: L-esitu feliċi ta' din l-okkażjoni ma jistax ma jkunx ta' soddisfazzjon kbir għal kulħadd. Din m'hix okkażjoni ta' rekriminazzjoni u ta' kliem sfortunat mill-parti ta' xi ħadd biex nasserixxu d-drittijiet tagħna, imma hija okkażjoni illi dak li jkun jiftaħar u jgħid illi dak li ġibna, ġibnih għax ma bżajniex nagħmlu dak li ta' rġiel kien imissna nagħmlu.

Kien hemm min stenna illi, jekk nieħdu dan l-atteġġjament li ħadna, l-eżitu jkun dak li kien u bħalma jaf kulħadd, il-Kamra kienet kważi unanima mhux biss illi tieħu atteġġjament ta' protesta, iżda anke tieħu d-deċiżjoni li ħadet, wara li tesprimi sogħba. Dan kien l-uniku pass li l-ewwel darba fl-istorja kostituzzjonali tagħna Malta ħadet biex turi lill-Gvern Ingliż illi mhux qed jittrattaha kif imissha. Jiena ma naqbelx ma' l-onor. Dr. Montalto, li qal illi din kienet kwistjoni ta' xi blunder da parti ta' xi permanent officials tal-Colonial Office għax din hija skuża li ilna nisimgħuha.

Għalkemm nixtieq illi kieku f'din l-okkażjoni ma nsemmix kliem bħal dan, imma ma nistax ma ngħidx illi din ilna nisimgħuha mija u ħamsin sena. Kull min ikun irid jgħatti l-blunders tal-Gvern Ingliż igħid illi dawk huma blunders tal-permanent officials tal-Colonial Office. Dawn għandhom il-Ministru li hu responsabbli u *in ultima analisi* hu responsabbli l-Gvern Ingliż, kif ukoll hu responsabbli Sir Wiston Churchill li kklassifika l-gżira tagħna bħala dik l-Isola li ħalliet "an imperishable war record" li minħabba fih Malta ma kienx jistħoqqilha li tiġi fil-pożizzjoni li ġiet u ma tiħux parti billi l-Prim Ministru tagħha ma jmurx jirrappreżenta lil Malta u billi l-bandiera onorata tal-poplu Malti ma tkunx preċiżament dik li għandha tidher f'din l-okkażjoni.

Ħadt gost ħafna illi nqalgħet din l-okkażjoni biex il-ġurnaliżmu Ingliż reġa' wera illi hu ewlieni fid-dinja biex jiddefendi l-kawża taż-żgħar. Il-ġurnaliżmu l-Ingilterra hu differenti minn dak ta' Malta. Il-ġurnaliżmu fl-Ingilterra ma għandux partiġjaniżmu. Nafu bil-"Beaverbrook Press" u presses oħra, veru, imma meta tiġi kwistjoni bħal din, li fiha veru s-sentimentaliżmu tagħha, hemm il-mod kif jittrattaha.

Kellna fl-imgħoddi kwistjonijiet serji biżżejjed kieku l-Kamra fihom riedet tieħu atteġġjament aktar iebes milli ħadet, u għall-Maltin foqra li l-pożizzjoni tagħhom hija meskina dawk l-okkażjonijiet kienu forsi jkunu

aktar okkażjonijiet adatti biex nieħdu l-passi li ħadna. Il-poplu forsi għadu dak il-poplu li għadu jieħu gost bil-"*feste, farina e forca*". Aħna li aħna leaders id-dover tagħna huwa li lill-poplu nillidjawh. Il-poplu forsi jidhirlu li qegħdin nonqsu, għax mhux qegħdin nagħtu dak iċ-chance li l-kummerċ ikollu okkażjoni u ma jitlifhiex. Fl-istess ħin jeħtieġ ngħallmu lill-poplu li, jekk ma jagħrafx jitlob id-drittijiet tiegħu, ma jeħodhom qatt.

Malta reġgħet ħadet it-tifħir li jistħoqqilha. Dan forsi huwa kliem biss; però tajjeb li wieħed kull tant ifakkar, għaliex għaxar snin ilu ġraw ħafna affarijiet f'Malta. Kien atteġjament tassew feliċi dak tal-Perit Mintoff li baqa' jesiġi u jinsisti li mal-protesta li għamel dan il-Parlament nid-deċidu li, jekk il-Gvern Ingliż jibqa' jżomm iebes, il-Prim Ministru tagħna ma jmurx l-Ingilterra u nikkanċellaw il-festi li kellhom isiru f'Malta.

Ġejna bosta drabi kalunjati aħna l-Laburisti fuq ċerti deċiżjonijiet li ħadna iżda ż-żmien tana raġun. Din hija okkażjoni ta' ferħ, però l-fatti huma fatti u l-fatti jibqgħu li tawna raġun fl-atteġġjament tagħna.

Dr. G.M. Camilleri: Naħseb li jkun opportun li nissospendu r-Regolamenti biex inkomplu.

Mr. Ellul Mercer: Nispiċċa d-diskors tiegħi billi b'soddisfazjoni kbir nagħmel riferenza għal diskors li sar fil-House of Commons, fejn intqal li d-dinjità, it-tradizzjoni u l-importanza tal-Gżira ma titqiesx bil-kobor tagħha iżda titqies bil-karattru storiku u ċiviltà tagħna ma nistħu noqogħdu ħdejn ħadd.

Dr. Camilleri: Jiena kont wieħed mid-diversi Membri tal-Kamra li pprotestaw bl-ikbar qawwa kontra l-attaġġjament u d-deċiżjoni li kien ħa l-Colonial Office. Illum inħossni fid-dover li nerġa' nqum u ngħid ftit kliem biex nesprimi l-ferħ tiegħi illi ntlaħqet soluzzjoni tant feliċi li proprju l-Gvern Ingliż wera illi huwa japprezza is-sentimenti ta' dak li jkun meta l-kawża tkun ġusta bħalma kienet il-kawża tagħna, wera li hu kapaċi, nonostanti li hu hekk kbir, jakkolji d-domanda leċita tagħna. Dan ridt insemmih għaliex jien inħoss li hu kbir l-att li għamel il-Gvern Ingliż. Ngħid illi huwa kbir għar-raġuni illi huwa fil-passat kien diffiċli, biex ma ngħidx kważi impossibbli, li jirtira deċiżjoni tiegħu meta din tkun tolqot, speċjalment, pajjiż żgħir. Però f'din l-okkażjoni jiena nieħu gost nikkonstata illi l-Gvern Ingliż aċċetta t-talbiet tagħna u rrimedja l-iżball li kien ħa u nara f'din l-azzjoni tiegħu sinjal ta' kburija.

Il-vittorja li għamel il-Gvern tagħna, flimkien ma' l-Assemblea u l-

poplu kollu li bbakkja lir-rappreżentanti tiegħu f'din il-Kamra, hija vittorja sabiħa wisq. Din hija okkażjoni ta' ferħ, għar-raġuni li aħna ottjenejna dak li kien jistħoqqilna. Fl-istess ħin sejjer ikollna l-opportunità illi lil dik il-persuna li tant ħabbet lill-Gżira tagħna u tant għamlet unur lill-Gżira tagħna aħna sejrin inkunu nistgħu niċċelebraw il-festi tagħha. Nitolbu għaliha fil-ġurnata ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni Tagħha biex il-Bambin igħinha, biex tkun tista' tidderiġi lill-poplu tagħha u lill-Gvern tagħha, b'mod speċjali biex ikompli, bħalma beda l-lum, jieħu konsiderazzjoni tal-lanjanzi tal-popli li huma taħt il-protezzjoni tal-bandiera Ingliża bħala Kolonji jew kważi Dominji. Nitolbu 'l-Bambin jilluminah lill-Gvern Ingliż biex, flok ikun hemm l-odju li jkun hemm ħafna drabi, jibda mil-lum 'il quddiem jakkolji d-domandi ġusti ta' poplu ċkejken li ma jistax bl-ebda manjera jagħmel mod ieħor.

Dr. J. FLORES: Sur President, hu fatt illi l-okkażjoni tal-lum hi waħda mill-isbaħ paġni ta' l-istorja ta' pajjiżna. Preċiżament għal din ir-raġuni jkun barra minn loku jekk wieħed jidħol fi kwistjonijiet personali. (*Hon. Members: Hear, hear*). Irrid li nħares lejn ir-riżultat li għandna quddiemna fil-konfront ta' żewġ riflessi: wieħed, għal dak li jirrigwarda l-Prim Ministru, u l-ieħor, għal dak li jirrigwarda l-bandiera. Għal dak li jirrigwarda l-Prim Ministru tidħol l-importanza ta' riżultat, biex insejħilha hekk, kostituzzjonali. Għal dak li jirrigwarda l-bandiera tidħol l-importanza ta' rikonoxximent tat-tradizzjonijiet tagħna bħala poplu ċivilizzat.

Hu minnu li bil-pożizzjoni li l-Prim Ministru sejjer ikollu ġewwa Londra fiċ-ċelebrazzjonijiet ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni u bid-dikjarazzjoni espliċita li hu jkun a parità tar-rappreżentanti ta' l-Irlanda tan-North u tar-Rodeżja tas-South, hemm rikonoxximent tal-fatt l-ieħor li l-pożizzjoni kostituzzjonali ta' Malta hi dik li almenu tpoġġi lil Malta a parità ta' dawk iż-żewġ pajjiżi.

Hon. Mrs. C. DE TRAFFORD STRICKLAND: It is a matter of great rejoicing to hear the news from the Hon. the Prime Minister that Malta will now be represented at the Coronation celebrations in London and that all matters have been settled and that the celebrations in Malta and Gozo will now take place with, if possible, more fervour than ever. Her Majesty the Queen holds a rare and special place of affection in the hearts of the people here. May this feast of the Coronation mark a new era of continued happy relations throughout her reign.

Her Majesty's Coronation will ever be remembered side by side with

the recognition of Malta's flag of nine hundred years having its rightful place among the Commonwealth Flags of the Empire.

As it flies over us, there may it fly and ever remain a shining symbol to us that within the great Commonwealth family we can fight a just cause and obtain our just rights with sympathy and understanding between us, strengthened and not diminished.

May Malta ever find champions to fight her cause, keeping her place in the world as heretofore, ever courageous, ever honoured and true to our greatest heritage of our Faith, brought to our shores by the great St. Paul. And may the prayers of the people of Malta and Gozo for which our young Queen has asked on her Coronation Day, bring every blessing and happiness to Her Majesty, her family and great family of Commonwealth nations to which we belong. (*Hon. Members: Hear, hear*).

Nutar G. SAMMUT: Mr. Speaker, fis-siegħa solenni li Malta qiegħda tifraħ, anke jiena għan-nom tad-distrett li jiena nirrappreżenta u għan-nom tiegħi personali, nixtieq nifraħ għan-notizja sabiħa li l-onor. Prim Ministru għoġbu jagħti l-lejla lil din il-Kamra u lil Malta. Jiena rrid għal din in-notizja sabiħa nagħmel xi rimarki żgħar. L-ewwel rifless, il-lezzjoni li ħadna u s-suċċess li kellna hu li fid-dinja, sakemm id-dinja tibqa' dinja u sakemm ix-xemx tibqa' tiddi fuq l-umanità, biex takkwista xi ħaġa trid tieħu stand sobrju u qawwi. B'hekk biss tista' tieħu d-drittijiet tiegħek. Inħoss ukoll illi dan is-suċċess kien ta' lezzjoni għal dan il-Parlament għall-futur. Jekk irridu li jkollna suċċessi fil-futur meta niġġieldu għad-drittijiet sagrosanti tagħna, irridu nkunu solidali, għaliex is-solidarjetà biss tista' tfisser suċċess li bih irbaħna.

Riflessjoni oħra li nixtieq li nagħti hi li, meta jkollna deċiżjoni fuq kwistjonijiet bħal dawn, ma għandniex nittrattawha, bħal ma kienet l-użanza s'issa, bħala deċiżjoni finali tal-Colonial Office. Illum rajna li d-deċiżjoni tal-Colonial Office fuq din il-kwistjoni li kellna ma kenitx finali. Minn hemmhekk marret fil-Kabinet Ingliż u ġiet anke trattata mill-Prim Ministru Ingliż. Nispera li fi kwistjonijiet simili, fejn ikun hemm importanza nazzjonali, dawn il-kwistjonijiet jibqgħu jittieħdu at a higher level, biex nevitaw kwistjonijiet aktar koroh. Ma rridx ngħid iżjed. Nispiċċa billi nawgura lill-onor. Prim Ministru u lis-Sinjura tiegħu li jkollhom vjaġġ sabiħ u tajjeb u li jkollhom il-mistrieħ li tant jixtiequ. (*Hon. Members: hear, hear*).

Mr. J. CEFAI: Id-darba l-oħra, Mr. Speaker, kont wieħed minn dawk li ġustament iddisapprovaw l-aġir tal-Gvern Ingliż għall-atteġġjament

tiegħu tant rigward il-kwistjoni tal-bandiera nazzjonali tagħna kif ukoll rigward it-trattament ħażin li kien sejjer jiġi sottopost għalih il-Prim Ministru bħala l-persuna ewliena tal-Gżira Tagħna, u tkellimt bi kliem iebes għaliex ma kienx hemm lok li wieħed jadotta l-ingwanti bojod. Kienet kwistjoni li tolqot il-prestiġju u l-unur ta' Malta u, meta jkun hekk, ma jistax ikun li aħna bħala rappreżentanti tal-poplu ma niħdux l-atteġġjament ġust u xieraq li ħadna l-aħħar darba. Jiddispjaċini li dak inhar il-ġurnal "Times of Malta" għoġbu jirriproduċi parti żgħira ħafna, mid-diskors tiegħi, li kienet biżżejjed fiha nfisha biex setgħet tagħti impressjoni ħażina fuqi. Illum, meta smajt l-istatement tal-Prim Ministru, ħadt pjaċir ferm għaliex osservajt illi l-Gvern Ingliż, meta jara li aħna ma rridux noqogħdu għad-daqqiet ta' ħarta—għalkemm forsi ma jkunux intenzjonali—u meta jara li tieqaf, u li tħalliħx jagħmel bik dak li jrid huwa, meta jara li nafu niġġieldu daqsu, u forsi aħjar minnu, allura huwa jirrispettana. Illum kulħadd qiegħed jara li li stand li ħadna kien xieraq, u li ġieb riżultati tajba. ħadd minna ma jixtieq li jkun hemm gwerra fredda, li jkun hemm attrit bejn il-poplu Malti u l-poplu Ingliż. Konna aħna li tlabna lin-nazzjon Ingliż li tiġi hawnhekk biex tħarisna u tipproteġġina, imma meta misserijietna għamlu hekk għamluh għaliex ħasbu li kien sejjer ikollhom trattament tajjeb u ġust mill-Ingliżi. Kull meta misserijietna ma kellhomx trattament xieraq, huma waqfu; ħafna drabi ottonew dak li riedu, imma ħafna drabi, minħabba ċ-ċokon tagħhom, ma setgħux jakkwistaw dak li kienu jixtiequ. Illum rajna li meta timxi bil-kalma kollha u tieħu passi dekorużi, f'għajnejn in-nazzjonijiet l-oħra nidhru bħala nazzjon li nafu l-kobor tagħna, għalkemm nagħrfu ċ-ċokon ta' gżiritna f'dik li hija dimensjoni. Illum quddiem in-nazzjonijiet qegħdin nidhru kbar, u dan għaliex bl-istand li ħadna rnexxielna nieħdu dak li ridna. Illum il-bandiera tagħna, li misserijietna tant iġġieldu biex iżommuha bajda u ħamra, qed tirċievi r-rikonnoxximent fil-qalba ta' l-Imperu. Bir-rikonoxximent tal-lum irċevejna dak kollu li kien jistħoqq lilna wara dak kollu li ġarrabna flimkien ma nazzjonijiet oħra, biex ikollna trattament sewwa ma' nazzjonijiet oħra, li dejjem għennihom u magħhom għadna naqsmu dak kollu li hu dekoruż u xieraq.

Dr. A. PULLICINO: Jiena kont tkellimt favur ir-riżoluzzjoni tal-11 ta' Mejju u llum inħoss ċertu obbligu li nitkellem favur ir-riżoluzzjoni li għandna quddiemna. Dakinhar ħassejt li kien neċessarju dak il-ġest biex inġibu quddiem l-għajnejn tad-dinja l-inġustizzja li kienet qed issir

kontra tagħna: ħassejt illi l-kawża kienet ġustissima. Peress li l-poplu Ingliż u l-għajnejn tad-dinja kollha huma mixħutin dan iż-żmien fuq il-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni meta n-nies jisimgħu illi l-kawża tagħna hija ġusta, il-forza tal-ġustizzja tagħna kellha twassal għall-vittorja li llum qegħdin niċċelebraw.

Din illum għal Malta hija ġurnata storika. Ma jidhirlix li għandi ntawwal għax ċertament il-kliem tiegħi ma jaslux biex jagħmlu ġustizzja u biex ikunu jistgħu jiċċelebraw din il-vittorja sabiħa tagħna. L-onor. Dr. Flores għamel diskors sabiħ ħafna, diskors li nista' ngħid esprima fih l-opinjonijiet u l-ideat tiegħi. Speċjalment ħadt gost nisma' l-kliem tiegħu fejn ried jiftakar f'dawk in-nies kollha li semma li mill-bidu tad-dominazzjoni Ingliża batew għall-ideali ta' pajjiżna. Jiena wkoll inħossni kburi illi llum nifforma parti minn Parlament li wasal għal din il-vittorja, Parlament li bl-eżempju tiegħu f'din l-okkażjoni jkun ta' dawk u ta' eżempju għall-ġenerazzjonijiet futuri tagħna.

Jiena qomt nitkellem għax ħassejt dan l-obbligu u ma jidhirlix li għandi nżid għax l-opinjonijiet li għandi jien ġa ġew espressi mill-oraturi ta' qabli. (*Hon. Members: Hear, hear*).

Onor. Nutar Borg Olivier: Malli smajt lill-onor. Leader ta' l-Oppożizzjoni jipproponi r-riżoluzzjoni tiegħu, kont fi ħsiebni nqum immedjatament warajh biex nissekondah. Fil-fatt issekonda l-onor. Dr. Hyzler li wera l-ispirtu li bih kien ippropona li jiġu kanċellati l-festi, wera li dak kien spirtu intiż għall-ġid, spirtu ta' kuxjenza u ta' sens ta' drittijiet nazzjonali tagħna u mhux animu ħażin, mhux, jiġifieri, animu li jonqos minn xi rispett, jew isir f'Malta dak li seta' jagħmlilna ħsara.

Jiena ma hemmx bżonn ngħid illi naqbel fiċ-ċirkostanzi tal-lum li l-festi għandhom isiru u kif jixraq. Bħalma għidt fl-aħħar okkażjoni illi l-loġika kienet tissuġġerili illi jekk Malta ma setgħetx tieħu parti f'Londra, ma tistax hija tagħmel il-festi, hekk ukoll il-lum l-istess loġika tissuġġerili illi għandna nuru kemm aħna ferħanin illi l-okkażjoni tawhielna li nkunu nistgħu nuru b'mod inekwivokabbli r-rispett tagħna lejn il-kap tal-Commonwealth, ir-Reġina Eliżabetta, li nafu Malta meta għexet magħna fl-aħjar miż-żmien ta' ħajjitha bħala prinċipessa eredi tat-Tron.

Jiena ma hemmx bżonn ngħid illi nassoċja ruħi ma' kulma ntqal favur id-drittijiet ta' pajjiżna, ma' l-ideat kollha li ġew espressi u vantaġġ tal-post xieraq li Malta għandha tokkupa f'din l-okkażjoni u anke fil-ħajja ta' kuljum fil-British Commonwealth of Nations, irrid, però, nirringrazzja bil-qalb kollha lill-Membri tal-Kamra kollha għal l-istand li

huma ħadu, għall-adesjoni u support li huma taw fl-istand li ħadt jien, support li ġie anke mill-istampa kollha u rrid ninkludi b'mod partikolari l-istampa Ingliża.

Kienet ħaġa proprju li tagħti pjaċir lilna l-Maltin illi tara l-istampa Ingliża, anke dik li normalment issostni l-partit li hemm fil-poter, dik li ssostni l-Gvern, tieqaf, tista' tgħid, b'vuċi waħda fl-imkien ma' the average man in the street fl-Ingilterra, b'ton ta' simpatija, ton ta' komprensjoni, favur din id-daqsxejn ta' gżira tagħna, żgħira fid-daqs imma li f'aktar minn okkażjoni waħda ġibdet ammirazzjoni mmensa min-nies ta' kull kredu, nies ta' kull pajjiż. Ir-ringrazzjament tiegħi, anke f'isem Malta, imur, ma għandna xi ngħidu xejn, lejn dawk kollha li bi kwalunkwe mod ikkontribwew biex iġibu din is-soluzzjoni feliċi tal-kwistjoni li kellna quddiemna, kwistjoni li tirrigwarda l-prestiġju ta' Malta, kwistjoni li tirrigwarda dritt ta' Malta. Il-fatt li dan il-prestiġju ġie rikonoxxut, il-fatt li dan id-dritt ġie rispettat, jagħtina pjaċir u jispiralna wkoll ċertu sens ta' ammirazzjoni lejn min kien f'pożizzjoni li seta' jikkmanda u seta' jiddetta imma li għaraf jirrikonoxxi drittijiet u prestiġju ta' min ma għandux ħaġ'oħra x'jivvanta, min ma għandux kobor ieħor ħlief dak tal-kuraġġ tiegħu, ħlief dak tal-qlubija tiegħu.

Naturalment kien ġest denn tal-figura kbira politika tal-Prim Ministru Ingliż li jieħu interess personali f'din il-kwistjoni tagħna. L-istess interess wera l-Ministru tal-Kolonji li fl-assenza tas-Segretarju ta' l-Istat daħal personalment fil-kwistjoni u f'din l-okkażjoni, bħal f'okkażjonijiet oħra, ipprova jagħti l-kontribut tiegħu biex Malta toħroġ kuntenta finnegozjati tagħha ma' l-Ingilterra. Mr. Hopkinson, li għadu qiegħed iħoss il-vojt kbir li bil-fors ħalliet il-mewt reċenti tas-sinjura ġentilissima tiegħu, li jiena kelli l-pjaċir nikkonoxxi personalment, nerġa' ngħid bħal f'okkażjonijiet oħra anke f'din l-okkażjoni, ħa interess personali u wasal anke biex, din id-darba, jikkontattjani anke mill-bogħod permezz tat-telephone forsi biex jipprova jħoss aktar mill-viċin il-ħsibijiet tagħna u l-bżonnijiet tagħna. Dan inħoss li għandi ngħidu bħalma dejjem ħassejt li kelli ngħid mod ieħor meta l-kwistjonijiet tagħna ġew trattati mod ieħor. Jiena dejjem żammejt l-istess attitudini. Meta dak li jien kien jidhirli li jappartjeni lil Malta ġie rikonoxxut u rispettat, allura jien ħadt l-attitudini u kienet xierqa f'okkażjonijiet bħal dawn. Meta rajt li kien hemm in pericolo xi dritt ta' Malta, xi ħaġa li l-Partit tiegħi, anzi rrid ngħid il-pajjiż tiegħi, kien jirriteniha bħala ħaġa li hi sagrosanta għalina, meta rajt li drittijiet simili kienu in pericolo jiena waqaft, ħadt l-istand li

ħadt f'din l-okkażjoni. Jiena dejjem ħadt u adottajt dik l-attitudini li kien hemm bżonn u l-mezzi proporzjonati li kienu rikjesti miċ-ċirkostanzi—la dgħajfin u lanqas spinti ż-żejjed, kif qal tajjeb il-Leader ta' l-Oppożizzjoni. Jekk fl-okkażjoni rigward iċ-ċelebrazzjoni tal-festi lokali l-Leaders tal-Partit ħadu xi ftit taż-żmien żejjed fil-lobby biex jaraw x'riżoluzzjoni titpoġġa quddiem il-Kamra, dak kien mhux għaliex il-Parlament Malti ma riedx jieħu l-miżuri li ċ-ċirkostanza kienet tirrikjedi imma għaliex il-Leaders tal-Partiti xtaqu li kemm jista' jkun ir-riżoluzzjoni li ttieħed mill-Kamra tkun waħda li possibbilment tiġi adottata unanimament.

Ħadt gost nisma' lil-Leader ta' l-Oppożizzjoni jistieden lill-Gvern—almenu jien tajtha din l-interpretazzjoni—u jgħidlu: "Il-Kamra qed tara li mil-lum 'il quddiem hemm bżonn li nieħdu id f'id, hemm bżonn li fi kwistjonijiet bħal dawn nimxu id f'id". Ma hemmx bżonn ngħid, sur President, illi min joffrili idu jiena lest ħalli neħodlu b'idu, ma hemmx bżonn ngħid li jiena, kemm minn din in-naħa u kemm meta kont u jekk nerġa' nkun f'dik in-naħa, nibqa' nagħti l-istess support li taw lili l-lejla fuq kwistjoni bħal din, fuq kwistjonijiet nazzjonali. Jien lest ħalli, anke meta u jekk inkun f'dik in-naħa, noffri idi lill-Gvern u ngħidlu: "F'affarijiet bħal dawn inti ssibni; f'affarijiet bħal dawn jeħtieġ li Malta tkun magħquda".

Meta niġu għall-mezzi ta' reżistenza jien naqbel li għadna nieħdu dawk il-mezzi li jkun hemm bżonn u li sintendi jkunu proporzjonati; però hu importanti, u importanti ħafna, illi aħna nedukaw lill-poplu tagħna, illi aħna nedukaw lill-partitiarji tar-rispettivi Partiti li hawn fil-Parlament biex ma jabbużawx minn dawk il-mezzi ta' reżistenza li l-leaders tagħhom ikunu qegħdin jipproponu. Din hi ħaġa li wkoll għandna naqblu fiha lkoll. Din hi ħaġa li jeħtieġ naqblu fiha għaliex, jekk aħna nħallu lill-partitarji tagħna jmorru iktar 'il bogħod mill-bżonn li aħna nkunu qegħdin nindikawlhom bħala leaders tagħhom, inkunu qegħdin nuru li ma aħniex kapaċi nillidjaw, inkunu qegħdin nuru li l-poplu tagħna mhux matur biżżejjed biex isegwi d-direttivi tal-leaders tiegħu. Dak għandu jiġi evitat appuntu biex aħna nibqgħu dejjem nogħlew fl-istatus tagħna, biex nibqgħu nuru lil min ikollu għajnejh fuqna li anke aħna poplu matur, li aħna m'aħniex nies irresponsabbli, illi anke aħna bħala nies Ewropej m'aħniex xi nies li nużaw it-tattika ta' nies oħra li msejknin forsi jkollhom il-kwistjonijiet tagħhom ukoll imma li forsi ma jirrealizzawx li l-lum ma għadhiex l-epoka li tistenna li wieħed idawwar dahru biex inti titfagħlu l-vleġġa. Fl-istess ħin naraw aħna stess

li spiċċa dak iż-żmien ta' l-inferiority complex. Qegħdin naraw illi l-poplu tagħna għandu dik il-koxjenza nazzjonali li turih fejn huma d-drittijiet tiegħu u li tqajmu meta dawn id-drittijiet ikunu sejrin jiġu traskurati jew injorati. Jekk ma għandniex il-kobor ta' art ta' ħaddieħor fl-estensjoni ta' l-art tagħna, jekk ma għandniex ir-rikezza ta' ħaddieħor, għandna ħaġa li ċertament m'hix anqas minn ta' ħaddieħor, u dak hu l-kuraġġ nazzjonali li bih, bil-buona volontà u b'sens ta' sagrifiċċju jiena nippretendi li aħna nistgħu naslu fejn wasal ħaddieħor li mingħajr l-għajnuna tan-nazzjonijiet l-oħra l-anqas hu ma jista' joqgħod indipendenti fid-dinja, lanqas hu ma jista' joqgħod waħdu u ma jiddependi minn ħadd. Illum kulħadd jiddependi wieħed mill-ieħor u dato li jkollok maturità, dato li jkollok kuraġġ, dato li jkollok kwalitajiet morali, mhux materjali, mhux il-flus, mhux l-prodott tan-natura, meta int ikollok il-kwalitajiet morali li jintitolawk li tissejjaħ nazzjon, il-poplu ma għandu jara ebda ostakolu quddiemu. Il-poplu għandu bil-kuraġġ tiegħu, bil-kuraġġ karatteristiku tal-poplu tagħna, għandu jibqa' miexi 'l quddiem sakemm naslu fejn nazzjon bħal tagħna jixirqilha li għandha tasal.

Ma jidhirlix li għandi nieħu iż-żmien tal-Kamra f'okkażjoni bħal din meta l-vuċi kienet vuċi waħda, vuċi unanimi. Nerġa' nirringrazzja lil-Leader ta' l-Opposition u 'l-Membri tal-Kamra għas-support li huma taw lill-kawża ġusta ta' poplu denn! Nirringrazzja wkoll lill-onor. Nutar Sammut li għoġbu jawgura lili u 'l-mara tiegħi l-vjaġġ it-tajjeb u l-mistrieħ; u barra n-Nutar Sammut nirringrazzja wkoll lil dawk kollha kemm jekk esprimewh verbalment kemm jekk xtaquh f'qalbhom u assoċjaw ruħhom ma' l-onor. Nutar Sammut u l-onor. Sur Cefai. Jiena nirringrazzjahom u nassikurahom li, jekk ikolli l-vjaġġ it-tajjeb, jiena mmur Londra u hemmhekk nipprova nagħmel ħilti kollha biex noffri rappreżentanza ta' Malta kif jixraq lil Malta. Ma nistax nassikurahom li jiena nieħu l-mistrieħ tiegħi. Jiena mhux fi ħsiebni mmur Londra biex nistrieħ imma fi ħsiebni mmmur Londra biex Malta tkun rappreżentata denjament, almenu nagħmel il-possibilità tiegħi kollha biex Malta tkun rappreżentata denjament, però fi ħsiebni nieħu kwalunkwe okkażjoni li toffri ruħha biex jien nitkellem fuq l-interessi ta' Malta, biex jien nipprova nittratta fuq kwestjonijiet pendenti ta' Malta avvolja ma nistenniex li ż-żmien ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni joffrili wisq minn dawn l-okkażjonijiet. Fuq kollox, jiena nista' nassikura lill-Kamra illi fir-ritorn tiegħi jiena nagħmel ħilti kollha biex inkompli l-ħidma tal-Gvern u l-

ħidma tal-Kamra a vantaġġ tal-poplu denn tagħna. (*Applaws*)

Mr. MINTOFF: Jiena naħseb illi ntqal kollox li kellu jintqal fuq din il-mozzjoni, però nixtieq li wara li għidna dan kollu nispiċċa b'nota li forsi jkun fiha xi valur prattiku għal quddiem. Jiena naf illi immedjatament wara l-festi tal-Coronation il-Prim Ministru Ingliż għandu jlaqqa' 'l-Prim Ministri tad-Dominji. M'inix ċert, u hawnhekk nixtieq illi l-Prim Ministru jagħmel l-istħarriġ neċessarju jekk ma' dawn il-Prim Ministri hux ser ikun hemm ukoll il-Prim Ministru tas-Southern Rhodesia. Jekk inhuwa ser ikun hemm il-Prim Ministru tas-Southern Rhodesia, jiena nħoss illi l-Prim Ministru tagħna għandu jagħmel ħiltu kollha biex jara li jkun inkluż hemmhekk ukoll. Inħoss illi lilna ma għandhomx jagħmlulna bħas-suldati li jkun hemm wara Whitehall li jlibbsuhom sabiħ u jagħtuhom il-pjumi għaċ-ċerimonji biss, imma jdaħħluna fl-affarijiet prattiċi u importanti, affarijiet li żgur meta tara l-effett tagħhom issib illi jolqtu lilna daqskemm jolqtu lil ħaddieħor.

Nixtieq ukoll illi barra dan nagħmel daqsxejn ta' spjegazzjoni personali għaliex forsi ma tantx kont ċar waqt li qed nimmuvja r-riżoluzzjoni. Jiena dak li rajt bi kbir fil-lobby mhux li ma stajniex noħorġu b'riżoluzzjoni unanimi minn din il-Kamra, imma li rajt bi kbir, u li ma stajtx inċedi fuqu, kien il-fatt illi meta fil-Kamra wieħed jaqsam lil xi Membri minn Membri oħrajn b'differenza ta' opinjoni, lill-Kamra jġibha impotenti, u allura ma jkunx hemm lok li dawk li jkunu qegħdin jiddefendu drittijiet nazzjonali jċedu lil ħaddieħor biex taparsi jagħtu l-apparenza li hemm unanimità. F'dawn l-affarijiet aktar aħjar li ma jkunx hemm l-unanimità u li jibqa' xi ħadd fil-minoranza, jew fil-maġġoranza, u jibqa' sod għad-drittijiet, milli jkun hemm l-unanimità a skapitu tad-drittijiet tagħna.

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Naqbel miegħek. Mhux a skapitu.

Mr. MINTOFF: Qed ngħid hekk għaliex kien hemm xi mumenti fil-Lobby fejn jien qtajt qalbi, għaliex rajt li bqajna kważi tnejn waħedna li bqajna nsostnu li xi ħaġa trid issir. Dan mhux qed ngħidu biex noffendi lil xi ħadd, imma biex nuri li fid-dinja ma tistax issib l-unanimità meta jkun hemm affarijiet serji. Meta l-affarijiet jisserjaw ġeneralment ma jkunx hemm l-unanimità, għax kull min jkollu opinjoni jsostniha, u jew tgħaddi taż-żgħir u l-maġġoranza ċċedilu, jew inkella ż-żgħir ikollu tabilfors juri li huwa ma jaqbelx ma' l-oħrajn u l-maġġoranza tkompli bix-xogħol tagħha. Inħoss li f'okkażjonijiet bħal dawn l-aktar li għandna noqogħdu attenti mhux li jkun hemm l-unanimità, imma li dawk

kollha li jħossu li għandhom jiddefendu d-drittijiet tagħna, jiddefenduhom, anke jekk ikunu weħedhom, u ma jagħtux każ tax-xewqa li l-Kamra żżomm l-apparenza ta' l-unanimità. Anke fuq l-affarijiet l-aktar serji l-Parlamenti tad-dinja jinqasmu u dejjem ikun hemm xi minoranza. Huwa biss f'okkażjonijiet formali, li ma jkollhomx importanza prattika, li ssib il-Kamra unanimi u ta' l-istess opinjoni.

Mr. SPEAKER: The question is:

"The House after hearing the Prime Minister's statement this afternoon describing the happy outcome of the dispute regarding the white and red flag and the place to be allotted to Malta's Prime Minister in the official celebrations in London, resolves to rescind the decision of the 11th May concerning the cancellation of the local Coronation festivities and requests the Government to proceed with the preparations for the Coronation festivities in these Islands".

"Il-Kamra wara li l-lejla semgħet l-istqarrija tal-Prim Ministru dwar ir-riżultat feliċi tal-kwistjoni tal-Bandiera Bajda u ħamra ta' Malta u tal-post mogħti lill-Prim Ministru ta' Malta fiċ-ċelebrazzjonijiet uffiċjali f'Londra, tirrisolvi li tħassar ir-riżoluzzjoni tal-11 ta' Mejju u titlob lill-Gvern biex ikompli bil-preparattivi għaċ-ċelebrazzjoni tal-Festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni f'dawn il-Gżejjer."

Resolution agreed to by acclamation.

Ir-Riżoluzzjoni għaddiet b'akklamazzjoni.

Mr. SPEAKER: Huwa pjaċir tal-Kamra li tintbagħat kopja ta' din ir-Riżoluzzjoni lis-Segretarju ta' l-Istat għall-Kolonji? (*Hon. Members: Aye*).

STATEMENT — STQARRIJA

CORONATION FESTIVITIES
FESTI TA' L-INKORONAZZJONI

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Sur President, nixtieq li l-Kamra tippermettili nagħmel daqsxejn ta' statement li fi ħsiebni niċċirkola.

Anki minħabba l-interess kbir illi din il-Kamra kienet ħadet fl-inċidenti li kienu nqalgħu bejn il-Gvern Ingliż u l-Gvern Malti dwar ir-rappreżentanza ta' Malta fil-Festa ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni u l-Bandiera Maltija li kellha tiġi wżata f'dik l-okkażjoni—inċidenti li fortunatament, kif taf din il-Kamra, spiċċaw b'wiċċ il-ġid—jiena żgur illi l-onor. Membri jistennew u jixtiequ illi issa li erġajt lura jiena ngħid xi ħaġa dwar il-viżita tiegħi Londra.

Għal dak li jirrigwarda l-Bandiera Maltija ma nħossx li għandi xi ngħid xejn ħlief illi skond il-ftehim li kien intlaħaq u li l-Kamra taf bih il-bandiera bajda u ħamra tradizzjonali tagħna ġiet waħedha wżata għarrigward ta' Malta fost il-bandieri uffiċjali tal-Commonwealth f'Whitehall. U għandi, anzi, pjaċir ngħid illi f'diversi postijiet ġo Londra, anke mhux uffiċjali, osservajt b'soddisfazzjon iperpru bnadar Maltin kompriża l-lukanda fejn kont jien u fejn kienu wkoll alloġġati l-Prim Minnistru ta' l-Awstralja u dak ta' New Zealand.

Rigward ir-rappreżentanza ta' Malta fil-festi ta' Londra, il-Kamra ġa taf illi l-Gvern Malti ddeċieda, bl-approvazzjoni unanimi ta' din il-Kamra, illi jiena stajt uffiċjalment nattendi u nieħu parti wara l-assikurazzjoni illi ġiet mogħtija mill-Gvern Ingliż permezz tal-Prim Ministru stess illi Malta f'dik l-okkażjoni kien ser ikollha trattament identiku bħal Southern Rhodesia u Northern Ireland. Fil-fatt, kif *del resto* naturalment ħadd ma seta' jkollu ebda dubbju, jiena (u anke marti) ġejna akkordati preċiżament dan it-trattament. L-onor. Membri, kif ukoll parti millpubbliku, kellhom żgur okkażjoni jikkonstataw dan b'għajnejhom stess mill-fotografiji u reżokonti li dehru fl-istampa lokali u estera. Iżda, apparti dan, nixtieq nassikura lill-Kamra illi fl-okkażjonijiet kollha—u dawn kienu numerużi u importanti—li fihom kien jixraq li nieħdu sehem aħna wkoll konna mistiedna u bħal ħaddieħor attendejna. Appena hemm bżonn inżid illi l-okkażjoni storika u ċ-ċelebrazzjonijiet tagħha kollha kienu ta' grandjożità u importanza liema bħala u aħna nħossuna privileġġjati u onorati li Malta, fil-persuna tagħna, ħadet is-sehem tagħha uffiċjali fihom. Quantu mbagħad għalija u għal marti personalment, aħna ma nistgħux faċilment ninsew ix-xeni spettakolużi li rajna u l-ġentilezza u l-kortesija li bihom ġejna milqugħa u mdawrin il-ħin kollu tant minn rappreżentanti u membri tal-familja Reali u tal-Gvern Ingliż, kif ukoll da parti tal-Prim Ministri l-oħra u r-rappreżentanti tal-Commonwealth u ta' nazzjonijiet oħra.

Trattament tassew tajjeb ġie estiż lilna wkoll mill-pubbliku Ingliż in ġenerali u mill-istampa.

Wara li għidt dana ma nixtieqx però ma nżidx illi jiena stess l-ewwel wieħed illi nifhem u napprezza illi b'danakollu l-kwistjonijiet kostituzzjonali mal-Gvern Ingliż għad ma ġewx riżolti. Nista' ngħid bid-dritt kollu illi jiena personalment qatt ma tlift okkażjoni kemm ili responsabbli għall-Gvern Malti illi nafferma u ninsisti għar-rikonoxximent tad-drittijiet kostituzzjonali tagħna. *Del resto* dejjem kien wieħed mill-aqwa

kapisaldi tal-Partit illi għalih jiena nappartjeni illi Malta hija intitolata għal stat kostituzzjonali progredit, anzi għal "Dominion Status" fl-isfera tal-Commonwealth. Il-lotta għall-emanċipazzjoni politika u konstituzzjonali ma kienet imkien faċili u kullimkien kienet gradwali. Jiena nħoss illi kull pass 'il quddiem huwa prezzjuż u jiswa bħala tarġa għal pass ieħor aktar 'il quddiem. Taħt dan l-aspett ħadd ma jista', jkollu ebda dubbju illi t-trattament li aħna, bil-għajnuna wkoll ta' kull sezzjoni ta' din il-Kamra, irnexxielna nassikuraw għal pajjiżna kien ta' ġid kbir. Jekk mhux għal ħaġ'oħra l-atteġġjament li ħa l-Gvern Malti serva biex jiffoka l-attenzjoni tal-pubbliku Ingliż u anke ta' pajjiżi oħra fuq il-problema ta' Malta u jiġbed is-simpatija lejna ta' korpi konsiderevoli ta' l-opinjoni pubblika.

Terġa' wkoll, il-konkors ġewwa l-Metropoli Ingliża ta' kapijiet u rappreżentanti mill-partijiet kollha tal-Commonwealth u bnadi oħra kien joffri okkażjoni unika għall-introduzzjonijiet u kontatti personali u jiena ma nqastx illi nieħu din l-okkażjoni biex, kull fejn stajt, nistabbilixxi relazzjonijiet li nispera jistgħu 'l quddiem jiswew ta' ġid għal Malta.

Kif ġa aċċennajt, ħadd ma kien jippretendi jew raġjonevolment jistenna illi f'din l-okkażjoni jew permezz tagħha kienu sejrin jiġu riżoluti l-problemi kollha tar-relazzjonijiet kostituzzjonali tagħna mal-Gvern Ingliż. B'danakollu jiena ma nqastx li napprofitta ruħi mill-preżenza tiegħi Londra biex niddiskuti personalment ma' rappreżentant tal-Gvern Ingliż diversi kwistjonijiet pendenti. Fost dawn nixtieq insemmi bħala eżempju taż-żejt, il-kwistjoni tan-N.A.A.F.I., dik dwar l-ordni tal-preċedenza u dwar il-kariga ta' Lieutenant-Governor, u dik dwar l-għajnuna finanzjarja. B'mod partikolari rrid ngħid illi anke l-kwistjoni ġenerali tar-relazzjonijiet tagħna mal-Colonial Office u t-trasferiment ta' Malta minn dan l-Uffiċċju għall-Commonwealth Relations Office ġiet ukoll aċċennata minni appena wasalt Londra u mbagħad formalment intavolata permezz ta' memorandum li jien inħoss jimmerita u għandu jirċievi, kif jiena ninsab imgħarraf, il-konsiderazzjoni tal-Gvern Ingliż flogħla livell.

Il-Festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni issa għaddew. Malta, jiena nħoss, hija ferħana li ħadet post onorat fiċ-ċelebrazzjonijiet ta' dan l-avveniment storiku. Issa, però, baqa' illi, bħalma aħna—u meta ngħid "aħna" nifhem Gvern u Oppożizzjoni u l-poplu kollu—konna kompatti u solidali fir-reklami ġusti tagħna f'din l-okkażjoni, hekk ukoll nibqgħu

għal li ġej. Il-Gvern da parti tiegħu bi ħsiebu ikompli bl-ikbar ħeġġa u enerġija l-isforzi tiegħu għar-rikonoxximent komplet ta' l-ideali u l-aspirazzjonijiet politiċi ġusti tagħna u ma jistax ħlief jistenna l-appoġġ unanimi ta' kull min għandu għal qalbu l-ġid ta' Pajjiżna.

Mr. D. MINTOFF: Nixtieq li fuq dan l-istatement il-Prim Ministru uffiċjalment jinforma lill-Kamra jekk hu ħax parti fl-aħħar konferenza tal-Commonwealth Prime Ministers u jekk le x'inhija r-raġuni illi ma ħax parti u x'passi ħa biex jieħu parti fil-konferenza.

Qed ngħid dan għaliex dan l-istatement hu limitat biss għal ċelbrazzjonijiet u għal ċerimonji.

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Le, mhux biss!

Mr. MINTOFF: Kif hawn hawn, fejn ħa parti l-Prim Ministru ma' nies oħrajn hu limitat għaċ-ċerimonji.

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Fejn ħadt parti, iva.

Mr. SPEAKER, nitlob lill-onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni li jew jiġbed fil-qosor jew inkella jitlob is-sospensjoni tar-Regolamenti.

Mr. MINTOFF: Jien għalissa mhux ser intawwal, imma din hija kwistjoni importanti ħafna u, jekk hemm bżonn, tintalab is-sospensjoni tar-Regolamenti.

Aħna li għamilna qabel ma kienx sempliċement biex nieħdu parti f'ċerimonji u f'ċelebrazzjonijiet u biex nidhru fil-pubbliku imma biex Malta tiġi trattata sewwa f'okkażjonijiet serji u essenzjali. Aħna nħossu illi Malta għandha tiġi trattata aktar tajjeb milli kienet sal-lum; inħossu wkoll li, per eżempju, il-konferenza tal-Prime Ministers tal-Commonwealth kienet ferm aktar importanti miċ-ċerimonji, kienet okkażjoni veru importantissima, u jekk hu veru li Malta ser tingħata l-istatus li ssemma li jagħtuha, il-Prim Ministru tagħna kellu jkun preżenti f'dik il-konferenza.

Dr. HYZLER: Nixtieq nitlob is-sospensjoni tar-Regolamenti biex nitkellmu fuq dan l-istatement.

Leave granted.
Il-permess ingħata.

Dr. HYZLER: Ħadt gost li kollox spiċċa b'wiċċ il-ġid; ħadt gost illi Malta kienet rappreżentata permezz ta' l-onor. Prim Ministru tagħha, u ħadt gost ukoll naqra u nisma' bir-riċevimenti u l-akkoljenzi illi kellu r-rappreżentant ta' Malta. Ma hemmx għalfejn ngħid li ħadt gost ukoll nara fotografija fejn il-bandiera Maltija li ġiet imdendla ġewwa White-

hall u bnadi oħra kienet il-bandiera tal-Konti Ruġġieru.

Però jiddispjaċini illi nara f'dan l-istatement, fit-tielet paġna, li kważi l-Gvern irid jagħmel kapital politiku minn dak li sar għaliex din ma kinetx kwistjoni tal-Gvern biss imma kienet kwistjoni tal-pajjiż kollu. Fit-tielet paġna nsibu:

"Jekk mhux għal ħaġ'oħra l-atteġġjament li ħa l-Gvern Malti serva biex jiffoka l-attenzjoni tal-pubbliku Ingliż. . . .".

Dik ma naqbelx magħha għaliex kienet il-Kamra li ħadet dak l-atteġġjament.

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Iva, il-Gvern bl-approvazzjoni tal-Kamra. Id-deċiżjoni kienet tiegħi, bil-Kabinett. Imbagħad il-Kamra approvat l-aġir tiegħi, u jien għidt li meta ngħid "Jien", voldieri l-Gvern, l-Oppożizzjoni u l-Kamra kollha. Nieħu gost li f'affarijiet simili naqblu.

Dr. HYZLER: Nispera li ma tkunx l-ewwel darba li nkunu unanimi, imma ma jidhirlix li meta l-poplu jkun unanimi, dan il-Gvern jew kwalunkwe Gvern ieħor għandu jagħmel kapital minn dan il-fatt. Għalhekk għamilt dik l-osservazzjoni, u nieħu gost li l-Prim Ministru qed igħid li jifhem il-Kamra kollha.

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Skond fejn.

Dr. HYZLER: Fejn hemm:

"Jekk mhux għal ħaġ'oħra l-atteġġjament li ħa l-Gvern Malti serva biex iffoka l-attenzjoni tal-pubbliku Ingliż. . . ."

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: L-atteġġjament prinċipalment, fl-ewwel stadju, kien tal-Gvern Malti; imbagħad il-Kamra qablet mad-deċiżjoni li kien ħa l-Gvern.

Mr. MINTOFF: Mhux qablet biss, imma żiedet!

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Imbagħad ittieħdet ir-Riżoluzzjoni, però dan ma jneħħix il-fatt li kien atteġġjament tal-Gvern. Però jien nassikurah li ma ridt nagħmel ebda kapital politiku. Meta għidt "il-Gvern Malti", voldieri Malta rnexxielha tiġbed l-attenzjoni tal-poplu Ingliż u popli oħra.

Dr. HYZLER: Hekk naqbel, imma l-Gvern mod u l-poplu ieħor.

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Qed tfittex wisq!

Dr. HYZLER: Le, għaliex kienet ħaġa nazzjonali, u l-Gvern, l-Oppożizzjoni u kulħadd, xtaqna nagħmlu vittorja—u m'għandux isir kapital politiku.

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Ma kienx intiż, jekk sar. Però ma sarx.

Dr. HYZLER: Għaliex 'il quddiem dan jista' jservi ta' preċedent, li qabel wieħed jagħti l-appoġġ tiegħu għal xi ħaġa fl-interess nazzjonali jgħid "Noqgħod attent, għaliex jista' jirridonda kontra l-Partit tiegħi."

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Dak ikun partiġġjaniżmu!

Dr. HYZLER: Le. Kull ma sar, sar bis-saħħa tal-Kamra. Jien ressaqt Riżoluzzjoni li setgħet kellha riperkussjonijiet kbar—mhux kif forsi ħaseb xi ħadd, li jien kelli ulterior motives, għax forsi xtaqt insir Sir—u kieku ma kinetx dik ir-Riżoluzzjoni l-Gvern Ingliż ma kienx jiċċaqlaq, għaliex fuq il-kwistjoni tal-bandiera lanqas biss kienu ndenjaw ruħhom jirrispondu, u anke lill-Prim Ministru ma kinux allokawlu l-post li kien jixraqlu. Bil-protesti kollha u bid-deċiżjoni tal-Kabinett, kieku ma saretx dik ir-Riżoluzzjoni l-Prim Ministru kien jibqa' Malta, u ġa kienet ittieħdet id-deċiżjoni li ma jmurx. Irrid ngħid li kull ma sar, sar bis-saħħa tal-Kamra, u mhux bis-saħħa tal-kabinett u lanqas tal-Gvern. Dan qed ngħidu għaliex hemm ħafna kwistjonijiet nazzjonali li għandna nkunu unanimi fuqhom, u ebda Gvern m'għandu jagħmel kapital politiku billi jgħid "Dik ġibtha jien."

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Fuq din il-biċċa, kulħadd iżomm l-opinjoni tiegħu.

Dr. HYZLER: Le, il-verità! Aktar 'il quddiem imbagħad insibu dan il-kliem:

"Fost dawn nixtieq insemmi bħala eżempju l-kwistjoni taż-żejt, il-kwistjoni tan-N.A.A.F.I., dik dwar l-ordni tal-preċedenza u dwar il-karika ta' Lieutenant-Governor, u dik dwar l-għajnuna finanzjarja."

Dawn huma kwistjonijiet importanti u vitali għall-pajjiż. Nixtieq li kemm jista' jkun il-Gvern isus fuq dawn il-kwistjonijiet, u li jkollna risposti mill-aktar fis. Issa l-Prim Ministru għandu mera quddiemu. Meta kien hemm kwistjoni serja bħal dik tal-bandiera u tal-post li kien jixraq lill-Prim Ministru fil-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni, ra li l-Kamra tagħtu s-support tagħha. Għalhekk jekk ikollu intoppi fuq il-kwistjoni tan-N.A.A.F.I., taż-żejt, ta' l-ordni tal-preċedenza, jew kwalunkwe kwistjoni oħra, għandu jagħti rapport kmieni lill-Kamra biex aħna nagħtuh il-backing tagħna, u ċertament aħna nottjenu, bħalma ottenejna fil-każ ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni. Meta wieħed joqgħod jistenna li forsi jottjeni xi ħaġa biex imbagħad jgħid: "Dik ġibtha jiena", jista' ma jottjeni xejn u anke jippreġudika l-pożizzjoni tal-pajjiż. Fi kwistjonijiet nazzjonali

m'għandux ikun hemm kwistjoni ta' Partiti. Għalhekk nixtieq li, jekk il-Gvern ikollu xi intoppi, jew jara li l-Gvern Ingliż qed idurlu mal-lewża jew qed itawwal, il-Prim Ministru should take us into his confidence, biex aħna nagħtuh il-backing tagħna. Hemm ħafna affarijiet li huma importanti—m'inix ser noqgħod insemmihom; forsi l-Prim Ministru ġa tkellem fuqhom mal-Gvern Ingliż—u, nirripeti, li, jekk jara li dawn ser jitwalu, il-Gvern għandu jsejjaħ il-Kamra minnufih, u aħna nagħtuh l-għajnuna meħtieġa, jekk mhux għall-ġieh tiegħu, għall-ġieh tal-pajjiż.

Mr. SPEAKER: Any more remarks?

Mr. MINTOFF: Jien għamilt domanda.

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Imma jien nirrispondi fl-aħħar.

Mr. MINTOFF: Nagħtuk iċ-chance titkellem darbtejn.

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Ma nsibx oġġezzjoni nirrispondi għad-domanda tal-Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni. Huwa staqsa jekk jien attendejtx għall-konferenzi li saru Londra fi żmien il-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni. Mill-istess statement li għamilt jidher li jien kont ta' l-opinjoni li ma kellix nuri l-bad taste tiegħi, tal-Gvern, tal-Kamra u tal-pajjiż billi napprofitta ruħi minn ħaġa li l-Gvern Ingliż qabel li jagħtina, li kienet post xieraq fil-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni—dak li jien għall-mument kont tlabt, dak li l-Kamra qablet li jien kelli nieħu, u dak li l-Kamra kollha ferħet bih u aċċettat meta l-Gvern Ingliż, permezz ta' Sir Winston Churchill, wiegħed li Malta jkollha.

Mr. MINTOFF: Imma mhux għaċ-ċertimonji biss!

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Għaċ-ċertimonji biss. Ma saret ebda waġħda oħra la mill-Gvern Ingliż u lanqas minn Sir Winston Churchill, u lanqas il-Kamra ma talbet affarijiet oħra.

Mr. MINTOFF: Hemm id-Debates, fejn għidtlek darbtejn.

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Il-Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni qal: "Aħna ferħana li ġiet din ir-risposta, però issa l-Prim Ministru għandu jinsisti biex jibda jieħu parti fil-konferenzi", però l-Kamra ma qaletx lill-Gvern Ingliż: "Jekk int ma tippermettilniex niġu għall-konferenzi, allura ma niħdux parti fil-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni." Id-domanda kienet strettament limitata għall-post fil-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni. Jien ma stajtx napprofitta ruħi mill-mod kif il-Gvern Ingliż ikkonsidra dik it-talba ġusta tagħna u akkordahielna, biex imbagħad f'dawk iż-żmenijiet, meta kulħadd kien okkupat fil-linja tiegħu, jien immur inqajjem kwistjonijiet ta' issue kostituzzjonali. Jiena ma stajtx napprofitta ruħi minn dak il-mument. Dak l-abbuż ma għamiltux; però l-kwistjoni tal-konferenzi

ittrattajt fuqha. Naħseb li l-onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni qatt ma ħolom li sejjer jirnexxili li f'erbgħa u għoxrin siegħa sejjer inġib għal Malta dak li Malta ilha titlob għal mija u ħamsin sena.

Il-konferenzi tal-Prim Ministri ilhom isiru immedjatament minn wara l-ewwel gwerra, almenu safejn naf jien. Qatt minn dak iż-żmien sal-lum Malta ma ħadet parti, la taħt dan il-Gvern li jiena responsabbli għalih u lanqas taħt gvernijiet oħra li kienu responsabbli għalihom il-predeċessuri tiegħi. Ir-raġuni għaliex Malta ma attendietx dawn il-konferenzi hija minħabba l-istatus tagħha. Jiena u l-partit tiegħi konna minn ta' l-ewwel biex ngħidu li l-kostituzzjoni li għandna m'hix dik li nimmeritaw, imma hija l-minimum li nistgħu naħdmu biex waqt li qegħdin naħdmu din il-Kostituzzjoni nirsistu biex nottjenu status aħjar għall-pajjiż. Quindi r-raġuni għaliex Malta ma setgħetx tieħu parti f'parti f'dik il-konferenza hija li qabel ma jinbidel jew isir aħjar l-istatus tagħna ma nistgħux nieħdu parti fiha. Naħseb li jġibuha bħala pretest għaliex Malta ma għandhiex tieħu parti f'dawk il-konferenzi f'dan is-sens. L-ewwel pass huwa li jekk trid tieħu post xieraq f'dawk il-konferenzi għandek tibda biex tieħu parti anke barra dawk il-konferenzi, anke f'affarijiet ta' mhux importanza kbira, anke ngħidu aħna, riċevimenti. Dawn li ħadt parti fihom jiena ma kinux riċevimenti sempliċi; kienu riċevimenti importanti li għalihom attendiet ir-Reġina jew xi membri tal-familja Rjali. F'dawn l-okkażjonijiet kellhom il-pjaċir ikellmuni u jistaqsuni għal Malta u juruni l-interess lejn pajjiżna. Dawk kienu riċevimenti li għalihom attendew il-Prim Ministri tal-Commonwealth. F'dawn l-okkażjonijiet kelli l-opportunità li nagħmel contacts li jien kkonsidrajthom prezzjużi u nispera li 'l quddiem jagħtu l-frott tagħhom. Jiena jidhirli li mhux il-Gvern Ingliż għandu jiddeċiedi jekk aħna nattendux f'dawn il-konferenzi, imma l-Prim Ministri tal-Commonwealth. Quindi għandna nifirħu li Malta jkollha l-okkażjoni li tieħu parti fihom sija jekk ikun riċevimenti għal dinner jew ballu biex Malta jkollha ċ-chance li tagħmel kuntatti. Kif urewni dawn in-nies ippruvaw jifhmu l-każ tagħna u wrew l-akbar simpatija lejn Malta u partikolarment minħabba l-istand tagħna fl-aħħar gwerra.

Jista' xi ħadd igħidli: "Imma inti għidt li l-istatus ta' Malta jista' jiġi ekwiparat ma' dak ta' Northern Ireland u Southern Rhodesia". Sa hemm huwa veru. Għalkemm Northern Ireland ma ħadet l-ebda parti f'dawn il-konferenzi, mill-banda l-oħra Southern Rhodesia qiegħda tieħu parti u ilha u minn dejjem kienet tieħu parti; però jiena nixtieq

nista' nitkellem u l-kliem ma joħroġx minn dawn l-erba' ħitan. Jekk irridu illi verament nieħdu postna, jekk irridu li l-Gvern Ingliż u l-Prim Ministri l-oħra tal-Commonwealth jieħdu r-request tagħna bis-serjetà u jagħtuh il-konsiderazzjoni li aħna nixtiequ u nistennew li xi darba tingħata, irridu nkunu nafu niġġudikaw u nirrealizzaw u nivvalutaw il-pożizzjoni tagħna, l-assets u l-liabilities tagħna. Għalkemm nista' ngħid, li linea ġenerali, l-Kostituzzjoni tagħna u tan-Northern Ireland u Southern Rhodesia huma l-istess, però, bħalma għidt f'din il-Kamra, aħna għandna status superjuri għal dak ta' Northern Ireland. Għandi hawn pjaċir nosserva li fiċ-ċelebrazzjonijiet kollha, dan ġie osservat, għaliex dejjem kont bejn Southern Rhodesia u Northern Ireland. Dan jiena nafferma b'mod li ħadd ma jista' jikkontradiċini rigward l-istatus ta' Malta. Però Southern Rhodesia minn żmien twil kellha d-defence tagħha. Quindi jiena nissimpatizza mas-Southern Rhodesia li nsistiet, u ma kellhiex bżonn tinsisti wisq ma' l-Ingilterra biex dan id-dritt jiġi rikonoxxut lilha, għaliex din qisha family affair bejn Southern Rhodesia u l-Ingilterra. Dan għandha d-difiża tagħha u napprezza li kellha tinsisti fi kwistjonijiet li jirrigwardaw id-difiża. Però, mhux għaliex Malta ma għandhiex difiża tagħha, ma għandhiex frejgati Maltin u kanuni Maltin, ma għandiex tieħu parti fejn jiġu diskussi kwistjonijiet ta' difiża. Dan jiena nsostnih, u nispera li f'ħajti tiġi l-ġurnata li l-poplu kollu jsir konxju ta' dan id-dover li għandna li ninsistu għal din ir-rappreżentanza.

Jiddispjaċini ngħid li sa ftit xhur ilu kien hawn min ma jħossx, ma jirrealizzax li għandna ninistu li jkollna din ir-rappreżenza. Illum nixtieq ngħid li dan is-sens ta' koxjenza kostituzzjonali qiegħed jikber fost il-poplu. Jiena mimli speranzi li f'ħajti jkolli x-xorti nara lil Malta tgawdi dawk id-drittijiet kostituzzjonali li l-partit tiegħi sa mill-ewwel ħolqien tiegħu kien dejjem jinsisti għalihom. Jiena, malli wasalt Londra, f'kull okkażjoni ċkejna li kelli, għidt illi ma kontx kuntent biss illi Malta ħadet postha fiċ-ċelebrazzjonijiet. Jiena għidt: "Malta għandha tieħu postha fi kwalunkwe okkażjoni" u għidt illi fi ħsiebni nieħu kull opportunità biex dan isir.

Fis-soġġorn qasir tiegħi kien hemm *a very full programme*: ma kellix wisq ħin la għal mistrieħ u lanqas għal xogħol; kien hemm *engagements* li kelli nattendi għalihom; u ma stajtx nagħmel linja ta' dimarkazzjoni u ngħid: "Hawn immur u l-ieħor le"; però jiena deherli illi kull min onorani ma onoranix personalment, imma bħala rappreżentant ta' Malta u quindi kelli nirrispondi għal dak l-unur billi nattendi. Attendejt

u ma ddispjaċinix, għax sibt illi l-Prim Ministri l-oħra għamlu bħali. Għamilt kontatti u kelli relazzjonijiet amikevoli illi nikkonsidrahom prezzjużi. Naħseb li jiswew għal Malta tant kemm jekk nibqa' fil-Gvern jien u kemm jekk ikun hawn ħaddieħor. Jiena ma mexxejtx l-isem tiegħi personali, jew l-idea tiegħi personali, imma l-isem ta' Malta ppruvajt immexxi. Ippruvajt nagħmel propaganda mhux għal dawk li huma drittijiet personali tiegħi, imma tal-pajjiż.

L-onor. Dr. Hyzler qal illi ħa gost li jiena ttrattajt dawk il-kwistjonijiet li hemm fl-istatement u qal illi l-Prim Ministru għandu mera u kellu bżonn f'okkażjonijiet oħra kull meta jinqala' xi intopp mal-Gvern Ingliż iressqu quddiem il-Kamra biex ikollu s-support tagħha. Dan ma nagħmlux, mhux għax ma rridx nagħmlu, għax nieħu gost illi jkolli s-support, imma l-machinery tkun *cumbersome* immensament u l-Kamra tapprezza illi mhux f'kull okkażjoni l-Gvern jista' jagħmel dan, imma nassikura lill-Kamra kollha illi l-Gvern u jien dan is-support fi kwistjonijiet bħal dawn, kwistjonijiet nazzjonali, dejjem assumejnieh u dejjem informajna 'l-Gvern Ingliż f'dan is-sens. Dana bir-raġun għax jiena m'għandi ebda raġun niddubita mis-support tal-Kamra fuq kwistjonijiet li mhux tal-partit tiegħi, mhux tiegħi personali, imma huma kwistjonijiet li jġibu 'l quddiem l-isem u d-drittijiet ta' Malta.

Jiena għidt fl-istatement illi anke l-parteċipazzjoni tiegħi fil-festi ta' l-Inkoronazzjoni kienet ġa pass 'il quddiem biex Malta jkollha rikonoxximent aħjar. Kien ġa ta' ġid dak il-pass waħdu aħseb u ara meta jiena dak il-pass segwejtu b'pass ieħor u fi ħsiebni—u ta' dan nagħti l-kelma liberament lill-Kamra u lill-poplu Malti—inkompli nieħu pass wara l-ieħor sakemm dawk li jidhirli li huma l-ideali tiegħi, illi jidhirli li għandhom ikunu l-ideali ta' pajjiżi rikonoxxuti lilna.

Jiena għal dak l-iskop mill-ewwel fehemt lill-Gvern Ingliż, u lil kull wieħed illi ltqajt miegħu, illi jiena nikkonsidrah essenzjali bħala l-ewwel pass u bħala r-rimedju immedjat, nikkonsidrah essenzjali, it-transfer ta' l-affarijiet ta' Malta, tat-trattazzjoni tal-kwistjonijiet ta' Malta minn taħt il-Colonial Office fejn il-policy ma tantx kienet favorevoli għal Malta. Malta ma tantx taqbel mal-mod kif jirraġunaw hemm, għax il-mentalità kollha hemm hi dik li tiġġudika l-kolonji suwed, illi twieldu l-bierah. Fil-Colonial Office m'humiex imdorrijin jittrattaw kwistjonijiet ta' ċivilizzazzjoni diversa bħal dik ta' Malta; ma jistgħux jiġġudikaw sewwa lil Malta li minn dejjem kellha ċivilizzazzjoni li m'għandha x'tgħir minn ebda ċiviltà ta' qualsiasi parti oħra ta' l-Ewropa u li fi żmien l-Imperu

Roman kienet konsidrata bħala soċja ta' Ruma u ċ-ċittadini Maltin kienu konsidrati bħala "Cives Romani".

Meta l-Colonial Office jittrattaw fuq dawn l-affarijiet ma jistgħux jittrattawhom bil-konsiderazzjoni li jistħoqqilhom u bilfors jarawhom bil-lenti li mdorrijin jaraw kwistjonijiet ta' kolonji anqas fortunati minna għal dik li hija storja, għal dawk li huma drittijiet kostituzzjonali għal dak li hu background għalkemm forsi aktar fortunati minna għal dawk li huma riżorsi.

Għalhekk ħassejt illi kelli ngħid illi dan hu pass essenzjali u jiena ħadt l-okkażjoni tal-viżita tiegħi biex ippreżentajt personalment, minn idi għal id il-Ministru ta' l-Istat għall-affarijiet kolonjali, memorandum fejn esponejt il-każ ta' Malta l-aspirazzjonijiet ta' Malta, u għidt illi biex naslu għal dawn l-aspirazzjonijiet jeħtieġ illi jsir transfer tal-ħwejjeġ ta' Malta minn ġewwa l-Colonial Office għal ġewwa l-Commonwealth Relations Office.

Ma jidhirlix li għandi nżid ma' dak li għidt fl-istatement u ma' dak li għidt issa, però nerġa' ngħid illi jiena ma rridx nagħmel kwistjoni politika minnha din il-ħaġa, imma nixtieq illi lkoll naqblu fuq dawn il-kwistjonijiet nazzjonali u jekk sal-lum Malta ma kellhiex iċ-chance tattendi fil-konferenzi tal-Commonwealth, dan ma nattribwuhx lil wieħed jew l-ieħor minnha l-Maltin imma lill-fatt illi qatt ma ġie lilna mogħti rikonoxximent ta' dawk li verament għandhom ikunu d-drittijiet kostituzzjonali tagħna u nibqgħu lkoll flimkien ngħidu; "Sal-bieraħ ma kellniex chance nattendu; mil-lum 'il quddiem jeħtieġ nagħmlu minn kollox sabiex naraw id-drittijiet tagħna jiġu rikonoxxuti" (*Cheers*).

Mr. MINTOFF: Jiena naħseb illi l-Prim Ministru żgur mhux sejjer jakkużani ta' invidja, jew ġelożija tal-fatt illi hu ħa parti f'din iċ-ċerimonja. Hu jaf il-karattru tiegħi personali u naħseb li l-lum Malta kollha tafu l-karattru tiegħi personali, biss inħoss li f'dan l-episodju aħna tajna l-impressjoni bħalma jagħtu ċerti Konti u Kontessi u Barunijiet Taljani li jiġu invitati f'ħafna riċevimenti u jinvitawhom apposta biex min jinvitahom jissemma ismu u mbagħad wara, meta tkun tafhom intimament, tara li dawk mhumiex ħlief ornamenti li qegħdin hemm mhux biex wieħed jirrispettahom imma biex jiġu wżati mad-dekorazzjonijiet u mal-mobbilja li jkollu s-sid li jkun qiegħed jagħti r-riċevimenti. Dan ma rridux li nilagħbu din il-parti u mbagħad fl-affarijiet serji nkunu minsijin u ma rridux nuru u nagħtu l-impressjoni li aħna tajbin u sodi u fil-fatt inkunu nies li fis-soċjetà serja jidħku bina.

Onor. NUTAR BORG OLIVIER: Ħadd ma jridu dan.

Mr. MINTOFF: Naħseb li ħadd ma jridu.

Meta għaddejna l-Mozzjoni li ma jsirux festi tal-Coronation, aħna ma kellniex f'rasna li niġġieldu għax dehrilna li din id-darba, għax konna bravi fl-aħħar gwerra, lill-Prim Ministru ta' Malta, bħala rikonoxximent speċjali, għandu jiġi mogħti l-privileġġ li jieħu parti fiċ-ċerimonji biss u f'affarijiet oħrajn inkunu mżebelħin. Jiena ċert li l-ebda Membru tal-Kamra ma kellu f'rasu li l-ġlieda qiegħda ssir għalhekk. L-iskop tal-ġlieda kien aktar avanzat u aktar bażat fuq is-serjetà. Għadni niftakar meta tkellimt jiena u sħabi għamilna enfasi speċjali illi l-kwistjoni tal-bandiera—li kienet tinħass ġo din il-Kamra aktar mill-fatt li nkunu rappreżentati f'ċerimonji—ma kinetx serja daqs affarijiet oħra. Ħassejna li dak ma kienx l-objective. Ħassejna li għandna nieħdu d-dritt serju tagħna. U mhux li mmorru f'purċissjonijiet u riċevimenti biss. ħassejna li f'affarijiet serji għandna nkunu konsultati biex niffurmaw id-destin ta' pajjiżna. Għamilnieha ċara li aħna lkoll konna qegħdin nagħmlu hekk biex nilħqu l-objective tagħna li Malta jkollha status li jonoraha u mhux jirridikolaha.

Jiena jiddispjaċini li meta ġie minn Londra għamel *statement* biex juri lill-poplu kemm morna tajjeb u ħalla barra l-aktar affarijiet importanti. Jista' jkun li hu ġo din il-Kamra ma kellux f'rasu dawn l-affarijiet li kellna aħna, imma naħseb li hu naqas bil-kbir meta ġie minn Londra u għamel statement—meta kien jaf jew almenu ħass li Membri ta' l-Oppożizzjoni sejrin inqajmu dan il-punt—ikkonċentrata biex jagħmel eloġju fuq dak kollu li sar u ma semmiex dak li ma sarx. Jiena għal darbtejn, qabel ma siefer, ġbidtlu l-attenzjoni li l-aktar ħaġa importanti kienet li aħna niġġieldu għad-dritt li fil-Konferenza tal-Prime Ministers inkunu rappreżentati, biex almenu nkunu nafu x'inhu jsir, biex almenu ndabbru ras pajjiżna u mhux l-affarijiet jersqu fuqna bħal berqa u biex inkunu nafu fejn hu miexi dan il-kbir Imperu Ingliż jew dan il-kbir Commonwealth; meta ġbidtlu l-attenzjoni ta' dak stennejt li xi ħaġa ssir.

Il-Prim Ministru qalilna "li ma abbużax"—mill-kliem tiegħu kif stajt nifhem jien—"minn din il-ġenerożità tal-Gvern Ingliż li aħna konna rappreżentati f'ċerimonji u ma riedx jutilizza l-vantaġġ li kellu li Malta kienet il-focus ta' l-attenzjoni ta' l-opinjoni pubblika Ingliża u jaqbad dak il-vantaġġ li kellu f'idejh u jużah mhux biss fiċ-ċerimonji imma anke fis-serjetà u jara li nkunu trattati sewwa.

Onor. Nutar BORG OLIVIER: Jiena għidt li qbadt dak il-punt ukoll. Għidt li għamilt l-użu u mhux l-abbuż.

Mr. MINTOFF: Ma naqbelx li kien ikun abbuż imma hu vantaġġ

politiku u strateġiku li kulħadd kien jutilizza barra aħna. Jiena nħoss li kien il-mument l-aktar vantaġġjuż għalina biex il-Prim Ministru meta kien hemm igħid lill-oħrajn: "Aħna ma naqblux li sejjer niġi f'ċerimonja minħabba l-ġenerożità jew għax iġġilidna fl-aħħar gwerra jew għax ħadna l-George Cross; ma naqblux mat-teżi li aħna ġejna hawn bħal speċi għax aħna t-tfal iż-żgħar nett tal-Commonwealth, għaliex lilna forsi qegħdin tgħodduna bħala l-benjamini tal-Commonwealth imma naqblu mat-teżi li għandu jkollna d-drittijiet kif għandhom l-Ingliżi u l-Awstraljani u n-New Zealanders". Fid-dinja kulħadd jikkontribwixxi skond il-kobor tiegħu u fid-dinja kulħadd jista' jagħmel sagrifiċċji skond is-saħħa finanzjarja tiegħu. Imma dan kollu ma jfisserx li jista' jkun hawn xi ħadd u jgħid: "Jiena nagħti d-dritt għal-libertà u għall-għajxien lil min hu b'saħħtu u għani u nnaqqsu lil min hu żgħir u fqir". Din hi teżi, li żgur ma għandniex naċċettawha.

Issa fejn hi d-differenza bejnietna u bejn il-Prim Ministru? Il-Prim Ministru ried bħal speċi—ma ngħidx li qal dan il-kliem—jagħtina x'nifhmu li kien ikun abbuż min-naħa tiegħu li wara li tela' hemm fuq igħidilhom: "Aħna għaċ-ċerimonji biss? Għax mhux deħlin għall-Konferenza tal-Commonwealth? Tafu li l-poplu tiegħi rabatni li nara li d-drittijiet tagħna jkunu rispettati u għaldaqstant ma nħossnix li għandi nieħu parti f'dawn iċ-ċerimonji jekk intom anke f'affarijiet serji, fejn sejrin jiġu deċiżi d-destini ta' miljuni ta' nies, ma tħallunix nidħol magħkom". Dan kien ikun fl-interess tal-poplu Malti għax illum ngħidu kemm ngħidu u ngħajtu kemm ngħajtu, wara li spiċċat din iċ-ċelebrazzjoni u wara li tlifna dak il-vantaġġ psikoloġiku li kellna, wara li konna l-focus ta' l-attenzjoni tal-Commonwealth, dak issa tlifnieħ u ma naqblu xejn mat-teżi tal-Prim Ministru li dan kien ikun abbuż. Ma kien ikun abbuż xejn. Ma nistax jien ukoll niċħad li l-Prim Ministru ħalla xi ittri fejn talab illi dawn jinbidlu.

Onor. Nutar Borg Olivier: Ippermettili spjegazzjoni. Meta l-onor. Leader ta' l-Oppożizzjoni qal "Stennejt lil-Prim Ministru li jagħmel xi ħaġa rigward il-konferenza" ma kienx preċiż, għaliex jien dmiri għamiltu. Jien għidt illi għamilt dak kollu li stajt nagħmel. Li ma għamiltx hu l-abbuż u nispjega ruħi fuq dan; jiġifieri, il-kwistjoni maqbuda kienet dik ċertament tar-rappreżentanza ta' Malta fl-Inkoronazzjoni. Jekk ried imbagħad li naqbad kwistjoni oħra, jien li għandi Gvern jekk jiġi xi ħadd illi jaqbad miegħi tliet kwistjonijiet f'daqqa ngħidlu: "Isma' aqbad każ wara l-ieħor u kull wieħed irid ikun kon-

ness." L-ewwel każ tagħna kienet ir-rappreżentanza fil-coronation. Il-każ tal-konferenza sal-festa tal-coronation kien għadu ma sarx. Lanqas l-istess Leader ta' l-Oppożizzjoni, meta kien fil-Gvern, meta kellu chance, dan qatt ma għamlu u lanqas biss talab illi jattendi u li fejn jattendi jkollu postu sewwa. Qatt ma għaddielu minn rasu dan. Mhux qed ngħid li għamel ħażin jew tajjeb, imma l-fatt jibqa' hemm; u jibqa' l-fatt ukoll illi jien fi żmieni qlajt kwistjoni li kif qal l-onor. Leader ta' l-Oppożizzjoni ġibdet l-attenzjoni tad-dinja fuq Malta. Nerġa' nirripeti li jiena ma ħallejt ebda opportunità biex nuri x'inhu l-każ ta' Malta, nuri l-għala Malta għandha jkollha status kostituzzjonali aħjar. Ma tlift assolutament ebda okkażjoni. Għamilt dak kollu li ssuġġerixxa l-onor. Leader ta' l-Oppożizzjoni; għamilt dak kollu li kien umanament possibli li wieħed jagħmel. U mhux tassew li tlift il-vantaġġ. Ħadtu l-vantaġġ. Jiena kważi kważi jkolli aptit nistaqsi lill-Onor. Leader ta' l-Oppożizzjoni u ngħidlu: "Kieku kont int fil-pożizzjoni tiegħi, x'kont bi ħsiebek tagħmel? X'ridtni nagħmel aktar? Immur quddiem il-karozza tar-Reġina u ma nħallihiex tgħaddi?" Jiena dan hu li ma għamiltx—abbużi. Jiena naf li biex tattendi konferenzi tal-Commonwealth trid tkun ammess mill-membri stati tal-Commonwealth. Jiġifieri, tgħid x'inhu l-każ tiegħek, jiġi konsidrat u mhux ser tieħu risposta la f'erbgħa u għoxrin minuta u lanqas f'erbgħa u għoxrin siegħa. Jekk l-Onor. Leader ta' l-Oppożizzjoni ppretenda li jien kelli siġġu f'No. 10 Downing Street, niftaħ il-bieb, nidħol u naqbad siġġu u npoġġi għall-konferenza, ma naqbilx miegħu. . . .

DOCUMENT 77

The Commonwealth Relations Office or the Home Office

MALTA: A COMMONWEALTH ISSUE ASPECTS OF HOME OFFICE PROPOSAL

By The Hon. Mabel Strickland

The British Government's offer to transfer Malta from the Colonial Office to the Home Office is an appropriate recognition of Malta's unique position in Europe. The Island's long history and contribution to

Western civilization and its services to the Empire and Commonwealth are all contributing factors in this respect.

Many intricate political and economic problems place Malta in a class by herself suspended, in her relationship with the British Commonwealth, in a vacuum between Colonial and Dominion status.

Mr. Lyttelton the Secretary of State for the Colonies in making the offer to the Government of Malta must have weighed the political moves in Malta itself. The need for a revision of the Island's status and some more secure foundation for its economy have long been felt. The present suggestion ameliorates the position as regards status and presumably is not unmindful of a corresponding improvement in the Island's economy.

This is not the first attempt to solve the complex problems of Malta. Since the Treaty of Paris in 1814, when British sovereignty in Malta was finally established, Malta has had seven different constitutions, as well as periods of Crown Colony rule, with and without nominated advisers to the Governor. The present self-governing constitution was granted in 1947, supplanting the 1939 MacDonald Constitution.

Four Royal Commissions, the first in 1812, the last in 1931 and four reports presented to both Houses of Parliament at Westminster between 1805 and 1912 have contributed in their own periods towards recording the existence of Malta's recurrent problems and ameliorating them by short term methods.

Fundamentally, they are unalterable. First and foremost is to devise a method to maintain equity and prosperity in a fortress. Secondly what are the obligations of the Protecting Power should a fortress colony cease to be of military value in the widest sense of the word?

PARLIAMENT

Present Position

Under the 1947 Constitution, Malta has a single chamber legislature of forty. Since 1947, there have been four elections in six years. To-day, a Coalition Government is in Office with a majority of one comprising the centre right Nationalist Party headed by the Prime Minister Dr. Borg Olivier, and the Malta Workers Party led by Dr. Paul Boffa (approximating to the Attlee Socialists). The Opposition is formed by the Malta Labur Party led by Mr. Mintoff, and it can be compared with Britain's Bevanite group.

There have recently been requests on the part of the Nationalist Party for Dominion status for Malta and a larger measure of self-government by the diminution of "reserved matters" for the Maltese Islands, at present administered under a cumbersome system of Dyarchy.

Malta and Gozo are plagued by two Governments with totally inadequate cooperation. The Government of Malta, under the Letters Patent of 1947, elected under a system of universal suffrage and proportional representation, has autonomy in the domestic affairs of the Island. On the Imperial side of the Dyarchy, the often unco-ordinated policies of eight British Government departments have an indirect influence on the economy of the Island.

These are the Colonial Office, the Treasury, the Admiralty, the War Office, the Air Ministry, the Ministry of Civil Aviation, the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade. These departments are officially only approachable by the Governor through the Colonial Office. They are concerned with various Reserved Matters appertaining to Defence such as the complement of the Dockyard and the strength of the Services personnel, whether Maltese or U.K., stationed at Malta, currency immigration and civil aviation.

The frustrations and inevitable delay which arise in the administration of Maltese affairs, on both sides of the Dyarchy, have aggravated the misunderstanding which have tended to accumulate between the Maltese and British Governments.

In 1953, the Prime Minister, Dr. Borg Olivier asked, for the transfer of Malta from the Colonial Office to the Commonwealth Relations Office as a preparatory step towards Dominion status. The British Government have countered with the offer of Transfer to the Home Office.

TRANSFER

To Home Office

For the Maltese, to whom Colonial status is justifiably invidious, the prestige value of the Home Office transfer, when it is fully understood, will be high. It removes Malta from the orbit of the African Colonial Empire with which the Island is too often mistakenly classed, and should once again permit Maltese emigration to the U.S.A. on the British quota which the U.S.A. McCarran Act radically interfered with—to the detriment of all three countries.

To-day, the Home Office offer remains neither accepted nor rejected. Commenting on it the Prime Minister recently told Parliament that steps had been taken with a view to holding talks on the matter between the two Governments.

The Prime Minister considered that all sections of opinion were unanimous in wishing that the offer did not merely imply a change of Office. This was not a partisan issue. Malta should consider the acceptance of any offer which removed the interests of the people of Malta from the realization of their national aspirations.

DAY-DREAM

Total Integration

The Home Office offer appeared to appeal to Mr. Mintoff, leader of the Malta Labour Party, largest single party in Parliament, as being one step towards a day-dream of total integration with Britain. Mr. Mintoff has advocated this with considerable vigour, concurrently with the proviso that should Britain not grant it, Malta should be free to pursue her future elsewhere, and to have the question raised at the United Nations.

The free Labour Government led by Dr. Boffa, split in 1949, Dr. Boffa's Cabinet being dominated by Mr. Mintoff. An intransigent policy towards the British Labour Government resulted in upheaval and re-orientation of political parties. The extreme supporters of Mr. Mintoff's party would at that time have liked to see the Malta issue brought up at Lake Success by the Egyptian representatives. Both the Nationalist Party's aspiration for Dominion status and the Malta Labour Party's formula for integration with Britain, are, in my view, ill-considered.

ASPIRATIONS

Grave Implications

Dominion status is incompatible with the Island's size, economic structure, its lack of natural resources and its dependence on the "defence industry" for a livelihood. A self-government Dominion, with autonomy in both domestic and foreign affairs, which remains financially and military dependent on the protecting country—which is Malta's historic and geographical necessity—would be an anomaly. Equally,

total integration with the United Kingdom, an idea first mooted over 10 years ago, reveals grave disadvantages in the religious, legal, and national issues, involved. Outstading the examples of this would be the immediate clash should Malta, a Roman Catholic country, be asked to accept the divorce laws of Britain. The adoption of the British Fiscal system would be disastrous in an Island devoid of recuperative industries. Conscription and similar issues would raise heated controversy. They would be debated at Westminster where Maltese representation would be fractional.

It is on this point that the Malta Labour Party need to reflect on their desire to obtain the benefits of the Welfare State of Britain without considering the implications or the responsibilities thereof.

The basis of Malta's connexion with the Crown is contained in the Declaration of Rights of 1802 in which the Maltese people freely declared that the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—then George III—and all his heirs and successors should be their lawful sovereign, and the protector of their holy religion. His Majesty's role was primarily that of protector. He had no right to "cede these Islands to any power" and should he choose to withdraw his protection "the right of electing another Sovereign, or of governing these Islands, belongs to us, the inhabitants and aborigines alone, and without control".

RESTRICTIONS

Strategic Value

When the political past as one of Britain's fortress colonies—also the source of its livelihood—and the future is examined, none can contest Mr. Lyttelton's appreciation that the Island's strategic value must "unavoidably entail some constitutional restrictions on full self-government in the field of defence and external affairs".

In the light of these facts the suggested alternatives of transfer to the Home Office, though it apparently brings no specified increase in economic benefits, and would have to be accompanied by legislation to ensure that Malta does not lose the benefits of the Colonial Development Fund, at present only made available through the enactment of special legislation for Malta, appears to be at least a statesmanlike move towards freer constitutional development.

As matters stand, there is bound to be stagnation and frustration caused by the complexities of many unsolved and inherited problems. The continual wrangle whether these are greater under the indirect Crown Colony rule or under Elected Government or more easily solved by the elected government negotiating with Britain or by pistol-pointing tactics of the Opposition, is an unhealthy sign of Maltese politics. But one thing is certain. Any wrangle over Malta's political status must not be allowed to act as a cover to obscure the facts or the urgent economic and political problems which beset Malta at the end of the war.

So far the Island under the 1947 Constitution and its numerous elections has weathered the post-war storms and has resisted injections of Cold War propaganda more creditably than many other parts of the Colonial Empire. Some realise that the Constitution is becoming out-dated. Is it only workable side by side with the financial injection of the War Damage Fund of £31 million being largely spent on Works and Reconstruction? This makes the island economy partly viable; but it will be exhausted by 1958. Has the time arrived for a Report on Malta or a Royal Commission on Malta?

The measure of the prosperity brought by Britain can best be judged by comparing Valletta with Nicosia in Cyprus, or the Island of Malta as a whole to any other Mediterranean island, not excluding Sicily, where monies have not poured in for common defence needs.

The population of Malta has increased from 100,000 in 1814 to 320,000 in 1954. Saturation point has been reached and possibly passed in terms of population, water supply and housing. The Dyarchical Government is faced with the problem of ensuring the livelihood of a population of 2,600 to the—square mile. This can no longer be found within the Island itself, even if capital expenditure continues to be available such as the War Damage Fund has provided.

EMIGRATION

Commonwealth Concern

The promoting of emigration has been the Island's salvation. It has its own great problems. Over 40,000 people have migrated to Australia, Canada, Britain and the U.S.A. since 1948. But this number does not keep pace with the increase in the birthrate. Emigration must be augmented to such a degree that it not only exceeds the natural increase, but also reduces the present surplus to bring the population down to

250,000, a level at which it might be economically maintained at the present standard of living.

Emigration from Malta is a Commonwealth concern. The problem can only finally be solved by Commonwealth cooperation. Already considerable aid has been received from Australia through the grant of assisted passages worth £300,000 and the grant of £200,000 a year for four years from the British Government.

Water supply is also urgent. Malta and Gozo depend entirely on their surface catchments in an area of 120 square miles for the collection and conservation of rain water. The mean annual rainfall is 20 inches. It is sufficient but the storage is inadequate. There are 18 miles of underground galleries in Malta and 4½ in Gozo. Two-thirds of those galleries are at the lower water table just above sea level.

WATER

Underground Storage

For the necessary development of underground storage in upper and lower water tables a capital expenditure of £8,000,000 is required if a population of three hundred is to be ensured twenty gallons per head per day. At the same time the danger of salination which is at present threatening the supply would be eliminated. Some 95 per cent of Malta's water supply comes from the underwater table of the coralline rock; the remainder from the upper water table.

The Maltese Government may balance its budget, but either an elected government or a Crown Colony government must be faced with the charge of stagnation unless capital for development is available from outside sources.

The tourist industry can be greatly improved. The opening of Malta's luxury hotel was a big step forward. The hotel was financed by philanthropic private capital. The attraction of more private capital to the Island Fortress is a hard task. But another vital development is a civil airport to meet both civil and military needs.

At present over 120,000 passengers, both civil and military are passing through Luqa airport, an operating R.A.F. airport shared for civil aviation purposes, and military trooping. The immediate amenity of a civil airport is vital but as a civil aviation is a "reserved matter" the Maltese Government and British Government wrangle interminably. This is a serious disadvantage in the fight to attract air traffic, which

Malta, risks losing more and more to Rome airport, two hours to the north, and Wheelus field, in Tripoli, an hour to the south.

From the military angle, as a vital strategic point in the Mediterranean, Malta continues to be the problem child. If Malta is to stay in the forefront, the air potential must be developed if the Island's value as a naval base is to be maintained.

The establishment a year ago of the Headquarters Allied Forces Mediterranean at Malta whose Admiral Lord Mountbatten is directly responsible to General Gruenther in Paris, is no guarantee of a secure future for the Isalnd which lives on the revenues derived from services rendered to defence. This invisible balance of payment is estimated at between £12 million yearly for services rendered to the British Force. To what extent the presence of N.A.T.O. augments this is undefined—possibly £100,000 a year in addition.

It must be clear to all that the external problems can only be solved at a high level; for the external bear heavily on the domestic problems. The Home Office move is not enough. In itself it cannot solve the problem of dyarchical adminstration at Malta, which is both peoples' ardent desire should be tackled. Facts must be faced if ultimate disaster is to be avoided and the good will and understanding between the peoples of Malta and Britain strengthened and not imperilled.

DOCUMENT 78

The Integration or Independence Prospect

EXTRACT FROM SITTING NO. 50 OF THE MALTA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Tuesday 15 November 1955

DOM MINTOFF: Nixtieq issa nagħti x'informazzjonijiet ta' karattru ġenerali u dan inħoss li għandu isir għaliex ħafna drabi, ġie apposta impinġi ħażin. Nibda biex nirrispondi l-akkuża ġenerali li l-Labour Party biddel it-twemmin tiegħu mill-1950 sal-1955. Jekk wieħed joqgħod attent u jeżamina u jara d-dokumenti kollha, isib li minn dan kollu ma huwa veru xejn. It-teżi tagħna dejjem kienet li Malta biex timxi 'il quddiem jew ikollha indipendenza jew ikollha l-istess drittijiet li għand-

hom l-Ingliżi, dejjem din kienet it-teżi tagħna u qatt ma biddilnieha.

Jiena għadni niftakar lil Dr. Schembri Adami min-naħa tal-Gvern jgħid: fuq din naqbel magħkom, imma ma naħsibx li intom onesti fiha din, ma naħsibx li intom sinċieri. Il-Labour Party mill-1950 sal-lum, zamm dejjem teżi waħda, dik cioe' li jew jkollna f'idejna.....

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVER: Dominion Status.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Le, qatt ma għidna Dominion Status, aħna għidna indipendenza. Min-naħa l-oħra tal-Kamra kienu jgħidu li aħna ma aħniex leali, ma nafx kemm-il darba għidnielhom dan u huma kienu jgħidulna sleali. Il-lejla rrid nieħu din l-opportunita'.....

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Forsi Cole u Boffa mhux aħna.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Jiena mhux qiegħed hawn biex nattakka lil ħadd, naturali jekk iniggżuni, inniggeż jien ukoll u naf kif. Jiena qed ngħid u ngħid car li mill-1950, aħna ma bdilna qatt it-twemmin tagħna, l-anqas sejrin nibdluhom illum. Min ma jaqbilx magħna ma għandux jgħid li aħna imbdilna. Aħna dejjem għidna li jekk il-Gvern Ingliż jaċċettana bħala *partners* fuq *basis of parity*, lesti biex inkunu Ingliżi aktar mill-Ingliżi. Dan għadnieh mhux mill-1954 imma minn dejjem. Veru li kien hemm xi ħadd mill-partit tagħna li jgħid li aħna ma nistgħux naslu f'dan, aħna konna ngħidulhom: Imma aħna dan huwa t-twemmin tagħna. X'għandha quddiemha Malta l-lum? Kien hawn min qal: Għaliex issa għandna *chance* quddiemna, għaliex issa hawn it-*trouble* fil-Mediterran, qed jgħidu hekk. Dan mhux eżatt, għaliex dan it-*trouble* ilu u ilu ħafna żmien u jibqa' i-*trouble* fil-Mediterran. L-akbar *trouble* eżista meta kien hemm Mussolini; dak kien l-akbar *trouble*, għaliex minn naħa waħda kien hemm il-Gvern Ingliż bil-kolonji tiegħu b'Malta fin-nofs, u minn naħa l-oħra, kellek pajjiż li kien qed jibni imperu, kellu s-saħħa, kellu alleati b'saħħithom u *trouble* aktar minn dak ma tistax tistenna. L-istorja ta' Ċipru mhux fi żmienna bdiet, lanqas tal-Marokk, Ben Jousef mhux issa ġie *deposed* minn Sultan tal-Marokk imma fil-1953. It-*trouble* mhux illum inqala'. L-aktar mument kritiku kien fi żmien Mussolini u mhux illum, għaliex kien hawn forzi oħra fil-Mediterran. X'aktar ġara minn dak iż-żmien? Jekk issemma Tripli, dan ilu li sar ftehim mal-Ingilterra tliet snin. Jekk issemma l-Jordan, ftehim ilu li sar ħafna snin. Fejn huma dawn il-kondizzjonijiet ġodda li b'xi mod għinu lill-Partit Laburista biex jasal fil-ħsibijiet tiegħu? Li baqa' nammetti imma mhux li nħolqu issa. Din l-istess ħaġa bħal meta jgħidulna għaliex intom l-għajnuna qed iġġibuha mill-C.A.R.E. imma

din mhux illum inħolqot, din ilha teżisti mill-1942 jew 1943. Jgħidulna għaliex qed inġibu l-għajnuna mill-F.A.O. Din ilha wieqfa daqs il-United Nations, mhux ġew fi żmienna dawn. Kien hemm ħafna affarijiet oħra illi kienu jeżistu fi żminijiet oħra u ma għadhomx jeżistu llum u jiddispjaċini illi tlifnihom.

X'inhi t-teżi tagħna? Il-Gvern Ingliz qal lilna: "Fuq indipendenza ma għandkomx għalfejn titkellmu. Jekk intom kuntenti illi l-Maltin jkunu trattati bħall-Inglizi, lesti biex nirrangaw magħkom fuq din il-bażi (interruzjonijiet). Jew waħda, jew l-oħra. Issa jekk xi ħadd jgħidli illi b'xi mod b'hekk tlaqna t-twemmin tagħna, ngħidlu illi mhux f'sessih.

Il-Gvern Ingliz qalilna lilna: "Fuq l-affarijiet l-oħra illi semmejtu, naqblu fil-prinċipju u l-parti d-diffiċli hija l-kwestjoni tar-*representation* f'Westminster". U aħna għadnielu: diffiċli kemm trid, imma aħna ma nistgħux nammettu illi l-poplu Malti jkollu parita' mal-poplu Ingliż inkella. Jiddispjaċina; dan *package agreement*—jew kollox, jew xejn".

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Mhux jew kollox, jew xejn, xejn ħlief dik!

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Mhux veru. Aħna għidnielu: "Jew kollox, jew xejn". Mingħajr din, ma tistax tgħix l-oħra. Għidnielu: "Mingħajr representation f'Westminster nafu x'jiġifieri għax nafu kemm kien hemm *negotiations* bejn gvern u gvern u kif bin-*negotiations* ma wasalna mkien". Għidnielu illu jekk jidhirlu illi r-*representations* f'Westminster mhux tajbin "neħħihom kollha. Imma jekk huma tajbin għalik, tajbin għalina". (interruzzjonijiet)

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Ma hemmx paragun!

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Mhux *fair* li wieħed jgħid hekk meta mbagħad jgħid illi tlieta jistgħu jwaqqgħu gvern. Inkunu konsistenti. U mhux politika onesta illi ġewwa Malta tgħid mod u ġewwa l-Ingilterra tgħid mod ieħor. Aħna nieħdu gost illi jkun hawn oppożizzjoni, imma tkun oppożizzjoni serja; oppożizzjoni illi għandha *policy* oħra, linja oħra. Jiena, la nemmen fid-demokrazija għandi nemmen illi mhux dejjem għandu jkun hawn dan il-gvern, imma li dan il-gvern għandu jinbidel. Imma tkun l-akbar disgrazzja għal Malta jekk jitla' gvern mingħajr politika li biha jkun jista' jmexxi l-pajjiż fuq linji oħra (interruzzjonijiet). Imma illi tgħid ħaġa ġewwa Malta u ġewwa l-Ingilterra oħra!.....

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: U ttihom *concurrent legislation* kif tajthom!

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Jiena niskanta kif bl-avukati illi hemm hemm u l-esperti avukati illi ġiebu ġewwa Londra (interruzzjonijiet)..... Aħna ma ġibniex avukati!

ONOR. DR. G.M. CAMILLERI: Kellek l-avukati tal-Kuruna!

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Avukati mhux wieħed hawn Malta imma hawn ħafna avukati! Qalulna lilna "Jidhrilkomx (interruzzjonijiet) illi hemm bzonn illi ġġibu espert legali". U ngħid a kreditu ta' min ta parir lill-Gvern dak fejn qal illi ma jieħu ebda fastidu, "anzi inkun grat lilkom jekk iġġibu espert legali." Jiena għidtlu: "Int l-espert tal-Gvern; għandna pjaċir b'li taf; ma għandniex bżonn esperti oħra." (interruzzjonijiet)

Verament illi l-figura illi għamlet il-Kamra ta' l-avukati quddiem il-Konferenza ma tantx qawwietli qalbi illi hawn xi avukati gwappi hawn Malta!

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Sur President, ma tieħux offiża bħala viċi president?!

MR. SPEAKER: Fil-kwalita' personali tiegħi għandi dritt naħseb li rrid; fil-kwalita' pubblika tiegħi, ma nistax.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Il-Gvern ma kellux avukati oħra, ħlief l-avukat tal-Kuruna, avukat Malti. Jiġifieri jekk noqogħdu nitkellmu fuq esperti, l-aktar illi għandna niskantaw kif erba' avukati jġibu avukati oħra!

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Mela biex tkun avukat hemm bżon illi tkun espert fid-dritt kostituzzjonali?!

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Ma kontx naf illi l-Avukat tal-Kuruna hu espert kostituzzjonali!

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Apparti l-kapaċita' tiegħu persunali.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Dak naqbel miegħu għax kieku ma konniex nafdaw fuq l-assistenza tiegħu ġewwa Londra! Imma ħadd ma jista' jemmen kif dan biss jeżisti ġewwa Malta!

Issa nerġa' ngħid: "Fejn l-aktar illi ma naqblux ma' l-Oppożizzjoni?" (interruzzjonijiet) Il-*concurrent legislation* teżisti l-lum!

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Mhux fuq kollox!

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Iva.

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: *Overriding*. Staqsi l-espert tiegħek!

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Jieħdu parir minn għand l-espert illi kellhom barra minn Malta u mbagħad jikellmu!

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Ħadnieh!

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Mela allura mhux tajjeb daqs tagħna! (Daħk)

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Ma fhimtux!

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Il-lum il-House of Commons għandha *overriding powers*. . . .

ONOR. DR. G.M. CAMILLERI: *Overriding* iva!

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: U *concurrent legislation* mhux fuq Malta biss, imma fuq il-postijiet kollha fejn ma hemmx Dominion Status. Jiġifieri ma noqogħdux insibu x-xahar fl-għaġina. U Dominion Status xejn ma hu ħlief stat ta' indipendenza, fejn, wara illi pajjiż ikun ħa l-indipendenza, jgħid: "Jiena rrid naċċetta l-Kuruna". Qed ngħid li dawn il-*powers* ma jeżistux, biss, fejn hemm il-*full independence*. Il-bqija jeżistu kullimkien. U meta jiġu joqogħdu jsemmu l-*overriding powers*, u l-*concurrent legislation*, lill-poplu Malti għandhom igħidulu li dawn diġa' jeżistu.

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Le.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: U mhux hekk biss għandhom igħidulu lill-poplu Malti, imma għandhom jaraw il-Kostituzzjoni li għandna llum, li taħtha qagħdu ħames snin u li issa jridu jibqgħu biha, jaraw is-*section* 59 u l-*powers* kollha li hemm f'dik is-section u imbagħad ikunu jafu bil-vantaġġi kollha li se jkollha bir-rappreżentanti tagħna f'Westminster. U qed ngħid li se jkollna rappreżentanti f'Westminster mhux għaliex diġa' hemm deċiżjoni imma għaliex l-unika teżi tajba hi din. Il-Gvern Ingliż mhux tant miġnun li se jagħti każ ta' 75 avukat li jmorru jgħidu.....

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: U l-anqas tal-minaċċi tiegħek.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Jien mhux minaċċi għamilt. Jiena għamilt *statement*, li jagħmel kwalunkwe persuna serja u onestà, illi jekk aħna ma nistgħux immexxu fuq il-programm li għidna lill-poplu li aħna sejrin immexxu fuqu, li l-poplu tagħna tana mandat fuqu, nitilqu.

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: "U jiġi t-*trouble*", għidt.

ONOR. DR. G.M. CAMILLERI: Dik mhux hu qalha, dak, Trafford Smith qal hekk.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Jien għandi naħseb li jiġi taħwid. U mhux jien biss naħseb imma anke l-Oppożizzjoni, għaliex l-Oppożizzjoni taf li l-maġġoranza tal-poplu Malti fl-elezzjoni kienet favur tagħna u kieku kellha ssir elezzjoni l-lum, dik il-maġġoranza tirdoppja.

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Tgħaġġilx wisq.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Tirdoppja. Nerġa' ngħid, fejn hu dan it-tibdil fit-twemmin u fil-programm tagħna? Fejn hu dan? Fejn inbdilna aħna? F'liema parti nbidilna mis-sitt punti li għandna fil-programm tagħna? Li jkollna Parlament tagħna nbdilna? Ma sostnejniehx kontinwament dan? Ħalli jgħidu li ma jaqblux magħna, imma mhux igħidu li nbilna. Se mai

nbidlu l-proposti ta' l-Oppożizzjoni, li f'sitt xhur inbidlu tmien darbiet!

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Jippermettili nagħmillu domanda? Lest biex jippublika l-memorandum tiegħu?

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Ngħidlu li f'waqtu nippubblikaw kollox. Imma s'issa, kull meta ppubblikajna, ikkupjawna. Ngħidlu lill-Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni li f'waqtu jiġu ppublikati anke ċerti minuti ta' seduti li saru fl-Ingilterra.

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Privati. Hu li riedhom privati.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Le. Jien sostnejt li fil-*plenary sessions*, fejn kien hemm tliet Partiti, għandhom jiġu pubblikati.....

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Aħna kollox ippubblikajna.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Jien għall-minuti qed ngħid u mhux għad-dokumenti. Naf li intom poġġejtu dokumenti li ma kinux ċirkolati fil-Konferenza.

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Insaqsih jekk hux lest biex jippubblika l-minuti tas-seduti privati u li hu riedhom privati.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Nerġa' ngħid li jien, tal-*plenary sessions*, lest biex nippubblikahom kollha, imma taħditiet bejn Gvern u Gvern m'inix lest biex nippublikahom għaliex dik hi prerogattiva ta' Gvern u l-ebda Gvern ma jippubblikahom. Meta jitilgħu huma fil-poter, ikunu jistgħu jarawhom.

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Veru li ridthom privati għaliex għidt li forsi tkun trid iċċedi xi ħaġa?

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Le, mhux veru. Għidt: "Għaliex jikkopjawna."

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Għidt: "għaliex forsi nkun irrid inċedi xi ħaġa".

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Le, mhux veru.

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: U nipprova li għidt hekk.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Mhux veru li għidt hekk (interruzzjonijiet). Dak kollu li sar fil-*plenary sessions*, lest biex jiġi ppubblikat, imma dawk in-*negotiations* li saru bejn Gvern u Gvern kulħadd jaf, fid-dinja kollha, li dawk għandhom jibqgħu f'idejn il-Gvern.

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Le, mhux bejn Gvern u Gvern imma bejn partit u gvern.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Mhux eżatt. L-ewwelenett fl-Ingilterra tliet affarijiet kien hemm: Kien hemm il-kwestjoni kostituzzjonali, u saru

l-*plenary sessions* f'Ġunju u Lulju; kien hemm il-kwestjoni ekonomika li ġiet diskussa bejn Gvern u Gvern wara li ntlaħaqna fi ftehim, Gvern ma' Gvern, ġie drafted *statement* u qaluli: "Tixtieq turih lill-Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni?" Għidtilhom: "Jekk tridu, uruhulu intom".

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Mela mhux kif qalu lili.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Aħna għandna d-draft ta' l-ewwel Statement u nafu min iddiskuta. U mbagħad ġew l-għada u qaluli: Għidnielu u qalilna 'iva'". Jekk aħna ġegħelna lill-Gvern Ingliż biex jidħol f'*commitment* għall-futur ta' Malta u daħal fih, trid tkun veru miġnun biex ikun hemm Oppożizzjoni u tgħid "le".

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Il-Gvern Ingliż ftiehem maż-żewġ partiti.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Huma ma għandhom kredtu ta' xejn u l-fatti huma dawn: illi wara li kien lest kollox, marru fuqhom u qalulhom: "Taqblu?". Qalu: "Iva", u ħarġu komunikat u qalu: "Dan konfermat minn kulħadd." Nerġà ngħid ukoll li dwar il-flus ta' din is-sena mhux talli ma daħlu xejn huma imma ma kienu jafu xejn. Anzi niftakar li meta bdejna ndaħħlu r-riformi hawn Malta kien hemm min ikkuljunana min-naħa l-oħra u qal: "Issa naraw minn fejn se ġġibu l-flus. Issa naraw kemm se jsiru taxxi."

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Ikkwota mid-*debates* u tara li mhux hekk.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Tant hu hekk li niftakar li kont ngħidilhom lil dik in-naħa: "Oqogħdu attenti kif tgħiduhom dawn l-affarijiet għaliex jekk nagħmlu t-taxxi n-nies ikunu lesti għalihom u jkunu laħqu drawhom u jekk ma nagħmluhomx, toħorġu ta' ħmir".

MR. SPEAKER: Għalaq il-ħin.

Motion agreed to and at 10.37 p.m. the Sitting was adjourned until Thursday, 17th November, 1955, at 3.30 p.m.

Il-Mozzjoni ġiet aprovata nem. con. u fil-10.37 p.m. is-Seduta ġiet aggornata ghal nhar il-Ħamis, 17 ta' Novembru, 1955, fit-3.30 p.m.

V.A. DILLON
Clerk of the Legislative Assembly
Skrivan ta' l-Assemblea Leġislativa

J. FLORES
Speaker

DOCUMENT 79

Full Self-Government and the Rediffusion Question

L-Erbgħa, 29 ta Awissu, 1956

Mr Speaker, wara illi l-onor. Prim Ministru kellu talba mill-onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni biex isejjaħ laqgħa dwar il-kriżi finanzjarja li kellna dan l-aħħar u l-onor. Prim Ministru talabni sabiex insejjaħ din il-laqgħa, jien ħassejtni fid-dover illi nsejjaħ din il-laqgħa skond ma jipprovdu r-Regolamenti ta' l-istess Kamra.

Sa fejn naf jien il-Partit Nazzjonalista qatt ma sostna din l-utopija ta' *policy* ta' indipendenza. Sa fejn naf jien il-Partit Nazzjonalista dejjem sostna li l-poplu Malti għandu jkollu l-libertajiet politiċi li jistħoqqlu u li permezz tal-vuċi ċentinarja tal-Partit Nazzjonalista ilu jikkombatti għalihom, libertajjiet politiċi li l-Partit Nazzjonalista issintetizza fl-espressjoni ta' *full self-government* fil-British Commonwealth. Din ma tammonta qatt, kif naraha jien, għat-teżi ta' l-indipendenza. Din ma naraha qatt li tista' twassal biex tagħti x'nifhem illi l-Partit Nazzjonalista jrid l-indipendenza.

Mr Speaker, wara li tkellem il-Prim Ministru, l-Onor. Perit Mintoff, nhar is-Sibt fuq il-fosos, il-Furjana, tkellem ukoll l-Onor. Sur Tabone.

ONOR. MR TABONE: Jien qablu tkellimt.

ONOR. DR PARIS: U iva. L-Onor. Sur Tabone għandu jkun ma sabx x'igħid fuq l-affari politika u fuq l-affari kostituzzjonali. Allura x' nagħmlu, Mr Speaker? Hemm l-*inimicus homo*, induru fuqu, u dejjem insibu ngħidu xi ħaġa! l-ewwel, bħas-soltu u bħal dejjem, niftaħru bil-pjumi tagħna fl-Amministrazzjoni—dik l-Amministrazzjoni li aħna dejjem ikkritikajna u li għad nikkritikaw iktar aktar 'il quddiem meta jkollna ċ-*chance*—u mbagħad induru fuq il-Partit Nazzjonalista u ngħajruh li qatt ma għamel xejn, ngħajruhom għażżenin! Hekk għamel l-Onor. Sur Tabone. U din, Mr Speaker, mhix ħlief repetizzjoni, din kważi disk, li fiċ-ċirkostanzi attwali kienet assolutament *out of place*. Imbagħad kien hemm il-*pot-pourri* ta' *policy* u s-sottopożizzjoni ta' *policy* fuq *policy*! Fuq il-fosos nhar is-Sibt tkellem ukoll l-Onor. Mr Ellul Mercer u dana *d'ogni erba fece fascio*! (daħk) Qal illi sija jekk tkun *integration*, *self-government*, indipendenza, *colonization*. . . .

ONOR. MR ELLUL MERCER: Jien mhux hekk għidt. It-*Times of Malta* qalet li għidt hekk u inti qrajt it-*Times of Malta* u ma ġejtx tismagħni:

Jien għidt illi jkollha x'ikollha Malta, *colonization*, *integration*, jew *dominion status*, in vista tal-fatt u taċ-ċirkostanza taċ-ċokon tagħha trid tibqa' tiġġieled dejjem għall-eżistenza tagħha; għidt illi l-poplu Malti jrid jibqa' jiġġieled, ikollha x'ikollha Malta—anke jekk ikollha *dominion status* xorta waħda għaliex aħna m'aħniex il-Kanada jew l-Awstralja. Inti ikkwotajt it-*Times of Malta* li semma l-Onor. Dr. Borg Olivier u ma ikkwotajtx lili.

ONOR. DR PARIS: Jien nieħu l-kelma ta' l-onor. Sinjur. . . .

ONOR. MR ELLUL MERCER: U żgur li teħodha! Mela x'tagħmel?! (daħk)

ONOR. DR PARIS: ..... pero' nikkoreġġiha biss in parti: illi huma u l-Ingliżi jridu l-*integration* biex inaqqsu dejjem il-*friction*. Dan kien wieħed mill-punti prinċipali ta' din it-teorija, u l-Onor. Mr Ellul Mercer qiegħed igħidilna illi Malta, billi hi żgħira, trid dejjem tkompli tikkumbatti għad-drittijiet tagħha.

Aħna ta' din in-naħa tal-Kamra, insomma, fejn hemm l-interessi tal-pajjiż u fejn hemm mossa singolari li tista' talvolta tirrivendika wieħed mid-drittijiet tagħna, li huma gozz u li aħna rridu nakkwistaw għal Malta, naturalment m'aħniex se nikkontradixxu ruħna bħala Partit u ngħidu: "Anke f'din ma rridux insostnuh", pero' fiduċja fil-Gvern ma għandniex.

ONOR. MR ELLUL MERCER: Min talabhielkom?

ONOR. DR. PARIS: Jiġifieri l-Gvern isibna miegħu imma jsibna miegħu f'ċertu *gergo popolare*, f'ċertu mod ta' ħsieb popolaresk, u mhux bħala politiċi. Bħala politiċi jsibna miegħu meta jibda u jirrealizza li t-teorija ta' l-*integration* mhix sostenibbli. U jekk illum irid jabbraċċja t-teżi tagħna, jiġi.

Aħna, Mr Speaker, irridu mill-Ingilterra l-għajnuna finanzjarja, imma din l-għajnuna finanzjarja aħna rriduha bi dritt. Kif għidna anke f'Londra, bid-dokumenti u bil-kitba, din l-għajnuna finanzjarja mill-Ingilterra rriduha bħala kumpens ta' l-użu strateġiku u militari li qiegħed isir minn pajjiżna. Ma rriduhiex bħala grant jew bħala baratt li jrid isir billi nagħmlu *tabula rasa*! L-Integration ma tistax ħlief tnaqqas il-libertajjiet politiċi tagħna. Dana qaluh l-istess membri tar-Round Table Conference fil-paragrafu 70 tar-rapport tagħhom. Dan il-paragrafu 70 tal-Malta Round Table Conference Report igħid hekk:

The proposals of the Malta Nationalist Party and the Maltese Government both include measures which are claimed to be essential to fulfil Maltese

aspirations: the former in the direction of Dominion Status, and the latter through the new conception of representation of the Maltese people in Parliament at Westminster. Having considered the special circumstances of Malta, we are obliged to reach the conclusion that the road to full self-government is blocked, in that the Parliament at Westminister must, in order to maintain the defences of Malta and the facilities necessary to enable it to fulfil its role as one of the principal Commonwealth and N.A.T.O. bases in the Mediterranean, exercise overriding powers in Malta in the fields of defence and foreign affairs. There requirements inevitably involve a limitation in possible advances open to the Maltese Parliament itself.

Iktar ċar minn hekk, tikkrepa tista'! Jiġifieri qegħdin igħidulna hawnhekk illi in vista tal-pożizzjoni tagħna, in vista ta' l-esiġenzi militari ta' l-Ingilterra u in vista wkoll ta' l-esiġenzi tan-N.A.T.O., l-Ingilterra, kemm bl-Integration u kemm ukoll b'dak li aħna qegħdin naspiraw għalih, li jkollna estensjoni tad-drittijiet politiċi, ma tistax ħlief dejjem tnaqqas dawn id-drittijiet tagħna. Jiena naqbel mal-Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni u Kap tiegħi illi meta Partit, sija jekk ikun ta' l-Onor. Perit Mintoff u sija kwalunkwe Partit ieħor li jkun fil-Gvern, ifittex anke partitament l-interessi ta' Malta, aħna li nsostnu li bħala Partit Nazzjonalista m'aħna wara ħadd għat-tfittxija u għar-rivendikazzjoni tad-drittijiet ta' Malta, inkunu qegħdin nistultifikaw ruħna u nkunu ipokriti kwalvolta ma nsostnuhx, pero' nagħmlu *i punti sugl'i.* Il-pożizzjoni tal-lum hi illi l-Partit Laborista bħala teżi programmatika tiegħu bħala *policy* li sal-lum qed ifittex li jikkonsegwi, hi l-Integration. It-teżi tagħna, għall-kuntrarju, sija bħala prinċipju ta' programm u sija bħala tattika politika matul din is-sena u nofs li ilna fl-Oppożizzjoni, kienet dejjem li nopponu l-Integration. Jiġifieri meta l-Gvern ikollu l-appoġġ taġħna, naturalment ikollu dan l-appoġġ mhux għaliex għandna fiduċja fih imma għaliex kapita li jkun qiegħed ifittex l-istess ħaġa li rridu aħna. Dana, voldieri, fir-rifless tad-diverġenza essenzjali u fondamentali li hemm sal-lum bejn iż-żewġ Partiti. Nispera illi bil-bwon sens u l-esperjenza—għaliex il-bniedem kuljum jista' jitgħallem xi ħaġa—.....

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: L-esprejenza mhux kemm-il sena għandek.

ONOR. DR PARIS: . . . wieħed jista' jgħid li t-teżi ta' l-integration *is untenable* . . . sija għar-raġuni u sija għall-oħra. Imma allura *if it is untenable* u l-Prim Ministru ġieli qal, minn ġo dil-Kamra, li ma jsostnix it-teżi tagħna il-għaliex mhux pratikabbli, allura f'dan il-każ mhux aħna mmorru miegħu imma hu jiġi magħna.

Issa ngħaddu għall-inċident tar-Rediffusion. L-onor Prim Ministru qal illi l-Gvernatur kien ta ordni.....

ONOR. MR MINTOFF: Le mhux hekk għidt. Le mhux ta ordni. Il-Manager mar għandu u qallu: "Dan iġġibux".

ONOR. DR PARIS: Imma qabel ma kienx hemm *pronouncement* li għandhom jinżlu s-suldati.....

ONOR. MR MINTOFF: Mhux hekk eżatt. Dan kien hemm avviz li jgħid mit-tali data sat-tali data fin-naħa ta' San Pawl-il-Baħar u Marsaxlokk is-sajjieda ma jistgħux jersqu. Dan bagħtuh is-C.O.I. biex nagħmluh u aħna għidna: "Dan ma noħorġuhx".

ONOR. DR PARIS: Imma dan ma ħareġx?

ONOR. MR MINTOFF: Iva, imma wara.

ONOR. DR PARIS: Imma kien hemm kozzament. Kien hemm *urto* bejn il-Gvern lokali u l-Imperial Side of the Dyarchy.

L-Onor. Prim Ministru qalilna li l-Gvernatur biss jista' jirtira il-liċenzja.

ONOR. MR MINTOFF: Le mhux hekk għidt. Għidt li skond il-liċenzja hemm miktub li The Governor jista' jagħmel dawn l-affarijiet. Issa dak ifisser "Governor in Council" imma tinsiex li kien l-istess Gvernatur li qal lil tar-Rediffusion "Dan l-avviż toħorġuhx".

ONOR. DR PARIS: Imma dan kien żgur *urto* bejn il-Gvern Imperjali u l-Gvern Lokali. Min weħel? Ir-Rediffusion—the....

ONOR. MR MINTOFF: The least!!?

ONOR. DR PULIS: The highest.

ONOR. MR MINTOFF: Nixtieq li qabel ma tagħti dan il-ġudizzju nispjegalek ftit għax dan il-ġudizzju jagħmel ħsara anke lilek nnifsek. Ejja naraw daqsxejn il-fatt tar-Rediffusion. Aħna żammejna avviż mill-Gvern Imperjali li ma jsirx. Il-Gvern Imperjali mar bl-avviż ir-Rediffusion u dan mingħajr ma qal lilna ppublikah. Meta bgħattna tagħna lir-Rediffusion dawn ma ridux iġibuh.

ONOR. DR. PARIS: Komunkwe, hu fatt li qal l-onor. Prim Ministru li qal li r-relazzjonijiet bejn il-Gvern Malti u l-Imperial Side of the Dyarchy irranġaw ruħhom mentri is-sitwazzjoni mar-Rediffusion . . . meta Nazzjonalist iqum biex jitkellem fuqha trid tippremetti li bħala interess ta' partit żgur li ma tiddefendix ir-Rediffusion għax minn dan aħna qatt ma rajna servizz u privileġġ kif semma' tajjeb l-onor. Kap tal-Oppożizzjoni l-inċident ta' Hamilton Hill. Iġifieri meta aħna nikkundannaw fit-terminu jew f'ieħor l-att li ġew imqaċċta l-*poles* u l-*wires* inkunu qegħdin

ninterpretaw l-opinjoni pubblika kif narawha aħna fil-kafejiet u fit-triqat u ma' min nitkellmu. U dan kien att li wieħed ma jistax jissottoskrivi għalih. Il-Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni sejjaħlu bħala nuqqas ta' tattika. Żgur li nuqqas ta' tattika li l-Gvern forsi ma rnexxilux isib mezzi oħra biex jirrivendika il-meżżi tiegħu. Qalilna: "Bħal li kieku hemm bżonn tagħmel *cabinet meeting* biex tiżbalja".

ONOR. MR MINTOFF: X'inhi din. Jien ma fhimthiex.

ONOR. DR PARIS: Għal ċertu *Cabinet meetings*.... Insomma hekk hu. Barra l-aġġettivi li ta l-onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni li hu *tactless* u aġettivi oħra bħal dawn, u billi taqla' *wire* u billi taqla' l-*poles* din it-tattika ma jaqbel magħha ħadd għax fiha nfisha hi offiża kbira volontarja u abbuż. Din għandna naraw il-prinċipju involut. L-onor. Prim Minstru x'qal f'dan il-lat? Qalilna: "Jien ma rnexxilix insib mezz ieħor". Komunkwe dak hu s-*summum jus* u ma jurix ħlief *summa iniuria*. Jien anqas irrid intawwal fuq din il-kwestjoni u anqas ma rrid multa imma dak il-lat ma tistax tieħdu waħdu. Ilna taħt il-Gvern Laborista sena u nofs u nafu x'sar amministrativament u anke pulitikament. Saru atti li kulħadd jikkundanahom; saru affarijiet li żgur kienu ta' dispjaċir għal kulħadd u setgħu kienu anke ta' detriment għall-isem tajjeb ta' din Malta li aħna it-tnejn ngħidu li nħobbu. Pero' rrid ngħid li s'issa t-triq tal-ġid ta' Malta donnha hi fid-direzzjoni tat-triq tal-ġid li jippretendi li twassal il-Partit Laborista, pero' diametrikament kuntrarju. Jien nammetti li l-onor. Prim Ministru jista' jkollu idea mbagħad bil-mod jimmodifika. S'issa għadu jillotta għaliha pero' għandu l-alternativa. Għandu l-Indipendenza u din l-indipendenza jrid jakkolla lill-Partit Nazzjonalista u sa fejn naf jien din mhix it-teżi tagħna. Aħna dejjem ridna Full Self-Government fil-British Commonwealth.

ONOR. MR MINTOFF: Lest issa?

ONOR. DR PARIS: Iva.

ONOR. MR MINTOFF: Mid-*debate* li sar jidher ċar li hemm xi punti essenzjali ħafna li għad hemm bżonn spjegazzjoni tagħhom min-naħa tal-Gvern. X'hemm quddiema il-lum? Hemm l-inċident tar-Rediffusion u l-imġieba ta' dan il-Gvern vis-à-vis il-Gvern Imperjali dwar kwestjoni oħra. Dan li hemm quddiemna l-lum.

Nibda mill-inċident tar-Rediffusion. L-ewwelnett irrid ngħid li mhux aħna qegħdin naqbdu t-teżijiet kollha biex xi waħda tirnexxi imma jekk wieħed iħares lejn il-partit Nazzjonalista jsib li dan qiesu pjanu in-noti kollha. Tibda mill-"Malta Tagħna". X'qalet? Kif sar l-inċident qalet

lill-Gvernatur: "Qiegħed tara xi ħbieb għandek? Illum Mintoff iwaqqa' l-*poles* tar-Rediffusion u għada lilek jarrestak, u jiddikjara Malta indipendenti". Imbagħad għandna t-tezi l-oħra li jissupportjaw il-ġlieda għaddrittijiet tagħna u jgħidu: "Din kwistjoni ta' opinjoni fuq it-tattika; jista' jkun li aħna ma konniex nużaw dik it-tattika imma oħra". Imbagħad għandna t-tarf l-ieħor li jgħidu: "Aħna nissupportjaw imma fl-azzjoni li ħa l-gvern aħna nikkundannawha." Dan fuq il-kwistjoni tar-Rediffusion biss. Issa ejja narawha oġġettivament.

Smajna ħafna kritika. Hadd ma qalilna x'kien jagħmel biex jiddefendi dritt li għandhom il-Maltin li meta jkunu imżebelħin f'pajjiżhom, meta ditta privata iżżeblaħhom f'pajjiżhom, kif għandom jirritaljaw. Li wieħed jagħmel protesta dik jagħmilha kulħadd imma din kodardja għalina u ma int qiegħed tagħmel xejn u qiegħed tgħidlu: "jiena inħallik tagħmel li trid u issa nipprotesta" u jibqa' kollox kif inhu. Għal dan il-gvern din hija t-triq kodarda u turi kemm hu impotenti dan il-pajjiż li meta iżżebelhu ditta privata ma jagħmel xejn. Skond il-liċenzja din id-ditta għandha l-obbligu li *official notices* li joħorġu trid tagħmilhom fuq ir-Rediffusion. X'għamlu dawn? Meta irċevew l-avviż min-naħa tal-Gvern Imperjali qabdu u bagħtuh u kif irċevew l-avviż tagħna qalulna li aħna mhux gvern u jagħmluh jekk in-naħa l-oħra jgħidu iva! Jekk dan mhux prinċipju li jolqot is-sovranita' ta' pajjiżna allura ma nafux x'inhu

DOCUMENT 80

Extract from the 1955 Lancaster House Round Table Conference: the Nationalist Party's Position

Verbatim transcript of the Seventh Session of
the Malta Round Table Conference held in
Lancaster House, London, S.W. 1
at 11 a.m. on Monday, 26th September, 1955.

Present:

The Lord Chancellor (in the chair)
Mr. Aitken, Mr. Amery, Mr. Attlee, Mr. Bevan, Mr. Crossman, Mr. Davies, Mr. Ede, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Griffiths, Mr. Houghton, The Earl of

Listowel, Mr. Maclay, The Earl of Perth, Mr. Pickthorn, Sir Patrick Spens, Mr. Wood.

Malta Nationalist Party:

Dr. Borg Olivier, Dr. Ragonesi, Dr. Ganado, Dr. Azopardi, Prof. Fitzgerald

CHAIRMAN: Dr. Borg Olivier, it is a great pleasure for me, on behalf of my colleagues, to welcome you and your friends from the Opposition in the Malta Legislative Assembly. It is a matter of pride in our own parliament that special consideration is always given to the rights of the Opposition and minorities. Most of us round this table who have had the opportunity, through several years, in our time and turn, of sitting on the Opposition benches, realise that the opinion of the Opposition should be always given due weight. We look forward with great interest and shall give the keenest attention to everything you have to say. Dr. Borg Olivier.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: My Lord Chancellor, my Lords, Right Honourable and Honourable gentlemen: I thank you very much, My Lord Chancellor, for the words of welcome you have just spoken and, on my own behalf and on behalf of my colleagues of the Nationalist Party delegation, as well as on behalf of the Malta official Opposition in the Assembly, I thank you very much, Gentlemen, for the opportunity you have given us of making our voice heard before this Conference. I would like very much to join in the words of thanks already spoken by the Maltese Prime Minister for the tribute paid by you, My Lord, to Malta and the Maltese during your introductory speech. I gladly join in the sympathy expressed by the Prime Minister to the Hon. Mr. Julian Amery and his family on the demise of Mr. Leo Amery. The late Mr. Amery, I can claim, was a personal friend of mine, as well as of many Maltese. We shall always connect his name with constitutional life in Malta and with the Constitution of Malta itself, to which we still refer as the Milner-Amery Constitution, for short. Malta has certainly lost a friend.

The views of the Nationalist Party have been clearly made known to Her Majesty's Government during the talks held in this country last June, when in three separate memoranda which, together with a fresh one, are now before the Conference for consideration, we have put

forward the arguments on which the Nationalist Party based and still bases its line of policy and line of action in regard to Maltese problems. The Nationalist delegates base their contention on the arguments brought forward in the said memoranda that the solution for the Island's problems is self-government within the Commonwealth, and generous aid for development.

It might be useful, I think, to give some historic background, at least some background of relatively recent history of our Island which will help the Conference to understand better the line of action which the Nationalist Party is proposing to take at this particular moment when Malta's vital problems are being considered, with a view to finding a solution which would be in Malta's interests and also in the interests of Anglo-Maltese good relationship, and which would be acceptable to all.

One dominating factor in Maltese history all along has certainly been love of freedom and a strong sense of nationalism in the wider sense and wider meaning. It was this sentiment that fired the Maltese against the French in 1798 when they took up arms against the French and finished by besieging the aggressors in the city of Valletta. The Maltese at once constituted an Assembly which was called the Congresso—the Congress —and which ruled the Island during the two years of the seige. Later, the British were military allies to the Maltese insurgents. Then came the Treaty of Amiens. According to the Treaty, Malta had to go back to the Knights; Malta had to go once again back to the Order of the Knights of Malta, but the Consiglio Popolare was urgently convened and the famous Declaration of Rights on 15th June, 1802 was drawn up and said:

"We, the members of the Congress of the Islands of Malta and Gozo and their dependencies, by the free suffrage of the people, during the siege, elected to represent them on the important matter of ascertaining our native rights and privileges (enjoyed from time immemorial by our ancestors who, when encroached upon, have shed their blood to regain them) and of fixing a Constitution of Government which shall secure to use and our descendents in perpetuity the blessings of freedom and the rights of just law, under the protection and Sovereignty of the King of a free people, His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, after long and mature deliberation, we make the following declaration, binding ourselves and our posterity forever, on condition that our now acknowledged Prince and Sovereign shall, on his part, fulfil and keep inviolate his compact with us."

The Declaration follows, to the effect that the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in all times was to be our lawful

Sovereign Lord, that His Majesty has no right to cede the Islands; that if he chooses to withdraw his protection and sovereignty the right of electing another sovereign or of governing these Islands belongs to us, the inhabitants and aborigines alone and without control; that His Majesty's representative shall for ever be bound to keep inviolate the Constitution which shall be established by the Congress elected by the people; that the people of Malta and Gozo and their representatives in council have the right to represent to the Throne and complain of violation of rights and privileges or of the Constitution or the spirit thereof—I am not quoting, but I am giving the gist of the rights—that the rights of taxation and legislation belong to the Consiglio Popolare with the assent of His Majesty's representatives; that the King is the Protector of our holy religion, that no interference in matters spiritual or temporal of no other temporal sovereign shall be permitted, authority in spiritual matters resting with the Pope; that freemen have the right to choose their own religion. Toleration of other religions is established as a right; that power resides only in the law, and restraint or punishment can only be exercised in obedience to the law.

The motives behind this decision of the Maltese people must be attributed to these facts:

(1) that Britain was the most democratic country in Europe, and the Maltese desired a liberal constitution and desired to preserve their freedom under a Sovereign who respected the constitution of the people. Captain Alexander Ball, who was sent by Nelson to help the Maltese during the siege had promised self-government to one of the prominent leaders of the revolt against the French. On the 19th February, 1801 Major General Pigot, in accordance with instructions received from Sir Ralph Abercomby, Commander in Chief, Mediterranean, had issued a proclamation stating: "It is my duty as well as my intention to protect the Maltese nation, and to guarantee the full enjoyment of its religion, property ad liberty".

On the 15th July, 1801, Charles Cameron, the Civil Commissioner in Malta, under Pigot's authority, had assured the Maltese of the personal care and affection of His Majesty, and in his name he promised that they would enjoy all their dearest rights.

After the declaration of rights, all measures for evacuating the island were suspended. This results from a despatch marked "Most Secret" bearing the date of the 17th October, 1802.

From 1803 onwards the Maltese incessantly pressed for the setting up

of their legislative assembly in terms of the Declaration of Rights. They petitioned the King, asking for a liberal constitution, for a Maltese legislative body, for independent tribunals, for a free press and for trial by Jury.

In 1811 a Maltese nobleman was sent to this country to plead for Malta. Negotiations went on, and a Royal Commission was sent out to Malta. The report of this Commission never saw the light of day. In 1813 Sir Thomas Maitland was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Malta and its dependencies, and immediately on his arrival in Malta he proclaimed that the people of Malta and Gozo were recognised by His Majesty as subjects of the British Crown. He promised to the Maltese the free exercise of their religion and the adoption of every measure that might be requisite to secure to the inhabitants a full share of the happiness, wealth, security and prosperity fortunately enjoyed by all the subjects of the British Empire in every part of the world. Political agitation continued, and a petition was sent to the House of Commons insisting on the formation of a Council or Colonial Assembly, without whose sanction no laws could be promulgated and no taxes imposed. This was in 1821. So it took the Maltese one hundred full years of continuous struggle to achieve a measure of real responsible government in internal affairs. Strong political movements betweeen 1830 and 1919 led first to the Constitution of 1835 contemplating an Advisory Council of Government, having seven nominated members, of whom three were to be Maltese.

Then to the Constitution of 1849 which followed a visit to this country by Maltese patriot by the name of George Mitrovich, who brought Malta's case before the House of Commons, and subsequently we had a visit to Malta by a Royal Commission in 1836. This Constitution provided for a Legislative Council of Government consisting of ten official members (five Maltese and five English) and eight elected members. The Constitution of 1887 followed by Letters Patent. It was, in terms of representation, modern, and was liberal in idea. It provided for a Council of Government composed of six official and fourteen elected members. Money votes were to be decided by the elected members alone, and money bills and money measures could only be introduced by the Governor or on his express sanction.

Still the Maltese were not satisfied with this Constitution, and serious friction led in 1903 to a return to a constitution of a more strict Crown

Colony type. The elected members adopted a policy of abstentionism, and they freely used the press and the platform, where they devoted themselves to incessant agitation.

The Royal Commission of 1931 wrote in their report that it was to this that the agitation in 1919 owed its anti-British character. Mr. Leo Amery, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, went to Malta, and recommended the grant of a measure of self-Government. This announcement was enthusiastically received in Malta. As a result of the Constitution of 1921 we had responsible Government for the Maltese in purely civil and internal affairs, and the same pattern of constitution was followed later in 1947. Thus we see that the constitutional and political history of the Maltese islands decidedly shows that friction and anti-British feeling and agitation in the island was invariably in inverse ratio to the extent of the constitutional liberties the Maltese people enjoyed. It is small wonder, therefore, that the Nationalist Party holds that a closer association between the British and the Maltese people could only be obtained if the United Kingdom Government is prepared to lead Malta on to that stage of constitutional development which would bring her to complete self-Government. Any other type implying a diminution of our constitutional liberties under any shape, be it called integration, be it called union, or any other name, would be against the grain of Maltese political feeling and Maltese constitutional development.

With this constantly in mind, the Nationalist Party has submitted to the conference Malta's claims for full self-Government. The Constitution of 1921 was taken to mean that the colony would be led on to full self-Government within the Commonwealth, and we claim we had every reason to believe that it would be so. The intention is evident—the intention, that is to say, that the colonies were to be led on to that constitutional development which would entitle them to self-Government—was evident in the case of constitutions being granted to other dependent territories. I feel that was the intention when lately a constitution offered responsible Government to Cyprus—that intention is evident and that offer was evident because otherwise it would have little practical utility and service. It was also the same intention that moved the British Government to grant constitutions to Nigeria, the West Indies and the Gold Coast. It is the avowed British colonial policy to lead dependent territories on to that stage of development entitling them to full self-Government.

It is known that all British statesmen aim at helping the colonial territories to attain self-Government within the British Commonwealth. That was the intention of the Imperial Government as expressed to the colonies through Mr. Oliver Lyttleton in November of 1951. The Secretary of State, in fact, who at the time had just taken office, made a very important statement which appeals very much, and was very encouraging to the colonies, and in the word "colonies" for practical purposes I include Malta, although we have always said that Malta was not strictly a colony. The statement by Mr. Olivier Lyttleton, as he then was, had a tremendous appeal to all dependent territories, and I propose quoting from it. It was made in the House of Commons as I said in 1951, when he said:—

"We all aim at helping colonial territories to attain self-Government within the British Commonwealth. We are all determined to pursue economic and social development of colonial territories, so that they may keep pace with their political development. We desire to see", Mr. Lyttleton continued to say, "successful constitutional developments both in those territories which are less advanced towards self-government and in those with more advanced constitutions. Her Majesty's Government will do their utmost to help colonial governments and legislatures to foster healthy, wealthy and happy colonial peoples."

The Secretary of State ended by saying:—

"I hope that, however much there may from time to time be disagreement between us on details, all the Parties will be with me in agreeing on these ends."

I do not think that any one will want to question the political maturity that the Maltese people have shown in the working of the several constitutions they have had, particularly since they had a decent measure of responsible government in their internal affairs. We have been managing our internal affairs since the year 1921, even before more than one other colony that later had self-Government, or a measure of self-Government, and is now a full member of the Commonwealth. Once we acknowledge the political maturity displayed by the Maltese people in the working of their constitutions we must come to the conclusion that the exclusion of Malta from participation in free membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations is anomalous, and hardly justified. In 1925, the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs took over responsibility for the affairs of dependent territories enjoying self-Government from the Colonial Office to the Dominions Office, the Office for Dominion Affairs

as it was at the time called. But the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs at that time did not only take over responsibility of the affairs of fully self-governed territories, but also the affairs of the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia, also for special historical reasons may be, responsibility of the affairs of the South African High Commission territories. The intention was clear than that any part ceasing to be a Crown Colony should pass immediately to the new Dominions Office. Maltese constitution, even as it is at present, has always been compared by all constitutional authorities to the constitution of Southern Rhodesia and to the constitution of Ceylon immediately before Ceylon was granted full independent membership. We can see no reason why special arrangements which were made for the inclusion of Southern Rhodesia and the South African High Commission territories should not also be made in respect of Malta, whose constitutional position, whose connection with the British Empire, whose historical background, whose ancient civilization, whose conduct both in war and in peace, certainly entitles the Maltese people to the same treatment, at least, as Southern Rhodesia and the South African High Commission territories. It is realised that until lately it must have been desirable to limit the functions of the new Dominions Office to the few big dominions that at first came under it, but we soon saw the inclusion even of the self-governing territory of Southern Rhodesia and that of the non-self-governing colonial territories, the South African High Commission territories. Later with the advance, with the progress and constitutional development of the colonies, we have seen the inclusion of more than one other colony under the new office which is today called the Commonwealth Relations Office. And no doubt more than one other colony will soon come under that new office. Since that time we have seen that in accordance with British Colonial policy, the British Government's policy towards the colonies, those functions have been largely extended, and we can see no reason why there should not be devised some special arrangement for the inclusion of Malta under the Commonwealth Relations Office, a request for which had been made by the previous administration, the head of which I had the honour to be until recently. Special reasons have led to wholly exceptional arrangements—as they were called in the reply I was given to the request I made for the transfer of responsibility of Maltese affairs from the Colonial to the Commonwealth Relations Office – wholly exceptional arrangements were made in regard to other territories which

I have mentioned. With the present progress in development and the constitutional development of dependent territories, we do not, frankly, understand how similar exceptional arrangements, similar special reasons, could not be found and devised for the inclusion of Malta in the Office where she belongs. There has certainly been discrimination in regard to Malta, and the only reason, the only possible reason, that could have made the British Government keep Malta under the Colonial Office was not any lack of maturity on behalf of the Maltese people, not any lack of justice in their case; but imperial interests—and imperial interests only. We have all along seen that it was for imperial interests that the Maltese have been denied the full measure of self-government to which her unique free association with the Commonwealth, her civiliations, her history, her traditions, her fitness for responsibility since the year 1921—when no other colony, not even Ceylon or Southern Rhodesia, enjoyed any measure of responsible government—these special reasons we feel entitle Malta to the full measure of self-government to which I have referred. These special reasons should, in our opinion, move the British Government to extend to the Maltese island the exceptional arrangements made for inclusion under the Commonwealth Relations Office of other dependent territories.

I am afraid I must say that the question of the transfer to the Commonwealth Relations Office (which I had requested when I could safely claim to have the backing of the whole Maltese legislative assembly, and indeed of the entire people of Malta) has been, even if unintentionally, sidetracked. Never was it gone thoroughly into, never was the Maltese Government asked to come over to this country to discuss it in detail, never was sympathetic consideration really given to the suggestion made by the Maltese Government at the time: and that request was made with the aim of putting an end to serious deadlock, to a very awkard sense of frustration in the Island, to a serious menace to the sense of friendliness and trust that is so necessary for good relationships. This situation was largely due to the lack of appreciation of Maltese constitutional status, even such as it is today, and to the retention of responsibility for Maltese affairs under the Colonial Office.

Malta's special position in the Commonwealth, which we must repeat in the words of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Minister in 1900—"Her independence, which was threatened by the great Napoleon, was maintained largely by the action of the Maltese themselves .... "who"

were led of their accord to offer their patrimony to the British Government and come under the protection of the British Empire", had been sovereign and independent long before her connection with the British Empire. These special circumstances should, we feel, have moved the British Government to show fuller understanding, fuller recognition of the legitimate claims of the Maltese people. Unfortunately these ideas and aspirations have always invariably been subordinated to imperial interests.

You have the report of the Montreux Commission of 1931 where it was remarked:

"Here again it was not practical to look at the matter really on its local merits as might have been the case if we had been dealing with, for example, a West Indian colony".

"The position of Malta is a special one; the Island is of a consequence to the Empire disproportionate to its geographical extent, the number of its population or its material resources. It possesses one of the finest harbours in the Mediterranean. It is not only a naval base of the first importance to the local position of the British Navy in that area; it is also a vital link in the general chain of imperial communications stretching from the Suez Canal to India, Australasia and the Far East. In consideration of the constitutional future," the Commissioner said—and the Island feel weight had to be given to these factors—again the Constitutional Commissioner of 1946 was preoccupied (I am using his own words)" preoccupied with the magnitude of imperial interests involved and with the necessity of reconciling the desire of the Maltese people with the safeguarding of imperial interests." Thus Malta's case was never really examined on its own merits. It was always viewed from the standpoint of imperial exigencies.

That her legitimate claims and aspirations were never satisfied, were never given recognition, was not due to any lack of justice or of rightness of the Maltese people's claims, nor to any inability on their part to manage their own affairs.

Friction in the past, considerable friction was caused because the Maltese were never given a reasonable measure of participation in serious decisions that vitally affected the interests of the Maltese people. Decisions were made known to the Maltese legitimate representatives only as *faits accomplis*. We have witnessed Her Majesty's Government representatives in Malta and in this country entrenching themselves well

behind the reservation of powers made in the Constitution for imperial interests, disposing of our land, concluding arrangments without any reference to the legitimate representatives of the Maltese people.

This was the background to my request for Malta's inclusion under the responsibility of the Commonwealth Relations Office. This was the background to the request, made by the government I had the honour to lead, for a radical change in the present constitution which we honestly were willing to try and work only as a provisional step towards fuller self-government on the assumption that no undue advantage would be taken of the powers reserved by Her Majesty's Government in the Constitution.

The present Constitution thus resulted in being utterly unsatisfactory and the only solution seems to be a substantial revision of it. As we said, our well-founded claims and aspirations have always been subordinated to imperial interests and exigencies in striking contrast with obligations, for instance, under the Charter of the United Nations. There every member recognised the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of dependent territories were paramount and accepted as a sacred trust the obligation to foster their political aspirations and to develop fully their self-government; and in contrast also with Her Majesty's Government's avowed policy to do their utmost to assist dependent territories.

Now we maintain that imperial interests can be adequately and indeed more effectively safeguarded and provided for, by arrangements made by the voluntary consent of the Maltese people.

During the debate on Cyprus on the 5th May last, it was stated in the House of Commons that if one is a member of a free nation and has the right to invite somebody to his country, that is one thing. If one is treated as a Crown Colony and has something imposed on one, and one has no liberties, one feels slightly differently about it.

What is also constantly invoked, in regard to giving the Maltese people the measure of full self-government to which their well-founded claims justly entitled them, is Maltese relative size and the disabilities imposed by her lack of natural resources. The dignity, traditions and importance of this gallant Island are, it has been stated, "in inverse ratio to its small size." These words have also been used as an argument in the case of England herself. Size does not interfere with the rights and liberties of men and the relations between them, I hope.

If, through the centuries, we have chosen, and indeed succeeded, to

maintain our national entity and our individual character; and if, unlike other dependent territories which are equally important as strategic outposts, we are not aiming at annexation of any of the surrounding countries; then our size, we feel, should not be invoked as an argument against our legitimate claims for self-government.

When we come to economic independence we must realise that national economic independence in the full sense hardly exists in our times; we hardly find it even in large countries. Today, the modern concept of mutual assistance prevails. We have had the Colombo plan: why not the Malta plan? Colombo is being looked after—the Far East is being looked after, not only by the surrounding territories but also by distant members of the Commonwealth. Why should not Malta's economy be a responsibility of the Commonwealth; why should not the Commonwealth look after the economic interests of Malta; why should not the Commonwealth help Malta towards viability?

We have all along seen that Malta's potentialities could not be exploited to her own benefit. On the contrary, Malta's potentialities have always been exploited to the benefit of this country, and now to the benefit, even, of her allies. It is very strange that whenever we claim compensation for Malta for this strategic use that is being made of Malta by Britain and her allies, the importance of the strategic value of the Island is minimised. Then, when we come to request the constitutional liberties for Malta, we are invariably reminded of the immense strategic value of the Island. Again imperial interests give rise to reservation of powers, and these are then used to dismiss legitimate claims and privileges derived from Malta's status, even the present status of Malta; amongst which privileges comes the admission of Malta into the Commonwealth Relations Office.

Free people have the unquestionable right to govern themselves, the right to independence which cannot ever be validly renounced by any people under whatever circumstances. To be independent, to aspire for full self-government, is not a privilege of the mighty and the strong; it belongs to all nations whatever their size, whatever their resources, whatever their geographical extension and position. It belongs to all nations. We have had Britons who have had a real record in broadest acceptance of the principle. We have had her benevolent attitude towards the development of so many Colonies, and the lead Britain gave the Colonies towards the attainment of full self-government, particularly

since the last war. Why should Malta be an exception? Malta has special claims: it has been often said and recognised that Malta has special claims, but are they being met and recognised, are they being satisfied? It is only natural that the Maltese should want to participate in the growth and development of the old Empire into the new Commonwealth; it is only natural that responsible opinion in Malta should want to follow that part of the development and should want to achieve that development on the usual pattern.

If Malta is ready to reconcile her aim for full self-government, for complete independence, and if the Nationalist Party is ready to reconcile those legitimate aspirations with the strategic exigencies of the Commonwealth, of the British Government in Malta, that should not be taken as any renunciation of any of those legitimate claims and lawful rights. It should only be interpreted as a realistic approach, as readiness to co-operate, and it is as a result of this realism that the Nationalist Party has proposed a solution to Malta's present predicament. The remedy would give Malta a status which, whilst according full responsibility in the government of Maltese affairs, yet modifies aspiration to full membership of the British Commonwealth. This is seen in the Nationalist Party's proposal not to have ambassadors, as may be suggested, but to have relations with the full Members, and only if and when necessary with foreign states—when Malta's interests are directly affected, handled jointly by the Government of Great Britain and the Government of Malta. What the Party is after is freedom from unnecessary limitations, loyal partnership and the feeling that that partnership in fact exists. This status is only a matter for the United Kingdom Government and the territory concerned; it is for them alone to decide on the status of the type the Nationalist Party is proposing. The independent Members of the Commonwealth do not come in at all. At least that was what was held by a former Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The proposed status would mean, and certainly bring about, a closer association between the two peoples, which will be free and friendly. What is needed is a strategic tie which would benefit the stronger partner, an economic tie which would benefit the weaker partner, and a political tie which would benefit both partners, and that is the sort of association the Nationalist Party is proposing.

We comprehend, we understand the difficulties that exist, that are in the way of Malta's obtaining full Membership of the Commonwealth.

We see them, because they are real difficulties, and we quite understand them. On the other hand, we expect Britain to help us, to keep helping us on the way to full responsible government, on to full responsible government without encroaching on the full Membership of the completely independent components of the Commonwealth. We are not after a full sovereign status. The suggestion has already been made in the House of Commons—and I am again referring to the very interesting Debate that was held on the question of Cyprus on the 5th May of this year—the suggestion was made that we should try to create some form of status intermediate between that of a Dominion and that of a Colony. We have no word for such a status, it was said; could we not in some way devise this intermediate stage which would not be a humiliating status, but which would confer that full self-government in the sense in which Australia and New Zealand possess it, which carries with it the right to secede from the Commonwealth? We are not interested in either secession or the right to secede. We claim to have made that perfectly clear to H.M. Government during the talks held in London last June, and we feel that by asking for integration the Labour Party itself seems to have lost any interest in secession as well. The Malta Prime Minister left no doubt, during his statement before this Conference and whilst answering questions by Honourable Members of this Conference, the Malta Prime Minister left no doubt that he was not against self-government for Malta. He acknowledged a strong Maltese desire for self-government, for obtaining as much as possible of self-government in Malta, so we both want self-government. All the people of Malta want self-government. And when we think of the flexibility of constitutional evolution we must come to the conclusion that there is nothing really insurmountable, that there is no difficulty which cannot be solved in regard to Malta's claim for participation in the Commonwealth membership and for inclusion of her affairs under the Commonwealth Relations Office.

The status proposed by the Nationalist Party pre-supposes agreements both in regard to defence and to external affairs. According to the defence agreement, the United Kingdom and the Malta Government will agree on military assistance for security, defence against aggression and protection of communications on the basis of mutual interest. The Malta Government will grant all necessary facilities as mutually agreed, naval and air bases, ports and military establishments, and the use of

telecommunication facilities; the right to Service courts and authorities to exercise such jurisdiction as they exercise at present. The two Governments will agree on the administrative machinery desirable for co-operation in regard to defence. In regard to external affairs, the agreement would provide for the government of Malta's declaration of readiness to adopt resolutions of past Imperial Conferences. Direct relations with the independent members and foreign states if and when necessary will be handled jointly by both Governments, and so far as the interests of Malta are involved the United Kingdom Government will in relation to Malta observe the same principles and practices now observed by the members of the Commonwealth, and if the case ever arises the Malta Government will observe these same principles and practices.

The Maltese Government and the United Kingdom Governments will be represented by High Commissioners in London and Valletta respectively. Obligations and responsibilities now devolving upon the United Kingdom Government arising from valid international instruments held to have application to Malta would revolve upon the United Kingdom Government and the Malta Government together, and the reciprocal rights and benefits so deriving shall be enjoyed by both Governments in agreed proportions.

Such a status would have to be enacted by an appropriate Act of Parliament. There will be a Governor-General, who, generally speaking, will act in accordance with the constitutional conventions applicable to the exercise of similar powers and functions in the United Kingdom by Her Majesty.

Now the Nationalist Party, and indeed all Malta, have a strong belief in the natural and the legitimate aspiration of peoples, however small, to be masters in their own homes. This has been recognised in the most solemn terms in more than one national charter. It has been proclaimed as the policy of Her Majesty's Government towards the colonies. No Maltese, no real Maltese, can accept the decision, the peremptory decision, that Malta is not even eligible to be considered for full independent membership of the Commonwealth. We make no secret of the ideal the Nationalist Party has always in mind. That ideal is that Malta with her ancient civilisation and enjoying a Dominion status since 1921 should win that measure of autonomy which has been achieved by even backward colonies. We have both Maltese political parties represented in the legislative assembly and other political parties in Malta

wanting a closer association between the two peoples of your country and my country. We all want that closer association, and we are all earnestly endeavouring to find the ways and means by which that association can be obtained, but the Nationalist Party firmly believes that the desired closer association cannot be brought about by the incorporation of Malta into the political, economic and social institutions of Britain. Admittedly a constitutional tie would be obtained by having resort to such an incorporation of Maltese institutions into British institutions. Admittedly economic considerations would be weaved in by having economic arrangements for Malta under an integration plan, but certainly the desired close association between the two peoples cannot be obtained in that way. The two peoples would not be drawn together by that political tie, by that economic tie which is not a natural tie, which is not a real tie, but an artificial one, a very artificial one. Very little benefit could be derived from having Maltese Members of Parliament at Westminster. Misunderstanding and considerable frustration would be found to arise. In fact Maltese members in the House of Commons would have to justify their election and the usefulness of their having been elected to their constituencies. They would have to press United Kingdom Ministers with ever increasing demands, and if it is felt that the British Government is not acting on those demands Maltese Members in the House might be tempted even to bring undue pressure to bear if they are given the chance.

The idea of representation at Westminster might appeal to other dependent territories, such as Gibraltar, the Seychelles and Ascension, so the frustration and misunderstanding would certainly be multiplied by two, or three or four times according to the appeal the idea would have to other dependent territories.

The United Kingdom Government under the plan should have the right, the exclusive right, to legislate for Malta on fiscal matters, so it would be held responsible for any economic difficulties which might beset Malta at any particular time. We have no intention of mixing and interfering with local politics. We should not be interested in purely British politics, their internal policies. Of course we are interested to follow what takes place in the House of Commons. We very eagerly follow developments in that House, but we do not think that we should be in a position actually to take part in discussion on purely internal matters pertaining purely to the British people.

It is only if Malta achieves an appropriate decent status in the Commonwealth that the Maltese will feel really united with their British co-partners as a self-governing people owing the same allegiance to the same Crown. It is realised by the Party that certain objections have been raised to the Party's ideal of complete autonomy. It does not mean that the Party accepts the validity of the objections raised, but the Party is certainly aware of those objections. The Party moreover appreciates that some time will have to pass for a constitution granting complete independence to be put into effect, even if it is granted. It is only fair, on the other hand, that the United Kingdom Government should acknowledge Maltese maturity in political and constitutional affairs. This Party, at least, in Malta is entitled to an assurace by Britain to the effect that Britain will continue to give application to her avowed policy of development, even to Malta. In the firm belief that that assurance cannot be denied, the Party is prepared not to press its well-known claims for complete autonomy in the Commonwealth. The Party is aware of all circumstances at the present time. When making proposals it must be kept in mind that an official request by the Party in office in Malta is being made which is totally and diametrically opposed to the views still held and maintained by the Nationalist Party. However, certain measures are considered to be essential. Whatever happens during the interim periods certain measures will have to be adopted without delay with a view to enlarging the field of responsibilty and allowing Maltese participation in defence and external affairs to a reasonable degree. We want to feel that we are doing something for defence. We want to have that privilege of being able to say that we are in a position to help directly, to participate in measures that are to the common good of the Commonwealth, relying on Britain's goodwill, Britain's manifest goodwill, towards Malta and her earnest willingness to give sympathetic consideration to practical proposals coming from Malta for a solution to her problems, both constitutional and economic. Being fully alive to the questions raised during the June talks, and with a view to showing on our part willingness to be practical, co-operative, reasonable and moderate, we have made fresh proposals which are clearly moderate and reasonable and should therefore be acceptable to the United Kindom Government. They would not satisfy Maltese aspirations and legitimate claims in the long run, but they will certainly help Malta to continue on its way of development towards viability and

towards the attainment of a stage of constitutional development which would then certainly entitle her to complete autonomy within the British Commonwealth of Nations, where we want to stay, where we want to remain. The present solution that is to say, the solution we now propose —as an interim solution, as a solution for immediate Maltese requirements, would safeguard legitimate Imperial interests, and at the same time satisfy the Island's immediate requirements, and, it is claimed by the Nationalist Party, would bring about measures which covered common ground, which covered requirements felt by all sections of political opinion in Malta and would bring about remedies which are wanted by all political parties on the Island.

The proposals relate to powers of the Maltese Parliament, reserve matters, the status of the Governor, and to other powers. The Maltese Parliament will have the right to legislate on all matters except on those specifically reserved for the British Government. No Bill passed by the Maltese Parliament within its legislative powers will be reserved by the Governor for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. The powers of disallowance would not be exercised in relation to Bills passed by the Maltese Parliament and assented to by the Government. Reserved matters will be related to defence and external affairs. Defence is to be strictly defined in the Constitution and the rights of Her Majesty's Government are to be confined to the limits of actual necessity. Exteral affairs relate to all matters affecting relations with foreign states or with any other parts of Her Majesty's Dominions, provided that the said expression shall not include matters relating solely to the implementation of trade agreements concluded with the approval of the Secretary of State, immigration, extradition, deportation and the exportation of goods and the importion of duties thereon, or shipping and other services, with due safeguards in respect of international agreements. The status of the Governor should be the following: the Governor of Malta will retain the title of "Governor of Malta and its Dependencies", shall act on the advice of the Minister on Malta on other matters than reserved matters, and shall act on the advice of Her Majesty's Government in Britain on reserved matters, provided that in the discharge of this latter duty the Governor shall seek the advice of a Council consisting of the Governor, the Prime Minister and two other Ministers, on the lines of the Defence Council which is operating in the Gold Coast.

Other proposals are that the emergency powers reserved to Her

Majesty in Council under Section 59 of the Constitution should be limited to reserved matters only. No powers are to be reserved by Her Majesty in Council to revoke, amend or alter any provision of the Constitution, provided that Her Majesty shall have the power to alter or amend any provision of the Constitution in accordance with the terms of a resolution to that effect passed by not less than three-fourths of all the members of the Legislative Assembly. The proposal that such a resolution should be passed by not less than three-fourths of the members of the Assembly had already been advanced by the chamber of Advocates when the 1921 Constitution was being drafted. The British Government agreed in principle that more than a bare majority should be required, but suggested and actually poceeded to provide in the Constitution "by a majority of two-thirds of the House".

Should any dispute arise before the making of a law is completed as to whether any particular matter is a reserved matter or not, such dispute is to be decided by a body consisting of a Secretary of State, (and not the Secretary of State for the Colonies as submitted in the memorandum, which I am asking to correct), another British Cabinet Minister, and the Prime Minister of Malta. The decision of this body shall be final.

The Nationalist Party wishes to put on record that it will at all times be willing to discuss and amplify its proposals and to co-operate in a reasonable way towards bringing about a closer association with the United Kingdom to the satisfaction of all concerned.

In Malta we have at present two governments with overlapping interests and the strict diarchical form of government under the present Constitution has undoubtedly given rise in the past to serious friction. The strictly diarchical form of government should be superseded by constitutional arrangements which would safeguard legitimate imperial interests and at the same time give internal self-government to the Maltese. Reserved matters defined by a very brusque and wholesale method, as the Constitutional Commissioner had occasion to report, and which are open to the charge of over-generalisation and ultra-simplification, should be revised. As they are, they preclude due weight being given to the rights and interests of the Maltese.

In a memorandum which the Nationalist Party has prepared for the consideration of this Conference, the Party made clear its willingness at all times to discuss, amplify and improve upon these proposals, and to

co-operate towards achieving a solution which would for some time to come be acceptable to all.

CHAIRMAN: Dr. Borg Olivier, it is now 12.45 p.m. and I have no doubt you want to say something to us on the economic aspect of the matter.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I was coming to that.

CHAIRMAN: What I was going to suggest was that, if you were now approaching the economic matters, it would be a convenient time—if it is convenient to you—to interrupt your very interesting address; and then we could begin on these matters at 2.30. I am sure my colleagues would want you to suit your own convenience; if there is anything you want to say, or to emphasize, please do so; but if it is a convenient moment for you, I think it would be convenient for my colleagues. Would that suit you—to resume at 2.30?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Perfectly, My Lord.

CHAIRMAN: Thank your very much. We are most indebted for the care which you have taken and for the clarity with which you have expressed your views.

On Resumption

DR. BORG OLIVIER: In regard to the economic aspect of the Malta problem, the Nationalist Party holds that in view of Britain's willingness to aid Malta financially we should not stress either her moral or her juridical claim to such financial and economic aid. We prefer to deal with how this aid should be accorded. The primary objective of this aid should be long term economic development, with a long term plan to be drawn up, as is in fact being drawn up. Any long term plan, in the opinion of the Nationalist Party, should be directed towards industrial development, either along the lines suggested by Mr. Roskill in his report, or on other lines which may be considered preferable. This implies the preparation of technical planning, labour preparation, market surveys and production cost estimates. Water schemes, both as a preliminary to the industrial development of the island and for the safe existence of the island and for the safe existence of the people and the garrison, should be tackled at once. Schemes are already at hand, and can always be improved upon. We attach great importance to the development of out harbour facilities. The harbour is bereft of quayside berths, handling machinery and adequate warehousing. The port's trade is thus at a great disadvantage. And there is no proper civil airport to

meet Malta's present and future requirements. Bother agriculture and fisheries, which are the traditional industries of our island, are at present incapable of even providing for the needs of the local population, thus giving rise to heavy imports and the bringing up of living costs. But I think the greatest hope for Malta's development lies in a flourishing tourist industry, which should be the aim of all political parties in Malta, as I think in fact it is. Provision must be made for sufficient attractions to compete with the neighbouring countries; in the neighbouring countries tourist facilities and attractions are first class, and we shall have to work hard and give effect to heavy programmes if we want to be able to compete with the neighbouring countries, which be our natural attractions I feel confident we shall be able to do.

The carrying out of this plan, the development plan for Malta, requires co-ordination by a team of experts, as local problems such as skilled labour are common to the various schemes, the various items. Five plans should be worked out. No long term development programme can hope to raise standards of living unless emigration continues at least at its present flow, as the natural increase of the population would otherwise offset its effects. Aid is already forthcoming for this purpose, and it should be, in the Nationalist Party's opinion, increased to cover further encouragement to emigration, to a continuous movement of part of the population, and the ceiling of £200,000 per year should be abolished.

Social progress also calls for immediate aid. Social equipment include, according to Sir George Schuster's report, the building of schools and hospitals and the construction of roads and sewers. Aid for these projects, which is already coming to Malta from Britain, should be continued and possibly increased.

With regard to social services and wages, it is the view of the Nationalist Party that progress on this line must be gradual and related to productivity. As soon as wages exceed productivity, work of course becomes uneconomic. As soon as social services exceeded remunerative levels, workers might find it advantageous to fall back on them and cause unproductivity. The maximum rates must therefore be determined by productivity.

Widows and orphans should have priority in receiving benefits along these lines, followed by injured and sick, who should be helped equally in this way. Unless social service levels are related to productivity, Malta's economy is rendered more and more precarious, and the solution

to our population problem is not encouraged. It is important that the equilibrium in wage rates be maintained, among the various sections of the population in Malta. Of course, much importance is attached to the contribution on the part of Britain towards social services. It should be made in respet of her position as the employers of a considerable proportion of our workers. It is only be placing the population, the people, in a position to earn more, that living standards in Malta can be raised to what is called a sound economic basis. The amount and the duration of this aid can only be established after the relative plans are drawn up. An examination of the three Labour Party points which refer to finance and economy, namely

(a) Raising of social services standards in Malta to equal British rates in return for raising of taxation to similar standards;
(b) Payment of British wage rates to Service employees;
(c) Full employment with British Government aid,

shows that integration can be of little help towards those aims. As a matter of fact, as an immediate aim the realisation of the raising of social service standards and payment of British wage rates is impracticable, because it would not be related to productivity. We are in agreement on this point with Dr. Balogh and the Malta Labour Party.

Then, on the other hand, if they are to be related to productivity, and if they are to be attained through the increase in productivity following long term economic development, then integration is superfluous for that purpose, Integration would even be an obstacle. In fact as Malta would not contribute owing to its loss of the product of local taxation, Malta would lose one of the main sources on the basis of which she is expected to help towards her viability. Integration, moreover, would seem to kill local industry through the removal of the special protective measures which are undoubtedly necessary with certain limitations—and at times essential—for the development and betterment of local industries.

No compensatory advantages seem to be perceivable to integration which are particular to it. Integration would certainly not solve the problem which would face Malta were the strategic value of Malta to decrease, especially without any sufficient economic alternative having been provided. In that case a solution would seem to be movement, continuous movement of some part of the population, to which movement integration can make no special contribution. Unless we have that movement we are bound to have the prospect of a large section of the

people living permanently and parasitically upon the British welfare state.

Mention has been made in favour of the integraton thesis of "depressed area" treatment, and aid to industrial development. Now the plan at present being worked out by the British Government of the lines referred to above, which were agreed upon by all parties to the London talks, including the British Government, will give us such treatment and aid without integration being in any way a prerequisite to it. It has been said that it would be more easily apparent to the British people that United Kingdom funds would be expended in the way planned were Malta to become part of the United Kingdom, but this objection, we submit, can very easily be overcome through proper presentation of Malta's special position to the British public, who are very fair-minded, and sufficiently sympathetic, especially at this particular juncture, towards Malta, and we feel confident that the British public would thus quickly and readily appreciate Malta's position.

I think I need not dwell long on the economic aspect of the Malta problem now before the conference, but I will refer honourable Members of the conference to the exposition of the Nationalist Party views contained in the relevant memorandum submitted to the British Government during the June Talks, and again put before the conference now.

But before I come to the conclusion of this my exposition of the Nationalist Party view regarding the Malta problems, I wish to refer to certian general aspects of the situation now prevailing, and make some general remarks relevant to the present situation.

The British public might have had the impression that all Malta wants integration, and that that was a universal demand. From that angle it is realised how difficult it would be for the British public, or their legitimate representatives in the Government, to refuse such a request coming from all Malta for integration, or union, or whatever that sort of association is called.

And the British public and their representatives would be in a very awkward position to refuse such a request, were that request coming from the whole of Malta, were Malta really yearning for that association. This is certainly not the case. There is, in fact, a very strong party, the Nationalist Party, which I have the honour to lead, that, after four and a half years in office, following three elections—in 1950, 1951 and 1953—has polled some fifty thousand out of one hundred and twenty

thousand odd votes which were cast in the last general election held only in February of this year. The Nationalist Party resents the idea of Malta being absorbed by Britain. That is what integration means to the Nationalist Party, and indeed to all Maltese worthy of the name. The integration theory is equally resented by another small party, also a political party—who might have representatives in the Assembly in the future for all I know—which, though representing only 3.7 per cent of the electorate in the last general election, is, I understand, going to make its voice heard before this conference. It is not very difficult to understand what responsible opinion in Malta is inclined towards maintaining our people's nationality and identity. We are—we claim to be—a nation, however small, with our own national flag and national anthem, our own religion, our own language and culture, our own civilisation and history. We have so many things to admire and wish for in this country, but we feel that we should incline towards maintaining our own institutions which are, in many respects, very different from those obtaining in this country. We have reached a very advanced stage in the government of our affairs, and we cannot be expected to be very ready and willing to renounce out legitimate claim to self-government within the Commonwealth. There must be little doubt, as we see it, that the Labour Party is requesting mainly, if not only, for the material advantages and financial benefits that the Labour Party claims would derive to the population of Malta should be aided from resources other than her own local resources. It should not appear impossible for the United Kingdom Government to come to friendly financial settlement with Malta, even if that settlement had to assume a special character. Indeed, as a result of the talks that were held in London, and as a result of negotiations that have been going on between the two Governments, in which I have taken part during my tenure of office, we have the British Government agreeing to aid Malta on a long term social and economic development plan. Then, we ask, why bring about another constitutional link between Malta and Britain which would disrupt the whole political, social and economic structure of the Island? Granted that integration is in all respects genuinely wanted, and is being genuinely asked for by the Labour Party, such a solution would be so very hopelessly controversial that it would be hardly worth while even considering. I am speaking from the point of view of Malta and the Maltese parties on the Island. I think a more agreeable solution could be found in the gradual

application to Malta of the declared policy of Britain towards colonies, which was endorsed by all political parties at Westminster. When I asked for the transfer of responsibility of Maltese affairs from the Colonial Office to the Commonwealth Relations Office, arguments I produced with special reference to Malta's unique position were, by a strange twist, used by the then Secretary of State as a basis of his refusal for my Government's request. As a result, the then Secretary of State made a counter proposal offering the transfer of responsibility of Maltese affairs to the Home Office. This offer—the Home Office offer—was eventually accepted by the Malta Labour Party, as it was taken as a possible gesture to meet them half way in their integration thesis. The downfall of my Government was brought about a little while later and as the result of an election that followed in February of this year the Labour Party took office. It is thus that integration is being asked by a party, one of the two main political parties on the Island, which has just taken office, which has just started thinking seriously on the theory of its plan.

Lately we have two economic experts in Malta, namely Sir George Schuster and Dr. Balogh. They proposed financial aid for Malta both for Malta's immediate purposes and as aid for long range development, and we have seen that the United Kingdom has already agreed to finance the long term development programme which is of course meant to help Malta's economy towards final solvency. Once the British Government has already agreed to grant that financial aid to the Island for its economic development, we see no reason why the Labour Party should press for the renunciation of Malta's political and constitutional independence, of Malta's right to self-government within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

We all know that Cyprus is asking for union with Greece. The idea is not a bit liked by the Turkish Cypriots who are strongly opposing Enosis. The United Kingdom is offering Cyprus self-government which is being refused by both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Great importance is being attached by th United Kingdom Government to the Turkish minority on the island.

In Malta there is a much stronger and fiercer opposition to union or integration with Britain, such as the Maltese of course want to maintain and further the century and a half old connection and friendship wth the United Kingdom and the United Kingdom people. The position in Malta is in striking contrast with that in Cyprus. In Malta's case self-

government is the solution but self-government has not been offered to Malta. It has been offered to Cyprus when Cyprus does not want it.

I think I can safely say that self-government is wanted by Malta by all Malta, including the Labour Party. The Malta Labour Party wants integration and is asking for that association with Britain. But not long ago, I thing, quite recently, for the Labour Party there was no difference between Dominion status and integration or independence guaranteed by NATO, there was no difference at all so long as one of the three things was obtained by Malta: whichever was the earliest was the solution according to the Labour Party views.

"Whether this takes the shape of Dominion status, integration with Britian or national independence guaranteed by NATO or other similar international body is immaterial to the well-being of these islands". I am reading from the electoral manifesto of the Labour Party of 1953.

I lay stress on the order in which the different solutions are put down. "Whether this takes the shape of Dominion status, integration" etc. And there can be no reason why the Labour Party should be against self-government. No Maltese worthy of the name can be against the political autonomy of his native land. If we want a closer association with Britain, then we have it also—we may have it by some other means—but we definitely have it by the achievement of self-government on the part of a loyal and co-operative people who are yearning to be able to play a more important and a more decent part in the Commonwealth of Nations.

The Nationalist Party must insist on Malta's reaching that stage in her costitutional development which will entitle her to attain full self-government within the Commonwealth as other colonial territories (which were much behind Malta constitutionally) which have been helped by the United Kingdom Government in attaining the self-government which all parties in Britain have promised to colonial territories.

As you have seen, the Nationalist Party is at the same time prepared to be reasonable and practical and to co-operate (naturally without renouncing the right to complete self-government). The party has asked for what can be called Dominion status only in relation to Britain, full self-government vis-a vis the United Kingdom only. We have been given to understand that the people in Malta during the last election have voted for integration because they have understood that the integration

proposals offer the best, nay the only solution; but the same sources from which such an allegation came soon give us the best argument to refute such allegations when the Prime Minister later admitted that the people had not understood well what was meant by integration and the proposals under the plan.

The electorate has not voted for integration. In the last election the change in government was only due to the normal swing of the political pendulum when the floating vote wanted a change in the administration after having the same administration for five years with three elections in between. As a matter of fact, the Nationalist Party has come out of office stronger than when it first took charge of the administration in September, 1950. In that election it gained only 31,000 of the 106,000 odd votes cast, and only 12 of the 40 seats in the Assembly. 120,000 odd votes cast; that is some 4,000 votes more than they had polled in the previous election of December, 1953.

We are not opposing integration because we do not want to be closer to Britain or to the British people. It is because we want that closer association to be based on something which is really felt, on sincere friendship and loyalty and equal partnership that, as an alternative to integration, we are putting forward a quite different proposal for a solution by way of self-government for Malta. The Nationalist Party holds and solemnly declares that it is the party's firm belief that Malta's place is in the British Commonwealth of Nations; that Malta's friendship with Britain and the British must be maintained at all costs. But integration with Britain, absorption of this smaller partner by the greater partner, is quite a different story which does not appeal to the Nationalist Party and cannot appeal to the Maltese people. In fact such an association as that envisaged in the integration plan cannot last long because it is not based on the principle that all free peoples have a right to a national existence and to shape their own destiny. Any consideration which may have moved the Labour Party to depart from the normal line of policy followed by all independent territories is bound to give way in the course of time to more lasting legitimate aspirations based on the real intimate feelings of the people, of all freedom loving people who will never and can never readily renounce the right to autonomy.

You will see that my dissertation, my exposition, of the Nationalist Party's case cannot help but be an emotional appeal. I am not asking to unite; I am asking for more freedom, but I am confident that that is no

reason why I should be afraid that the question before the conference and before the British Government and Britain will be treated objectively, and with the same sympathy as other proposals. By now, especially after the last war, Great Britain should now be in a position to realise that Malta's friendship towards Britain, cannot be questioned by anybody.

I want to conclude by declaring most solemnly before the Conference and before the British public that the Nationalist Party most sincerely professes unbounded loyalty and unending devotion to Britain and the British Crown, together with continued co-operation in the defensive system of Britain and her allies. But the party equally solemnly and publicly promises Malta that it will always, endlessly, and by all legitimate means at its disposal, insist and fight to the hilt for the Island's independence should materialistic and other detrimental considerations prevail and integration by union with Britain be put into effect. I shall be serving the British Commonwealth better if I serve my country best.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Dr. Borg Olivier; we are very grateful for your exposition.

May I say two things before we begin our round of questions: I have been asked to make it quite clear, as I hope it is to everyone, that any questions that are asked are for the purpose of clarification and getting further information, and do not show any hasty making up of minds on very important questions. The second point, Dr. Borg Olivier, is with regard to the Roskill Report. As far as I can discover, it was a confidential report to the Malta Government, and the Colonial Office have not got a copy. I would like you to consider—I do not ask for the answer straight away—whether you would like the Conference to see that report as an addendum to what you have said on the economic situation. If you would, no doubt your co-adjutors and the Secretary-General can see what we get copies in reasonable time.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Provided the Government agrees. I find no difficulty in the Roskill Report being submitted in confidence to the Conference. It is a confidential report, because it deals with the local industries in detail, and it has never been published in Malta, but of course it is available to Government and provided Government agrees I have no difficulty in giving my consent, as the official Opposition, to the report being made available to the Conference.

CHAIRMAN: I see the position, and the Secretary-General will get in

touch with the Government and see what the position is. It might be helpful to us, but of course it is a matter for the Malta Government to decide.

I would now like first of all to ask you one or two questions about the measures which you think ought to be taken without delay to enlarge the responsibility of the Malta Government in matters of internal civil administration. I fully understand your general thesis, but you put these forward and I would like to consider them first. Broadly, your approach on his line is a revision of the reserved subjects and secondly, better consultative machinery. Is that right, Dr Borg Olivier?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That is correct, my Lord Chancellor.

CHAIRMAN: Taking external affairs first, you told us that your plan is that all matters affecting relations with foreign states or with any other part of H. M. Dominions should be a reserved subject, provided that the expression shall not include four matters. The first is the implementation of trade agreements included with the approval of a Secretary of State. The approval of the Secretary of State, I presume, is to see that you are all right on international agreements such as the G.A.T.T. and things of that sort?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That is correct,

CHAIRMAN: Then second is immigration, deportation and extradition. I have not it in my own mind at the moment, Dr. Borg Olivier, but with regard to immigration and deportation, is the position that that is regulated by Malta ordinances or by United Kingdom legislation at the moment?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Immigration is a reserved matter. Deportation is regulated by an Act of the local Parliament. Immigration is reserved under the present Constitution, under Section 23. As regards extradition, I understand.....

CHAIRMAN: Deportation—have you your own powers on deportation?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: It is not clearly determined under the Constitution.

CHAIRMAN: But as I understand, what you want is the right to have the power youselves.....

DR. BORG OLIVIER: To legislate on deportation.

CHAIRMAN: .....to get rid of people, if you desire?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Deportation should be our responsibility.

CHAIRMAN: What about extradition? I am not quite sure what you

have in mind. Do you want to conclude your own extradition treaties, or to accept the British ones?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: It is important that we keep in mind that certain matters which at present come under the reserved list.....we are asking that they should come under our responsibility, mostly from the prestige aspect, because hardly ever the case arises when resort to legislation on these matter is had.

CHAIRMAN: I quite see it, if you put it that way. I appreciate your point with regard to immigration and deportation, and indeed a number of colonies have got much greater powers with regard to immigration and deportation than we seek to use in this country, and that is the position today. I see that you want to have your own powers, but simply on the practical point with regard to extradition, extradition is usually established by treaties between two countries, which give reciprocal rights and powers, and it seemed a long and laborious process, if you were going to try and make special treaties, or have special treaties concluded, with regard to that subject, a long and laborious process in proportion to the results. I should not have thought, if I may express a view in this gathering, that it would have made a great deal of difference on prestige. But I would like to know what you feel about that.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: The placing of certain matters under our responsibility does not in any way exclude or wish in the future to apply Britain's relevant laws to our cases. With regard to extradition in particular, Dr. Ganado, whom I have the honour to introduce to the Conference, who is one of the delegates of the Nationalist Party and leader of the Malta Nationalist Youth Movement, will be able to explain that we have our own laws regarding extradition.

DR. GANADO: Yes, if I may be allowed to point out that under our law there is an Extradition Ordinance which was enacted before the grant of self-government in 1921, and that forms part of the laws of Malta. Under the present Constitution there may be some difficulty, perhaps, were that extradition ordinance to be amended, whether it would fall under reserved matters as defined in Section 23(3)(1) of the Constitution, that is, "nationality, naturalisation and aliens'. The Party proposes to delete that section from the revision as to reserved matters, and it thinks that nationality, naturalisation, aliens and immigration, and for that matter all the other reserved matters, except defence and external affairs, may very well be entrusted to the legislative powers of the Maltese Parlia-

ment, and the British Government should have no misgivings on that score, because there is the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 which safeguards the legislation passed by the Parliament at Westminster in those Acts which apply to the colonies. In fact it was for this reason that in our proposals we did not include the laws to be found in other constitutions such as the Ceylon constitution in 1947, and that the Colonial Laws Validity Act should no longer be applicable to Malta. So that both in regard to this question and in regard to emigration and coinage and currency, there is always the safeguard of the Imperial interest on the basis of the Colonial Laws Validity Act.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Dr. Ganado. I have nothing to ask you about the importation or exportation of goods, and the impositions of duties thereon. On shipping or air services with due safeguards in respect of international agreements, what have you in mind there, Dr. Borg Olivier?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That shipping and air services should not be reserved, but should be under our control provided we do not encroach on international agreements.

CHAIRMAN: With regard to international agreements, the general British system is that the agreement is not ratified *qua* any overseas territory until that overseas territory has itself passed legislation to carry the agreement into effect. That as far as I know is a perfectly workable system. You do not complain about that system of international agreement?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That is precisely what we are after.

DR. GANADO: The point is—perhaps we had better make this clear in order to avoid perhaps further questions on other matters—that the basic principle we have followed in drafting these proposals is that we should be given as much as possible responsibility in our affairs. So we thought that as a first step towards complete self-Government we should limit the list of reserved matters to what is strictly necessary, that is defence and external affairs. Now when it comes to external affairs we have consulted also the Gold Coast constitution, and with reference to the Gold Coast constitution I think I am in a position to state that even these shipping or air services are excluded from the definition of external affairs. Although, however, we would like to do away with the list of reserved matters as it is today, that does not mean that we have any intention, when we are in office, of doing away with any British legislation. It is

merely that we should be entrusted with the adminstration of these affairs. As has been agreed on all sides, if any constitution, however perfect it may be, is to work in practice there must be co-operation on both sides; democracy is based more on a spirit of goodwill than on the letter of the law. This I think applies to the British constitution more than to any other constitution; it is a very flexible one, and as circumstances arise the necessary solution will be found provided there is goodwill on both sides.

CHAIRMAN: Putting it shortly, Dr. Ganado, it is really a power of amendment of the present legal position rather than a radical replacing of it that you have in mind by these exceptions?

DR. GANADO: In practice, yes. Then there is another point too, that although these are being excluded from the list of reserved matters that only implies that the powers of Her Majesty in Council are being restricted on these points. There is, however, the supremacy of the Parliament at Westminster, which I am sure, if any Maltese Government should take any step which might prejudice imperial interests, would always be able to step in. Not that that should be used; but until we attain Dominion status we cannot but recognise the supremacy of the Parliament at Westminster. By this I do not mean the overriding legislative power, as exists in the constitution of Northern Ireland, because under the constitution of Northern Ireland it is specifically stated that the Parliament at Westminster has concurrent jurisdiction. Under that constitution it is quite in order, and it is perfectly constitutional, for Parliament at Westminster to legislate for Northern Ireland. On the other hand in our present constitution, and as we would like it to be in the future, there should be no concurrent jurisdiction of the imperial Parliament on transferred matters, and therefore although legally the power would, still exist, it would be unconstitutional, for the imperial Parliament to legislate on transferred matters.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: On the other hand if I may add, my Lord Chancellor, local legislation would adopt the provision of any United Kingdom legislation, for instance, an extradition treaty concluded by the United Kingdom.

DR. FRENDO AZOPARDI: Again on immigration, my Lord, if I may speak, I think the object of the reservation of immigration to the Imperial Government was security, and obviously our object in wishing to have jurisdiction in that matter is not to have undesirable aliens in the island, people who are undesirable I mean from the seccurity point of view.

Obviously we would co-operate with the Imperial Government in preventing that, but immigration being a reserved matter does not give us enough elbow room For instance, to quote an obvious one, the bringing in of technicians, when you have to keep on asking for permits, which take time to draw up. Various things like that are an obstruction in the administration, and it is those obstructions which we want to remove. But on security we should do our best to co-operate with the Imperial Government to the fullest extent possible.

CHAIRMAN: With regard to defence the general proposition is that defence somehow is strictly defined in the constitution, and the rights of Her Majesty's Government are to be confined to the limits of actual necessity. Now I have in mind the later proposal that if there is a dispute, as to what is a reserved subject and what is not, you put forward a proposal to deal with that. May I take it this way, that what is defence and what is not would have to be carefully worked out, and you would have consultation with the Maltese Government before the Act of Parliament which you have in mind would be passed. I will tell you the difficulty that strikes me, that you reserve defence, and then the needs of defence require action in the non-reserved field. I think that has happened in the past. I have no specific example but one can quite easily imagine one—how would that be dealt with? I mean, will you be able to define it as defence, or will that be a matter for your machinery, considering whether it is defence or it is something else?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Defence should be very carefully defined, we agree. It should be strictly and carefully defined in the constitution, as carefully as it is possible to define defence. Whenever the question arises whether one matter comes under defence or does not come under defence, then we should have to provide for a body to deal with such disputes.

CHAIRMAN: So really, we all do our best to define defence—to get an agreed definition—and after that we use the safety valve. That is the way it would work. What about security? (By 'safety valve' I mean the procedure you laid down for deciding what are reserved matters). What about security? Does that come into defence or does it not?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Certainly; security plays a most important part in defence and the definition of defence. It is part and parcel of the definition of defence.

CHAIRMAN: Now I would like to come to the next part, which is the status of the Governor of Malta and its Dependencies. You say "(a) shall

act on the advice of Ministers in Mata on matters other than reserve matters." Now apart from giving consent to legislation of your Chamber, what are the sorts of matters in which you cannot act on Malta's ministerial advice?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I will give one or two instances. One example would be certain appointments—administrative appointments.

CHAIRMAN: Does he make Governor's ordinances carrying out his legislation in the transferred sphere?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: No; appointments are usually made in Executive Council, and the Governor normally acts on the advice of Ministers. We give the appointment, and the Governor acts on the advice of Ministers. There are many other examples. For instance, the grants of monopolies. They are made in the Executive Council and the Governor invariably acts on the advice of Ministers, although under the present constitution he is not strictly bound to act on the advice of Ministers.

CHAIRMAN: So that the change would be that in the transferred subject it would be his constitutional duty to act on the adivice of Ministers.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That is so, my Lord Chancellor.

CHAIRMAN: Then you say "(b) He shall act on the advice of Her Majesty's Ministers in Great Britain on reserved matters." The broad point I wanted to get clear there is whether that is an actual physical requirement or whether it means Her Majesty's Ministers in the United Kingdom must take the responsibility for the acts. Your see the difference, Dr. Borg Olivier? It seems to me from a practical point of view of running a country, that if you have got to go back, if the Commander-in-Chief has got to go back, to get ministerial consent, and the Minister has got to give the Governor advice before an executive act is taken, that might make the governmental machine slow down terribly. Of course as a matter of responsibility a Minister acts through everyone in his Department and must take advice. I wanted to be clear what you had in mind there.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I think Dr. Ganado would like to answer that.

DR. GANADO: In our proposals on the status of the Governor we have sought to enhance the status of the officer administering the Island, and we thought that that would be brought about in two ways. First of all that the Governor should be constitutionally bound to act on the advice of Ministers in Malta. As it is at present, even on those matters which are transferred, I think that the Governor would be bound to act on the

instructions received from the Secretary of State. The status of the Governor is so much in doubt at present that we have had unfortunate instances of the Governor interfering in local politics. For instance, before the last election, the Governor held a broadcast on the local Rediffusion system and he, not actually instructed, but he laid down certain proposals and made certain suggestions which the electorate should follow when registering their votes. In fact, one of the things he said was that Dominion status was ruled out in the foreseeable future. Now, we held that this was interfering in politics, and it should never be tolerated if the Governor is to enjoy the respect of all sections of the Maltese community. So we hold that the Governor in Malta should have the status of a Governor-General: he should have the same status in Malta as Her Majesty the Queen has in the United Kingdom.

CHAIRMAN: I do not think that is quite applying your mind to my question. My question is, what do you mean by "acting on the advice of Her Majesty's Ministers in Great Britain"? Do you mean that he has got to take the advice, or that the Ministers have got to be responsible for the advice that is given to him by their local employees in the various Departments? That is the question I want to get answered.

DR. GANADO: Now there is the second point. We think that the Governor should not be advised by his subordinates in Malta on matters which affect reserved matters, that is, that the post of Lieutenant-Governor should be abolished and the officials of the Governor should have to help him in Malta should merely be a part of the administrative machinery which the British Government would set up to carry out decisions taken by Her Majesty's Ministers in London. We have had already this political interference on the part of officials of the Imperial side with the Lieutenant-Governor and Legal Adviser and we would not like to have a repetition of those things, because they are precisely those things which make the British and Maltese peoples drift further apart. We hold that, whether granted self-government or a limited from of self-government on internal affairs, at lest on those matters the Imperial officials should keep clear.

CHAIRMAN: Does that mean that British Ministers take responsibility for advice that is given to the Governor if he does something within the reserved subjects that is taken to be beyond the advice of the British Ministers and the executive action that follows from that is taken by the agents of the varying departments involved? Is that what it comes to?

DR. GANADO: Yes, the executive acts are to be entrusted to those persons chosen by the imperial side of the government. We have no objection to that, but decisions should be taken either by the Governor himself or by Her Majesty's Ministers in London. I think that as things are at present certain matters, for instance, come up before the Privy Council and when the Maltese Ministers and the Privy Council cannot agree with the representatives of the Services or the imperial side of the Government, the matter is referred to London. So after all, even at present when there is disagreement the final say is in London, and it should be so on all matters and there would be nobody in Malta like the Privy Council on which Maltese Ministers sit with the Service representatives.

CHAIRMAN: You are not suggesting, are you, that the First Lord of the Admiralty should not have any powers of devolution?

DR. GANADO: He might have but always in England, not in Malta. There should be no imperial branch in Malta but only the Governor to act on the instructions he receives from Her Majesty's Government on reserved matters.

CHAIRMAN: My point is that I mean in running a big department you have to give certain power of devolution.

DR. GANADO: They will have powers on reserved matters. It will be up to them to decide what they do on reserved matters.

CHAIRMAN: When the Commander-in-Chief asks the Government to do something there must be, according to your constitution, an ad hoc order from maybe the First Lord or the Commander-in-Chief to deal with the matter?

DR. GANADO: No, there need not be ad hoc instructions on everything that might crop up. After all it is not our wish that we should interfere with the way things are worked out between the British Government and the Governor. Things should be decided by Ministers in London, or by the Governor, if they would like to devolve that responsibility upon him.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: The final responsibility lies with the Minister in London.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, I agree with that. Then your proposal, and I take it this is one of your proposals for easing the consultative position, is that in deciding on reserved matters the Governor shall seek the advice of a Council consisting of himself, the Prime Minister, and two other Maltese Ministers?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Yes, that is so.

CHAIRMAN: Again, that would deal with the position where the Maltese Government thought that either it was a doubtful reserved subject or that it was in the course of action in the reserved field which they did not like?

DR. GANADO: Perhaps a distinction can be made here because there are certain matters which might not interest in any way whatsoever or affect the rest of the inhabitants of Malta or their property. In that case perhaps there is no need for the Governor to go before the Advisory Council and consult the Maltese Ministers; but in all those matters which affect or even might affect the interests of the Maltese people or their property then the Governor should consult the Advisory Council.

CHAIRMAN: Really you want to work up a constitutional practice to that end, that the Governor would say, "Does this affect the interest of the people of Malta?—If so, I consult this Council". That is the sort of way it would work?

DR. GANADO: Yes because after all in the British Constitution conventions are as important as laws. Perhaps Dr. Olivier would like to say something?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I think what Dr. Ganado means is that ordinary administrative acts are the responsibility of the Governor and Maltese Ministers would not dream of having the Governor go before them to take their advice on these ordinary administrative acts. Otherwise all matters pertaining to defence are to be decided by the Governor after taking the advice of the Defence Advisory Council which we propose for our constitution on the lines of the Defence Council that is already in operation in the Gold Coast.

CHAIRMAN: The next provision is that the emergency powers reserved to Her Majesty in Council under Section 59 of the Constitution should be limited to reserved matters. What about an emergency, say a genuine emergency, either threat of war or insurrection or, as we have had, storm or famine, or water famine, or something of that kind? Do you mean to cut out any emergency powers to the Governor with regard to what I call a real emergency?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Yes, war would come under defence. Otherwise the Maltese Ministers should have the power to legislate themselves, to go before the Legislative Assembly and have the necessary measure passed in that Assembly.

DR. GANADO: May I add that on this point the Constitution of 1947 is worse off than that of 1921 because under the 1921 Constitution emergency powers were reserved to Her Majesty in Council.

CHAIRMAN: With regard to amendment of the amendment of the Constitution, that is to depend on a three-fourths majority in the Chamber—that is your desire?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That was the opinion expressed by the Chamber of Advocates before the grant of the Constitution of 1921.

CHAIRMAN: The other point is what I call the safety valve on reserved matters. In the final decision as to whether any particular matter is reserved or not is to go to a body consisting of two British Ministers and the Prime Minister of Malta; that is it?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That is the case.

CHAIRMAN: Again, would that work *ad hoc*, or have you in mind for dealing with matters of principle?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Matters of policy is what we have in mind.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, but I take it that the past there have been certain danger spots, if I may call them so, which have produced friction and that is the sort of point on which you want this machinery to be able to say, "Well will go up and have it decided there"?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Exactly, my Lord.

CHAIRMAN: Would that cover the point that I mentioned earlier, where you have a reserved matter which affects a non-reserved matter? You have to take some action with regard to defence which effects, say, land and buildings—or posts are a very good example. Often in regard to defence you have to put up special communications which affect both the Post Office and the Services. I should not have thought there would be much disagreement about that but you can see what I mean.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Yes, in similar cases, my Lord, the Governor will go before the Advisory Council and give his reasons why he thinks such and such a thing should be done and, although that matter does not come under reserved matters, it might be necessary to do it, even if it affects matters which are not reserved. In that case Ministers will, after listening to the Governor, advise the Governor to carry on with what is necessary to put into effect any measure that is thus made necessary, unless it is up to them and it is their duty as Ministers or legislators to give effect to such measures themselves.

CHAIRMAN: I am not going to ask you about economic matters at the

moment, but that brings me to the constitutional connection between economic matters and the way in which the Island would be governed under your plan. How do you envisage the money being handed over? Apart from a balancing of the budget on a non-recurrent item—that is relatively simple—but as I understand it you desire that there should be United Kingdom investment, capital investment in water, for dealing with the harbour and various other items which you have mentioned. Would you be prepared to accept that that was subject to budgetary control by the British Treasury?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Not exactly budgetary control. We have had financial aid from Britain even for long-term development, besides what is known as the war damage grant. We usually submit plans which are approved by the Treasury and money is refunded. I cannot recall that there has ever been friction in that respect.

CHAIRMAN: Here we are envisaging after war damage ceases some £3½ million a year—I am taking the figure that has been put to us merely to make it clear-being given for capital investment. Now the needs of capital investment in the various years might be a matter of discussion, and I should have thought it was worthy of consideration, and I wanted to know your view as to whether so much should be given to something, so much be given to something else, how it would effect the total. Would that in practice be a matter for discussion between your Finance Minister and the Treasury. Do you envisage that, or have you any other plan?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I envisage plans being worked out by both Governments. Ordinary discussions would be indicated. We have had similar discussions before. Once Britain agrees to aid Malta towards her economic development it is only fair that Britain should see that the money is well spent.

CHAIRMAN: Without any hard and fast machinery for disagreement?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Without any hard and fast machinery. We have had no hard and fast machinery up to the present, and this is quite normal and quite reasonable, because it would be working on the basis that Marshall Aid or its equivalent has been paid by the United States to even fully independent nations and countries.

CHAIRMAN: There is one other point. Does your plan envisage the Governor retaining his powers, to put it colloquially, as a one-man legislature for reserved subjects?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Of course he would be helped by his own staff,

but we do not wish to see the same strict form of diarchical government we have up to now.

CHAIRMAN: I am really trying to understand, and I appreciate, if I may put it that way, the spiritual of what you have said, Dr. Borg Olivier, but I am now dealing with the practical point of view. Does the Governor under your plan still have the right to issue ordinances in reserved subjects?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Yes, my Lord; only with regard to reserved matters.

CHAIRMAN: You have put the case very clearly to us, and you have told us why you put forward these proposals. I listened very carefully to what you said, and I only want to ask you one or two very general questions on what I may call your ultimate aim, which is—again do not take my words as the last word—full self-government coupled with treaty rights for Britain. I have tried to summarise them in a convenient form.

DR BORG OLIVIER: That conveys the idea, my Lord.

CHAIRMAN: In these two spheres, assuming that you have got what you have suggested in the proposals that I have just been examining, assume you have got all you wanted there, what more would you want so long as Britain is in the position that you have said you stand by of accepting the general Commonwealth policy, accepting the British responsibility for defence? What more could you want, apart from what you are claiming under your short-term plan?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: We would want the immediate transfer to the Commonwealth Relations Office as a *sine qua non.*

CHAIRMAN: I see that, Dr. Borg. Olivier, but I was really referring to the two reserved subjects.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I was coming to that, my Lord.

CHAIRMAN: I beg your pardon.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Joint responsibility in all matters of defence and external affairs, even those responsibilities as limited in our proposals, and equal partnership, a status which is equal to Dominion status vis-a-vis Great Britain. We want Great Britain to regard Malta not as a colony but as a Dominion—in her relations towards Great Britain only. Which it comes to relations with the fully independent members, whenever those relations are necessary, Malta will handle those relations jointly, hand-in-hand with Great Britain.

CHAIRMAN: Let me put it rather sharply, though I do not mean it

sharply at all, do you mean everything more than consultation and information, or do you mean a power of veto residing in Malta?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Yes, we mean even the power of veto, which of course responsible Ministers will not resort to.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you. I will ask Mr. Attlee if he has any questions.

MR. ATTLEE: The point I am not at all clear is this question of joint responsibility in foreign affairs. How is that going to work actually in practice? You say "handled jointly". How can that be?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: For instance, something that vitally directly affects Malta is being discussed at the Prime Ministers Conference meetings; Malta will attend, and the British Minister or Prime Minister will act for Malta in consultation with the Prime Minister of Malta, who is present at the discussions.

MR. ATTLEE: Are you referring to the Commonwealth Conference?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Yes.

MR. ATTLEE: I was thinking about the day-to-day foreign work. Do you envisage a representation of Malta in the Foreign Office and in the various embassies?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: No, there is no need for Malta to have Ambassadors and to have representatives in foreign states. The British Minister on the spot will handle those affairs on behalf of Malta, of course after having Malta's agreement to the decision to be reached.

MR. ATTLEE: I am afraid I do not understand the question of joint responsibility. I can understand consultation; I can understand attendance at conferences. What I am thinking of is the joint responsibility for day-to-day foreign affairs. You see, anything that may crop up in the Mediterranean may affect Malta. Now, how is the joint responsibility to work there? You cannot have a constant attendance of Prime Ministers personally, can you, or Foreign Ministers.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I do not think these day-to-day questions will come before the Commonwealth Conference. Our proposals contemplate representation of the British Government in Malta by a High Commissioner in Malta. The High Commissioner will consult the Prime Minister of Malta and ask for his agreement on the matters that arise.

MR. ATTLEE: Yes, but where does the power of decision lie, because that is really the important point.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: The final decision, since the Nationalist Party is not after full sovereignty, the final decision will rest with the British

Parliament, or, rather, with the British Government, after full consultation and after the voice of the Maltese Government is fully heard.

MR. ATTLEE: That is primarily consultation, but it is not handling foreign policy jointly, is it?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: It is handling when there is agreement. When there is disagreement, somebody will have to have the final say. And in that case the Nationalist Party is prepared to have the final say with the British Government, because the Nationalist Party believes in the goodwill of the British Govenment towards Malta, as has been manifest lately.

MR. ATTLEE: It does really in practice amount to a reservation of foreign affairs to the United Kingdom. There may be prior consultation, but in actual fact it is reservation.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: When there is an agreement and the British Minister will, for instance, sign something on behalf of Malta, the British Minister signs for Malta when he has the agreement of the Maltese Prime Minister and the Maltese Government. That is joint handling. It is not very material who signs, it is important that there is agreement. In the case of disagreement, if the Maltese Government is fully informed and fully consulted, Maltese Ministers will realise the necessity of such and such a measure, and will give way even if they do not agree that that measure should be taken, once it is held by the British Government that that measure in relation to external powers is strictly necessary and essential.

DR. GANADO: There is another point I might perhaps be allowed to add, that is, any matter which is agreed between Malta and the United Kingdom, when Malta has Dominion status vis-a-vis the United Kingdom, would be referred to an Imperial Conference. And it would work out in the same way as when there is disagreement on a particular matter between one of the Dominions and Great Britain. Those at present are settled amicably between either Great Britain or the Dominion concerned; if they cannot agree it is brought before the Imperial Conference, and it is a constitutional convention, I think, that the Dominion concerned is not actually bound but will normally follow the decision of the majority. The point is this; if we are all to live as members of the same family, we must toe the same line, otherwise any part which would not toe the line, which is in conformity with the interests of the majority, would be in the wrong, though they may have no intention to secede from the British Commonwealth. If there is reasonable ground on the

part of the British Govenment for a decision on which it insists, the Maltese Ministers would naturally give way to the demands of the majority.

MR. ATTLEE: Now on defence, that again is a reserved subject. What is your intention with regard to Malta's responsibility for defence itself?

DR. GANADO: For defence as such?

MR. ATTLEE: Yes. Would you propose that you should have national service in Malta?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: As an ultimate aim. Malta will have full say in matters of defence. Malta will be responsible for defence in that Malta will be able to enter freely an agreement with Britain on all matters regarding defence.

MR. ATTLEE: You regard these, I take it, as interim proposals, looking forward to a time of complete independence within the Commonwealth, is that right? To aim at the same position eventually.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: With that aim in view the Nationalist Party would be prepared to accept as an interim solution the constitution envisaged in the proposals we have submitted in the third memorandum.

MR. ATTLEE: What are the conditions which you consider would be necessary for a further advance?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Further development in the economic field and acceptance or recognition by Great Britain of Malta's claims to full Self-Government within the Commonwealth.

MR. ATTLEE: I am looking at the factual position. Do you contemplate a period in the foreseeable future when Malta will not be dependent as it is today largely on the defence organisation.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Yes, Mr. Attlee. We claim that Malta should be helped, that Britain should do her utmost to help Malta towards final viability.

M. ATTLEE: Viability without such things as the dockyard? Surely the position is economically sound only so long as you have the dockyard there?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: We have no reason to believe that a time will come when we will not need the dockyard on the Island.

MR. ATTLEE: I agree. Therefore the existence of the dockyard, with its political and economic implications, does necessarily qualify abstract demands for self-government? In the face of the facts, a realistic approach?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Yes, we rely and we will continue to rely on the existence of a dockyard in Malta. That is one of our exports, the invisible export, and we cannot afford to lose that source of income coming into our island.

DR. FRENDO AZOPARDI: I would have thought, Mr. Attlee, if I might say this, that the British Government would have liked to make it a condition for the granting of independence to Malta that the dockyard should be removed from the Island—if I understood your question. . .

MR. ATTLEE: No, I did not suggest that. What I am suggesting is that abstract demands must have relation to existing facts.

DR. FRENDO AZOPARDI: They do. The dockyard is obviously one of the units comprising the economy of the island, but it is an element of viability that is so because it is in the interest of both of us. Therefore I do not think it would normally be used as a reason for saying that there is no viability, and therefore there should be no independence.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Before any further questions are asked, I would like to make clear just one point. You, Chairman, referred to the power of veto which I said would rest with the Maltese Ministers; but I was only referring to cases where Britain agreed that the proposed measure was strictly essential. When it was not strictly essential we except the British Government not to press the demand. When it is strictly essential, especially we expect the British Government not to press the demand. When it is strictly essential, such essentially and such necessity is manifest in the meetings of the Commonwealth conferences, then the final say would rest with the British Government, as I said in my reply to Mr. Attlee.

MR. ELLIOT: Lord Chancellor, before we go on with questions there was a point which was put during the earlier discussion which I think should be cleared up. I think it was mentioned by Dr. Ganado that if there were matters in dispute between the United Kingdom and another dominion—or nowadays a realm—it would be settled between them, or if not settled between them brought before an imperial conference, and the party in minority would defer to the opinion of the majority. Am I right?

DR. GANADO: Yes.

MR. ELLIOT: I think it is as well to put on record at the very beginning that there is no such document at all of any kind or description, and of course there would be consternation in the Commonwealth if they heard

that such a statement had been made here, and not immediately contradicted. Therefore on behalf of all the other dominions, if not of the United Kingdom, I would like to say that there is no such suggestion, either explicit or implicit anywhere in the association of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Such a thing would be greeting with the most vigorous denunciation by every dominion of which I have any personal knowledge, so I think we must get that one entirely clear. My Lord Chancellor, I think you would agree with me that, there is no suggestion anywhere in the Commonwealth that a discussion between two members of the Commonwealth should be brought before an imperial conference with a view to its being resolved by any kind of deferment of one member or it, to even a unanimous view amongst the others. There is no suggestion of any kind that the majority opinion in the Commonwealth of Nations...

CHAIRMAN: No such constitutional rule.

MR. ELLIOT: Not only constitutional rule, but there is no convention of any kind, and it has been frequently and vehemently stated by the members of the Commonwealth that there is nothing of that kind which enters their mind on any point.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I am not aware, if that is the suggestion, that it came from this side.

MR. ELLIOT: We are not arguing on that. I do not wish to pursue it if there is no such suggestion.

DR. GANADO: If I may be allowed to explain this, I did not say, or at least I did not intend to convey the impression, that there is any sort of convention binding on the dominions in that sense. But I presume that in the working of the relationships within the Commonwealth, should any question arise which affects the Commonwealth as a whole, it would certainly be discussed between the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth. While all the members of the Commonwealth are members of the same family, the dominion concerned in the matter vis-a-vis Great Britain or one of the other dominions would wish to find a solution which is in the interests of the whole Commonwealth, even if at times perhaps they may not satisfy completely its particular viewpoint on the matter under discussion.

MR. ELLIOT: Not only wish to, but this is absolutely contradictory to the facts. It would cause a revolution in the Commonwealth, if any idea of it was to get out; so it would be as well if we got that one quite

emphatically on the record just now. It would be very difficult indeed if we found that we had prejudiced ourselves vis-a-vis the countries of the Commonwealth.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Of course we appreciate each member of the Commonwealth is sovereign and independent.

MR. ELLIOT: But it is a little more than that. There is no convention amongst them that any one would defer in any way to a judgement expressed even by unanimity of the others. As long as we get that one quite straight, we can go on to the other questions.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: No one member of the Commonwealth would want a similar convention, or would agree to a similar convention, because it would be binding on each members, and it would clash with each member's sovereignty and independence.

MR. ELLIOT: To take it a little further, these things are all run under a gentlemen's agreement, but there is no gentlemen's agreement if any kind regulating any relations for any power...

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That is appreciated, though the practice may be for...

MR. ELLIOT: Let us stop at that, because honestly the practice is not so. In many countries the practice is completely contrary, so I think it would be a mistake to go any further, as long as we are agreed that there is no explicit and there is no implicit...

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That is agreed.

MR. ELLIOT: As it is not suggested by anybody that this practice should be followed, then I think we can leave it at that.

MR. ELLIOT: I want to put a further point. On general grounds would you not say that the great feature of the Mediterranean is that the City States have on the whole almost disappeared from the Mediterranean? Would you not say that the pattern of the Mediterranean in the old days, the pattern of small, independent units which one might call City States —using a very general phrase—has almost disappeared? I cannot think at the moment of any. Can you, Dr. Borg Olivier? What I mean is that Malta is a very small unit which formerly had a very large number of parallels in the Mediterranean; that is to say, small independent units of which in the past the City States were perhaps the most obvious examples. I need not mention Athens, the most famous of them all, or Carthage, sometimes thought the most powerful of them all, but even in the Middle Ages the City States—such as Venice and the Italian City

Republics these were the general pattern of the Mediterranean. That has now disappeared, and we find now that they have, for their own reason, decided to associate themselves with larger units.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Which we did not want to do in our case.

MR. ELLIOT: I was going to take it one step further. Practically all the others have associated themselves with contiguous territories, but in your case you do not desire to associate yourselves with contiguous territories, and your association, much closer, is with a powerful island in the North Sea. But association is merely following out a pattern which the whole of the Mediterrean has adopted.

DR. RAGONESI: If I may say so, the idea of the Nationalist Party is that they do not wish to see Malta annexed to any country in the Mediterranean or, for that matter, even out of the Mediterranean. That is part and parcel of the history of the Island itself. During hundreds of years we have had connections and relations with, I must say, every single State in the Mediterranean. But, fortunately enough for us, we have always succeeded in preserving our indentity and our entity and our individuality as a nation. That is precisely the reason why the Nationalist Party thinks that it should follow a policy by which under no circumstances will Malta even become part and parcel of any other country. I may even add, with your permission, that history does repeat itself; and if, in the olden days, there were City States, we do not see any reason why an exception should be put to that rule that history does repeat itself.

MR. ELLIOT: I think that nobody will suggest for a moment that there should be any annexation of Malta, or indeed that it could be more what I call an association, which there is at present, an association of Malta with the United Kingdom, voluntarily entered into by Malta. But your neighbours have not been so fortunate and in almost every case that I can think of association has gone very much further, and Malta is, as you say yourself, an exception. Do you agree?

DR. RAGONESI: Yes. If other nations or other small countries would like to have themselves annexed to any other country, I think it is their business to do so.

MR. ELLIOT: I would not say annexed. I think it is cast in bronze in the walls of many former Italian Republics that they associated themselves with the Italian people by such-and-such a very large majority. But the process of association of larger units if the pattern of the

Mediterranean now, and complete isolation of any of the smaller units is an exception, would you not say?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: We claim that Commonwealth members are very closely associated between them, and this view is shared by the British Government, at least if I may take the Secretary of State's word as the word representing the British Government's views. The Colonial Secretary has lately during the London talks agreed with me that self-government, even full independent membership of the Commonwealth, means a close association with all the other members of the same Commonwealth.

MR. ELLIOT: Yes, but it is on the question of viability. Would you not say that on the whole, in the modern world the viability of a very small unit in less likely than the viability of the larger unit. I mean complete viability as a completely independent unit?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: It might take longer to come, and it might be more difficult than in the case of larger countries, but there is nothing to suggest than even smaller nations cannot achieve viability in the long run.

MR. ELLIOT: In the long run. But the present suggestion, is it not, is of a period of five, ten, fifteen years, during which you envisage the continuation of the substantial assistance from the United Kingdom, over and above the dockyard, during the whole of that period.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That is so, but our claims for financial assistance by Britain are based on the Nationalist Party's view that Malta should be paid for the use that Britain, together with her Allies, makes of her strategic facilities. For practical purposes we are not pressing that view. We are not pressing the juridical or the moral ground for British assistance, because Great Britain has agreed to pay, and we thought it was not worth asking that the basis was.

MR. ELLIOT: No, I agree, but what is the order of payment you have in mind? The sum just now is running at some $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions a year, is it not, over and above the use of the dockyard? That is the reconstruction grant which is running now. Is that right?

MR. BORG OLIVIER: Yes, it is.

MR. ELLIOT: But it is not suggested, it is , that it would be possible for Malta to envisage with any equanimity the running out of that grant without any replacement, and what is being discussed now is not only the replacement but the increase of that grant. Is it not so?

DR. FRENDO AZOPARDI: The increase of that grant in such a way to produce productivity (which would in the long run probably lay the foundations of the Island on a sounder economic basis)—and even a constitutional development beyond the point which would be reached during the interim period—would surely have to depend on how much the result of that development plan was on the side of success rather than on the side of failure.

MR. ELLIOT: Quite so. We were speaking of a relatively short period, five, ten, fifteen years. The sums envisaged are considerably larger even than the £3½ million, are they not?

DR. AZOPARDI: It would be difficult to say how long the period would be; one envisages working out a five year plan, but in certain other countries it is only because the percentages are not pre-publicised. This one would not be perfect in all its set up obviously and would not of necessity reach the point it was desired to reach in that period. Therefore on the same sort of thing you have to continue for a further period. It is difficult to say how long the whole process would take.

MR. ELLIOT: You would not like to commit yourself would you, to a period of under ten years, or even a period of under 15 years, during which the result of this expenditure would enable you to dispense with the grants altogether?

DR. AZOPARDI: No.

MR. ELLIOT: When you say you look forward to a consequent period of liability you mean a point at which at any rate these large inpourings of capital would have come to an end?

DR. AZOPARDI: Yes, a point at which allowing for military expenditure on the Island, which I presume would have to continue so long as Malta is a fortress, Malta would no longer be dependent on grants in the proper sense of the word "grant".

MR. ELLIOT: Would you like to commit yourself to a period of fifteen years?

DR. AZOPARDI: I would not like to commit myself to anything. I prefer to watch results.

MR. ELLIOT: Would you envisage coming into existence of the Constitution, with its powers of veto and so on before then?

DR. AZOPARDI: I believe the power of veto was ruled out.

MR. ELLIOT: The new Constitution with its considerably enlarged powers.

DR. AZOPARDI: I would envisage that some sort of considerable success with these plans would be a pre-condition.

MR. ELLIOT: It would, yes. That would mean that until these plans had produced some considerable success you could not really envisage the introduction of the Constitution as it is sketched out?

DR. AZOPARDI: Not without any success at all.

MR. ELLIOT: No, but I mean obviously it would not need to be a 99 per cent success; but it would need to be over 5 or 10 per cent.

On resumption: Tuesday 27th September 1955 (continuing interrogation).

MR. PICKTHORN: One last question, if I may. This is a much smaller technical one—not a large and loose one. I am not quite sure I have got this right—I think I have. That is to say that under the proposals of the Nationalist Party, the Governor, and for that matter the British Government too, would lose any right to suspend the constitution, but there would still be a right in the British parliament to suspend the constitution. That is so, is it not? Would that right be exercisable by statute or not?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: By statute, according to our proposals.

MR. PICKTHORN: So that it could not happen, for instance, when Parliament was not sitting, unless it were specially called again?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: No, but many things could not . . .

MR. PICKTHORN: No, no. I am not arguing whether it is a good thing or a bad thing. I am trying to get it clear. It is not thought that it would be possible to do it by statutory instrument, or that parliament would enable its nominees,—the Privy Council or whatever it may be. This would be a power delegated to parliament on which parliament—on the Roman law principle—could not delegate to anyone else. I wanted to be sure about that.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That is how the 1921 constitution was repealable.

MR. WOOD: My Lord Chairman, I will try and be brief and only ask one question and that is this. You told Mr. Bevan this morning and I think you told Mr. Houghton this afternoon, that the significance of your recent election on the question of integration or not, was insignificant—it did not count. I have got that so far, have I not?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Yes.

MR. WOOD: Secondly, you suggest that a referendum, for reasons which have been given to us this afternoon by Dr. Ganado, would not

count either as expressing the will of the Maltese people.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Not exactly. We only wanted to point out the difficulties.

MR. WOOD: I think you did say, did you not, this morning, to Mr. Bevan, that you would prefer constitutional changes to be subject to a two-thirds or three-fourths majority of the Maltese Assembly. Now, it seems to me, to put it very mildly indeed, that you are extremely unlikely to get what I calculate to be either 26 or 30 votes.

MR. EDE: 27.

MR. WOOD: 27 votes in the Maltese Assembly for your proposals for full self-government within the Commonwealth.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Only very recently I could except one hundred per cent of the support in the House.

MR. WOOD: But there would not probably at the moment be the requisite support for these proposals in the Maltese Assembly?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: As I said before, those who are advocating integration are not, in principle, against full self-government for Malta. Indeed they have it as an alternative in their electoral manifesto.

MR. WOOD: But they would presumably try to get requisite majority for integration while you would try to get it for full self-government. What I am asking is whether you think there should be any constitutional change unless there was this requisite either two-thirds or three-fourths majority in the Maltese Assembly.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That is so.

MR. WOOD: I do ask you very seriously indeed, would it in fact be accepted by the Maltese people that there should be no constitutional development until that position exists?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I think it is in the interest of the country, and the National Assembly had agreed to the suggestion, that all constitutional amendments had to be carried by a majority of two-thirds in the House.

LORD PERTH: Dr. Borg Olivier, as I understand it, you have the interim proposals and then the final aim set out. The first question I would like to ask is that, if the interim proposals were accepted, would it be demanded, or do you just stop with the proposals as they are?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: No, I think I should make it clear that the Nationalist Party will always have full self-government as an ultimate aim, although if the British Government agrees to the proposals we have made for the interim period the Nationalist Party will be in the duty to

work out the constitution arranged under that interim plan, and will certainly co-operate to the full for the attainment of good results. When these good results are obtained, we very much hope that the British Government itself will want to further Maltese constitutional aspirations and will want to satisfy the Maltese people's ultimate aim to self-government.

LORD PERTH: Thank you very much. Would you be prepared to give a definite period for which you would accept the interim proposals, because otherwise I can see constant friction, asking for the more the whole time.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: We even made it clear to the United Kingdom Government during the London talks that the Nationalist Party was setting no fixed time limit for the attainment of the ultimate aim.

LORD PERTH: Then I think my last question is in connection with the second stage, and I know you have answered this several times, and I am still not quite clear that I understand it, and that is who would interpret the defence agreement in the event of dispute between the two parties. I know you have an answer to Mr. Houghton, but did I understand it aright that it would be in the last analysis, on the defence side, for the British Government to interpret the agreement if there were a dispute?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I think My Lord is referring to the second stage, the ultimate aim proposals, so to call them.

LORD PERTH: The question is, who would interpret the agreement in the event of a dispute on the defence side? Who would have the ultimate power of interpretation, of decision?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I think that I had occasion to say before that the Nationalist Party would be prepared, the Nationalist Party first had the idea in mind of having such dispute referred to arbitration, but the Party understood that that would raise very serious objections on the part of Great Britain, and the Party showed its preparedness to have discussion on the matter, showing even great openmindedness and showing that it was open to conviction that the British Government or the British Parliament, or anyhow British authority, should have the last word in the matter.

MR. FRENDO AZOPARDI: If I may say so, My Lord, on your question as to whether there would be friction as the interim period perhaps got longer and the ultimate stage did not approach, I do not think we should

even start asking for the ultimate stage until we felt we were ready for it.

LORD PERTH: It is always very difficult to decide, is it not, when you are ready?

DR. FRENDO AZOPARDI: But probably there would quite a lot of good reason on both sides.

MR. CROSSMAN: Dr. Borg Olivier, I wanted to ask you a number of questions which really follow up the questions of Mr. Houghton because I agree with him that it is no good instituting constitutional changes which are politically unworkable. Therefore some of us are deeply interested to understand the precise nature and depth of the emotions behind the opposition to integration; because I am very much aware if you are a member of a great power it is extremely difficult to put yourself in the position of somebody who has got the nationalism of a small power, and I want to try to help myself to do that job because I think if we do not do it we shall not come to a wise conclusion. Would you object if I asked you a question about an article in the "Spectator"; you sent me a copy of it and I thought here you had formulated your views very clearly. In the "Spectator" you said "It is not easy for us to understand"—this is in connection with the Mintoff proposals—"It is not easy for us to understand how the United Kingdom Government can even consider the adoption of a system of colonial policy developed by other imperialist nations without success". I take it you were perhaps thinking of the French parallel in North Africa?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Mainly.

MR. CROSSMAN: But did it not occur to you that what was before this Conference was something unique and unlike anything which has occurred in the French Colonial Empire? We are faced not with a proposal from this side to impose integration but with a government elected by a large majority coming to us and asking us to consider it. Now do you think that that is something which has occurred in French colonial history?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Even if it is granted that the party requesting integration has now been elected by a large majority, even then the practical results would be the same. They would be those which stem from the relations between French territories and the dominating power.

MR. CROSSMAN: But, Dr. Borg Olivier, you expressed in this sentence your surprise that the British Government should even consider this proposal. Now just imagine if we had refused to consider a proposal

coming to us by a Malta Government, what would you have said—not to consider it even?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: When I said consider, I meant consider to the extent of having all the House of Commons examining the proposal and the House of Lords examining the proposal; when the request for transfer of Maltese affairs to the Commonwealth Relations Office was made the British Government very lightly discarded the idea and did not even consider it.

MR. CROSSMAN: But I am still a little puzzled. You say you are surprised we are even prepared to consider the proposals put to us by a government elected by a large majority. Now surely if we believe in self-determination at all we must consider with the greatest gravity proposals put foward to us by a government elected with a democratic majority.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I agree. It might have been an unhappy way of expressing it on my part.

MR. CROSSMAN: Coming from that to the problem of the referendum, I thought I understood to say that if there were a referendum on any integration proposals you would demand that if you were re-elected you would have a counter-referendum; is that right?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: So I did.

MR. CROSSMAN: You of course realise that would mean if the Maltese Labour Party were ever elected after that they have a counter-counter-referendum, and so the thing would go on *ad infinitum*; is that what you propose?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That is just I do not want.

MR. CROSSMAN: I am just putting this to you as a fellow politician. If a politician says—"I refuse to accept a referendum which goes against me and demand to have the thing re-referended," then his opponent will be open to make the same demand, will he not?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Probably.

MR. CROSSMAN: So you are saying that there will be no end to this issue?

DR BORG OLIVIER: Because it is so highly controversial.

MR CROSSMAN: That is what I thought. Therefore we come to the second thing; that you feel deeply and passionately that even though a clear majority of the Maltese people were to vote for self-determination you think they would be short-sighted and not looking after their own

interest, and you think you would be justified in being against that decision and continuing opposition to it?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That is the case.

MR CROSSMAN: It is very remarkable statement from somebody who believes in democracy. I sympathise with you; sometimes I feel that way about democratic decisions, but no-one feels that unless they have a passionate deep-seated resentment.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: There would be nothing undemocratic on my part if I realised Malta had made a mistake at a particular moment. There would be nothing undemocratic on the part of the Nationalist Party if the Nationalist Party put Malta back on the right way towards self-government.

MR. CROSSMAN: I want now to try and understand, because it is most important we should what are the root feelings you have in this opposition to integration. I want to start at the less important and turn to your paper Memorandum 3; would you look at the bottom of page 1, the last sentence? You say "The Maltese representatives will have to pester"—this is if they were at Westminster—"pester the Government in office with increasing demands for measures which would benefit the Maltese, and should the British Government refuse to act they might be tempted to bring undue pressure.' Frankly, as a constituency member, I am a little baffled by this sentence, because I think it is my duty on occasion to bring undue pressure—I am often bringing undue pressure on behalf of Coventry. I really do not understand how a Nationalist can say he thinks one of the disadvantages of integration would be that Maltese members of Parliament would be able to bring undue pressure on the British Government. I should have thought, from Nationalist point of view, no pressure would be undue.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Undue would mean unconstitutional, and undue under particular circumstances. For instance, you would certainly not want a change of government in the United Kingdom because the United Kingdom Government did not want to do something which might be of great importance for Malta but of little importance relatively —I mean everything considered.

MR. CROSSMAN: I can see there might be certain disadvantages to Britain in this. What I cannot understand are the disadvantages to Malta in this.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I was not necessarily referring to the disadvantages to Malta when I said this is my memorandum. I was referring to the closer association that is desired by everybody. I was referring to good relations between the two peoples.

MR. CROSSMAN: You were warning us of what might be due to us!

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I would not dream of warning.

MR. CROSSMAN: On the top of the next page, paragraph 1, last sentence—"The United Kingdom Parliament would have the almost exclusive right to legislate for Malta or fiscal matters, and the British Government would be held responsible in Malta for any financial difficulties which might beset the Island's economy." You predict this as a disadvantage of integration. Are you suggesting the British Government has not been held to blame for the period of colonial rule?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: No, the British Government has always been excepted to help Malta, and both Parties used to base that expectancy on juridical and moral grounds. But we are not pressing those reasons at the present time because for practical purpose it would not be useful to insist on what ground payment should be made once the British Government had agreed to pay. But up to the present time the Maltese people have never believed in any other particular country; they have always blamed the local government, whether that was Borg Olivier or Mr. Mintoff. They have always blamed the local government for, say, heavy taxation or for unbalancing the budget and other fiscal measures.

MR. CROSSMAN: You feel therefore, there will be an increased sense in Malta that the United Kingdom Government was responsible for their economic condition if there were integration.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Under integration.

MR. CROSSMAN: But would not that be a great advantage to Malta, if there was a sense that Britain had a direct responsibility for their economic good? Would not that, unless you believe we do not take our responsibilities seriously, the fact that the United Kingdom Government had even greater responsibility, give you a greater argument for getting your economic ills remedied?

DR. RAGONESI: Yes, but I think we are after achieving closer association, and if we do not do that we will be having more feeling in Malta than we have at the present time. That is precisely what we are after, and what we would like to avert by all possible means.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: What we meant to convey by that particular paragraphs was that a closer association, a closer relationship, would not be obtained by having Malta integrated.

MR. CROSSMAN: I am not clear. I thought you said the British Government would thereafter have a greater and more direct responsibility for Maltese economic conditions? That was what you said?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: But then when we come to that we do not want the British Government to have all the responsibility for Maltese economy at the cost of Malta losing her constitutional freedom.

MR. CROSSMAN: We will come to that later. I quite agree.

DR. GANADO: From the objective point of view what the honourable member has stated is quite correct, the Maltese should be quite happy that Great Britain is taking more interest—I would not say responsibility, but more interest—in Maltese economic affairs, but that is only from this objective point of view. On the other hand, whenever there is any social unrest or economic ills in the Island, the Maltese politicians would find it very convenient to throw the responsibility off their shoulders, and they would pin it on the British Government. They would say "the British Government has assumed responsibility for your affairs". We are no longer masters with regard to the economic situation, and therefore all the blame would be laid at the threshold of the British Government or the British people.

MR. CROSSMAN: Can I get it clear. Is your argument that the more responsibility Britain takes, the less responsibility the Maltese politicians would take?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Not the less responsibility.

DR. GANADO: I would not carry it to that conclusion, but it is a fact, as the honourable member has also remarked, that under Crown Colony Government there was much more political agitation in Malta than when Malta was granted self-government.

DR. GANADO: Now whether Maltese politicians were responsible or irresponsible, I would not like to go into that. It is, however, an historic fact, and if we are to look into the future we must base ourselves on what has happened in the past, and if we want to avoid friction between the Maltese and the British people we should rely on past experience and learn the lesson of history—that is, that the more responsibility is granted to the Maltese people, the more their affection towards Great Britain and the British people thrives.

MR. CROSSMAN: Good. Now, I want to get it clear also where the margin of difference is between you and the Government. I think you said, and I agree, that both of you demand closer co-operation with this country, both of you demand more —is that right?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: No, not both.

MR. CROSSMAN: Well, the Maltese Government's list would certainly include more powers. . . .

DR. BORG OLIVIER: But the pattern of the Northern Ireland Constitutions has many more reserved powers. . . .

MR. CROSSMAN: But we were studying the list—have I got it right—Mr. Mintoff's list of powers which he is willing to delegate to Britain seem to me almost precisely the same as your own.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I am afraid we have not got them before us; they are still confidential

DR. GANADO: I think we must disagree on this point, because Mr. Mintoff's aims, as stated in his evidence before this Conference, that the British Parliament would have the right to legislate for Malta on defence, foreign affairs and direct taxation—and the British Government would have a greater say than the Malta Government on social services. And the Prime Minister himself has put the question to the Conference—if you eliminate all these matters from the political field, there would be only trivial matters left on which one could legislate, and so, if the plan of integration is accepted as propounded by the Malta Labour Government, it is obvious that we have much less Constitutional liberties than under our interim proposals.

MR. CROSSMAN: But have I got it clear, that under your view you are demanding more powers reserved to the Malta Government than the Mintoff proposals?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: That is right.

MR. CROSSMAN: So there are two differences—one is, you demand more powers reserved to a Malta Government, and secondly your agree that the method by which you will achieve your legitimate aims and aspirations is complete autonomy and not integration. Is that so?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: Yes.

DR. FRENDO AZOPARDI: If I may make this point—it may sound funny, but it is true—that in Malta, and probably in many other places too, if there is a hardship which has to be imposed upon the people, and the Government feels that it is fair and just that at that moment that the

hardship should be placed upon the people—a tax or something—it is much easier there is you say, "Well, I think that is right and I am going to do that" than for you to say, "Well, look here, it is Britain who is doing this, and I cannot do anything about it." Because you then have to face the charge that you are weak in relation to the British Government; and you then have to face two charges—that you are allowing the people to be taxed and that you are weak in relation to the British Government. It is much easier for you, if a thing is fair, to keep the British Government out of it altogether.

MR. CROSSMAN: I see. I think I have it clear. You believe in a greater degree of self-government and you do not believe that integration brings any benefits. I want to ask you a question—in principle, do you agree, Dr. Borg Olivier, that no small people can achieve its national and legitimate national aspiration by integration with a greater union?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I am sorry—would you mind repeating that?

MR. CROSSMAN: Do you believe that no small people can achieve its national and legitimate aspirations by integration in a larger union?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I firmly believe . . .

MR. CROSSMAN: No, in principle—so you contend in principle that no small people can, or that Malta, for special reasons, cannot?

DR. BORG OLIVIER: By being integrated, Malta will lose any hope of ever having full self-government, autonomy—constitutional autonomy.

MR. CROSSMAN: Yes, but the question I am asking you is whether you feel in principle that it is impossible for a small people to achieve all is aspirations by integration in a larger unit?

DR. RAGONESI: In principle I would say it depends on what kind of people they were, what traditions they have, and what kind of social set-up.

MR. CROSSMAN: Quite. So you would not say it is a question of principle; it is a question of which way is the best. Some people have done it, and some have not.

DR. RAGONESI: I would not say that it would not be feasible and practical and the case of the Isle of Man, if it was not already part and parcel of the United Kingdom, but I do not think the way—that certain limitations—(I can see Mr. Chuter Ede desapproving and disagreeing with me on what I have just said. I realise that there you have certain powers in the Parliament of the Isle of Man which is not really part and parcel of the United Kingdom) but what I meant was this—we do

consider Malta to be a nation. It is a nation in a nutshell. We have so many traditions and that sort of thing . . .

MR. CROSSMAN: I do not think you have quite got my question. You would not deny, would you, that many smaller nations in the past have joined larger units and fully retained their national traditions?

DR. RAGONESI: If they have many things in common with the larger unit, I do not think there is any reason why they should not.

MR. CROSSMAN: I wanted to be quite clear, because some of your statements sounded as though you were saying that autonomy was an automatic aim of the small peoples.

DR. BORG OLIVIER: I would be obliged if you would give an example.

MR. CROSSMAN: I hesitate to mention Scotland round this table . . .

DR. RAGONESI: What about the Scottish Nationalist movement?

MR. CROSSMAN: It has brought me to the direct point I am raising; it remains true that many small people have been integrated into greater units. Our friend there mentioned the problem of marriage laws as being an obstacle. He mentioned one or two objections. In Scotland there are different laws from England.

DR. GANADO: While Scotland has been integrated, I read in the report of the Royal Commission on Scottish Affairs that the Royal Commission said that in Scotland a large section, or a good section, of the people were feeling that since the Act of Union of 1707, Scotland was losing much of its individuality. Now I would agree with the honourable gentleman that there may be smaller territories who look forward to association with larger territories. In fact, in the United Nations General Assembly it is said that there are factors indicative of free association where in a federal or union relationship—by a territory having union status with members of the metropolitan or mother country. But when we see the general factors we find that among them, for instance, there are geographical considerations and those are explained. The scope of the central government may be affected by circumstances arising out of the respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles. The fourth factor refers to ethnic and social considerations, that is the extent to which the population are of one race or relationship, or have a distinct natural heritage of interests or aspirations distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves.

DOCUMENT 81

Extracts from the 1955 Lancaster House Round Table Conference on Integration: the Malta Labour Party's Position

Verbatim transcript of the Second Session
of the Malta Round Table Conference
held in Lancaster House, London, S.W.1,
at 2.30 p.m. on Wednesday, 21st September, 1955.

Present:

The Lord Chancellor (in the Chair) Mr. Attlee, Mr. Bevan, Mr. Crossman, Mr. Davies, Mr. Ede, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Griffiths, Mr. Houghton, The Earl of Listowel, Mr. Maclay, The Earl of Perth, Mr. Pickthorn, Sir Patrick Spens, Mr. Wood.

Maltese Delegation:

Mr. Mintoff, Mr. Cole, Prof. Mamo, Mr. Kingswell, Mr. Firman, Dr. Balogh, Mr. Seers, Mr. Bruce.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Prime Minister, at Monday's meeting the Conference decided to meet in plenary session in Lancaster House so as to enable those whom it wished to consult at that session, others who will be appearing later before the Conference, and also members of the press, to be present. The general public are not included in the invitation because we desired to keep the sitting and procedure of the Conference as conducive as possible to a free and informal consultation and because we knew the public would be fully informed by the reports in the press.

A verbatim transcript of the proceedings is being taken by the Conference staff and will be available for general distribution tomorrow morning.

As the decision was only come to on Monday, I hope that the representatives of the press, whom I am glad to see here, are in reasonable comfort.

Mr. Prime Minister, it is now my privilege to welcome those whom we shall consult. We count it an honour to hear you, Mr. Prime Minister, as the leader of the Government, the Government party in the Assembly of Malta, and also to hear the Opposition in the Assembly and all those who wished and have been invited to assist us. Mr. Prime Minister, this is true not only for personal reasons, and because we respect and admire the ancient civilization and valiant repute of your island, but because our hearts are still warmed by the memory of the stalwart aid in the stern and stormy days of war.

The purpose of this afternoon's meeting is to hear a statement from you, Mr. Prime Minister, explaining the views of the Government of Malta on the tasks set for the Conference by the terms of reference which are—I venture to read them although they are well-known to everyone here:—

"To consider constitutional and related questions arising from proposals for closer association between Malta and the United Kingdom and, in particular, from the proposal that Malta should in future be represented in the Parliament of Westminster.

"To consult representatives of the political parties in the Legislative Assembly of Malta, and such other persons as may seem fit to them.

"To report their conclusions and recommendations."

I remind you that this Conference has been called because Her Majesty's Government regard it as important that all sections of principal opinion in the United Kingdom Parliament should have an opportunity to consider and express their views upon proposals for closer association between Malta and the United Kingdom which, on the consititutional side, include a proposal that Malta, while retaining its own Parliament, should in future be represented in the Parliament at Westminster.

You will remember, Mr. Prime Minister—I venture to repeat it to-day —that the Prime Minister of this country in his statement in the House of Commons on 6th July welcomed the initiative taken by the Prime Minister of Malta in putting forward proposals for closer association, and perhaps you will also allow me to recall the sympathetic response in both Houses of Parliament here and in the press to the suggestion that the two peoples should come more closely together.

Mr. Prime Minister, it would ill become me to speak of those who compose this Conference. On this it is right to say that the Government,

with the ready help and instant co-operation of other parties, has sought to greet you with a wide variety of political outlook and a full experience in ministerial, political and legal fields. We who are here in this Conference regard the task which we have been set by our terms of reference as perhaps the most serious and important task which has been laid upon anyone in the long history of the relations between Malta and the United Kingdom since the island joined the British Crown a hundred and fifty years ago. It will be the earnest endeavour of the Conference to reach conclusions which will secure a lasting and happy settlement of relations between the two countries which, in spite of difficulties from time to time, have been close and friendly both in peace and war; and I hope all who share in the Conference as well, while facing forthrightly all complications, strive successfully towards this end.

It is a particular pleasure to invite the Prime Minister of Malta to open the first plenary session of the Conference with a statement of his views.

Mr. Mintoff, will you suit yourself. It may be more convenient for you to stand at this stage and perhaps to sit later when actual consultation takes place on questions at this part of the table; but do suit yourself and make yourself as comfortable as you can.

MR. MINTOFF: Thank you. My Lord Chancellor, your Lordships, Gentlemen. I thank the Chairman of this Conference for his very kind welcome, and for the sympathetic reference he has made to the people of my country, and to the part played by my country, and yours, in the past and in recent times. I am sure that in these words of thanks I have with me, not only the members of the Government Delegation, but also of all the Maltese parties and persons whom the Conference will wish to consult, and whom the Conference will ask to explain their views. I am quite sure you are all eager for me to get down to business and submit our case.

I will start by reading, with your permission, my Lord Chancellor, an extract from the Labour Party political manifesto; the same manifesto that returned the political party I represent to Parliament in Malta, after five years of political indecision, and five years of very weak coalition. I am reading the text because I believe that since then there has been no appreciable, in fact, no amendment to these proposals. The Labour Party, therefore, has already officially submitted the following six points as a basis for a new constitution:

1. Social Services and direct taxation for the people of Malta on a basis of absolute parity with residents of Britain.
2. Equality of opportunities and treatment, putting an end to the existing wage discriminations.
3. Extension of economic planning, and full employment measures to this island.
4. Retention of exclusive rights by Westminster in all matters affecting foreign relations and defence.
5. Adequate representation of the Maltese People at Westminster.
6. Unfettered local autonomy in all other matters.

Here, I wish to state that even in the Malta Labour Party's political programme it was stressed that these changes which we were envisaging were not to take place over-night, but they were to be introduced gradually and in such a way that they would not disrupt the economy of Malta, or put an excessive burden on the British taxpayer. I know that these proposals sounded new and startling, but I also wish to point out that they may have been new in September, 1953, when the British Government first made the Home Office offer, but since then they have been examined, investigated, criticised, by so many people that the novelty by now must have worn out. But it is also my task today to show that in the context of Maltese history these proposals are not at all novel, but in the context of Maltese history, both in the part played by Malta and the British Government, these proposals have a continuity representing a historical logic which is irresistible. In fact, I think it will be foolish to dismiss these proposals as the queer ideas of a new political group in Malta. They were as inevitable as the epic stand of Malta against Italian fascism during the last war, and I intend to prove that by reference to the history of Malta, and the part played by the British Government since the year 1800. I wish, therefore, to quote, not Maltese sources in this respect, but English sources, and I begin by quoting Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, one of your greatest Colonial Secretaries, who said in 1900:

"Malta is in a unique position. It has not come to us in the ordinary way in which the possessions of the Crown have been acquired. She is not ours by right of the first discoverer; nor is she our by right of conquest. Her independence, which was threatened by the great Napoleon, was maintained largely by the action of the Maltese themselves;

and it is due, I think, to their clear perception of their position in the world that they were led, of their accord, to offer their patrimony to the British Government, and come under the protection of the British Empire."

This historical truth was also affirmed, long before Joseph Chamberlain, by the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council in 1830, when they wrote:

"The English Government do not acknowledge the title of their actual sovereignty of the island from the French Republic, but from the sole will of the Maltese who freely elected for themselves the Government of Great Britain."

And looked at from this historical point of view our proposals are a request for an Act of Union, to reaffirm, to define, according to modern political thinking, what had already happened in the year 1830. I said 'modern political thinking' because, of course, we believe that these proposals fit in with the requirements of modern political philosophy. You all know that the rights of small dependencies, of small peoples, have been amply defined by the United Nations, and I believe you also all know that there are two ways for small territories to achieve freedom. One way is the way most familiar to British statesmen; the achievement of independence within or outside the British Commonwealth. The other way is union.

I do not want to bore you with a lot of talk of political philosophy or modern political conceptions, but I only want to stress the fact that in the case of union it has been made clear by the United Nations Assembly that the most important requirement is the representation of the people of the dependent territory in the central organ of legislation, and that without that requirement it is not possible to say that the people have been able to achieve political emancipation.

I wish here also to refer to the historic and economic conditions of Malta, when England took possession of Malta. When Britain occupied Malta the British Government looked upon Malta as a fortress in the Mediterranean, and the economic processes that took place during those times tended to make Malta entirely dependent on defence requirements. I do not think I need press this point, because the British Government on various occasions, first through its Royal Commission in 1912, then through its economic and financial expert Sir Wilfred Wood in 1946, later in 1950 through Sir George Schuster, and quite recently by our own

economic advisers, the British Government had various occasions to learn that the entire economy of Malta is dependent on defence expense.

I think that it is sufficient to say that today out of a working population of about 90,000 persons, 20,000 are directly employed by the Services, between 10,000 and 15,000 are employed on works financed by Imperial grants, and the rest of the working population is there to supply the ancillary services required by these various works. That should give conclusive proof of what is meant by the phrase, "Malta being entirely and completely dependent on the defence requirements of Great Britain."

I shall also now try to show how even the British Government has been led by historical events to come to the same conclusion in the constitutional field. As you well know, Malta was given a form of self-Government, a responsible Government, in 1921. It is very illuminating to see what the author, the main architect of the constitution was thinking even in 1921. I wish to refer here to the writings of one of your ablest statesmen, to the writings of Mr. Leo Amery whose recent death we all regret, and to whose memory not only your people but mine will for ever pay homage. This is what he writes in his memoires:—

"Never before, however, has there been such a formal and solemn recognition of Britain's responsibilities towards Malta contemplating a positive and concrete plan of action. Heretofore we have regarded Malta purely as a Naval and military station and have ignored, or kept at arm's length, the Maltese community. We cannot afford in the future to pursue such a policy with a people of nearly a quarter of a million of European race, placed in so admirable a situation for co-operation in the task of maintaining the security of our Imperial communications. Our task is to make the best of that people by developing their activities alike for industrial effort, for political self-Government and for Imperial service. We must give up thinking Malta as a curious little old-world dependency living on the outskirts of a British fortress and providing cheap labour for a British dockyard. We must regard it rather as an outlier of the British Isles, flanking the southern shores of Europe as England flanks the northern, and its people as in a very direct and intimate sense our fellow citizens and fellow countrymen."

Although these words were written by the architect of the first constitution launching responsible Government in Malta in 1919, although they were written by this person, his feelings, his sentiments, his groping for the truth during those days is prophetic.

There is a further quotation which I would like to read.

"One clear conviction", he said, "has been borne in upon me by my actual contact with the situation in Malta. That is the impossibility of dealing with the financial and economic situation unless the political situation is dealt with at the same time."

I do not think it is necessary for me here to state how and why the present form of constitution—the diarchal system—has broken down in Malta, but it is important to notice the parallel advance made and the thinking on constitutional lines both in Malta and by the British Government here because, when all is said and done, it was the British Government itself that put out the first feeler. It was the British Government itself that first made the offer to use. I am referring to the Home Office offer made by the British Government in September 1953:—

"We appreciate the unique position of Malta as a fortress in Europe, the long history of civilisation and of service in peace and war most recently recognised by the exceptional award of the George Cross. In these circumstances, we consider that it would be appropriate to transfer responsibility for handling business relating to Malta here to the Home Secretary."

These words were stated immediately after the rejection of the request for the transfer of Malta's affairs from the Colonial Office to the Commonwealth Relations Office, and this rejection took the following shape:—

"The position of Malta as a fortress must unavoidably entail some constitutional restriction on forms of government in the field of defence and external affairs. On account of this, and because of her size and of disabilities imposed by her lack of natural resources, Malta is not, in the view of H.M. Government, eligible to be considered for full and independent membership of the Commonwealth,"

In other words, through these various historical events, one can see that, although the proposals may have sounded new and startling to persons who are not familiar with the unique position of Malta, to those others who have been intimately connected with her people the proposals have sounded more like a logical conclusion to historical events, with the inevitableness that history itself brings about.

I will now come to the economic side and prove that, from the economic point of view, these proposals to-day are no departure from the

actual commitments already incurred by the British Government.

The commitments were entered into gradually, slowly, but the climax was reached at the end of the Round Table talks held recently this year. The commitments started in May 1950, when the British Government gave the following categorical guarantee—I quote:

"His Majesty's Government recognise further that, in view of the close ties binding Malta with the United Kingdom, Malta may legitimately look to H.M. Government for help towards recovering stability after the disturbances of war on grounds anologous to those on which the United States under the Marshall Plan has decided to give help to the countries of Western Europe."

And, later on, the Prime Minister of England declared:—

"We have offered our co-operation in an examination of the finances and economy of Malta. We are aware of the difficulties confronting Malta in maintaining sound economy in the future; and although H.M. Government has already made substantial grants to your economy, they have offered to consider, with you, in what form and to what extent they might assist in the light of recommendations made by a financial expert."

But, as I said, this was only the initial groping for a solution. A more categorical commitment was made at the end of the recent round table talks in London, and it is important for me to read this commitment in order to give the members of this Conference the proper background of the economic or financial burden to which they might believe they are going to commit the British Government in the future by their decision. This is the statement issued at the close of the Round Table talks on Malta last June:—

"All parties to this Conference are agreed that the social and economic development of Malta is a necessity and calls for a joint and sustained effort by both countries. To ensure the steady advance of the Islands, a long-term development plan is being prepared. Meanwhile, as part of the effort to improve the living standards of the Maltese people, the Conference endorses the following objectives:—

(1) raising the standard of education and other social services;
(2) increasing substantially opportunities for employment outside service establishments; and
(3) avoiding unemployment.

It is recognised by the United Kingdom Government and by the Maltese Delegations that improved living standards can be maintained only by increasing

productivity and expanding the national income of Malta. With this in view, H.M. Government, on their part, undertake to contribute to the cost of the necessary capital works, to help secure the technical means, and, in the interim period before these measures lead to the required expansion on Malta's own revenues, to assist as may prove necessary in balancing the budget on recurrent account. The Maltese Delegations on their part recognise that the long-term development plan needs detailed elaboration and examination, and each pledge their close co-operation with Her Majesty's Government in this common task. They also recognise that the degree of success attained will depend on hard work and self-discipline of the Maltese people, and on the Maltese Government and people making the best possible contribution from their own resources."

Read this pledge as you like, turn it upside down, examine it from whichever angle you wish, and you will come to one conclusion, that is that the British Government has implicitly and tacitly accepted all our proposals but one, and that one is representation at Westminster, the proposal which you are expected to study and decide upon yourselves.

But I want at this stage to make clear one very important event in the history of my people, and that is the complete change of atmosphere in Malta since the new Government has come into office. Whilst before there were two Governments in Malta, an Imperial Government and a Maltese Government, at loggerheads most of the time over definitions, with the advent of the spirit of co-operation, collaboration, of a new status, there has come a change in the relations of the Maltese and the Imperial Government that has enabled us in the last few months to start seriously planning on economic lines. It is true that even in the past the British Government has given subsidies to Malta, and to those of you who may be frightened of the new burden the British taxpayer may incur, I wish to point out that the difference is really not one in amount, not one in extent, but one in method. I want to state at this stage that the Maltese Government has been receiving an average grant since the end of the war of about £4 million a year. That grant has certainly been useful to Malta, but it has not been turned to productive purposes, and what is hoped now, what the intention is now, is to see that the money that comes into the Island will be utilised for the needs of development in the way of industries, needs which will certainly be productive and which will in the long run make the Island, if not entirely viable, at least much more viable than it is today, needs which will necessarily be met, have to be met, one way or another, but if met in the particular way

which we are proposing will certainly decrease the burden on the British taxpayer at a future date. I do not mean by this that the actual amounts to be invested by Britain in the first years of economic development will not exceed the subsidy or the grants given to Malta to date. If there are going to be any capital investments in Malta the grants must necessarily be greater, but the grants will be in the form of investments and not in the form of relief, whilst if Malta is going to be looked upon as just an island which must be given relief in order to survive then of course the sum which will have to be forked out every year will be much smaller than the sum which must necessarily be invested in Malta if the Island is going to be in any way viable.

I also want to state that, if Malta is going to be considered just as one distressed area where relief is given to its people in order to make them live up to the standards they have reached today, the money that will be spent in that respect will not bring either political contentment or stability of relations on the island, because the people of Malta have come to believe that they are heading for British standards and they cannot be appeased by asking them to compare their own standards with the Sicilian standards or the standards of the Arab people. They feel they are British, they have fought the war alongside the British people, and they refuse to compare their own standards with the standard of neighbouring countries; but above all they know that their own economy is much more vulnerable than the economy of the neighbouring lands. By this I mean that whilst in the case of Sicily, Algeria, Tunisia or Morocco, the standard of living of the people are lower than the standard of living of the people of Malta, their economy is far more stable than that of Malta. The people of Malta realise that they have one standard today, but they are not sure of it tomorrow or the day after. They realise that their standards are completely artificial, and they are standards which at one stroke from Westminster may be reduced to nil because their entire livelihood depends on the estimates approved by the House of Commons in the way of defence expenditure.

I must also say that there has been a change, not only in Malta, but in the atmosphere of relations with the Colonial Office itself, and I must say that we have been able to carry out these changes because each and every one of us has tacitly disregarded the provisions of the present consititution. We are working merely on the strength of mutual friendship. We are forgetting all the words that are written in the constitution,

and by sheer amicable negotiation we are able to carry on and survive, but it is an atmosphere which has come just lately and one which has enabled the Government of Malta to introduce several new administrative reforms, which has enabled the Government of Malta to inspire a new hope in the people of the island, and which has brought about with it a goodwill and a friendly feeling towards the people of this country. I must say that this atmosphere has been built and that it is entirely dependent on the outcome of the present proposals. It is one which can be jeopardised if the present negotiations fail.

What has really been the proposal, the main arrangement which we are now today trying to explain to you? First of all, the arrangements imply that the economy of Malta will be tied to you, not only from the point of view of defence, but also from the wider field of economic development. So far, Malta has come within the control of Westminster, but that control has been exercised purely and entirely from the defence side. What we are proposing, and what the British Government itself has already accepted, is the fact that if Malta must survive economically the British Government must accept responsibility to develop Malta economically along completely different lines, along industrial lines and not defence lines. And our proposals make provision for that new departure and also the British Government itself, in its last pledge in June, has accepted that new departure.

Now I would like to come to the actual implementation of the proposals by referring to the fact that, although we speak of social services and direct taxation on a basis of basic parity with residents of Britain, we realise the practical limitations, the practical impossibility, of having this overnight. We also realise that the wages of our own workers in the naval dockyard cannot be raised to Britain's standards overnight, and we propose that all these charges should take place gradually. The way in which we propose this could be done, on the basis of intimate co-operation and collaboration, is really a continuation of what is actually happening today. For what is happening today? So far, the Government of Malta has been able to carry on with the administration. It has been able to start the first stages of economic development by discussions in Malta and discussions in London, and what do we propose to do under the new arrangement? We propose to have two committees, one in Malta and one in London. The task of the two committees will be to advise the various governments on what should take place with

regard to social services, development, taxation. And I must say that the final word in this respect will rest with Westminster, because we in Malta will be at the receiving end and you at Westminster will be at the giving end; and I think it is not fair to say that we should not have representation in Westminster because we shall only have partial taxation and not complete taxation. It is not fair because, although we may have a taxation not as high as it is in Britain, the taxation which we will have will be comparatively as high as it is in Britain, because our incomes are much lower than those that are enjoyed in Britain. Secondly, because, although there may be no specific and direct control by Westminster itself on the actual direct taxation that must be imposed on the Island, there is a complete generic control of our requirements. It is there today and it will be there in the future, because it will be the British Government itself which will determine how much money will flow into the Island to speed up its social services and its economic development. And I believe you will feel that "no financial control without representation" is even more telling in this case than "no representation without taxation"; because it is not true that in our case there will be no taxation —there will be taxation. It will be agreed taxation for Malta; it will be a taxation agreed by the London Committee and the Malta Committee and naturally if the British Government at its London Committee feels that the Maltese people are not really making the best possible effort it will have all the means at its disposal not only to say so but to direct that this actually happens.

I must also say, and I think I shall be re-iterating the words already uttered by the Lord Chancellor, that when our proposals were submitted to the British Government in June, they met with a most sympathetic response, and we were given to believe that the main problem still to be settled was representation at Westminster. We were also led to believe that the British Government would look upon this matter with great sympathy, but that the nature of your Constitution was such that there must be almost unanimous support from all political parties before representatives of my country could be allowed to sit in the House of Commons. I am referring to this as I want to impress upon you the fact that this is not the first time that our proposals are being investigated and scrutinised, and it is also not the first time that we have had to answer doubts and misgivings, but I think it is important for me to mention some of the friendly misgivings.

As I have already said, some of these have taken the shape of the additional burden on the British taxpayer. In fact, there is no additional burder on the British tax payer, because the British Government has already committed itself to this new way of action. What is really required is one way of implementing a pledge which we have already had from the British Government, and we feel that ours is the cheapest and best way of implementing that pledge.

As for representation in Westminster, I would like to say that it is inconceivable to expect a politically mature people today to accept without protest the reservation of powers by Westminster—powers which are most vital to them, because they are not really the powers which concern representation, but they are really powers which mean to them life or death. It is inconceivable for them to accept the reservation of those powers by the British Government, unless they are going also to be given the means of expressing their own views in the central organ of legislation. In this respect I would like to quote one of your greatest parliamentarians. These are the words spoken by Charles Fox in 1782:

"It has always been my opinion out of office that it is downright tyranny to make laws for the internal government of people who are not represented amongst those by whom such laws are made. This is an opinion, so founded in justice, in reason and in equity, that in no situation have I, or will I, ever depart from it."

Apart from the moral logic, apart from the human end of this Maltese problem, I would like also to point out that the economic plan, the new economic development to which the British Government has pledged itself, cannot really take place unless the Maltese people feel that there will be some sort of guarantee that these will be carried out in future. If the Maltese people are going to be left with a feeling that Britain has really given this pledge because Britain needs Malta to-day, and to-morrow Britain may leave Malta, the real encouragement for the Maltese people to collaborate, to co-operate, to give of their best to all these plans will not be forthcoming. The Maltese people can only feel secure that the whole new outlook is there, and there for good, if they can see that they have the same status, the same equality as the British people.

I know that for some people in this country representation at Westminster to-day may be a very trivial matter; and to most of the people who ask me "But why is it so important?" I can only explain it to them

indirectly by asking them "You must imagine having no vote at all and having no power to elect the people really to make the laws for you and then tell me whether representation is important or not." Unless the Maltese people feel that they have representatives in Westminster who can draw the attention of the Government to grievances small or large, unless they feel that they are on a footing of parity with the British people, unless they feel they are being treated as equal, the whole plan of rehabilitation and co-operation with the British Government will really fail; and in this respect I feel that Britain to-day has enough enlightened self-interest in the island to realise that it is important from her point of view, not only that she should retain the base by force, but that the base should be there and really manned by people who are contented and by people who have strong ties of friendship with them.

It is true that, during the war, the Maltese people have actually fought side by side with English soldiers, and done so at a much lower rate of pay; but I do not think any of you here realise what that meant after the war as a loss of British prestige and to the friendship for England by the Maltese people. You really cannot have two persons doing the same job, doing it side by side, being both British, under the British flag, both wanting the same requirements for civilised existence, and one being given wages about double the other. It is impossible to do that, and it is also impossible to expect that those conditions will last for long.

I must also say that in Malta we are living in a very troubled region, one in which colonialism is under very heavy fire, and I feel that should our proposals go through, should our proposals be accepted by you, not only will you have solved the Maltese problem, but Malta will be a shop-window for British democracy in the Mediterranean.

One misgiving has been the fear that the three members from Malta would upset the political balance of power in the House of Commons and would tend to drag it back. I think the persons who really raised this objection answered it themselves; and the best answer I have read was one in which it was said: "If a Government has such a small majority that Government does not deserve to survive. Another misgiving—and in this case I doubt whether this comes from the British side or from the Maltese local side—has been the position of the Church. Here I would like to say a few words. It is true that the Church in Malta is the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England is a Protestant Church. But it is also true that the established Church in Scotland is very different

from that of England. We, as a Government, and together with the British Government, have already given assurances to the Catholic Church, both to His Grace the Archbishop of Malta and to the Vatican, that no change is contemplated in the present position of the Church of Malta. We have given generic and specific assurances, and we do not envisage any difficulty in that connection. Because there is local autonomy, obviously whose matters by which the Church is affected will be legislated upon by the Maltese people, and so long as the majority of the Maltese people remain Catholic, the outlook of the Maltese people will be Catholic and the laws will be Catholic-inspired.

Then we have been very much worried about the question of precedent. We have been told that if Malta were to be given representation at Westminster this might set a precedent and open the door for other colonies. I think I would rather be frank on this question. First of all, we are asking for representation at Westminster because the British Government itself has considered Malta's place as unique; and because we consider it as unique, as taken on its own merits, we feel that it should pass the test.

We also feel that members of our own Parliament in this case are divided in their opinion. There are those who would like to see this Maltese solution turned into a precedent for other colonies. There are others who would not like the solution to the Maltese problem to be turned into a precedent for other colonies. Frankly, I do not know what stand to take in this case; because if I were to take the stand that the door should be shut behind us that would be alienating the sympathies of many. On the other hand, if I were to say that it should be kept open, I would be alienating the sympathies of others; and I feel that there is enough ingenuity amongst you to choose whichever solution you would like to choose later on if faced by similar requests. What is important, I think, is for you to realise that here you are facing a unique situation. If what relates to Malta's case is taken on its own merits, then I have no doubt to what conclusion you will come.

A final point I would like to stress, my Lord Chancellor, is that on this question of representation there can be no compromise whatsoever. Some people have laid to us "Why should we legislate on matters that do not affect us?" I beg you to consider what these matters could be. In the new arrangement, Malta would affected by any legislation that is made with reference to social services, to taxation, to defence, to education, to all

the most vital matters; and if you remove these various matters from your deliberations in Parliament what matters are there on which you object to Malta's representatives stating their views? Those matters are certainly so trivial that it would not matter anyhow. The most important thing to keep in mind now is the fact that here you are not only faced with the constitutional problem, but you are faced with a moral and a human problem. I think you will agree with me that there cannot be any second-class citizenship. There cannot be any half rights. People cannot be half free or half equal. They are either free or not free. They are either equal or unequal. It is a question which lends itself to no compromise. It is not a question which can be settled by compromising. We can compromise on various other aspects of our proposals. We can compromise on the time or the speed of the development; we can compromise on the actual size of the social services at a given year; but we cannot compromise on the equality of status. That really defines the dignity of a human being, and that is what you have before you today. It is a question of allowing or not allowing the people of Malta to have a say in their own destiny.

I cannot go back to my people and tell them "You are going to have half representation at Westminster, or a quarter representation at Westminster, because you are only a quarter human beings, or a half human begins." It is a question that cannot be solved by half. It is a question that must be solved in its entirety. It is a moral question, a moral problem. I know, and I feel sure, and so do my friends here with me, that we carry with us here the voice of the majority of the people of Malta. We have had proof of that during the last election and we will be given other proof of that when a referendum will be held in Malta, should your deliberations prove favourable to us. We will also be happy to welcome you out in Malta, because then you will be able to see for yourselves the changes—the change in atmosphere, the change in outlook—that have taken place since the new Government has taken office, and the moral backing to this Government has been one of equality of status.

If you deny the Maltese people equality of status, however generous you may be in the economic field, you will not solve the problem of Malta. It is one, as I said before, that cannot be solved unless the people of Malta can feel that they are not natives any more, but that they are British people and on an equal footing with the English people. I can

assure you that with us we carry the majority of the people of the island. They have really voted for this Government, not because this Government has promised a Garden of Eden, but because it has impressed upon them, and they have understood, that our proposals are the only solution to Malta. There is really no alternative proposal. We have heard and have taken part in various discussions and at no stage has anybody, not even the British Government itself, suggested something that is not only practical, but one that really meets the aspirations of the people of my country.

CHAIRMAN: Prime Minister, we are extremely grateful to you for your most interesting and moving address, and I think it would probably suit your convenience if we broke off for five minutes while you rested, and also consulted your friends, and after that we will ask you a few questions in clarification of what you have said. I think it would be convenient (because you have had considerable strain) that you should have a little rest before we proceed to our next stage.

MR. MINTOFF: Thank you very much, my Lord Chancellor, but before doing so I would like to present my colleagues. They are Mr. Cole, who is my political collaborator and Minister of Posts and Agriculture: Dr. Balogh and Mr. Seers, who are the Government's economic advisers—Dr. Balogh will answer questions on development policy, the balance of payments, the financial position, and the economic consequences of constitutional change—Mr. Seers, on the structure of the economy, the economic role of the services, emigration, and the labour force. I have with me also, the Attorney-General, Professor Mamo, and Mr. Attard Kingswell, who is the Trade Union adviser. All of us would be very happy to answer to the best of their ability—any questions, which the members of the Conference might put.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. We will break for five minutes.

(The proceedings were adjourned accordingly)

On resumption, but on the same day, 21 Sept. 1955

CHAIRMAN: The next point I wanted to consider was how the administration will work on the island under your plan. May I just indicate the sort of line on which I would like you to direct your mind? At the present moment the Governor of course is a one-man legislator with reserve powers, as I understand the position, and he is also head of the

Government in Malta. On your plan, assuming your plan is functioning, what would be the position of the present Imperial Government, and what would be the position of the Governor? I have not got a clear picture in my mind.

MR. MINTOFF: There are two governments in Malta (there are more than two because there is NATO, and there are the Americans—more that two governments, various governments) but as far as Britain and Malta are concerned there are two governments; there is the Maltese Imperial Government and the Government of Malta. Under our scheme there will be one Government of Malta and the Governor will be the titular head of the Government of Malta; but there will still be representatives of the services in Malta and the representatives of the Home Office, and it will be the task of these people to sit round with the Maltese Govenment on the Maltese Committee and to thrash out with the Maltese Government the requirements of each side. They must also create the spirit of co-operation and collaboration that would be necessary to carry through, as I said before, any form of the constitution in Malta, because we are so much in each other's shoes that unless we are good friends no experiment can really succeed. I feel that with the local powers the Maltese Government will have, supplemented by the delegated powers the Home Secretary has from the House of Commons, all problems can be solved without actually setting up two governments, and having the prestige of the two governments drained by the various problems that may be considered at the time. The people of Malta will be feeling safe, mainly because on matters over which the Maltese Legislature has no control they will have their own representatives at Westminster who will be able to ask questions and to make representations in the House, such as the people of Plymouth or Liverpool are able to do today.

CHAIRMAN: As you see it the civil servants functioning in Malta, after your scheme is in operation, would be responsible to the home Departments. There would not be a separate Head of them in Malta. The Governor would no longer be the head of the executive and administrative people functioning there?

MR. MINTOFF: In our scheme we envisage one government, as I said, together with heads of services in Malta and representatives of the Home Office, and naturally the heads of the services in Malta would have to refer their troubles and co-ordinate their actions through the Home

Secretary himself, and I do not think that that would really create friction. What has created friction in the past is the artificial division of power, because it has been found impossible in the past to abide by that division. So many questions have arisen which one side has interpreted as reserve matters and the other side has said they are not reserve matters, until in the end the British Government has to come in and impose its own decision. I am not saying any human instrument will be perfect; but the instrument in which there is a sort of parity, and at the same time a spirit of collaboration, is one which will bring in the Maltese people intimately and make them feel they are being treated in the same way and have the same rights as Englishmen. That instrument is bound to succeed, while any other that relies on the division of powers on paper, and on the artificiality of separation of authority, that is bound to come to grief as it has done in the past. In other words, we feel no experiment based on a diarchical system can succeed, but only one which is based on a unified system or one which is based on instruments bringing about union with Britain has the slightest chance of success.

CHAIRMAN: If the people in Malta objected to the administration of any Department that would be up to your members in Westminster to get on their heels?

MR. MINTOFF: That is correct, and that is why it is so important; and it is so important in the early stages and not in the later stages. It is not a decision which one could postpone until ten or fifteen years' time. Of course it is the basis of the whole new experiment.

CHAIRMAN: As I understand it, Prime Minister, that is the position, that there would be your civil service carrying out the orders of your government in Malta?

MR. MINTOFF: That is correct.

CHAIRMAN: And there would be the Departments dealing with the reserve subjects who will be carrying out the orders of Ministers responsible to Parliament in Westminster?

PROFESSOR MAMO: That is not to say there need necessarily be duplication of the civil service, two distinct civil services. Any matters that would be required to be implemented in regard to reserve matters could be implemented through the Maltese civil service. Take the police, for instance; they normally, for a domestic matter, come under the jurisdiction of Maltese Ministers; but if a matter is connected with defence and is reserved to Westminster, and it is necessary to implement

it in Malta, that could be done through the same police, as is done now in regard to immigration. Immigration is a reserved matter, but it is implemented through the police, although the police themselves are not a reserved matter.

CHAIRMAN: Yes; I was really thinking of the matters which, say, the Admiralty carry out themselves, through their own personnel.

PROFESSOR MAMO: That would remain.

CHAIRMAN: The point is, if the Admiralty personnel did something which the Maltese did not like, it would be up to the Maltese members in Westminster to raise it by question or on the adjournment in the ordinary parliamentary way?

PROFESSOR MAMO: This is quite so, my Lord.

CHAIRMAN: So that you would not have a second body which is, so to speak, a secondary directing power in Malta, on the reserve subjects, as you have today?

PROFESSOR MAMO: Quite so, my Lord.

CHAIRMAN: And the Governor—believe me, none of your answers to questions will be taken in any way as binding you to exact formation of words; I want to get the spirit and the sense of the matter—broadly, your idea of the Governor is that he would have the same position as the Governor of Northern Ireland.

PROFESSOR MAMO: Northern Ireland, precisely.

CHAIRMAN: Broadly. Now, there are only two other matters on that aspect which I think ought to be raised, because they raise potential difficulties which you may be able to clear away. The first is: if there existed the over-riding powers of legislation in Westminster—and you remind me Mr. Prime Minister, that that is the position today—how would it affect what you had to say with regard to the position of the Church? As I understand it from what you have said, the position of the Church has been a matter for the Maltese Government, and it has worked on that basis for 150 years, although there is, as you say, an over-riding legislative power existing. Do you see any additional difficulty that would arise from your proposal?

MR. MINTOFF: I do not foresee any, my Lord Chancellor, because, even before we had the 1921 Constitution, even before the Island had a form of self-government, when the Island was directly run by the Colonial Office, even then there was no trouble with the Church, because the British Government has given the assurance all the time—

and acted on the assurance—that in those matters that affect the Church, they would preserve the *status quo*. The position in future would be one where the Maltese Government would normally, and I hope always, legislate on matters that affected the Church, and I am quite sure that the House of Commons would not make use of the over-riding powers for this purpose. As a matter of fact, there are very few instances in history where the House of Commons has not respected the beliefs of the people of a particular area. The whole British Commonwealth is based on religious tolerance, where the particular people of a region can establish their own Church and devise their own ways of worship.

CHAIRMAN: The other point was the ultimate position as to direct taxation—this is looking far into the future, Prime Minister, but I think it is useful in order to consider and test your proposal. That would mean applying, broadly, United Kingdom inland revenue law to Malta. Is there any difficulty in that?

MR. MINTOFF: I think Dr. Balogh would be very eager to answer that.

CHAIRMAN: Willingly; I would like to hear Dr. Balogh.

DR. BALOGH: I should not have though so, my Lord. It depends entirely when you wish to extend the British legislation to Malta. In any case, the Maltese budget already at the present moment, you see, is dependent on Westminster here to a large extent. The last agreement means that the British Government has underwritten the Maltese budget and is going to assist up to a maximum of two million pounds. The Malta balance is one million pounds; that is to say the British Government will pay for the marginal amounts beyond those covered by Maltese taxation. Thus already at the present moment the British Government policy affects the residual powers which are still in Malta on taxation, and that has always been the case. Whether this should be formally transferred to Westminster or not is again a problem which, in my opinion, will depend on the particular future situation, and which ought to be left to practical politics and practical policies, and not determined at this particular moment. We do not know how the Maltese reconstruction will shape; therefore we do not know how fast the Island's taxable capacity will increase; we do not know in what way the non-service expenditures and the non-service incomes will increase, and how far we can stimulate them. It seems to me that much the best thing to do is to leave it to the British Treasury in negotiation with the Maltese Government to determine at what point it will be safe to transfer the taxation, so as to

minimise the cost to the British tax-payer. Paradoxically enough, it is possible by introducing British taxation in Malta at a premature date to increase the burden on the British tax payer, because the British burden will depend on the one hand on the direct expenditure, but on the other hand on the indirect expenditure stimulating investment.

CHAIRMAN: Dr. Balogh, I am sorry if I did not make myself clear. I was not on the question of when the change would be made. I appreciate that the plan means that that will be done at a time when there has been an increase in incomes and when it is considered practical to do it. But after the change has been made—I mean, this is one of the reserve subjects in the proposal—is it then intended that that would be done by applying United Kingdom taxation?

DR. BALOGH: Certainly.

CHAIRMAN: Then you say the question of the rate which can be applied would be a matter for consideration in the circumstances.

DR. BALOGH: Certainly; but in principle there is absolutely no objection why either direct taxation should not be applied to Malta or even customs union should not be introduced, because even in the case of customs union a very wide range of economic measures are at our disposal to offset any directly harmful effects,—effects, for instance, of the customs union on the particular position in Malta of the existing industries. So, in neither of the cases is there any legal objection to our plan, British taxation or British customs in Malta. In both cases, any objection at the present moment is a practical one, not a legal or constitutional one.

CHAIRMAN: I see.

DR. BALOGH: Once the position has been approved from an economic or constitutional point of view, administration problems would not arise.

CHAIRMAN: There is one other matter which may not appear of great importance, but I am interested in it myself, as you will realise. At the moment, of course, you have your own system of law and your appeals go to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Would it be your desire, if there was integration, that they should go, like those from other parts of the United Kingdom, to the House of Lords, or would you desire them to remain with the Privy Council?

PROFESSOR MAMO: We are, if I may say so, very happy with the decisions which we have so far had from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. We have received the greatest courtesy from them as

practitioners, and we appreciate that connection very much indeed; but I think it would be convenient, on the whole, if our ultimate court of appeal under the new arrangement were the House of Lords rather than the Privy Council. That is calculated to make for uniformity, because there are very wide areas now of Maltese law which have been modelled on English models and precedents; and where the law is the same it is undoubtedly most convenient that the ultimate court of appeal should be the same, for the sake, as I say, of uniformity of decision and practice.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Professor Mamo. Mr. Attlee now suggests, and I entirely agree, that it would probably be convenient if my colleagues might now address their minds to the constitutional and administrative questions; then we can deal with the economic ones separately. As he made the suggestion, I will retaliate by calling on Mr. Attlee.

MR. ATTLEE: Of course the economic background, and you have naturally, got to go into it, has its effects of these proposals. I am going now to ask one or two points on the constitution. With regard to representation at Westminster, there has been a suggestion that the Maltese representatives might rule the whole roost. How would you propose that the Maltese representatives should be chosen; by mere majority or by proportional representation?

MR. MINTOFF: We have already submitted our proposals. We want to follow the English pattern all the way through, both in the local legislature and also in the election of representatives to Westminster. For the latter, would be the direct method of voting, by dividing Malta into three or four areas, in a similar way as in England.

MR. ATTLEE: Would it be possible to have direct election for the local elections and some form of P.R. for the representatives at Westminster? I suppose there is a point there?

MR. MINTOFF: May I point out we have had already some experience of proportional representation, and we feel it is a method which kills all political parties. We would rather see it completely abolished.

MR. ATTLEE: I entirely agree.

MR. MINTOFF: It sets two members of the same party against one another from the very start, before they even make an appearance in Parliament.

MR. ATTLEE: I wondered whether you were thinking of parties apart from Malta—in Westminster?

MR. MINTOFF: I believe there would be keen competition in Malta between the two existing parties in England; from which Malta could only reap the greatest benefit.

MR. ATTLEE: I wanted to be clear in my mind about that. The point I do not quite see ...

MR. MINTOFF: I meant all the political parties of England.

MR. ATTLEE: I would like to ask you to whom you consider the Imperial Branch should be responsible. I am not quite clear what you mean.

MR. MINTOFF: The Home Secretary; the Imperial Branch would be responsible to the Home Secretary. One of the weaknesses in Malta in the past has been that there are many Ministers concerned with decisions on Malta and there should be co-ordination of the policies of these Ministers when they come to be applied to Malta. For instance, to-day we have to carry out negotiations with the Admiralty on Service matters; sometimes we have to consult with the Air Ministry and other departments on other matters. We feel that all the matters should be co-ordinated and dealt with by the Home Secretary, who would then decide; and differences over decisions can be dealt with through the normal process of questions asked by Maltese representatives in the House of Commons.

DOCUMENT 82

The 'Break with Britain' Resolution on 30 December 1957

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Mr. Speaker, għandi l-unur u l-pjacir inressaq din ir-Risoluzzjoni:-

"Darba li l-Gvern Ingliż ma jridx jonora l-obbligu li daħal għalih fid-Dikjarazzjoni ta' Lulju 1955, li jevita l-qgħad, ir-Rappreżentanti tal-poplu Malti fil-Parlament miġbura, jiddikjaraw li jinħallu mill-pattijiet u obbligi li għandhom lejn il-Gvern Ingliż u minn dawk sal-lum assunti lejn l-Alleati tiegħu—u dan sakemm il-Gvern Ingliż ma jagħtix garanzija li l-għadd ta' nies miegħu impjegati f'Malta ma jonqosx qabel ma jkun hemm "Alternative Employment" għan-nies li jingħataw is-sensja".

Nixtieq l-ewwel ma nibda nagħti rendikont fil-qosor ta' l-avvenimenti li ġraw wara l-aħħar debate li sar f'din l-assemblea.

Kulħadd jaf li l-aħħar komunikat uffiċjali li kellna mingħand il-Gvern Ingliż kien il-messaġġ tas-Segretarju ta' l-Istat għall-Kolonji fejn kien qalilna li l-level of activity—u sejjer ngħid il-kliem bl-Ingliż biex żgur ma jiġix misinterpreted bil-Malti—voldieri l-livell tax-xogħol ta' l-attivita' fid-Dockyard fis-snin li ġejjin mhux sejjer jonqos u jibqa' bejn wieħed u ieħor l-istess soġġett għal ċerti ekonomiji. Dik il-ħabta jiena erfajt ir-responsabbilta' personali u subsequently sħabi kollha unanimament qablu miegħi li nwaqqfu kwalunkwe aġitazzjoni fil-pajjiż biex naraw verament dan il-kliem x'ifisser. U waħda mill-affarijiet li ridna nafu kien preċiżament xi tfisser il-'level of activity'. Tfisser 'level of employment', tfisser li l-14,000 ruħ li hemm id-Dockyard sejrin jibqgħu 14,000 ruħ jew tfisser li sejrin jonqsu u jekk sejrin jonqsu l-'approximately' xi tfisser, 5% jew 6%?

L-affarijiet l-oħrajn li ridna nkunu nafu xi tfisser il-frażi "subject to certain economies". Tfisser ekonomija fil-materjal li jintuża d-Dockyard, tfisser ekonomija fis-supervizory staff Ingliż li nafu li kbir ħafna jew ekonomija fin-numru ta' l-impjegati Maltin? Dawn huma d-domandi li għamilna lis-Segretarju ta' l-Istat. Aħna ippretendejna li sakemm jiġu r-risposti għal dawn id-domandi bħalma waqafna aħna waqaf il-poplu Malti jieqaf kulħadd. Fil-fatt ma ġara xejn.

Fil-fatt ġimgħa jew tnejn wara li sirna nafu il-komunikat tas-Segretarju ta' l-Istat ġejna nformati mill-Admiral Superintendent tad-Dockyard li hemm earmarked biex jigu discharged sa l-aħħar ta' Frar in-numru ta' 140. Aħna ħadna l-atteġġjament raġjonevoli li jieħu kulħadd u għidnielhom: "Dawn hemm bżonn jiġu discharged?" Għidnielhom: "L-Ammiraljat għandu l-ischeme tal-Underground Storage u bħalma l-Ammiraljat issekonda nies mal-Gvern għax il-Gvern Ingliż ipprovdilna flus biex inqabbduhom, hekk ukoll għandu jissekonda nies f'dan li scheme il-gdid." Għidnielhom ukoll: "Intom miftehmin magħna fl-agreement li għamilna dwar li scheme tat-Three Cities li ċerti xogħlijiet nagħmluhom aħna u ċerti xogħlijiet tagħmluhom intom a spejjeż tagħna. Aħna qbilna magħkom fuq is-somma li għandna nħallsu biex isir dan l-aħħar xogħol". Konna għamilna stima ta' £2,800 u ma qablux u ltaqgħu t-technicians tagħhom u tagħna u għamlu seduta bejniethom u raw li s-somma tkun ta' £3,400. Immedjatament li ftehemna aħna ikkonfermajna bil-kitba li dan ix-xogħol lesti biex inħallsu tiegħu £3,400.

Fit-3 ta' Diċembru rċevejna ittra mingħand l-Ammiraljat fejn qalulna

li £3,400 mhux biżżejjed u jridu £6,000 għax hemm l-on cost. Issa dan biex tiġina f'mument meta trid titfa' nies barra u tgħid li trid somma ikbar l-ebda Gvern ma jista' joqgħod għalih għaliex jekk ftehemt ftehemt.

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: U dawn ftit eluf!

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Ftit eluf imma kieku riedu jiftehmu kienu jżommuhom.

Hemm xogħol ieħor li għandhom jagħmluh għalina li għandna nħallsu tiegħu wkoll u saret l-istima tiegħu u l-istima ma jridux juru d-dettalji tagħha. Liema gvern sejjer jaċċetta stima mingħajr dettalji. Kif huma jridu jaraw l-istima tax-xogħol tagħna, hekk aħna rridu naraw li stima tax-xogħol li jridu jagħmlu lilna. U aħna dehrilna li m'hijiex kwestjoni li dawn riedu jagħmlu x-xogħol bl-għoli u bl-irħis imma dehrilna, u kellna għaliex naħsbu dan, li dawn riedu jaħirbu mill-obligi tagħhom biex jiddiskċjarġaw n-nies 'il barra kemm jista' jkun.

Dan qed ngħidu għaliex xtaqna li qabel ma naslu biex nieħdu passi nkunu ezaminajna l-passi kollha biex jintleħaq ftehim bonarjament u jiena nista' ngħid lill-Membri ta' din il-Kamra li l-Gvern uża l-mezzi kollha li għandu uffiċjali u privati biex din is-sitwazzjoni jirranġaha.

Nixtieq ngħid ukoll li aħna m'aħniex kontra li d-*dockyard* tinbidel minn intrapriża uffiċjali tal-Gvern Ingliż fi-sens li tagħmel ix-xogħol lin-Navy għal intrapriża kommerċjali. Lanqas m'aħna kontra li d-*dockyard* stess waqt li tibqa' intrapriża uffiċjali tagħmel ix-xogħol kommerċjali on repayment work; imma nibdew nidħku aħna, u għandna raġun ħafna nidħku jekk il-Gvern Ingliż permezz tar-rappreżentanti tiegħu jgħid li qed jagħmel minn kollox biex jikkompeti kommerċjalment ma' ship-repairing yards oħra imbagħad inkunu nafu aħna li over and above l-ispejjeż kollha li jiċċarġja l-min imur isewwi jagħmel perċentaġġ ta' qligħ ta' 62%. Kif jista' jkun dan? Liema intrapriża fid-dinja, ħalliela kemm hi ħalliela, tippretendi li taqla' 62%? U kemm jistgħu jaħdmu u jħabirku aktar in-nies biex isir ix-xogħol fid-*dockyard* jekk imbagħad issib 'il min minn fuqhom irid jaqla' 62%? Dawn huma affarijiet li meta sirna nafuhom għidnielhom li dawn huma affarijiet tal-ġenn. Terġa', veru li hemm ditti li huma mħajrin jużaw d-dockyard ta' Malta, pero' wieħed irid jeżamina jekk dawn id-ditti humiex ditti li diġa' committed li jespandu x'imkien ieħor. Per eżempju jiena ma rrid inneħħi xejn minn kwalunkwe possibilita' li d-dockyard jigi użat kommerċjalment u li

n-nies li hemm id-dockyard jaħdmu kollha, pero' jidhirli li anke aħna bħala Gvern għandna neżaminaw s-sitwazzjoni sewwa meta nafu per eżempju li Vickers diġa' kommessi li jonfqu miljuni ta' liri fl-Ingilterra biex jagħmlu drydock ġdid għat-tiswija tat-tankers il-kbar, u jiena jidhirli li min jiġi Malta u jsib *drydocks* lesti, ħaddiema tajba u benefiċċji oħra għandu jintraprendi jagħmel affarijiet sussidjarji għal dan ix-xogħol biex igħin biċċa oħra ħalli jżid ix-xogħol biex in-nies li jisfaw qegħda idaħħalhom miegħu.

X'hemm aktar barra minn dan? L-aħħar ta' Frar dalwaqt magħna. S'issa qalulna li sa l-aħħar ta' Frar ikun hemm qegħda 140 ruħ. Imma wara l-aħħar ta' Frar x'ġej? X'ġej wara l-aħħar ta' Frar? Kemm ser ikun hemm qegħda? 500, 200, 2,000, 3,000? Dan ma għandniex dritt inkunu nafuh aħna? Għandna dritt inkunu nafuh, jew le? Jew nibqgħu bil-frażijiet sbieħ u nieklu l-frażijiet sbieħ?

Ħaġ'oħra wkoll: aħna smajna bil-ħafna storbju li sar fl-Ingilterra minn Membri tal-Parlament rappreżentanti ta' Chatham igħidu: "Mhux Malta għandha tibqa' miftuħa imma Chatham għandha tibqa' miftuħa." Ħalli naraw kemm hemm raġunijiet serji għaliex għandu jibqa Chatham miftuħ u mhux Malta. Fit-*Times* ta' Londra ta' nhar il-Ġimgħa hawn rapport dwar ix-shipbuilding fl-Ingilterra. Dan ir-rapport igħid li kuntrattati on order hemm ordnijiet ġewwa l-Ingilterra ta' vapuri ġodda għal valur ta' elf miljun lira, hemm xogħol garantit għal ħames snin għax-shipbuilding yards kollha. Nafu wkoll li Japan għall-ewwel darba fl-istorja għaddiet lill-Ingilterra f'dak li hu shipbuilding u għaddiet lill-Ingilterra mhux bħal ma jaħsbu ħafna boloh hawn Malta għaliex il-Japan tħallas lill-ħaddiema tagħha b'irħis—il-Malti għandu qawl li jgħid li ta' dak li tħallas tiekol—imma għaliex min irid vapur mhux ser joqgħod jistenna ħames snin qabel ma l-vapur tiegħu jibdewh u allura igħidlek: "Għalfejn noqgħod nistenna ħames snin oħra f'dinja li qed titbiddel minn minuta għall-oħra? Kif jista' jkun li jiena nistenna ħames snin oħra qabel ma jibdew l-vapur tiegħi?" U jfittex band'oħra. Dan ifisser li ġewwa l-Ingilterra hemm xogħol kemm iridu. Fejn jistgħu jaħdmu l-ħaddiema tagħna li jitilqu mid-dockyard li għandna? Fl-Ingilterra jekk jitilqu mid-*dockyard* għandhom fejn jaħdmu apparti milli għandhom social services erba', ħames darbiet daqs tagħna; għandhom openings oħrajn li mhumiex ix-shipbuilding u li lanqas jesistu għalina. Allura kif, dawn in-nies li jħobbuha 'l Malta, li jridu jagħmlu minn kollox biex igħinuna, jippreferixxu Chatham għal Malta? Jekk

igħidulna: għaliex dawn Ingliżi u aħna m'aħniex, allura ngħidulhom li almenu nafu għaliex u la nafu għaliex allura nirregolaw ruħna accordingly. Imma li xi ħadd jista' jkun li jirraġuna u jgħid li d-*dockyard* ta' Chatham għandha tieħu preċedenza fuq id-*dockyard* ta' Malta wara li jkun jaf dan il-*background* jidhirli jew ikun miġnun jew ikun fanatiku Ingliż.

X'aktar hemm? Aħna ma nippretendux li x-xogħol għandu jibqa' kollu fid-*dockyard.* Aħna nippretendu ħaġa waħda, li dawn mhumiex azzjonijiet tan-natura, mhumiex *acts of God*, avolja jiena wieħed minn dawk in-nies li ma nħobbx li fl-affarijiet il-ħiżiena twaħħal f'ħadd. M'humiex dawn *acts of God.* Dawn ġibuhom huma. Dawn qed igħidu: isma', jaqblilha l-Ingilterra li minflok ikollha ħafna frejgati antiki u qodma jew medium-sized, jaqblilha tagħmel bombi atomiċi u *hydrogen bombs.* Fir-raġonament tagħhom daħħlu x'jaqbel lilhom biss, imma allura x'jaqbel lilna ma jidħol qatt? Mhux sewwa li tirfes u tweġġa' lil ħaddieħor biex tagħmel li jaqbillek. Tajjeb tara li lil min ser tirfes b'xi mod ittaffihielu. Aħna konna nistennew li lil min ser tirfes almenu tagħtih id-duwwa biex itaffi daqsxejn. Dan m'huwiex *an act of God* imma ser tirfsu apposta għaliex jaqbillek tirfsu. Aħna konna nippretendu wkoll li f'ċirkostanzi bħal dawn, dawn ser igħidu lill-Gvern Malti ... kompletament mingħajr pjani. Il-bażi ta' l-industriji x'kienet? Il-flus. Fil-fatt meta konna qegħdin nitkellmu fuq il-flus x'qalulna? Qaluna: "għandna kriżi u ma nistgħux ngħinukom". Din il-kriżi tort tagħna? Inti ħallejt lil Malta *neglected* għal mija u ħamsin sena. ...

ONOR. DR. G.M. CAMILLERI: Għal mija u sittin sena!!

ONOR. MR. MINTOFF: U issa l-kriżi l-ġdida li f'daqqa waħda jgħidu li d-*dockyard* li qabel kienet imprezzabbli li minħabba fiha lill-poplu Malti qatt ma tajtu libertà, ma għandhomx x'jambuha. Wieħed kien jippretendi ukoll li meta saret il-Hives Committee huma kienu sejrin jgħinu biex jitwaqqfu l-industriji. Mingħajr flus la tista' tagħmel rota u l-anqas fus. Allura daqstant se nipprovdu? Ma hemmx *fund* biex dawn ikunu jistgħu jattiraw, jinduċu, industrijalisti biex jiġu hawn Malta minflok imorru l-Irlanda, il-Bahamas u postijiet oħra. Għaliex? Għax illum il-Gvernijiet kollha fejn l-industriji ma humiex stabbili qegħdin jagħmlu *inducement* kbir. Illum tmur l-Italja ssib li biex jagħmlu *factories* ġodda qegħdin jagħtuhom benefiċċji tremendi. Għaliex imorru l-Italja! Apparti mill-Ingilterra stess North Ireland biex tattira industriji

ġodda qegħdin jagħtuhom grants ta' twenty-five per cent u jaslu biex jisilfuhom seventy five per cent mill-flus li jkollhom bżonn biex iwaqqfu l-industriji. Iriduna niddiversifikaw l-ekonomija tagħna meta qegħdin jgħidulna li l-kwestjoni tad-dockyard tista' tinqata' favur u tista' tinqata' kontra.

Jiena naf, Mr. Speaker, li hawn min qal: "X'ġara minn dakinhar li biddel is-sitwazzjoni". Ġara li aħna konvinti, konvintissmi, li dawn in-nies iridu jderruna l-kwestjoni tad-*discharges*. Dawn iriduna nidraw li jitfgħu n-nies 'il barra mingħajr ma jkun hemm xogħol ieħor lest għalihom. Kieku ma kienx hekk—għax ħadd ma jista' jasal għall-konklużjoni li l-Imperu Ingliż tant hu fqir li ma għandux, ma jistax isib, flus biex dawn l-erba' minn nies ma jmorrux il-barra din il-ġimgħa—kienu jzommuhom. Tħares minn fejn tħares issib li d-diverġenza hija waħda. Waqt li dawn qegħdin jgħidu li huma lesti li jagħmlu minn kollox biex jirranġaw is-sitwazzjoni u li lesti biex jendorsjaw l-objects tal-full employment mill-banda l-oħra meta aħna nistaqsuhom kemm se jkollhom impjegati, kemm se jkollhom nies f'dawn it-tlett snin ir-risposta hija li ma jafux—jew ma jridux jgħidulna. Taħt dawn iċ-ċirkostanzi l-ebda pajjiż ma jista' jżomm stat ta' ħbiberija veru. Anke issa fl-aħħar minuta għandna dan il-messagg li se naqra, però inħalli fil-buon sens tal-Kamra u fil-buon sens tal-poplu tagħna biex jaraw jekk dan il-messaġġ meta tagħsru kollu ssibx xi ħaġa ġdida li tagħtik risposta għal dawk il-kwestjonijiet li għandna bejnietna. Aħna rridu nafu xi jfisser dan il-kliem u huma donnhom ma jridux jagħtu ebda garanzija ta' li stat tal-impjegati u tax-xogħol ġo Malta.

Il-messaġġ hu dan, Mr. Speaker, u jiena se naqra mhux il-messaġġ biss tas-Segretarju ta' li Stat li talabni biex naqrah lill-Kamra, imma t-telegramm kollu għax fit-tarf tat-telegramm għandi li dan se jibagħtu lill-Press u allura se naqrah mill-bidunett:

"I have seen report of your motion in Legislative Assembly with incredulity. This action, taken without consultation, cannot further the common cause of our two countries which we have both been working so hard to promote. I sincerely hope that in today's debate nothing will be said or done which would prejudice our hopes of attracting new industry to Malta, of creating confidence and stability in Malta's economy and political future, and of bringing to a successful conclusion our plans, now so far advanced, for closer association of Malta with the United Kingdom. Towards that end I should be grateful if you would in the course of the debate read the following message from me.

(1) Your motion talks about H.M.G. not wanting to carry out the declaration

of July, 1955. You suggest that our endorsement of the objective of avoiding unemployment which of course stands, imposes an obligation on H.M.G. to guarantee alternative employment to men discharged in any branch of U.K. Government service. This is not so. The declaration of July, 1955, was endorsed by all parties to it including the Maltese Opposition, and was a statement of objectives of economic policy in Malta. Its emphasis was on the diversification of Malta's economy and on the need for combined efforts by the U.K. and by the Maltese people themselves. There is nothing in the statement to support the view that H.M.G. guaranteed the employment of a set number of people by the Services or the provision of alternative employment for men discharged by them. Employment by the Services has never been static and no Government could agree to regard as sacrosant a level of employment in a particular year.

(2) Her Majesty's Government are nevertheless closely concerned with Malta's economic situation and recognize that widespread unemployment would bring serious hardship and suffering. But my message of the 29th November if accepted in good faith and loyally supported should have made it clear that there was no possibility of widespread unemployment in the near future. Although H.M.G. have as yet reached no decisions about the future of overseas naval dockyards, my message contained a special assurance for Malta covering the next three years. Meanwhile, the prospects of alternative employment are already improving. The underground oil storage scheme will start in the next few weeks. There is also additional employment in prospect on other Government schemes financed by H.M.G. including the harbour. There is good reason to hope that these opportunities taken together will provide jobs for as many people as are laid off by the Services.

I am also hoping that with the help of the Hives Committee and provided conditions are stable and there is confidence in reasonable labour relations, new industries may be attracted to Malta. As to the future of Dockyard itself we have as you know been holding talks with commercial interests about the possibility of commercial use of its facilities and representatives of two companies Messrs. Vikers and Smiths Docks are due to arrive in Malta next week to pursue enquiries.

Moreover H.M.G. recognized specifically in the proposed economic arrangements for integration which we agreed last summer that any drastic change in defence policy affecting Malta may alter the basis of these economic arrangments and undertook in such circumstances to review the position. In particular if in consequence of a drastic change in defence policy the level of unemployment in Malta were to reach and for six months remain at a higher level than the rate of unemployment in U.K. at the time H.M.G. undertook to assist the Maltese Government in taking remedial measures to be agreed.

These are the practical steps which the British Government is taking and has promised to take towards the attainment of the objectives of the July 1955

declaration. Together while they do not and cannot constitute a guarantee of a particular level of employment at the Dockyard or elsewhere they hold out a very reasonable prospect of a continued high level of employment in Malta over the next three years at least and thereafter a diversification of the economy which with continued emigration should help to maintain Malta's economic life and make possible the continued advance in the living standards of her people.

It is my earnest hope that this afternoon's debate will do nothing to deter new industry from coming to Malta or otherwise to hinder progress towards the attainment of these objectives and the early conclusion of our negotiations for the closer association of our two countries. Message ends.

So that the position of H.M.G. may be understood in this country as well as in Malta I am releasing the complete text of this telegram to the Press this evening.

Dan huwa l-messaġġ tas-Segretarju ta' l-Istat, u issa nitlob ftit minuti ta' paċenzja, qabel nispiċċa d-diskors tiegħi, biex nipprova nanalizza dak li fih. Nibdew mid-Declaration ta' 1-1955. Fid-Declaration ta' l-1955 veru li aħna ma poġġejniex il-kliem li jiggarantixxu l-employment fis-Services. Ma stajniex nagħmluh dan. Konna nkunu mġienen biex nagħmluh, għaliex l-idea tad-Dikjarazzjoni ta' l-1955 kienet waħda, kienet li l-level of employment Malta jikber u jsir aħjar milli kien dikinhar, tant hu hekk li l-kliem preċiżi huma mhux biss to avoid unemployment. Fl-1955 il-Gvern Ingliż daħal għal responsabbilta' akbar milli jżomm l-*employment* li kellu dikinhar. Il-fatt li m'hemmx il-kliem li jiggarantixxi ma jfissirx li ma daħalx għal responsabbilta' akbar, għaliex il-Gvern Ingliż daħal għar-responsabbilta', waħda *to avoid unemployment* u l-oħra li jżid fl-impiegi li għandhom jeżistu barra mis-Services. U bniedem li jrid jinterpreta d-Dikjarazzjoni ta' Lulju 1955 in good faith, u mhux irid jagħmilha ta' l-avukat li qed jaħseb li dan xi kuntratt bejn żewġ partijiet li qed ibigħu xi proprjeta' u mhux ftehim bejn żewġ Gvernijiet li dejjem jassumu li għandu jkun hemm good faith, isib li huma ntrabtu biex il-kondizzjonijiet Malta jtejbuhom, mhux biex jagħmluhom ħżiena. Liema Gvern jista' jgħid li mhux qed jerġa' lura minn kelmtu jekk issa jiġi u jgħidilna "Għaliex jien fl-1955 għamiltha objective tiegħi, ma tajt ebda garanzija." Jekk jien nendorsja objective jfisser li jien marbut nagħmel ħilti kollha, saħħti kollha, flusi kollha, il-mezzi tiegħi kollha biex nasal. Fejn hija din is-saħħa kollha tal-Imperu Ingliż biex isolvi l-problemi ta' Malta? Semmejt x'inhuma l-kwistjonijiet bejnietna. Hemm xi ħadd li qed juża s-saħħa biex jirranġahom dawn? Lanqas *good faith* m'hemm, għaliex kieku hemm *good faith* in-nies

m'humiex sejrin 'il barra—kieku mhux bilfors iridu jagħtuna lezzjoni biex noqogħdu għaliha li jitfgħu n-nies 'il barra. U meta saret id-Dikjarazzjoni fl-1955 x'kien hemm quddiemna? Kien hemm rapporti tas-Services kollha, inkluża d-Defence Ministry, li l-impurtanza ta' Malta for the foreseeable future—issa s-solitu foreseeable future mhux inqas minn ħmistax il-sena—mhux talli m'hix ser tonqos imma ser tiżdied, u din kienet waħda mir-raġunijiet li Malta m'għandhiex tingħata Dominion Status. Jiġifieri min kien qed jiffirma dik dikinhar mhux biss kien qed jiggarantixxi li ser iżomm il-level of employment, imma li ser iżid. Mela hawn xi Gvern Malti tant miġnun li ser ipoġġi quddiem il-Gvern Ingliż dikjarazzjoni bħal dik, li ġiet minn naħa tagħna, biex jonqsu l-impiegi?! Biex jiżdiedu, mhux biex jonqsu! Allura fejn hi l-good faith? Fejn hu l-loyal support tagħhom? Jekk kull dikjarazzjoni li jiffirmaw żewġ Gvernijiet kull wieħed minnhom sejjer imbagħad jipprova jsib virgola jew kelma biex jagħtiha interpretazzjoni oħra ħalli jaħrab minnha, allura ejja ma nagħmlux dikjarazzjonijiet aktar ma' dawn in-nies.

ONOR. DR BORG OLIVIER: Hear, hear.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: U hawn aħna nsostnu li l-Gvern Ingliż m'onorax kelmtu—u fil-messaġġ kollu li għandna m'hemm xejn li juri li hemm *last minute change of heart*, m'hemm xejn li juri dan. Kieku l-Gvern Ingliż il-lum qalilna "Ara, hemm it-Treasury kollu *backing you* biex l-affarijiet ta' Malta nirranġawhom, imma mbagħad fisikament jew teknikament ma' jistax isir" konna nkunu rġiel u ngħidu "Isma', il-fortuna kontra tagħna, din ma tistax tirranġa ruħha"; imma meta ddur fuq il-Gvern Malti u tgħidlu "Jien aqwa mill-bnedmin kollha tad-dinja, jien ma niżbalja qatt, u inutli tiġi quddiemi għaliex ma niżbaljax," u tgħidlu "Daqstant hemm flus u ma tistax tispera għal aktar," b'dan qed tonora l-*commitments* li jkollok?! Veru, ħadd ma jista' jagħti garanzija li jekk hemm 14,000 ruħ impjegati ser jibqgħu 14,000 ruħ. Din ħadd ma jista' jagħtihilek dil-garanzija—mur obsor fl-istess ħin, jekk endorsjajt *objective*, ifisser li tfajt ir-risorsi kollha u saħħtek kollha biex tonora il-parti tiegħek u mhux tiġi tgħidli: "daqshekk għas-sena li ġejja" u xejn aktar. L-ebda argument ma tista' issib f'dak id-*despatch* tas-Segretarju ta' l-Istat fejn tara li huwa qiegħed jiġġustifika il-*commitments* tagħhom. X'aktar hemm fih?

Qalilna li huwa jaħseb li bix-xogħol li sejjer jkun hemm fuq l-Underground Storage Scheme u bl-ischeme tal-Harbour tas-sena l-oħra, jista'

jassorbi in-nies li jkunu mibgħutin barra mid-Dockyard. Biex nemmnuh dan—u aktar ma joqgħod ifettqu biex isibu kliem u jinterpretawh kif jaqbillhom biex nemmnuh dan, l-ewwel irridu inkunu nafu kemm sejrin jibagħtu nies barra mid-Dockyard. Min minna jaf kemm sejrin jibagħtu barra fis-sena 1958–1959 u jekk ma jafux huma, mhux dover tagħhom li jkunu jafuh? Forsi huwa dover tagħna li ngħidulhom dan ukoll? Aħna nafu kif jaħdem il-Gvern Ingliż, nafu li sa l-aħħar ta' Diċembru, il-Gvern Ingliż jkun ġa qal lid-Dipartimenti kollha kemm jistgħu jonfqu flus fis-sena li ġejja u għalhekk kif ma jafux kemm sejrin jibagħtu nies barra mid-Dockyard? U kif nistgħu naċċettaw kliem vag anke meta jkun ċar bħal ma kienet il-July Declaration, b'ħafna kliem u b'ħafna ekwivoċi? Qalilna fuq il-Harbour Scheme, qal li dan sejjer jkun additional ma' l-ischemes l-oħra li għandna. Veru li dan kien jassorbi in-nies, imma jekk tgħidli "flus ma tistax tonfoq aktar mis-sena li għaddiet, dan ifisser li ser jkolli flus anqas imħabba l-għoli ta' materjal u għoli ta' pagi, allura x'hawn? Inkompli. Qalilna:

"Her Majesty's Government are nevertheless closely concerned with Malta's economic situation and recognise that widespread unemployment would bring serious hardship and suffering".

Dan x'ifisser? Nofs id-Dockyard, għaxra fil-mija tad-Dockyard jew kollha? U għaliex il-Gvern Malti insista minn ħmistax-il ġurnata ilu li jkun jaf dawn l-affarijiet x'ifissru? Kif jista' il-Gvern Malti jgħid lin-nies tad-Dockyard biex jieħdu paċenzja, meta huma ma iridux jieħdu paċenzja, meta huma addoċċ, mingħajr ebda effort biex isalvaw is-sitwazzjoni, iridu jibagħtu in-nies il-barra?

MR. SPEAKER: Nosserva li skada il-ħin?

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Nipproponi li l-onor. Prim Ministru jkompli jinstema'.

ONOR. DR. G.M. CAMILLERI: Nissekonda.

Leave granted. Il-Permiss ġie mogħti.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Jiena nirringrazzja lill-onor. Proponent u lill-onor. Sekondant talli għoġobhom jistenduli il-ħin u nipprometti li ma nirripetix minn dak li għidt qabel.

Issa semmew ukoll ħwejjeġ li ftiehemna fuqhom li ma għandhomx jiġu pubblikati qabel ma toħroġ il-White Paper. Huwa veru li aħna nagħmlu affarijiet mingħajr ma nikkonsultawhom. Veru dan, għaliex kull Gvern ma għandux joqgħod jikkonsulta Gvern ieħor għal kull ħaġa li jagħmel,

imma meta ftiehemna li it-tali ħaġa ma għandniex nirrivelawha, għandna inżommu il-kelma. Imma f'dan it-telegramm, is-Segretarju ta' l-Istat, għax jaqbillu li jagħmel faċċata sabiħa, kiser il-ftehim ta' bejnietna u għoġbu li jagħmlu pubbliku. Dan xi ftehemna? Fl-*economic agreement* ftehemna li jekk il-livell tal-*employment* f'Malta jkun anqas —dan taħt l-integration—jekk il-livell tal-*unemployment* f'Malta jkun aktar minn dak eżistenti fl-Inghilterra, voldieri jekk il-perċentwali tal-popolazzjoni f'Malta li tkun qiegħda, tkun akbar mil-perċentwali tal-popolazzjoni qiegħda fl-Inghilterra u din is-sitwazzjoni tippersisti għal sitt xhur jew aktar, aħna ftehemna illi l-Gvern Ingliż għandu jgħinna biex nieħdu miżuri ħalli nirrimedjaw dik is-sitwazzjoni, wara li niftehemu x'misuri nistgħu nieħdu biex nirrimedjaw għal dik is-sitwazzjoni. Dan veru li ftehemna fuqu u biex aċċettaw dan, kellna mhux indumu nitħabtu u saru diskussjonijiet u ma nafx kemm taħbit. Imma x'aktar? Issa jiena ma naqbilx li ħafna kliem tipprova tfetthu imma jiena naqbel mal-ispiritu tal-kliem. Jiena għandi nassumi illi jekk huma issottoskrivew għar-*remedial measures*, dawn għandhom isiru, għaliex dawn huma affarijiet li ma tistax tassumi mod ieħor. Jekk tasal biex tiftiehem. . . .

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: *To be agreed upon*, din tie[5]u iż-żmien.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Ma' dawn imbagħad, u żgur. Aħna dan nafuh, imma x'ġara aktar meta tlajna dan l-aħħar? Aħna riedna li dan l-agreement jibda jaħdem minn issa u għal hekk ma għamilx sewwa is-Segretarju ta' l-Istat li irrivelah dan, għaliex dan kontra tiegħu ser jirridonda. Aħna ridna li dan jibda jaħdem minn issa, qalu: le, għaliex riedu li jibda jaħdem wara li jkollhom l-approvazzjoni tal-poplu Malti. Aħna għidnielhom li l-poplu Malti għandu jkun jaf fejn qiegħed rigward dawn l-*economic measures*, għidnielhom: għamluha imbagħad jekk ma jkunx hemm l-approvazzjoni tal-poplu Malti, neħħuha kemm tridu. Imma li tgħidli nistenna sena jew disa' xhur oħra, għaliex dan l-*agreement* irrid indaħħlu meta tiġi l-integration, meta iċ-ċirkostanzi tkun ġibthom b'idejk, din xi tfisser? L-ewwel immut bil-ġuħ, meta immut tiġi l-għajnuna. Jiena naf wieħed li għandu zijuh li għandu mitt elf lira tiegħu, iz-ziju qallu: ara x'tagħmel, għamel sena tikolx imbagħad nippromettilek li wara sena nagħtik kull ma għandi. Dan ma kellux choice. Qallu: "Le" għax inkella jagħmel sena ma jikolx u jmut. U din l-istess ħaġa. Is-Segretarju ta' l-Istat imissu semmieha din fuq li kieku aċċettaw il-proposta tagħna illi dan l-economic agreement jibda jaħdem minn issa u mhux ma jridu b'ebda mod jiċċaqalqu.

Għalhekk kien ikun diżonest min-naħa tiegħi bħala Prim Ministru illi jiena niddisklosja dawn l-affarijiet.

Meta jara l-poplu Malti, irid jara l-kwadru kollu u meta jarah imbagħad jista' jgħid jaqbilx jew le. Ma nixtieqx indaħħal affarijiet kontroversjali. Forsi l-Oppozizzjoni tara kemm aħna ġustifikati illi ma noħorġuhomx biċċa biċċa dawn l-affarijiet.

Qalulna fit-telegramm illi hawn speranzi kbar illi l-industrijalisti jiġu Malta. Kelli okkażżjoni nitkellem ma l-Industrial Committee u dawn huma konvintissimi illi mingħajr *funds* ma nagħmlu xejn. U ma jipprovax is-Segretarju ta' l-Istat jgħid illi qed nagħmlu instability fil-pajjiż. Allura għax ma ġewx fil-mija u sittin sena illi ilha rieqda Malta? Issa sejjer iwaħħal fina? (Hon. Members: Here, hear) Kien hawn stabbilità tant kbira hawn Malta, mija u sittin sena ta' nagħas għax ma ġewx?

Qalulna ukoll illi aħna m'għandna nagħmlu xejn illi nipperikulaw bih il-ftehim illi jista' jsir 'il quddiem. Għalina—u dan għamiltu ċar a nom ta' sħabi kollha. Jiena konvint illi qed nitkellem illum a nom tal-poplu Malti kollu—l-aktar ħaġa importanti hija x'sejjer isir mid-Dockyard; importanti aktar minn kwalunkwe diskussjonijiet kostituzzjonali, minn kwalunkwe promessi tal-futur. Ghax li jimpurtana minn tal-lum. Irridu ngħixu sa dik inhar.

Jiena għamilt dikjarazzjoni f'din il-Kamra—u insostniha—illi jekk il-Gvern Ingliż jagħmel ħabta u sabta dawn l-affarijiet u ipoġġina f'dawn ic-ċirkostanzi koroh, jistgħu imorru għax Malta jkunu tilfuha. Għaliex? Għax forsi aħna m'aħniex loġiċi ma' dak illi ridna? Aħna nafu illi hemm diverġenza bejna u l-Oppożizzjoni, imma dan qed nagħmluh mhux għax ma nemmnux f'dak illi għidna qabel, imma għax dan problema mill-aqwa.

Din mhux kwistjoni x'Reserved Matters sejjer ikun hemm, jew le, imma biex sejjer jiekol il-poplu u jgħix. Din kwistjoni illi tolqot kull wieħed minna. Ma nixtiequ niġġieldu ma' ħadd. U inutili illi s-Segretarju ta' l-Istat jgħid (Interruzzjonijiet). Ilna tlitt ġimgħat naraw illi l-affarijiet qed jikriehu. Jiena ma mortx ngħidilhom illi sejjer inġib din il-mozzjoni fil-Parlament, imma urejthom illi l-affarijiet qed jaslu fit-truf, tajthom *ample warning* u min jafni, jaf illi nitkellem *very plain* u mhux bid-diplomazija u jista' wieħed jifhimni mod ieħor. Huma ippreċipitawhom dawn l-affarijiet.

Xtaqna ftit taż-żmien ieħor biex inkunu nistgħu inwassluhom biex

jagħtu aktar assikurazzjonijiet preċiżi, imma min ippreċipita l-affarijiet? Huma stess bl-azzjonijiet tagħhom. Kieku dawn f'daqqa waħda fqaru u waslu biex m'għandhom xejn fil-kaxxa—bħal ma għandna xejn aħna—ngħid: "Ma hemmx *way out*", imma din amministrazzjoni vast tagħhom fejn il-flus jistgħu iġibuhom minn banda għall-oħra u hemm ħafna mezzi. Tmiem miljuni lil Malta ifissru sold *income tax* aktar l-Ingilterra. AĦna l-*income tax* kollha tagħna f'daqqa hija dawar sitt mitt elf lira. Dan qed ngħidu biex nuri d-disproporzjon u kemm mhux veru dan il-ħafna kliem.

Jiena nixtieq illi jkun hemm veru *a change of heart.* Nixtieq illi l-assoċċjazzjoni illi għandu pajjiżna u l-futur illi jista' jinfetaħ ma jiġux oskurati b'dawn l-avvenimenti illi qed isiru, imma kull wieħed minna l-ewwel dover tiegħu lejn pajjiżu (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

Għalhekk il-ġimgħa l-oħra jiena kelli l-pjaċir illi niltaqa' mal-Leader of the Opposition u rappreżentanti oħra ta' l-Oppożizzjoni fejn urejthom illi l-Gvern bi ħsiebu iressaq din il-mozzjoni fil-Parlament kemm jekk huma jaqblu u kemm jekk ma jaqblux. Urejthom ukoll illi kienet ix-xewqa tagħna illi f'ċirkostanzi bħal dawn mhux biss l-Oppożizzjoni ikonna magħna, imma l-poplu Malti kollu (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

U għandi pjaċir ngħid illi l-Oppożizzjoni r-risposta tagħhom kienet illi unanimament jibbekkjaw din ir-riżoluzzjoni (Hon. Members: Hear, hear). Dan il-ġest mhux jiena biss napprezzah u sħabi, imma tapprezzah Malta kollha.

Nixtieq ngħid ukoll illi din sa issa għadha *notice* lill-Gvern Ingliż ta' kif qed jaħsibha dan il-Parlament jekk huma jkomplu jippersistu fil-*policy* tagħhom. Nixtieq ngħid illi hemm ftehim bejnietna, bejn iż-żewġ partiti illi qabel ma jittieħdu passi biex tiġi implimentata din il-policy ġdida, għandu jkun hemm l-approvazzjoni taż-żewġ naħat. Dan qed ngħidu biex dak il-ftehim illi għamilna ikun pubbliku.

Ma nafx jekk dan il-messaġġ illi bagħat is-Segretarju ta' l-Istat ibiddilx b'xi mod l-atteġġjament ta' l-Oppożizzjoni. Dan ma nistax ngħidu li rrid inkun *fair* u nħalli lilhom jgħiduh dan il-kliem. Min-naħa tagħna nixtieq ngħid illi dan il-messaġġ is-sitwazzjoni ma ibiddilha assolutament xejn. Dan kollu konna nafuh. Ma hemm xejn ġdid fih. Ma hemm l-ebda garanzija x'ser jiġri minn dawn in-nies. Anzi jien immur aktar 'il quddiem. Insemmi kemm l-affarijiet ta' Malta dan l-aħħar qegħdin jiġu ittraskurati. Ilu xi xhur issa, is-Services ħarġu Press Notice fejn qalu illi l-*locally enlisted servicement* se jżidulhom il-pagi biex jiġu

konformi maż-żieda li ta l-Gvern Malti u li ta l-Ammiraljat lill-impjegati tiegħu. Darbtejn ktibnielhom s'issa u għidnilhom: "Din iż-żieda meta se twettquha?". Risposta xejn.

Wasal iż-żmien fejn kulħadd f'Malta jrid jirrealizza li dawn l-affarijiet, biex tirbaħhom, trid tiġġieled għalihom. Mingħajr taħbit u mingħajr sagrifiċċji, xejn ma jsir fid-dinja.

Naħseb li xi nies ukoll skantaw kif fir-Riżoluzzjoni tagħna daħħalna l-Alleati ta' l-Ingilterra. Naħseb li kien hemm min qal: "X'għandhom x'jaqsmu, per eżempju, l-Amerikani fuq dawn l-affarijiet?". U hawnhekk nixtieq ngħid illi ma għandniex nilludu rwieħna. Jekk m'aħniex qegħdin niġu ittrattati tajjeb mill-Gvern Ingliż, ma jfissirsx li ħaddieħor se jittrattana tajjeb. Ifisser biss li għandna nieħdu ħsieb l-interessi tagħna qabel ma nagħtu xejn lil ħadd. Fuq il-Gvern Amerikan nixtieq ngħid li, meta qabillhom, ġew hawnhekk u, meta qegħdin jaraw li se jsibu post aħjar, se jitilqu minn hawnhekk u ma jimportahom minn ħadd x'ser jiġri u ma jiġrix.

ONOR. DR BORG OLIVIER: Sur President, billi qegħdin jersqu d-9 p.m. naħseb li hemm bżonn issir proposta formali, bis-sospensjoni tar-Regolamenti, illi l-Kamra tkompli d-*debate* wara d-9 p.m. Nagħmel id-domanda formali.

ONOR. DR. G.M. CAMILLERI: Nissekonda.

MR SPEAKER: Għal kemm?

ONOR. MR ELLUL MERCER: Ngħidu sal-11 p.m.?

ONOR. DR BORG OLIVIER: Ngħidu sal-11 p.m. Pero' minn dina n-naħa ma għandniex l-intenzjoni li ntawlu.

MR SPEAKER: Għadna talba għas-sospensjoni tar-Regolamenti biex nestendu l-ħin tad-*debate* għal sagħtejn. Hemm oġġezzjoni?

HON. MEMBERS: No objection.

Leave granted
Il-permess ingħata

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Nerġa' nirringrazzja lill-Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni, l-Onor. Dr. Borg Olivier, u lis-sekondant, kif ukoll lill-Kamra kollha talli għoġobha testendi l-ħin.

Dwar l-Amerikani nixtieq ngħid dan. Hu veru li kemm ilna fil-Gvern aħna hemm ċerti kontribuzzjonijiet mill-Amerika li qabel ma kienx hemm. Aħna nafu li ġew miljuni ta' dollari ta' C.A.R.E. supplies. Dawn ġew mill-poplu Amerikan u nkun qiegħed naħbi l-verita' jekk ma ngħidx

li f'dawn l-aħħar snin ġiet din il-kontribuzzjoni mill-Amerika, pero' hu veru wkoll illi l-aktar ħaġa importanti għal Malta, il-kwistjoni ta' l-emigrazzjoni għall-Amerika, għadha magħluqa u bl-isforzi kollha li għamilna ma ċċaqelqitx. U sejjer nispjega x'inhuma dawn l-isforzi ħalli l-Membri kollha jkunu jistgħu jinkwadraw dak li hawn miktub b'background li jista' jwassalhom għal apprezzament realistiku tas-sitwazzjoni. Aħna ħadna stand fejn għidna lill-Gvern Ingliż illi m'aħniex beħsiebna nkomplu nagħtu l-privileġġi lill-Forzi Amerikani jekk il-Gvern Amerikan mhux lest biex jiddiskuti magħna l-problemi Malta-Amerika. Għamilna dan l-istand. Fl-aħħar ikkonvinċejna lill-Gvern Ingliż li hu għandu jagħmel proposta lill-Gvern Amerikan fejn jitlob biex isir tripartite talks bejn il-Gvern Amerikan, il-Gvern Ingliż, u l-Gvern Malti, biex il-Gvern Malti jkun jista' jpoġġi ċar il-pożizzjoni tiegħu u jsib soluzzjoni għall-problemi li jeżistu bejnietna. Wara ħafna pressjoni—pressjoni mhux ta' protesti imma pressjoni ta' fatti—il-Gvern Ingliż qabel li jagħmel din ir-request għan-nom tagħna, allavolja nixtieq ngħid ukoll hawnhekk illi aħna konna għamilna request diretta lill-Gvern Amerikan li tagħha ma tawx każ. Fl-aħħar, wara żmien, ġietna r-risposta min-naħa tal-Gvern Amerikan li huma raw il-memorandu li bgħatna aħna, raw ir-raġunijiet li ġiebna biex isiru t-talks, semmew kemm deħlin flus Amerikani f'Malta, kemm qegħdin jonfqu s-servicemen tagħhom hawnhekk, semmew kemm deħlin flus mill-C.A.R.E., semmew anke ta' meta, ilu ħafna, bagħtu l-makkinarju tal-Power Station—dan qiegħed ngħidu biex inkun għidt kollox u ħadd ma jgħidli: "Inti għidtilna l-ħażin u ma għidtilniex it-tajjeb"—semmew li fl-aħħar emenda li kienet se ssir għal-liġi ta' l-immigrazzjoni huma ibbekkjaw li Malta, minflok ma jkollha kwota ta' mitt emigrant fis-sena, ikollha mhux elfejn imma mitejn, semmew insomma dawn l-affarijiet u qalu: "Taħt dawn iċ-ċirkostanzi jidhrilna li ma jkunx hemm għalfejn isiru dawn it-talks". Jien ngħid lill-Membri: ikkonsidraw daqxejn kif qegħdin jittrattaw lil Malta dawn li qabdu u daħlu hawnhekk u ma żammhom ħadd, u araw kif qegħdin jittrattaw lil ħaddieħor għaliex jagħtihom bis-sieq. Mhux suppost li hu hekk fid-dinja, imma suppost li min hu ħabib tiegħek, tgħinu. Pero' aħna qegħdin ngħixu f'dinja rasha 'l isfel. Dawn huma l-fatti. Qed ngħixu f'dinja rasha 'l isfel. Jekk lil dak li jkun tagħtih bis-sieq, jirrispettak u jipprova jirranġa miegħek; jekk iddaħħlu d-dar, jisraqlek kollox! Din hi d-dinja li ngħixu fiha. Għalhekk għidt li nagħmlu daqsxejn apprezzament realistiku.

Fl-aħħar nett ma rridx inħalli l-impressjoni li din hi xi Riżoluzzjoni

faċli, li dan hu xi pass żgħir li qegħdin nieħdu l-lejla. Dan hu pass ferm kbir. Dan hu pass storiku għal Malta, fejn Malta qed tgħid permezz tar-rappreżentanti tagħha kollha: "Jekk intom ma tonorawx l-obbligi li għandkom lejna, aħna m'aħna beħsiebna nonoraw l-ebda obbligu li għandna lejkom". Ma rridx nagħti l-impressjoni li aħna ma wiżinniex x'inhuma l-konsegwenzi ta' dawn l-affarijiet.

Nafu li jekk tiġi għall-kustjoni tal-forza fiżika pajjiżna ma jkunx jiflaħ jirreżisti għall-forza fiżika. Nafu li r-resistenza li nistgħu nagħmlu aħna hi morali, imma nafu wkoll li spiċċa ż-żmien fejn aħna naqbdu u niktbu protesti u nibagħtu l-ittra u mbagħad kulħadd bil-kuxjenza safja għax ipprotestajna, din tintesa u jispiċċa kollox. Nafu li jekk aħna veru fil-kuxjenza tagħna rridu nagħmlu minn kollox biex dan il-pajjiż li għandna mezzi oħrajn li jġibu konsegwenzi oħrajn magħhom. Veru li jekk nieħdu l-passi aħna ħaddieħor ser jieħu passi oħrajn. Din hi waħda mil-liġijiet tan-natura: min jagħti daqqa jistenna li ser jaqla' oħra—dak li jfisser ġlied. Jekk ser nippretendu li nagħtu daqqa u ħaddieħor ser ikun tat-tafal u mhux ser jagħti lura allura ma nieħdux dan il-pass il-lejla. M'aħniex ser ngħidu li ser inkunu "rash" u ser nagħmlu l-affarijiet addoċċ. Din ġlieda twila fejn il-moħħ hemm bżonn li jaħdem iktar mill-muskoli; hija ġlieda li jiena u sħabi ma nixtiequx li tiġġieled bħal fl-imgħoddi bil-"mob rule", bil-chaos, b'xi erba' imġienen li jmorru jkissru 'l hawn u 'l hemm bl-isperanza li jekk jiġri hekk ħaddieħor jiċċaqlaq. Mhux hekk irriduh il-ġlied aħna. Aħna nafu li jekk il-poplu Malti jibqa' solidu.....ma jimpurtax billi jkun hemm xi gazzetta titkellem mod ieħor, anzi għandna nħalluha għax jekk taqra dak u tagħmel il-kontra tkun taf x'għandek tagħmel għal pajjiżek, anzi ta' min joħroġ *subscription* ħalli dan jibqa' fil-pajjiż. Nerġa' ngħid, li dment li pajjiżna hu magħqud u kull wieħed minna jirrealiżża li jrid jagħmel reżistenza, jista' jkun li nbatu sitt xhur, jista' jkun li nbatu sena jew sentejn imma fl-aħħar min ikun qiegħed jagħfas ikollu jċedi. L-istorja tad-dinja hi hekk kullimkien, basta l-ewwelnett kull wieħed minna fil-kuxjenza tiegħu ikun konvint li dak li qiegħed jagħmel qiegħed jagħmlu għax hu sewwa. Jekk il-poplu Malti ma jqumx biex jirreżisti għal dawn l-affarijiet allura hawn ngħid li kwalunkwe sens ta' irġulija u kwalunkwe sens ta' patrijottiżmu f'Malta spiċċa u ma nagħmlux protest li aħna poplu ċivilizzat. Imma jekk kulħadd, bħalma nispera jiena u bħalma jiena konvint jiena, jaħseb li dan hu perikolu li ġie fuqna għax

ġiebu ħaddieħor, u dan il-ħaddieħor għandna nuruh biċ-ċar li ma tistax tagħmel dawn l-affarijiet fid-dinja mingħajr ma jkollok ir-reżistenza kollha, allura ejjew il-lejla lkoll flimkien nagħtu dan in-"notice" lill-Gvern Ingliż, bl-isperanza dejjem li ser jibdel il-*policy* tiegħu imma bil-konvinzjoni ta' kull wieħed minna li jekk dan ma jsirx aħna minn dak li sejrin nagħmlu l-lejla ma niċċaqilqu qatt (Hon. Members: hear, hear).

MR SPEAKER: Qabel nitlob biex il-Mozzjoni tiġi ssekondata qiegħed nassumi li ma hemmx oġġezzjoni li l-Mozzjoni titressaq għad-diskussjoni minħabba l-fatt li ma hemmx *three days' notice* għal din il-Mozzjoni.

ONOR. DR FRENDO AZOPARDI: Aħjar ikun hemm talba għas-sospensjoni tar-regolamenti.

ONOR. DR BORG OLIVIER: Is-Sinjorija Tiegħek sejħet seduta bl-urġenza skond ir-regolamenti u jien jidhirli dan qiegħed ngħidu mingħajr ma studjajt il-kustjoni—li la darba s-Sinjorija Tiegħek kienet konvinta mill-urġenza tal-materja illi minħabba fiha ssejħet is-seduta naħseb illi aħna koperti.

MR SPEAKER: Ippermettili. Jiena kont konvint, kif iddikjarajt fil-bidu tas-seduta, mill-urġenza ta' din is-seduta, u s-Sedja għandha d-dritt issejjaħ seduta fl-urġenza pero' dejjem irid ikun hemm "three days notice". Jiena assumejt mill-bidu li ser ikun hemm unanimità fuq din il-kustjoni pero' biex inkunu "in order" naqbel mas-suġġeriment ta' l-onor. Dr Frendo Azopardi li ssir talba għas-sospensjoni tar-regolamenti.

ONOR. DR BORG OLIVIER: Mr Speaker, taħt iċ-ċirkostanzi nipproponi formalment li jkun hemm sospensjoni tar-regolamenti biex il-Mozzjoni li hawn quddiem il-Kamra tiġi diskussa u ttrattata mingħajr ma jkun hemm bżonn ta' *three days notice.*

ONOR. MR MINTOFF: Mr Speaker, jaqbel li s-Sinjorija Tiegħek u kemm l-istaff jaraw hemmx ċirkostanzi eċċezzjonali fejn il-Kamra għandha tiltaqa' f'ċirkostanzi eċċezzjonali. Dan ser nagħmluh għax jista' jkun mingħajr preġudizzju.

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Dak li ridt: li dan ma jikkostitwixxix preċedent il-għaliex inkella jista' jagħti l-każ li trid issejjaħ seduta urġenti u minħabba minoranza ta' membru wieħed ma ssirx. Is-Sinjorija Tiegħek hija koperta u m'hemmx bżonn niddiskutu iżjed.

MR SPEAKER: Hemm talba għas-sospensjoni tar-regolamenti biex inkomplu niddiskutu u nittrattaw il-Mozzjoni li għandha quddiema l-

Kamra minkejja li ma kienx hemm "three days notice". Any objection?

ONOR. MEMBRI: No objection.

Leave granted
Il-permess inghata

ONOR. MR. TABONE: I second.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is the following Motion:-

"Darba li l-Gvern Ingliż ma jridx jonora l-obbligu li dahal ghalih fid-Dikjarazzjoni ta' Lulju 1955, li jevita l-qghad, ir-Rappreżentanti tal-poplu Malti fil-Parlament miġbura, jiddikjaraw li jinhallu mill-pattijiet w'obbligi li ghandhom lejn il-Gvern Ingliż u minn dawk sal-lum assunti lejn l-alleati tiegħu—u dan sakemm il-Gvern Ingliż ma jagħtix garanzija li l-ghadd ta' nies miegħu impjegati f'Malta ma jonqosx qabel ma jkun hemm "Alternative Employment" ghan-nies li ngħataw issensja".

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Mr Speaker, ghandi l-pjaċir li nissekonda l-Mozzjoni proposta mill-onor. Prim Ministru. L-approvazzjoni ta' l-Oppożizzjoni ghall-Mozzjoni li hawn quddiem il-Kamra ġiet apprezzata fil-kliem tal-Prim Ministru mhux mill-Gvern biss, mhux mill-Membri tan-naha governativa biss imma mill-pajjiż kollu. Il-ġest, kif sejjaħlu l-Prim Ministru, ġie apprezzat minn kulħadd. Nixtieq nosserva li l-approvazzjoni unanimi tal-Membri ta' l-Oppożizzjoni mhix xi ġest bħal xi att ta' kortesija jew xi ħaġa li l-Oppożizzjoni riedet tagħmel biex tkun qiegħda tagħmel xi kumpliment. Le! Dan kien dover preċiż ta' kull Membru ta' l-Oppożizzjoni Nazzjonalista li fil-kwistjoni tat-Tarzna jara kwistjoni nazzjonali, jara kwistjoni fejn kulħadd għandu jaqbel, iktar u iktar il-Partit Nazzjonalista li fost in-nies impjegati fit-Tarzna ra sa mill-1919 nies li affrontaw sidirhom ghall-mewt f'isem l-awtonomija politika ghall-Malta; nies li iktar tard sofrew l-internament u l-eżilju f'isem il-kawża Nazzjonalista, nies li qatt ma qatgħu qalbhom li jersqu minn ta' quddiem kull meta, fl-opinjoni tagħhom kif rawha dak iż-żmien, kienu jaraw kwistjoni u kawża nazzjonali li qiegħda tiġi miġġielda mir-rappreżentanti tal-poplu versu n-Nazzjon li tiddomina. Quddiem nies minn dawk il-Partit Nazzjonalista ma jistax jibqa' lura fid-difiża tagħhom iktar u iktar meta d-difiża ta' dawk in-nies tkun qiegħda anke tfisser id-difiża tal-Poplu Malti kollu li jekk l-ekonomija tal-pajjiż issofri imħabba l-kawża ta' l-impjegati tat-Tarzna allura jsofri l-istess poplu kollu li fuqu l-kwistjoni jkollha riperkussjonijiet serji ghaliex

ma nistgħux ninsew li l-basi ta' l-ekonomija tagħna hija mfassla forsi kontra l-volontà tagħna, forsi kontra l-interess remot finali tagħna, hi kif inhi mingħajr il-kunsens tagħna, imfassla fuq l-impjiegi mad-Difiża, mad-Dipartimenti tas-Servizzi u fuq l-ispiża tad-Difiża.

Kienu f'dawn iċ-ċirkostanzi meta l-kwistjoni tal-futur tad-Dockyard kienet qiegħda tieħu volta li l-Oppożizzjoni ipprevediet u interessat ruħha fiha, kienu f'dawn iċ-ċirkostanzi meta l-volta li kienet qiegħda tieħu l-kwistjoni kienet iktar serja milli xi nies għadhom ma irrealizzawx, li l-Prim Ministru għamilli l-istedina li narah u jiena akkompanjat mill-kollegi tiegħi l-Onor. Dr. Frendo Azopardi u l-Onor. Dr. Felice rajt lill-Prim Ministru li anke huwa kien akkompanjat minn żewġ kollegi ministerjali, il-Ministru tax-Xogħol u Rikostruzzjoni u l-Ministru ta' l-Emigrazzjoni, Xogħol u Servizzi Soċjali.

Iż-żewġ delegazzjonijiet, tal-Gvern u ta' l-Oppożizzjoni iddiskutew is-sitwazzjoni partikolari tal-kwistjoni tal-futur tad-Dockyard u naturalment ir-riperkussjonijiet tagħha u waslu għall-ftehim li semma il-Prim Ministru. Waslu illi l-Kamra tgħaddi l-Mozzjoni li għandha quddiemha u waslu wkoll, kif qal il-Prim Ministru u nixtieq nikkonfermaha, li l-miżuri li jistgħu jsorġu minn din il-Mozzjoni għandhom jittieħdu kemm-il darba jkunu aċċettati miż-żewġ parti, kemm-il darba jkun hemm agreement fuqhom miż-żewġ parti. Nisperaw illi bl-istess faċilita', aġilita' u bl-istess animu li l-Gvern u Oppożizzjoni ftehmu fuq ir-Riżoluzzjoni, hekk ukoll meta u jekk jinqala' l-bżonn ikun hemm il-ftehim fuq il-miżuri li jistgħu jittieħdu bħala konsegwenza tar-Riżoluzzjoni, miżuri li anke l-Oppożizzjoni bħall-Gvern tispera b'kemm fiduċja ma nistax ngħid għax l-esperjenza hija ftit amara, pero' tispera li ma jkunx hemm bżonn jittieħdu. L-esperjenza hija morra għax kif tgħid l-istess Mozzjoni, kif ġiet sostenuta mill-Prim Ministru, id-dikjarazzjoni tal-1955 kienet ħaġa illi għad-differenza ta' l-affarijiet l-oħra li saru f'dik l-epoka, il-Gvern u Oppożizzjoni kienu jiltaqgħu mal-Gvern Ingliż biex jiddiskutu fuq il-kwistjoni kostituzjonali u ekonomika tal-pajjiż kienet ħaġa li ħa gost biha kulħadd, ħadet gost biha l-Oppożizzjoni daqs kemm ħa gost biha l-Gvern. Ipparteċipat bil-qalb fiha l-Oppożizzjoni daqs il-Gvern u ġiet aċċettata, fi ftit kliem, minn Malta kollha.

Dikjarazzjoni li aħna rajnieha separata mill-kwistjoni kostituzzjonali, ftehim li kien ikun ta' bażi għal kwalunkwe soluzzjoni kostituzzjonali, kien ikun ta' inkoraġġiment ikun x'ikun il-futur kostituzzjonali ta' Malta pero' bl-istess mod li aħna aċċettajnieh miż-żewġ naħiet tal-Kamra,

bl-istess mod li l-poplu ferah bih hekk ukoll malajr rajna li konna disillusi. Rajna li l-Gvern Ingliż baqa' majjistru fil-mod kif ipprova jsib il-mezz li jiskappa mill-obbligi lejn iż-żgħar. Il-mezz kif jispiċċa jgħidlek: "Int kont stupidu li aċċettajt dan". Meta tikkwotahulu jgħidlek: "Mhux hekk għidtlek; jekk ma jogħġbokx int kont l-istupidu li aċċettajtu". Jekk noqogħdu naraw l-esperjenza x'għallmitna bilfors irridu naslu għall-konkluzjoni illi nkunu stupidi jekk aħna noqogħdu għal wegħdiet, jekk aħna noqogħdu għal ftehim bħal dan li s-sostanza tiegħu tkun: jiena nipprova, jiena nirsisti, jiena nagħmel mill-aħjar biex nassistik biex bil-għajnuna t'Alla, bit-taxxi li tagħmel int sa għonqok u b'dik il-ħniena li jiena jogħġobni nagħtik sa l-aħħar int tkompli tgħix! Inkunu stupidi jekk aħna nkomplu naċċettaw minn dawn l-agreements li minnhom tgħallimna li sostanza ma toħroġx. U ma niġux ikkritikati li aħna ngrati. Kulħadd hu grat għal xi għajnuna li, b'taħbit ħafna jew ftit, ġiet lejn Malta, għajnuna li ġie li kellha almenu l-aspett ta' ġeneruża u kienet omen ta' ċerta bona volontà, ċerta sinċerita' li Malta ma kinetx ser tiġi minsija, għajnuna li momentaneament serviet lill-pajjiż u serviet anke biex fil-pajjiż in-nies isibu x-xogħol. Ta' dak aħna grati, u ma noqogħdux naraw, lanqas irridu noqogħdu naraw jekk dak kienx dover, jekk dak kienx obbligu legali jew morali biss; aħna mingħajr ma noqogħdu naraw l-obbligu hux legali jew morali jekk naraw l-għajnuna u għajnuna xierqa aħna grati bħal ma jkun grat kwalunkwe bniedem li mhux biss tagħmillu pjaċir, għaliex dak ikun grat aktar, imma jekk int ma tagħmillux azzjoni ħazina, jekk int kemm kemm tippermettilu jgħix. Imma l-kwestjoni tal-għajnuna għal Malta fis-sitwazzjoni speċjalment kif qiegħda tinħoloq illum u kif qisu d-destin ried li jwassal il-Malta fiha, l-għajnuna ma għandhiex tibqa' aktar minn dik li ta' kull sena bit-taħbit jiġu xi mijiet ta' eluf Malta u jiġi xi miljun jew tnejn. Jeħtieġ jifhmu, u jeħtieġ li ma nħallux min jimpressjonana li mhux hekk, li l-għajnuna għall-Malta trid tkun kbira daqs kemm kienet kbira l-għajnuna meta l-Ingilterra verament riedet issib kolonja u tiżviluppaha u tpoġġiha fuq saqajha ekonomikament, għaliex ġeneralment il-policy ta' l-Ingilterra kienet li meta kolonja trid verament tressaqha, tiżviluppaha ekonomikament kienet tagħtiha għajnuna kważi illimitata biex tpoġġiha fuq basi soda ferm ekonomika. Fuq fil-kwistjoni ekonomika ta' Malta, anke indipendentement mill-kwestjoni politika li tibqa' dejjem kwestjoni spinusa għal Malta għaliex diżgrazzjatament Gvern u Oppożizzjoni ma jaqblux u ma jistgħu jaqblu qatt sakemm iċ-ċirkostanzi jibqgħu kif

inhuma jiġifieri sakemm it-talbiet ma jiltaqgħux, imma indipendentement mill-kwestjoni kostituzzjonali, fuq il-kwestjoni ekonomika bilfors irridu naqblu, irridu naqblu żgur għaliex b'mod jew ieħor, ikun x'ikun il-futur kostituzzjonali ta' pajjiżżna għandna naħsbu li kull wieħed minna, speċjalment aħna r-rappreżentanti tal-poplu, kull wieħed minna jrid jara basi ekonomika soda, basi ekonomika li ma ċċedix minn taħt saqajna faċilment, basi ekonomika insomma li lilna tippermettilna nkomplu ngħixu, speċjalment tippermettilna almenu li jekk mhux inżidu immedjatament u nammeljoraw ħafna l-istandard of living tagħna, imma ma nnaqqsux dak li aħna rnexxielna nakkwistaw bid-demm ta' żewġ gwerer. Kulħadd jaqbel fuq il-kwestjoni ekonomika u quindi kulħadd, kull Malti mingħajr eċċezzjoni, għandu jaqbel li ma nistgħux aħna noqogħdu bil-qiegħda hawnhekk ngħaddu l-liġijiet li daqqa nkunu nqablu fuqhom ilkoll u daqqa jkun hemm kontroversja fuqhom, noqogħdu hawn naraw jekk għandniex nagħmlu xi taxxa li tweġġa' lilna stess jew li ma nagħmluhiex, noqogħdu nagħmlu dawn l-affarijiet li ma jġibux ħlief il-mibegħda bejn Malti u Malti ieħor u sadanittant naraw id-dockyard bil-mod il-mod tbexxaq il-bieb, għaliex milli jidher dawn is-sensji m'humiex dawk is-sensji li dari kienu jingħataw ftit kull sena, li kultant okkażjonalment kienu jingħataw xi erbgħin ruħ; m'humiex minn dik il-kwalità. Illum minn dak li qrajna, minn dak li smajna, minn dak li rajna, minn xi domanda u risposta fil-House of Commons, minn xi messaġġ tas-Segretarju ta' l-Istat, ma rridux ħafna biex naslu għall-konklużjoni li milli jidher—j'Alla jiena m'inix profeta tajjeb—imma ma tridx wisq biex minn dawn iċ-ċirkostanzi tara milli jidher li d-*dockyard* ser tagħlaq, jekk hux fi tlitt snin jew jekk hux f'sitta jew jekk hux ser tagħlaq f'daqqa jew inkella biċċa din kwestjoni oħra. Imma ċ-ċirkostanzi kollha jindikaw li l-futur tad-*dockyard* ta' Malta m'huwiex roseju, m'huwiex sabiħ imma hu ikrah ħafna. U kull Malti għandu jara li mal-kwestjoni, mal-futur tad-*dockyard* hija marbuta, kif inhuma ċ-ċirkostanzi llum, kif inhija l-pożizzjoni llum, l-ekonomija tal-pajjiż. Ma jmissux hekk u ma jmissniex aħna ġejna fil-pożizzjoni li ngħidu: ara x'waħda din xi darba irid jagħlaq id-*dockyard*!, ma jmissnix qegħdin f'dik il-pożizzjoni li nibżgħu li xi darba aħna nistgħu mmutu bil-ġuħ. . . . .imma dik hija l-pożizzjoni, is-sitwazzjoni, li ma għażilnihiex aħna. Dak huwa wirt tat-tfassil ta' l-ekonomija li ġiet magħmula waqt ħafna snin, waqt ħafna għexieren ta' snin, taħt il-Crown Colony, amministrazzjoni riġida, fejn il-poplu Malti

ma kellux vuċi u fejn il-poplu Malti, jekk kellu xi ftit tal-vuċi, f'xi żmien, kienet maħnuqa għax dak iż-żmien ma kienx jirrenja ftehim bejn partit u ieħor, lanqas fuq affarijiet li kienu jolqtu lill-pajjiz kollu, fuq affarijiet li bnadi oħra, fejn hemm Parlamenti komposti minn nies maturi, malajr jaraw l-interess nazzjonali u malajr għall-ftehim. Disgrazzjatament Malta, illi hija pajjiż żgħir, illi jekk jarawk tkellem avversarju politiku tiegħek fit-triq bil-kemm ma jgħidux qegħdin jgħadduna biż-żmien għax dawn fil-Parlament taparsi jiġġieldu, imbagħad ikunu ħbieb. Malta li nafu lil xulxin wisq forsi donnha ma nirrealizzawx il-ħtieġa fuq kwestjonijiet li minnhom jiddependi l-futur ta' Malta, l-iżvilupp ta' Malta. Il-ħtieġa li jkun hemm ftehim fuq din il-kwestjoni, Sur President, ma setax ma jkunx hemm għax, nerġa' ngħid, il-kwestjoni ekonomika tal-pajjiż illum qiegħdha f'moħħ kullħadd. Illum ma għadux iż-żmien li ngħidu għax din is-sena niddubbaw, għal sena oħra se jkollna l-istess ammont, imbagħad għas-sena ta' wara naraw. Illum għandna minaċċa li parti kbira tal-flus li kienu jidħlu fil-pajjiż se tonqos. Dari fi żmien ta' meta l-poplu kien għadu ftit nieqes mil-idejat demokratiċi, tal-liberta demokratika, f'dan il-pajjiż, meta inti kont tgħid li mhux tassew li l-Ingilterra hija ġeneruża inti kont ssib ruħek proċessat. Għadni niftakar meta kont għadni fuq il-bankijiet ta' l-Universitá mal-ħabib tiegħi l-Onor. Dr. Frendo Azopardi u oħrajn l-istudenti jiltaqgħu fil-klassi, fl-awla, ta' l-universita u jmorru l-Qorti biex jaraw lil Nerik Mizzi proċessat u għaliex? Għax ipproduċa fil-ġurnal tiegħu "Malta" artikolu li kien jismu "La leggenda dell'oro": artikolu li kien deher fejn artikolista kien ta l-impressjoni, argomenta, wasal għall-konklużjoni, illi dak li f'Malta jiġu ħafna flus Inglizi mhux ħaġ'oħra ħlief leġġenda. Dari kont tgħid dan issib ruħek proċessat. Il-veritá hi li Nerik Mizzi ġie liberat. Illum iż-żmien tbiddel. Illum naħseb li ħadd minna ma hu se jiġi proċessat talli aħna ngħidu li l-Ingilterra turik li sejra tgħinek ħafna, turik li qiegħda ttik il-miljuni aktar minn qabel, tagħtik b'id waħda llum u l-għada teħodulek bl-id l-oħra. Kull meta jew ikollna xi żidiet fil-pagi tal-impjegati tagħhom jew ninsistu għal xi drittijiet Kostituzzjonali dejjem juruna din il-minaċċa u jgħidulna, anke individwi ġo l-Ingilterra li tipprova titkellem magħhom taparsi ma jafu xejn fuq il-kwestjoni ta' Malta, isaqsuk xi ħaġa u malli tgħidilhom mill-ewwel jgħidulek jekk tagħmlu hekk inneħħulkom id-*dockyard* jew innaqqsu mill-impjegati tad-*dockyard*. Dejjem kelma waħda, dejjem dik il-minaċċa. Illum dik il-minaċċa saret realtà. Hemm bżonn jew ma hemmx bżonn, bħala

mpunjizzjoni, jew inkella bħala neċessità, attwalment ġenwin, bħala miżura ta' ekonomija fl-istat ta' difiża Ingliża għalina ma jagħmilx differenza. Illum hemm il-fatt hemm ir-realtà, għandna l-possibilità, li min kellu impjieg id-*dockyard* sa jitlef dawk il-flus li qegħdin jagħtuh bħala paga, mhux paga għolja, li l-impjegati tat-Tarzna sejrin jonqsu minn Malta. Din hi sitwazzjoni gravi, sitwazzjoni li ma nistgħux nimmaġinawha biss mingħajr ma aħna nuru li nkunu mweġġgħin ferm. Jekk ma nsibux il-possibilità li nissostitwixxu, jekk ma jkunx hemm il-possibilità li npoġġu fuq bażi oħra, meta tneħħi l-bażi tad-*dockyard*, jekk mingħajr ma għandna tort aħna rridu nagħmlu diversifikazzjoni ta' l-ekonomija tagħna industrijali, nirrendu ruħna indipendenti minn dak li huwa impjieg tat-Tarzna, jekk aħna ma jkollniex il-mezzi li nistgħu nagħmlu dan aħna ma nistgħux ma nurux li ma nkunux imweġġa'. Dawk il-mezzi ma għandniex. Kif poġġa s-sitwazzjoni quddiemna l-Prim Ministru u mill-istess messaġġ tas-Segretarju ta' l-Istat naraw li dawk il-mezzi ma tawhomlniex, mhux qegħdin f'idejna. Sallum x'ħadna, Sur President, in konnessjoni mal-kwestjoni tad-*dockyard*? Illum ma għandniex messaġġi, dikjarazzjonijiet, *press releases* li jgħidu mhux tassew li ttieħdet deċiżjoni fuq il-kwestjoni tad-*dockyard*. AĦna dan ma jinteressaniex. Aħna ma rridux messaġġi u telegrammi li jgħidulna li l-kwestjoni tad-*dockyard* għadha ma ġietx deċiża, aħna li rridu hu li jiġi dikjarat li l-kwestjoni tad-*dockyard* ġiet deċiża b'mod ġust lejn Malta (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

ONOR. DR BORG OLIVIER: Dan huwa li rridu, u ebda Segretarju ta' l-Istat u ebda Gvernatur m'għandu jistenna li l-poplu Malti tal-lum ser jikkuntenta billi joħroġ *press release* jew billi jiġi messaġġ u jgħidlek "Isma, il-kwistjoni tagħkom mhix deċiża. Ikun hemm xi ekonomiji, forsi d-Dockyard ma tibqax taħdimha kollha n-Navy imma xi biċċiet minnha jinħadmu kommerċjalment, imma għad mhux deċiż, u sa tliet snin oħra għandek ħajja." Dawn id-dikjarazzjonijiet il-lum ma jistgħux jissoddisfaw il-poplu.

X'ġara minn Lulju 1955 'il hawn? Għal dik li hi l-industrijalizzazzjoni tal-pajjiż, Sur President, nistgħu ngħidu li ma sar xejn konkret, almenu li jista' jagħti riżultati malajr biżżejjed biex nilqgħu s-sitwazzjoni li tiġi kreata bl-egħluq tad-Dockyard jew b'riduzzjoni sostanzjali tal-impjegati tad-Dockyard. Ma rajniex dan l-iżvilupp fl-industrijalizzazzjoni tal-pajjiż l-ewwelnett għaliex ħadd ma jista' jistenna li pajjiż tindustrijalizzah mil-lejl għan-nhar, imma apparti x'għamlet l-Amministrazzjoni

f'din il-linja—jien lanqas ma nixtieq nidħol f'affarijiet kontroversjali f'din id-diskussjoni, m'iniex ser nidħol f'dak il-lat—l-iprem raġuni li aħna ma rnexxilniex nindustrijalizzaw ruħna, għad ma rnexxilniex nattiraw industriji f'Malta, u għad ma rnexxilniex nirrendu Malta ċentru turistiku, hija l-kwistjoni ta' kif tiffinanzja dawn il-proġetti. Veru, kif smajna, li anki f'pajjiżi oħra l-industriji ma jinħolqux hekk, waħedhom. L-industriji, speċjalment meta tridhom mill-barranin, ma ġġibhomx għaliex tgħid "Jien irrid l-industriji", imma ġġibhom għaliex tattirahom, u tattirahom billi tiffinanzjahom, billi tagħtihom eżenzjonijiet, billi tagħtihom insomma ajjut u sussidju sostanzjali, ħaġa li f'dan il-pajjiż għadna ma stajna nagħmlu qatt, ħaġa li f'dan il-pajjiż qabilna ma ittanta jagħmilha ħadd. Meta konna niddependu minn ħaddieħor għall-amministrazzjoni tagħna, għall-mod kif jiġi ggvernat pajjiżna, aħna kellna dik l-assikurazzjoni li la għandna d-Dockyard hawn Malta, la għandna l-bastimenti tal-gwerra fil-portijiet tagħna, ma hawn ħadd aħjar minna, m'għandna nħarsu lejn ħadd għaliex kulħadd aktar fqir, m'għandna nkunu rridu ningħaqdu ma' ħadd għaliex kulħadd qiegħed f'pożizzjoni agħar minn Malta, għaliex Malta għandha l-Lira Ingliza, Malta għandha l-baħri Ingliż, Malta għandha d-Dockyard Ingliż. U l-lum qed naraw ir-riżultati tat-tfassil ta' ekonomija li għall-pajjiż, fis-sens patrijottiku, fis-sens nazzjonali, ma kienet soda xejn, ma kienet taqbel xejn, għaliex ikkreat sitwazzjoni fejn, meta jogħġbu, il-Gvern Ingliż jgħidilna "Jien ser ngħalaq il-vit, jien ser inwaqqaf ix-xogħol, jien ser nagħmel b'mod li aktar 'il quddiem aktar inkun nista' ngħidilkom kemm inthom m'inthomx intitolati għal drittijiet politiċi għaliex intom ekonomikament m'għandkom xejn, inthom ekonomikament fqar." Dazgur, Sur President. Jekk bir-Reserved Matters u t-tfassil ta' politika skond il-bżonnijiet ta' strateġija jew ta' difiża, jekk b'dawn ir-restrizzjonijiet aħna ma stajniex u ma nistgħux infasslu l-politika tagħna, ma stajniex infasslu l-ekonomija tagħna kif jaqbel lilna u kif hu fl-aħjar interessi tagħna, jekk aħna qegħdin f'dil-pożizzjoni bilfors li jgħidulna "Intom l-ekonomija tagħkom m'hix soda biżżejjed biex tieħdu drittijiet politiċi." Imma hija appuntu dik is-sitwazzjoni li Gvernijiet suċċessivi Maltin riedu jevitaw, u kull darba jeħlu għaliex isibu min jimminaċċja li jnaqqas l-għajnuna jew li jagħti xi sensji. Hija dik is-sitwazzjoni li ilna nikkombattu biex f'Malta ma nħallux teżisti. Infatti ntqal miż-żewġ naħiet tal-Kamra f'xi okkażjoni jew oħra li aħna l-*grudge* tagħna mhux li l-Ingilterra tiddeċiedi u tgħid "Jien f'Malta m'għandix bżonn aktar

tad-Dockyard jew tan-Navy." Konna nkunu esiġenti ferm kieku aħna nippretendu li għandhom bżonn jew m'għadhomx skond l-interessi tad-difiza tagħhom l-Ingliżi għandhom bilfors iżommu d-Dockyard miftuħ jew għandhom bilfors iżommu tant bastimenti fil-portijiet tagħna. Dik kienet tkun esiġenza li ma konniex inkunu ġustifikati nagħmluha u li ma kien ikollna s-simpatija ta' ħadd jekk aħna nkomplu nsostnuha. Imma dak li talab il-poplu Malti, dak li qed jitolbu r-rappreżentanti tiegħu, dak li qed jitolbu n-nies tat-Tarzna u l-Union tagħhom, mhux dan. Li ġara, ġara minħabba l-imprevist. Da bilfors li kien imprevist, għaliex kieku lkoll għadna naħsbu li l-Ingilterra kienet tibda biex tavżana qabel, kienet tibda biex tissostitwixxi l-mezz tas-sustentament tagħna minn qabel, mhux hekk, f'daqqa waħda naraw 150 ruħ bis-sensja sa l-aħħar ta' Frar, min jaf kemm mill-aħħar ta' Marzu 'l quddiem, u punto interrogativ kbir quddiemna u ma nafux fejn aħna. Dan ġara għaliex bilfors li kien hemm l-imprevist, u aħna ma nistgħux lanqas lill-Ingilterra ngħidulha "Isma, dan tagħmlux il-lum, imma agħmlu għaxar snin oħra." Anki dik kienet tkun esiġenza li ma kinitx tkun ġustifikata. L-Ingilterra hija padruna tieħu l-miżuri kollha li għandha bżonn u dawk il-miżuri kollha li jidhrilha li huma neċessarji. Tista' tagħlaq id-Dockyard, tista tneħħi l-bastimenti tal-gwerra, tista', jekk trid, anki tirtira minn Malta, imma dan tagħmlu mhux bħala pass unilaterali, li tgħidli għandi bżonn nagħlaq id-Dockyard u int, jekk għandek, għandek, jekk ma għandekx mur għum; ma tistax tgħidli: jiena inwaqqaf nofs it-Tarzna u jekk Alla irid, bix-xogħlijiet tad-*drydock* u bix-xogħlijiet tal-B.P. u bix-xogħlijiet tan-NATO, kollox f'daqqa, aktarx ikun kollox sewwa u ma jkunx hemm *widespread unemployment in the near future*. Dan le, għaliex aħna jekk kellna xi speranza illi dawk in-nies li m'humiex impjegati tajjeb, dawn in-nies li ilhom bla xogħol u qegħdin jistennew ix-xogħol u jekk dawn kellhom xi speranza li jieħdu impjieg aħjar, kemm għaliex nisperaw fuq id-*drydock* u kemm għaliex jiġi Vickers jagħmel xi xogħol ieħor, din l-isperanza issa sejra tispiċċa. Huwa veru li għan-nies tat-Tarzna qegħdin nagħmlu kollox, kif wegħdniehom u qegħdin inwegħduhom appoġġ sħiħ, anzi appoġġ b'mod li lilna jista' ipoġġina u jesponina għal xi riskji, imma magħhom aħna irridu naraw sezzjonijiet oħra tal-popolazzjoni, fosthom dik is-sezzjoni ta' klassi ta' ħaddiema ukoll li għal raġuni jew oħra, jew għaliex ma għadhomx xogħol adattat jew ma għadhom l-ebda xogħol jew għaliex jixtiequ jimmiljoraw il-pożizzjoni tagħhom mill-impieg li għandhom

mal-partikular li mhux inkoraġġit u xi darba jispiraw li jidħlu mal-Gvern, aħna irridu inħarsu lejn din il-klassi ta' nies ukoll u ma nikkuntentawx b'sitwazzjoni fejn dawk in-nies li ilhom jistennew dawn l-*openings*, issa jingħalqulhom biex minn flokhom jidħlu in-nies tad-Dockyard.

MR. SPEAKER: Nattira l-attenzjoni tal-Kamra li skada il-ħin tal-onor. Kap tal-Oppożizzjoni.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Nipproponi li jkompli jinstemgħa.

ONOR. MR. TABONE: Nissekonda.

Leave granted
Il-permess ġie mogħti.

ONOR. DR. BORG OLIVIER: Nirringrazzja lill-onor. Proponent u lill-onor. Sekondant talli għoġobhom jestenduli l-ħin. Bħala soluzzjoni immedjata, jiena u sħabi kollha u l-Kamra kollha u l-pajjiż kollu għall-mija u erbgħin ruħ li huma minaċċjati bis-sensja, hemm għalihom xogħol ieħor li sejra tipprovdi in-NATO jew ħaddieħor. Nieħu gost u kont nieħu gost aktar jekk narahom sekondati u dan skond l-Oppożizzjoni huwa l-anqas li seta' talab il-Gvern u dan mhux qiegħed ngħidu biex noħloq kontroversja imma huwa verament l-anqas li setgħa talab il-Gvern tagħna mingħand il-Gvern Ingliż. Li jekk jafu li sejjer jibda xogħol ieħor minn NATO u dawn sejrin jiġu *discharged*, jew jistennew ftit qabel ma jibagħtuhom u jaraw x'jagħmlu bihom jew ipoġġuhom fuq xogħol ieħor li mhux tan-NATO imbagħad jissekondahom fin-NATO biex ikun hemm *continuity of service*. Imma lanqas dan ma ikkonċeda l-Ammirall u l-Gvern Ingliż, l-ebda impenn ma ried iżomm il-Gvern Ingliż. Allura għandna nibqgħu impenjati aħna f'kollox, għandna nirrangaw dak li għoġbu jaqla' il-Gvern Ingliz? Kien hemm xi żmien meta stajna nagħmlu dan, meta il-kwistjoni ma kinitx tieħu proporzjoni kbira, imma il-lum il-kwistjoni hija enormi u għalhekk ma nistgħux nibqgħu sejrin hekk; u ma nkunux qegħdin nagħmlu d-doveri tagħna jekk ma ngħidux li din il-politika tal-Gvern Ingliż irriduha tieqaf, din il-politika ta' zegħil u tifħir meta għandhom bżonnha u addio meta ma għandhomx bżonnha aktar. Din il-politika li meta għandhom bżonnha ifaħħruna u meta għandna bżonnhom aħna insibu ħajt Ċiniż, kif ġarrab dan il-Gvern tal-lum u gvernijiet oħra ta' qablu kull meta kien hemm kwistjonijiet bħal dawn.

Fost ir-rimedji suġġeriti mis-Segretarju ta' l-Istat naturalment jinkludi l-emigrazzjoni. L-emigrazzjoni il-Partit Nazzjonalista, meta kien responsabbli għall-amministrazzjoni, dejjem ta l-inkoraġġiment li seta', inkoraġġieha kemm felaħ, imma inkoraġixxa lil dawk in-nies li spontanjament, anke għal ċertu spiritu ta' avventura, deherilhom li jitilqu minn hawn u jmorru band'oħra, fejn deherilhom li setgħu jibdlu il-ħajja u jibnu il-futur tagħhom, dawk inkoraġġejthom u nirrakkomanda lill-Gvern preżenti li jibqa' jinkoraġġihom. Imma tkun krudili li tmur fuq in-nies tad-Dockyard, nies li biċċa minnhom jkunu imdaħħla fl-età u ma kellhom qatt f'moħħhom li jitbiegħdu minn art twelidhom biex imorru jagħmlu futur band'oħra, nies li kienu jħossuhom sodi fl-impieg tagħhom, tkun krudili tgħidilhom: inti aqbad il-familja u mur barra biex issib ix-xogħol u meta għamel il-ħotba tgħidlu biex jmur barra u jibni futur ġdid, din tkun krudili u la il-Gvern Ingliż ma għandu jistenna u lanqas ħadd ma għandu jgħid, la sejjer jagħlaq id-Dockyard ikollna nemigraw izjed. Dan mhux ir-rimedju u ħadd ma għandu jistenna li għandna nirrakkomandawh bħala rimedju.

Is-sitważżjoni illi qegħdin fiha l-lum hija pjuttost ripetizzjoni ta' sitwazzjonijiet illi sibna ruħna fihom qabel; sitwazzjonijiet illi għad nerġgħu insibu ruħna fihom jekk aħna ma naslux b'xi mod jew ieħor biex nirrealizzaw ili għandha tinstab soluzzjoni fejn pajjiżna jkun fil-pożizzjoni illi ma' l-Ingilterra—għax aħna d-destin tagħna kien mixħut 'il hemm, fil-Commonwealth; għax aħna l-volontá tagħna kienet u għadha illi nibqgħa fil-Commonwealth—il-pattijiet nagħmluhom kif tagħmilhom nazzjon ma' oħra; illi l-pattijiet ma jkunux tal-ġeneri illi għamilna sal-lum u li jekk l-Ingilterra trid tgħid: "Jiena ma jidhirlix illi nista' nibqa' nżommkom kif żammejtkom, sejra nixxiftja biċċa mir-responsabbiltà u nitfagħha fin-NATO," aħna nkunu fil-pożizzjoni illi nittrattaw man-NATO, jew ma' l-Amerika.

Sakemm l-Amerika qegħda fil-pożizzjoni kommoda illi tkun ġa ftehmet ma' l-Ingilterra, naturali tgħidlek: "Kif sejra noqgħod narga' nitkellem, jiena ġa tkellimt, sejra noqgħod narġa' nsib il-Gvern Malti u nitkellem miegħu?" Tgħidilha lill-Ingilterra: "Jiena lilek naf, l-Ingilterra u mhux lil Malta".

Dik il-pożizzjoni qed niefqu biex ma nħalluhiex? Hemm bżonn illi l-pajjiż jiġi lluminat u tinstab soluzzjoni aċċettabbli għal kulħadd, soluzzjoni fl-interess ta' Malta biss u li tpoġġina fuq saqajn, f'pożizzjoni illi nistgħu nittrattaw aħna, f'pożizzjoni illi nistgħu aħna il-pattijiet nagħm-

luhom, b'mod illi, jekk l-Ingilterra ma tkunx trid issostnihom, ikollna l-libertà ta' azzjoni u li fil-Commonwealth inkunu nistgħu niċċaqalqu kif irridu aħna.

Dak illi nifhmu bir-referenza fil-mozzjoni għall-alleati ta' l-Ingilterra. Illi, jekk l-Ingilterra ma tkunx trid iżżomm l-obligi tagħha lejna, allura l-alleati ma jistgħux jistennew illi nżommu l-obligi illi l-Ingilterra tat għalina kemm-il darba ma jinsistux ma' l-Ingilterra illi aħna illi minna qed jagħmlu użu m'għandniex inkunu abbandunati.

Dak illi nifhmu bir-referenza għax il-bqija m'għandniex ebda intenzjoni ħażina. Hadd ma jista' jissospetta illi rridu niċċaqalqu mill-Western Bloc. Aħna l-politika tagħna miexja 'l hemmhekk. Il-Western Bloc hu l-objettiv illi nħarsu lejh.

L-Interpretazzjoni tal-mozzjoni m'hix xi ħaġa sempliċi, m'hix xi ħaġa illi the average man in the street jista' jagħtiha malajr. Il-mozzjoni li hawn quddiem il-Kamra, u li l-Oppożizzjoni waħeda, tista' tfisser aktar minn miżura waħda. U jkun appuntu mill-interpretazzjoni matura—biex ngħid hekk—illi aħna rappreżentanti tal-poplu nagħtu lill-mozzjoni tagħna stess, ikun minn dik l-interpretazzjoni matura illi, skond l-opinjoni tiegħi, jiddependi s-suċċess illi jista' jkollna.

Jekk xi ħadd minna jifhem illi b'din il-mozzjoni nistgħu nwasslu l-pajjiż għal xi storbji fejn ikollna l-*mob rule*, allura jkun dover tagħna illi aħna nerġgħu naħsbuha u ngħidu: Dan ma nagħmluhx. Il-*mob rule* nixtiequ nevitaw għal kollox. Dan l-animu illi bih qed napprovaw il-mozzjoni. Dak hu illi jiena konvint illi jrid jevita l-Gvern.

Jekk aħna nevitaw il-*mob rule*, jekk aħna nifthemu tajjeb, inkunu maturi fil-ftehim fuq dawk il-passi ili jridu jittieħdu bħala konsegwenza ta' din il-mozzjoni, jiena nispera illi jkollna is-success. Jiena nispera illi l-Gvern Ingliż jirravedi ftit ruhu; jiena nispera illi l-Ingilterra, jekk ma tistax tevita l-għeluq tad-Dockyard, jew it-tnaqqis konsiderevoli ta' nies impjegati hemm, almenu tirrealizza illi l-futur ekonomiku ta' Malta qiegħed *in pericolo* u tirrealizza illi Malta mhux ta' min jittraskuraha, imma ta' min jgħinha b'mod illi ħaddieħor ma ġiex mgħejjun għax fejn kien hemm bżonn faħħruna u qalu illi għandna l-fatti speċi tagħna, qalu illi għandna tant meriti u taw l-eloġi kollha u ma jkun ġara xejn billi anki f'din l-okkażjoni jgħidu: "Aħna lil Malta ma nistgħux inħalluha warajna u nabbandunawha u ma nistgħux ma ninteressawx ruħna u ma nimpenjawx ruħna għall-futur tagħha u nagħtuha għajnuna sostanzjali kbar," mhux ta' min sena mill-oħra, imma tali illi jassikuraw il-futur ta'

pajjiż ċivilizzat illi, wara żewġ gwerrer, irnexxielu jaqta' l-guħ, ineħħi l-ħefa u itejjeb l-*istandard of living*. . . .

. . . . u jibda almenu jaspira għas-servizzi soċjali li jeżistu f'tant pajjiżi u li għad ma jeżistux f'Malta għaliex Malta kienet, għadha ma tistax taffordjahom.

Nagħlaq, Sur President, billi nerġa' nassigura lill-Gvern u nerġa' nassigura lill-impjegati tad-Dockyard illi l-appoġġ tagħna hu appoġġ sinċier, appoġġ ġenwin, appoġġ sħiħ, kif jien kont wegħidt fil-mozzjoni li intavolajt f'ismi fid-29 ta' Novembru, li aħna jidhrilna li n-nies tat-Tarzna jixirqilhom fl-interess tagħhom in partikolari u fl-interess ta' Malta in ġenerali. Aħna qegħdin inwiegħdu dan l-appoġġ mhux bħala sempliċi ġest imma biex inkunu żammejna kelmitna sa minn mindu konna fil-bankijiet tal-Gvern. Sa minn dawk il-bankijiet, meta kien hemm il-perikolu li aħna nitilfu l-Gvern minn taħt idejna, aħna wegħidna, u wegħidnieh anke minn fuq il-platforms elettorali, illi anke jekk jitbiddel il-Gvern, kull meta tinqala' kwistjoni nazzjonali l-Partit Nazzjonalista jkun mal-Gvern. Kull meta jkun hemm kwistjonijiet nazzjonali ma' l-Ingilterra, mal-Gvern Ingliż, il-Partit Nazzjonalista wiegħed li jkompli dak l-istand li ta' Maltin għandna lkoll iżommu indipendentement mill-kulur tagħna politiku, li ta' Maltin għandna lkoll iżommu kull meta tinqala' kwistjoni li tkun tirrigwardana bħala nazzjon, kull meta tinqala' kwistjoni li nkunu nistgħu nsofru jekk aħna ma nurux l-għaqda, li nkunu nistgħu nsofru jekk aħna nibqgħu niġġieldu ma' xulxin anke fuq kwistjonijiet nazzjonali. Aħna qegħdin inżommu kelmitna għaliex dak is-support wgħednieh, u wrejna bil-fatti u għad nuru aktar bil-fatti li rridu nagħtuh, li sejrin nagħtuh, u li qegħdin nagħtuh bil-qalb (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

Onor. Mr Ellul Mercer: Il-fatt illi ż-żewġ partiti politiċi, il-Gvern u l-Oppożizzjoni, li hawn Malta l-lejla sabu ruħhom flimkien juri l-maturità politika li fiha wasal dan il-poplu, maturità politika li għaliha aħna, li niftakru żminijiet oħra, inħossuna grati ħafna għaliex meta, kif qal l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni, il-kwistjoni tkun kwistjoni nazzjonali hu xieraq li l-partiti politiċi, kemm dawk li jkunu fil-Gvern u kemm dawk li jkunu fl-Oppożizzjoni, ikunu flimkien. U din il-kriżi 'l quddiem tista' twassal lil Malta f'diżastru. Għaldaqstant kien jixraq li jsir dak li sar, u l-lejla f'din il-Kamra, f'din is-seduta storika, l-Oppożizzjoni u l-Gvern qegħdin flimkien u warajhom għandhom il-poplu ta' dawn il-gżejjer.

Ir-relazzjonijiet li jorbtu pajjiż u pajjiż huma normalment relazzjonijiet ekonomiċi u mhux sentimentali. Fl-imgħoddi, min kien jitħaddet u jargomenta biex jitlob id-drittijiet taz-zgħir kontra l-kbir kien jibbaża l-argomenti tiegħu fuq is-sentimentaliżmu. Illum fehemna—u anke dari kien hawn min dan kien jifhmu wkoll—illi r-relazzjonijiet li jiggwidaw il-pajjiżi huma interessi ekonomiċi. Dan, *del resto*, missirijietna rawh ukoll. M'inix beħsiebni nagħti background storiku ta' minn meta gew l-Ingliżi sal-lum, għaliex dan intqal f'din il-Kamra eluf ta' drabi, però mingħalija li jien darba għidt, u l-lejla se nerga' nirripetih, illi missirijietna, qabel ma waslu fl-assoċjazzjoni, fil-ftehim, u fil-kuntratti li għamlu mal-Gvern Ingliż, ħarsu lejn il-konsiderazzjonijiet ekonomiċi. Difatti ftit qabel ma l-Gvern Ingliż okkupa dawn il-gzejjer, Malta kellha riżorsa ta' nofs miljun lira mill-qoton u r-rappreżentanti Maltin waslu fid-deċiżjoni li huma jitolbu l-għajnuna ta' l-Ingilterra u tal-Gvern Ingliż preċiżament biex jipproteġilhom prinċipalment il-bastimenti li kienu jmorru bil-qoton u anke, naturalment, biex jipproteġi l-gżira. L-ekonomija ta' Malta tbiddlet. Ma baqgħetx ekonomija tal-qoton. Saret ekonomija tat-Tarzna. U dan għamilnieh bilfors, mingħajr ma ridna, għaliex iċ-ċirkostanzi sforzawna, għaliex il-portijiet tagħna kienu tajba bħalma kienu dejjem, għaliex il-flotta Ingliża bdiet tikber u bdiet tissaħħaħ u bnew tarznarijiet hawn Malta u bdew iħaddmu n-nies meta kien ikollhom bżonn u, meta ma kienx ikollhom bżonn, kienu jnaqqsuhom, u l-ekonomija tagħna saret ekonomija bażata fuq id-difiża. Dan, naturalment, huma, tan-naħa l-oħra, kienu jafuh. Aħna, tan-naħa tagħna, konna nirraġunaw u ngħidu: "Mhux sew li jagħtuna dawn il-pagi hekk ċkejkna. Mhux sew li jħalluna hekk foqra. Mhux sew li jinqdew b'Malta u aħna dejjem mejtin bil-guħ. Mhux sew li l-kondizzjonijiet ta' Malta huma hekk koroh". U huma kienu jgħidu: "Sew li l-Maltin ibatu l-guħ għaliex kieku ma kenux ibatu l-guħ ma kienx jaqbel li nibnu tarznarijiet f'Malta. Aħna ma jimportaniex mill-kondizzjonijiet tal-Maltin. L-ekonomija hekk titlob. Aktar ma nħallsu baxx, aktar aħjar. Aktar ma nsibu Maltin meta tiġi gwerra, aktar aħjar. Halli jistagħnew fil-gwerra tal-Crimea, ħalli jistagħnew fl-ewwel gwerra, u ħalli jistagħnew fit-tieni gwerra. Ma jimportax. Imma almenu jistagħnew fil-gwerra biss. Pero' *in between* aħna ma nbatux, ma nkunux kostretti noħorgu l-*quid pro quo* u nittrattaw magħhom kif jittrattaw magħna huma"—għaliex hemm din l-"etiketta" bejn in-nazzjonijiet; illi min

jiflaħ generalment jagħfas lil minn jiflaħ inqas! U l-Gvern Ingliż dejjem hekk għamel hawn Malta sakemm iz-zminijiet bdew jitbiddlu, sakemm ġew in-nies lura mill-gwerer, sakemm in-nies bdew jaqraw u l-edukazzjoni bdiet tikber u wasalna fejn wasalna. Dan hu *background* żgħir storiku tar-relazzjonijiet tagħna ma' l-Ingilterra f'dawn l-aħħar 160 sena. Issa jien irrid preċiżament naħseb illi dawk li fformulaw id-Dikjarazzjoni storika ta' Lulju, 1955, . . . dan li kellhom f'rashom: illi huma kemm jista' jkun jassiguraw ruħhom biex Malta ma terġax tmur fejn kienet darba imma tibqa' għaddejja għall-aħjar. Mhux veru li meta ġiet iffirmata id-Dikjarazzjoni ta' Lulju 1955, ir-Rappreżentanti tal-Gvern Ingliż kienu jafu x'ser jiġri fl-1957; mhux veru li l-pulitka ta' l-1955 kienet diġa' imfassla għall-1957, u għalhekk it-telegramm li wasal il-lejla m'hux onest, mitlub in mala fede, fih il-gideb. Mhux onest it-telegramm li l-lejla analiżża tant tajjeb il-Prim Ministru. Mhux onest għar-raġuni li l-Mozzjoni li għandna quddiemna hi d-differenza f'opinjoni rigward l-interpretazzjoni tad-Dikjarazzjoni ta' Lulju 1955. Aħna ngħidu li d-Dikjarazzjoni saret biex jekk ma tassigurax "*full employment*" mas-Servizzi almenu tassigura "*alternative employment*"—illi lkoll flimkien nagħmlu mill-aħjar biex neqirdu l-qagħad minn Malta. Fit-telegramm li bgħatu l-lejla huma qalu li din ma kinetx l-intenzjoni tagħhom meta huma ssottoskrivew flimkien ma' l-Oppożizzjoni għad-Dikjarazzjoni ta' Lulju 1955. Qed jgħidli l-onor. Prim Ministru li din konna aħna ssottomettejnieha lill-Gvern Ingliż u huma ffirmawha. X'fehmu biha id-Dikjarazzjoni ta' Lulju, 1955 meta huma ffirmawha? Fehmu biha li għad irid jiġi żmien li huma jiġu u jgħidulna, permezz tal-Ministru tad-Difiża: "Isma' hemm il-possibilta li nofs it-tarzna tingħalaq"; u mbagħad jgħidulna: "It-tarzna aktarx ser tingħalaq"; u mbagħad jgħidulna: "Naraw x'nistgħu nagħmlu forsi għall-tlett snin oħra it-tarzna ma tingħalaqx u permezz ta' dawk li jibqgħu fiha u permezz tal-privat forsi għall-tlett snin ma tmutux bil-guħ". Jekk dan l-istatements m'humiex kontra d-Dikjarazzjoni ta' Lulju 1955 ma nafx x'inhuma jien! Ma nafx liema dikjarazzjoni tista' tkun aktar ċara u tassativa minn dak li qalulna issa li jinnegaw dak kollu li qabel kienu ser jagħmlu bid-Dikjarazzjoni ta' Lulju 1955. Dan jikkonfermawh l-istess ġurnali Ingliżi ta' din il-gimgħa. Per ezempju, il-"Manchester Guardian" ta' sitt ijiem ilu kkommenta fuq id-"discharges" li sa l-aħħar ta' Frar li ġej ser jintbgħatu 'l barra 140 ruħ mit-tarzna, u qal li l-ittra li l-Prim Ministru qara fil-meeting tal-Furjana

u li kien bagħatlu s-Segretarju ta' l-Istat fid-29 ta' Novembru qiegħda tittieħed b'ċertu ċiniżmu. Dan il-ġurnal qal: "Il-għaliex minn banda waħda bdew dawn id-discharges li ħadd ma jaf li ser jieqfu u min-naha l-oħra s-Segretarju ta' l-Istat wiegħed lill-Prim Ministru ta' Malta li għall-tlett snin oħra bejn wieħed w'ieħor ftit jew wisq ma jkunx hemm discharges. Dan ma kienx ġurnal Malti imma ġurnal Ingliż serju ħafna, il-"Manchester Guardian". Iġifieri aħna m'aħniex qed nesprimu l-opinjoni tagħna biss imma qed niġu ssostanzjati bl-opinjoni ta' ġurnali serji Ingliżi li jaħsbuha bħalna.

Mr Speaker, jiena m'inix ser noqgħod infakkar lill-Gvern Ingliż x'għamlet Malta fl-assoċjazzjoni tagħha ma' l-Ingilterra f'dawn il-mija u sittin sena l-għaliex kif għidt fil-bidu r-relazzjonijiet bejn nazzjon u nazzjon ġeneralment m'humiex bażati fuq sentimentaliżmi. U hawn, Mr Speaker, nerga' nirrepeti, li ma tistax ma tiftakarx x'għamlet Malta lill-Ingilterra mhux biss mil-lat sentimentali imma anke mil-lat ekonomiku. Jekk kif qal il-"Manchester Guardian" li biex tibbustja l-ekonomija għal Malta u tibda biex tiddeversifika ma' l-ekonomija kif inhi bażata trid tlettax il-miljun lira, il-flus li s'issa tlabna aħna bħala kumpens għal dak li jistħoqqlu kwalunkwe pajjiż fl-assoċjazzjoni tiegħu ma' Nazzjon ieħor kbir għal mija u sittin sena huma ftit wisq.

Mr Speaker, ser ngħid din biss. Almenu sal-lum il-Gvern Ingliż lill-Malta sabha f'dak kollu li kellu bżonnha w'illum qegħdin naraw li għal xi raġuni jew oħra—kif qalu wkoll iż-żewġ kelliema ta' qabli, l-onor. Prim Ministru u l-onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni—il-Gvern Ingliż iħoss li lilna bil-mod il-mod għandu jagħmlilna bħal lumija: wara li għasarna, issa jarmina. Ma jixraqx għal poplu ċivilizzat li joqgħod bilqiegħda iħares, jagħmel il-protesti, jistenna li jasal dan iż-żmien jara lill-uliedu mejtin bil-guħ u ma jitkellimx. Għaldaqstant l-unika ħaġa li ħassejna li għandna nagħmlu hi li għal dan il-mument, bil-poplu Malti kollu warajna, niċħdu l-pattijiet u l-obbligi li kellna s'issa mal-Gvern Ingliż sakemm il-Gvern Ingliż ma jerġax jaħsibha. U nirrepeti: li hemm etika anke bejn nazzjon kbir u nazzjon żgħir u li m'hux sewwa li għax wieħed ikun kbir u l-ieħor ikun żgħir in-nazzjon il-kbir għandu jkun immorali. Għax din hi immoralità għal Malta għax Malta ikkontribwit ħafna aktar milli qatt jista' jagħtiha l-Gvern Ingliż sal-lum, u jekk il-Gvern Ingliż ma jagħtix lil Malta almenu daqs kemm tagħha sal-lum il-Gvern Ingliż ikun qiegħed jagħmel bħal dak il-bniedem li jkollu

ħaddiem miegħu, jisraqlu x-xogħol tiegħu u meta ma jkollux bżonnu iktar jibagħtu 'l barra. Din l-etika teżisti m'hux biss bejn bniedem u bniedem imma anke bejn nazzjon u nazzjon . . . ma nistgħu mmorru quddiem ebda Qorti, ma nistgħux nitolbu lil ebda nazzjon ieħor jiġi hawn u jagħtina l-għajnuna.

Ir-relazzjonijiet tagħna ma nazzjonijiet oħra semmiehom l-lejla l-Prim Ministru u qal x'inhuma r-relazzjonijiet tagħna ma' l-Amerikani. Nafu kif jaħdmu l-Għaqdiet ta' ċerti Nazzjonijiet. Nafu li nazzjon kbir jgħin lill-nazzjon kbir u nazzjon zgħir jiġi mirfus minn nazzjon kbir ikun Ġermaniż jew Russu. Ma jkunx jixirqilna li nissejħu poplu ċivilizzat jekk aħna m'hux nipprotestaw biss bil-ħila kollha, mhux nieħdu il-pattijiet li kellna aħna u missirijietna imma nkomplu mil-lum 'il quddiem bi ftehim ma' l-Oppożizzjoni nsostnu r-Riżoluzzjoni u r-Riżoluzzjonijiet li għamilna l-lejla. Inkomplu nsostnu li l-Gvern Ingliż illum fl-1957 ma għandux id-dritt jarmina wara li nqeda' bina għax issa ma għandux bzonnha iktar. Huwa wisq ftit għal Nazzjon bħal Ingilterra wara 157 sena ta' assoċjazzjoni leali, huwa wisq ftit li tiġi għall-għajnuna tagħna u ttina dak li għandna bżonn biex l-ekonomija tagħna tistabilizza ruħha meta l-ekonomija ta' dawn il-160 sena saret kif saret biex qdejna lilhom biss u m'hux a vantagg tagħna għax jiena f'din il-Kamra niftakar żmien meta l-ħaddiema tat-Tarzna kienu tlalab imċerċra bil-ġuħ, u jiena kont wieħed minnhom. Kienu nies li jaħdmu bi skud kuljum tmienja u għaxar siegħat u l-prosperita' falza li tidher illum Malta hi prosperita' ta' erbat ijiem li ħallsuha bid-demm 12,000 ruħ Maltin biex iffrankaw lill-Ingilterra xi £70 miljun jew £80 miljun.

Nixtieq nitħaddet fit-tul ħafna kieku sidri u nifsi jippermettuli u ħsiebi u l-memorja jistgħu igeħluni ngħid ħafna xorti aktar milli għidt sa issa imma la għandi nifs u lanqas għandi saħħa ngħid iktar biss inħossni supperv li l-lejla f'din l-okkazzjoni storika kelli x-xorti f'din il-Kamra l-lejla nsemma' leħni fejn missirijietna dejjem semmgħu leħenhom. Infakkar lill-prepotenti li meta jkellmu lilna jarawna ċkejknin għax ngħixu fi Gżira żgħira li ma aħniex inqas minnhom fl-intelligenza.

Inħossni sodisfatt li l-lejla f'din l-okkażżjoni stajt nagħmel kontribut hekk ċkejken biex mil-lum 'il quddiem aħna u l-poplu magħna nibqgħu niġġildu bid-drittijiet kollha morali li jagħtina l-ħaqq. Verament ma nistgħux niġġieldu mod ieħor, bilfors irridu iġġieldu fuq bażi morali imma possibbli li l-Gvern Ingliż ma għadux jemmen li teżisti bażi

morali? Il-Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni semma l-Western Bloc u l-Western Bloc akkanit dejjem fuq il-bazi morali. Possibbili li l-Western Bloc għandu ma' dwaru nies bħalna wkoll, nazzjonijiet żgħar, li llum ma għadhiex teżisti l-morali? Nispera li dan il-Western Bloc u miegħu l-Ingilterra u l-Amerika, dawk li tawna dawk il-biċċtejn irħam li qegħdin imċappsin mal-bieb tal-Palazz biex jgħidulna kemm aħna bravi, nispera li dan il-Western Bloc ikun jaf li hawn nazzjon li ilu ċivilizzat eluf ta' snin, qabilhom it-tnejn, li almenu għandu d-dritt jgħix daqs Ingliż ta' Chatham u Amerikan ta' Chicago.

(ONOR. MEMBRI: Hear, hear).

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Jiena ftit għandi x'inzid mar-rimarki li għamlu ż-żewġ *speakers* ta' warajja. Grat lejhom ħafna talli abilment żiedu ħafna argomenti li kont ħallejt barra jiena.

Nixtieq qabel ngħalaq dan id-*debate* nemfasizza l-aħħar pont li hemm bżonn li kulħadd ikun ċar fuqu.

Illum li qegħdin nagħmlu qegħdin nagħtu *notice* lill-Gvern Ingliż fejn qegħdin ngħidulu: "Int qed ittina l-indikazzjonijiet kollha li komplejt ikkonfermajt bil-messaġġ il-lejla, li beħsiebek taħrab mill-obbligi li għandek lejna. Aħna ma jistax ikun li dik id-dikjarazzjoni li kien ifformola l-Gvern Malti fl-1955 u li inti aċċettajt mingħajr qatt ma ġibt oġġezzjonijiet, ma jistax ikun l-interpretazzjoni tagħna tkun bħal tiegħek, dik li tfisser sempliċi xewqa u ma għandek l-ebda obbligu li dik ix-xewqa tattwaha. Ma jistax ikun li aħna poplu Malti fl-1957 li nkunu tant imwerwrin mill-armamenti li jista' jkollok, li nkunu tant pusillanimi li tista' tilgħab bina b'dan il-mod".

Aħna fid-dikjarazzjoni tal-lejla qegħdin ngħidu lill-Gvern Ingliż: "Jekk sejjer taħrab mill-obligi li għandek lejn Malta, iġġibbilniex li skuza 'l quddiem li aħna għandna nosservaw l-obbligi li inti assumejt għannom tagħna mal-pajjiżi tal-Punent għaliex jekk ma żżommx l-obbligi tiegħek magħna aħna ma nistgħux nifhmu, ma nistgħux nemmnu li l-obbligi tiegħek lejn ħaddiehor sejjer iżżommhom.

Lin-nazzjonijiet tal-punent aħna ngħidulhom li jekk iriduna nemmnu veru li l-għaqda tal-Western Bloc qiegħda hemmhekk biex tissalvagwardja l-libertajiet tal-popli, jekk iriduna nemmnu veru li huma qegħdin hawn Malta u qegħdin f'postijiet oħrajn biex jiddefendu l-libertajiet tagħna, l-ewwel pass li għandhom jagħmlu mhix li joħduha kontra tagħna għaliex aħna qegħdin ninħallu minn dawn l-obbligi imma li

joħduha kontra l-Gvern Ingliż talli hu qiegħed jaħrab mill-obbligi li għandu lejna.

Aħna naturalment nistennew ħalli naraw dawk l-intenzjonijiet li wriena s'issa l-Gvern Ingliż tad-*discharges* u affarijiet oħrajn jiġux attwati. Nisperaw, nerġa' ngħid, li jkun hemm fl-*eleventh hour a change of heart*, a malli dana jidher ikun l-obbligu tagħna li ninfurmaw l-Oppożizzjoni, ikun l-obbligu tagħna li ninfurmaw l-poplu Malti. Sadanittant, illejla, fit-30 ta' Diċembru, 1957, aħna b'koxjenza safja nivvutaw din ir-riżoluzzjoni ta' nies li jafu li qed jagħmlu s-sewwa, immorru b'moħħna mistrieħ lesti biex nilqgħu dak kollu li jista' jiġi b'rappresalja mingħand ħaddieħor. Nafu li dawn jistgħu jaslu anke biex ineħħu l-ftit libertajiet li għandna. Nafuh dan. Nafu anke li jistgħu jaslu fl-estrem li lil xi ħadd minna jwarrbuh, imma għalhekk aħna affrontajna li mmexxu l-pajjiżna biex mal-ħelu nieħdu l-morr. Għalina ftit kien hemm ħelu s'issa, imma la dħalna għal kollox irridu noqgħodu għal kollox. Nippretendu ħaġa waħda imma mill-poplu tagħna: nippretendu li fi kwestjoni bħal din ikun hemm kulħadd warajna. Jista' jkun li min kien minn dejjem kontra l-poplu Malti jibqa' kontra l-poplu Malti, imma dak m'hux ser jagħmel differenza għalina; ta' xejn ma jagħmilha din id-differenza. Anzi jiena l-ewwel wieħed, u bħali naf li hawn eluf u eluf f'Malta, li meta naqra ħaġa hemmhekk immedjatament mingħajr ma rrid nifforma opinjoni l-kuntrarja. Inkompli ngħid, ikun hawn ukoll min jew għax iblah jew għaliex irid jagħti skuża lill-Gvern Ingliż jieħu passi indipendenti waħdu li jimbarazzaw lil din il-Kamra u l-Gvern. Lil dawn ngħidilhom li m'hux ġid lil Malta jkunu qed jagħmlu; ħsara jkunu qed jagħmlu.

Jiena konvint li bil-forza kollha li jista' juża l-Gvern Ingliż jekk aħna nkunu riżoluti, inkunu unanimi, hawn malta ma jkunx jista' jżomm. Ma għandniex bżonn ta' terroriżmu biex nuru li aħna ma naqblux, ma għandniex bżonn ta' ħafna affarijiet drastiċi. Dan sfortunati min-naħa waħda li hu pajjiż żgħir imma min-naħa l-oħra fortunati li pajjiż żgħir għaliex hu pajjiż magħmul b'mod li jekk il-Gvern Ingliż ma jkollux il-kooperazzjoni tagħna, xejn ma jista' jimxi hawn Malta. M'hux qed ngħid li aħna m'hux ser inkunu bħal nazzjonijiet oħrajn. Fost ħafna nazzjonijiet insibu il-ġudiet. Forsi anke fostna għad jinstabu l-ġudiet, imma l-ħajja ta' Ġuda kulħadd jaf kemm damet, ftit siegħat.

Jekk il-Gvern Ingliż iwebbes rasu, quddiemna hemm triq kollha

duluri imma hija t-triq tal-irġulija, hija t-triq tal-patrijottiżmu, hija t-triq li Malta kollha llum qed tgħidilna: imxu fiha, la tibzgħux! (Hon. Members: Hear, hear.)

Motion agreed to by acclamation.
Il-mozzjoni ġiet approvata b'akklamazzjoni.

ONOR. PERIT MINTOFF: Mr. Speaker, bħala *consequential motion*—naħseb li din mingħajr *debate* ser tkun—nimmuvja din il-mozzjoni. Naturalment irridu s-sospensjoni tar-regolamenti għal din ukoll, u għalhekk nipproponi s-sospensjoni tagħhom

Leave granted
Permess mogħti

HON. MR. MINTOFF: I beg to move the following motion:-

That a copy of the Resolution (motion No. 244) approved to-day by the Legislative Assembly, with an English translation, be forwarded to H.E. the Governor for transmission to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

HON. MR. ELLUL MERCER: I beg to second.

Motion agreed to.
Il-mozzjoni ġiet approvata nem. con.

DOCUMENT 83

Correspondence and Statements Showing the Breakdown in Anglo-Maltese Talks on Integration

THE TWO MAJOR ISSUES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT GRAVE CRISIS IN ANGLO-MALTESE RELATIONS

Statement
By the Maltese Government's Delegation

March 29, 1958

The Maltese Government delegation limited their main representations in London this month to the urgent necessity of finding a solution

to two grave problems. These were:-

A. Economic

In a memorandum sent to the Maltese Government through the Colonial Office on January 16, 1958, the Admiralty disclosed that after 1960 employment in the Malta Dockyard is not expected to exceed 30% of the present level. They urged "It will undoubtedly be a formidable undertaking to establish alternative employment and the problem calls for a clear recognition of the *inescapable necessity of making the fullest use of the time available* to diversify the sources of employment in Malta".

Early in March a technical team from Vickers-Smiths Docks Company reported to the Hives Industrial Committee for Malta that commercialisation of the Malta naval docks would provide employment to no more than 3,000 men. (The present total complement of Admiralty employees is 13,200 of which 7,000 are employed in ship repairing and 6,200 in other naval base duties such as stores, etc.).

The Defence White Paper published in February, 1958, shows some uncertainty, as to the future of the Malta Dockyard. The uncertainty, however, refers to the running of the dockyard and not to the level of employment. From discussions in London it has emerged that what is in dispute amongst British Ministers is whether the naval docks are to be turned over completely to commercial undertakings or retained as Admiralty docks with a substantially reduced output.

Working on these known data the Maltese Government calculate that after 1960 the number of Admiralty discharges would amount to between 5,000 and 8,000 men. These discharges would also bring about serious repercussions in civilian employment.

Indeed it is estimated that direct employment of one person on defence work proper generates an income which in turn provides employment for two additional persons in other trades. Therefore the total unemployment envisaged after 1960 is of the order of between 15,000 and 24,000. When this figure is compared with the present total working population —85,000—the magnitude of the economic problem can be seen in its true perspective.

The Maltese Government have submitted to the British Government tentative proposals on the measures that should be launched immediately to forestall a catastrophe after 1960. The British Government, however, insist that firstly they do not believe unemployment would ever materialize, and secondly that, if it ever did, the time to put remedial measures

into action would be six months after it had actually taken place.

The British Government although conceding that Britain's new defence policy has brought about radically changed circumstances have pressed the Maltese Government to ratify an economic and financial agreement negotiated with them in 1957. This agreement was based on the assumption that defence expenditure in Malta would remain approximately at the 1957 level and its clauses were discussed at a time when the Colonial Office entertained sanguine hopes that the Sandys new defence proposals would not hit the Maltese economy.

As it was impossible to reach agreement on this major issue the British Government at the last minute suggested the setting up of a fact-finding committee with a view of reporting to both Governments on future economic trends in Malta. These findings were meant to enable British and Maltese Ministers to decide whether remedial measures to meet the new situation should be set at once into motion.

When the Maltese Delegation realised that the Secretary of State had climbed down from his original proposal to set up a working party merely to draw up plans for implementation after 1960, the Maltese Delegation suggested that it would be logical for the discussions on remedial measures to be reopened immediately the fact-finding committee had reported. That is how negotiations on this vital subject were left.

B. Financial

Through delays by the Colonial Office in approving basic facilities schemes, Malta underspent the British contribution for 1956–57 by £500,000. In September of last year the British Government decided to withhold this balance. They refused to consider any argument brought forward by the Maltese Government for its release. They did so in the face of high-level representations by Her Majesty's Opposition in the United Kingdom.

On November 8, 1957, Britain's Prime Minister wrote to the Maltese Government that the British contribution "cannot be increased next year". This was understood to mean by the Maltese Government that the British contribution for 1958–59 would be kept at the level of 1957-58 (£6,077,000). On February 3, 1958, however, the Maltese Government were suddenly informed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that "there will, I fear, have to be a very substantial reduction in the total United Kingdom contribution to next year's Maltese Budget".

It is apposite to point out that the 1956–57 and the 1957–58 British contributions to Malta were settled on the basis of recommendations made by an independent Economic Commission. This procedure was discarded on this occasion by the British Government as they were determined to conform to a self-imposed and rigid policy of deflation which they believed to be salutary to Britain's economy. This policy, however, if blindly applied to Malta in the local context of unemployment and under-employment, is certain to produce opposite economic results.

The British Government have insisted throughout the negotiations that their decision to reduce Britain's contribution from £6 million to £5 million was final and not subject to discussion. They wanted Malta to make good the difference. They have exerted tremendous pressure on the Maltese Government to impose additional taxation, to raise public loans and to make use of the investments backing the Maltese currency.

It should be recalled that in past years all these measures had been extensively discussed with the British Government and the Economic Commission, but the British Government agreed that Malta should postpone these measures until the economic and political conditions had improved.

The recent disclosures on Britain's new defence policy have not contributed to make Malta's future economic prospects brighter. In fact Her Majesty's Government's decision to dismantle Malta's defence economy has destroyed the force of any argument for the introduction of these measures. Indeed the new economic situation brought about by the British Government's action in the defence sphere calls for a greater contribution from Britain.

Final remark on the major issues

The Colonial Secretary was repeatedly informed by the Maltese delegation that if a solution to these two major issues acceptable to both sides was found, the Maltese Government would not only take the initiative to withdraw the 30th December 1957 Resolution but would also loyally and enthusiastically champion the Integration proposals at the impending General Election. The Maltese Government, however, recommended that if the Maltese people were to feel free to decide their own destiny they should be allowed to choose not between Integration and their present colonial status but between Integration and Indepen-

dence. If this advice were followed, Integration would be launched on a secure basis.

Maltese Government's
delegates in the talks
of March 10–20, 1958.

INFORMATION ON SUBSIDIARY POINTS RAISED BY MR LENNOX BOYD IN HIS ATTEMPT TO CREATE A DIVERSION FROM THE MAJOR ISSUES

1. *Suggestion by the Secretary of State for the setting up of a working party.*

   The Secretary of State finally realised that a working party drawn from officials on both sides could not be expected to perform any useful function when British and Maltese Ministers had failed to come to agreement on the terms of reference. That is why on March 20, 1958, the last day of the discussions, the Secretary of State changed his proposal to a fact-finding committee.

2. *Resolution passed unanimously by the Maltese Legislative Assembly on December 30, 1957.*

   During the recent talks the British Ministers strove hard to blame the Maltese Government for tabling this Resolution. The Maltese delegation retorted that this step would not have been resorted to if

   either (a) the Admiralty had not insisted on starting the discharging of workers before the fate of the Dockyard was known,

   or (b) Mr Lennox Boyd had answered in good time the Dockyard unemployment queries of the Maltese Government, forwarded to him through the Governor on December 17, 1957.

   The Secretary of State maintained that he was not aware of the Maltese Government's letter and called for the relevant file. After perusing the file and checking for himself the truth, he suggested that there would be no point in digging up the past.

   The fact remains, however, that the information asked for by the Maltese Government was supplied by the Secretary of State four days after the passing of the Resolution, i.e. on January 3, 1958.

3. *Allegation by Mr Lennox Boyd that the Maltese delegation had made the acceptance of the Integration proposals conditional on Britain immediately entering into "further financial commitments of a most extensive character"*

On December 17, 1957, the British Government were asked by the Maltese Government to give their interpretation of the remedial measures clause in the financial and economic agreement. On February 3, 1958, the Secretary of State explained that with the funds available for making good Malta's basic facilities (the £25 million for a priod of five years negotiated on the assumption that no reduction in defence expenditure would occur), the commercialisation of the dockyard and the resort to measures such as "emigration and the like", the new situation could be met adequately and therefore Her Majesty's Government were not willing to make available to Malta additional funds.

At the beginning of the recent talks in London the Maltese delegation challenged the British Government's good faith on two scores. They contended that in May 1957 Mr Sandys had gone back on Britain's undertaking in the July 1955 Declaration to avoid unemployment in Malta by stating that a moral obligation does not necessarily entail material commitments. The same bad faith was being shown by the British Government in their interpretation of the remedial measures clause embodied in the financial and economic agreement to come into force under Integration. Indeed they meant to do no more, after causing unemployment through Defence Department discharges, than they had already been committed to carry out if defence expenditure were not reduced.

The Secretary of State claimed (a) that Mr Sandys had no right to commit other Ministers and (b) that the Maltese Government had put too much emphasis on a stray remark in a letter dealing with a different subject. He therefore showed his willingness to explore remedies other than "emigration and the like".

Accordingly the Maltese delegation suggested that if industries are to be set up in Malta and were to be operating immediately after 1960, the British Government besides helping Malta in providing the basic facilities for industrialisation should also offer inducements to industrialists comparable with those of Northern Ireland. It was only right to expect the British Government to meet the cost of inducements to those industries which would absorb a number equivalent to the complement of workers found redundant by the Defence Departments after 1960. The cost in grants (£7½ million) and loans (£15 million) of this operation was tentatively estimated by the

Maltese Government as an illustration of the way in which moral obligations can be translated into material commitments. The basis of this estimate is identical with the one accepted by the Colonial Office in drawing up jointly with the Maltese Government a memorandum sent to the British Treasury to stress the damage to the Maltese economy resulting from defence cuts.

Obviously, if the industrialisation drive were undertaken in earnest and had met with success, the expenditure quoted by the Secretary of State for unemployment benefits would never materialise. Neither would it be found necessary to incur "unspecified sums" of money to maintain the revenue of the Maltese Government, since no reduction would result.

Therefore it is absurd for the Secretary of State to accuse the Maltese delegation of asking for fabulous sums of money. What the Maltese delegation asked for and insisted upon was an assurance that Her Majesty's Government's liability would not be limited to the operation of commercialising the dockyard.

Her Majesty's Government were aware that this operation would still leave a considerable number of Admiralty workers unemployed and they were in duly bound if Malta were to become effectively a part of the United Kingdom to extend to them a treatment comparable with that enjoyed by their counterparts in the United Kingdom. This the Secretary of State for the Colonies refused to do and suggested that the measures resorted to in Hong Kong were adequate for the Maltese workers.

4. *Accusation by Mr Lennox Boyd that the Maltese delegation were against the issuing of an agreed statement at the end of the talks.*

When the question of issuing a statement was raised the Maltese Prime Minister suggested a statement disclosing the true position reached, namely, that both sides needed more time to study further reciprocal proposals. Mr Lennox Boyd did not agree and insisted that he must make a statement to the House of Commons the following week giving full information about Her Majesty's Government's proposals including the five-year interim arrangements.

Although the Maltese delegation made clear the fact that such disclosures at that stage would prejudice future discussions Mr Lennox Boyd still insisted that he should be at liberty to make a full statement in the House of Commons. He contended that when the

people of Malta were made aware of the generous offers of the British Government the Maltese Government would be shown up as obstinate and recalcitrant.

5. *Claim by Mr Lennox Boyd that Her Majesty's Government have interpreted the recommendations of the Round Table Conference imaginatively and generously.*

The Maltese Government are in possession of records of innumerable talks held between representatives of the Maltese Government and those of the British Government. To date there have been fourteen delegations to Britain and almost as many crises in Anglo-Maltese relations.

Every constitutional and financial clause published with a fanfare of trumpets by Mr Lennox Boyd without the consent of the Maltese Government has been reluctantly conceded by the British Government after laborious and determined insistence by the Maltese Government.

On several occasions negotiations would have broken down irrevocably had it not been for the prompt and informed intercession by Her Majesty's Opposition and by a small group of friends of Malta within the ranks of the Conservative Party.

Indeed when the Maltese Government took office in 1955 the offer made to Malta was limited to a mere change in address from Colonial Office to Home Office.

Maltese Government's
delegates in the talks
of March 10–20, 1958.

STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY MARCH 25, 1958.

Notwithstanding the provocations and misrepresentations in the British Press, Radio, and Television during the past few weeks, the Maltese Government have loyally fulfilled their undertaking to the Secretary of State for the Colonies to avoid public debate on the issues which have lately bedevilled Anglo-Maltese relations. A stage has, however, been reached when intentions must necessarily turn into decisions and actions and it is no longer possible for the Maltese

Government to take their final position without the full knowledge and backing of the Maltese people.

The Maltese Government delegation, in pursuance of the Maltese Government's objective to avoid within the limits of human endeavour the hardships resulting from Her Majesty's Government's sudden change in defence policy, set themselves two major tasks. The first, and in my view the most important, was the implementation of long-term economic proposals which would ensure the launching by the British Government of measures calculated to make good the damage inflicted upon our defence economy by the reductions in defence expenditure forecast in the not too distant future. The second task was a discussion on its own merits of the financial needs of Malta during 1958–59 irrespective of the conservative policies of deflation vigorously followed by the British Government in the U.K.—policies which may well create the conditions for increased prosperity in the British Isles but which would inevitably bring about opposite results in our Islands.

The negotiations were intensive and perhaps marked with excessive frankness. Both sides have had an excellent opportunity of assessing the gravity and risks of the situation. Both sides have appreciated the difficulties lying in their respective path.

Unfortunately in the short time available it was not possible to reach agreement on either the long term or the immediate problems. If anything, the difficulties were magnified by the necessity to fit economic solutions into some form of a permanent constitutional status for which our people have been striving for so many years.

On the long-term problem the analysis by the British Government of Malta's economic trends and hence Malta's economic needs is poles apart from our own reading. Therefore whilst we are asking for safeguards and urgent positive action additional to that planned before the Sandys proposals, the British Government insist on withholding action until unemployment takes place and persists for some months.

For the impending financial year the British Government have held fast to their original decision of reducing substantially their contribution to the Maltese budget. This action they have tried to justify on the plea that insufficient efforts are being made by the Maltese people in accordance with their obligations under the July 1955 Declaration. The British Government believe that Malta is in a position to bear addition taxation, to raise public loans and to make use for budgetary purposes

of the investments backing the Note Security Fund. On the other hand, the Maltese Government consider all or any of these measures to be premature in the context of the present Maltese economic and political situation. Indeed the Maltese Government can discover no moral or material grounds for the unilateral decision by the British Government to curtail their contribution to the economic recovery of the Maltese Island. Since 1955 the Maltese Government have refused to look upon the British contribution as either a subsidy or a grant. On the contrary we have always negotiated on the basis of a *quid pro quo*. We hold that, in return for the services rendered to Britain and for the facilities provided to her forces, the Maltese Government are entitled to expect economic subventions.

A last minute effort was made in London to reach agreement for a *modus vivendi* during the next three months. Both sides earnestly desired to give themselves more time in order to study fresh reciprocal proposals and to discuss them adequately. Even on this narrow front, however, it was not easy to find a solution which would not commit one or the other Government to decisions which they found objectionable.

The last recommendation made by the Secretary of State to me and my colleagues was to resort to no dramatic measures. It is on the strength of this recommendation and in a final attempt to avoid a complete breakdown in our relations with the British Government that, after hours of calm and dispassionate examination of the situation, my colleagues and I have unanimously decided to adopt the following course:-

(a) The Legislative Assembly will consider during the next three days an Appropriation Bill covering the capital expenditure for 1958–59 as originally submitted to the British Government. Funds to make good this expenditure, if approved by the Assembly, will only be available for a very short period. During that period the Maltese Government will intensify their efforts to carry out economies which do not involve discharges, an increase in the cost of living and a damaging postponement of vital economic projects.

(b) The British Government will be asked to state within a reasonable period whether in order to avoid administrative chaos in these Islands and in order to give a tangible proof of their desire to proceed with further discussions on our mutual problems, they are willing to make good the deficit ensuing during this period. As it is

by no means certain that agreement will be reached the British Government are being informed that in the case of failure there will be a dissolution of Parliament for the holding of General Elections. They will therefore be asked whether they would make good the deficit until the outcome of the new elections.

(c) As the Maltese Government have not agreed to adopt the fiscal measures suggested by the British Government, the Maltese Government will not accept responsibility for the administration and good government of these Islands and Ministers will have to relinquish their posts in the case of either a negative reply or no reply at all from the British Government.

Needless to say, should there be serious evidence of an alternative Government being formed and one capable of commanding a majority in the Legislative Assembly during the remaining period of the present legislature my colleagues and I would resign at once.

STATEMENT BY SIR ROBERT LAYCOCK, GOVERNOR OF MALTA, MADE ON HIS BEHALF BY THE OFFICER ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT, ON MARCH 25TH, 1958.

During the recent talks in London between the Prime Minister of Malta and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, it was represented that there was some uneasiness in Malta on two accounts: First, the fear that Britain intends to withdraw from the Island in a few years' time; and secondly, that cuts in defence expenditure are certain to result in closure of the Dockyard and economic disaster.

It is with the object of allaying these anxieties that the Secretary of State considers it appropriate that certain facts should be made known to the Maltese people. First and foremost, it should be clearly understood that Great Britain has no intention of deserting Malta, nor is there any foundation for the rumours that H.M.G. have contemplated transferring their responsibilities to N.A.T.O. Secondly, with regard to the future economy of the Islands, H.M.G. have declared their willingness to make certain financial arrangements with the object of attracting industry to the Islands in order that they may stand more firmly on their own feet.

The industrial drive was to have been initiated by the introduction of

a five-year plan to aid which H.M.G. have pledged themselves to provide £25 million.

During this period, H.M.G. have also offered to pay one-third of all expenditure on Education, Health and Social Welfare Services, increasing the contribution in respect of Education to one-half if the Maltese Government spend more than £1,250,000 per annum on this service.

If future changes in defence policy threaten to bring about unemployment in Malta, as compared with the United Kingdom, H.M.G. have also pledged themselves to assist the Maltese Government in taking remedial measures. They proposed to set up a Working Party to consider in advance what detailed plans could be made to meet such a contingency by, for example, considering changes in the arrangements for unemployment benefits and gratuities.

As far as the Dockyard itself is concerned, employment will be maintained at approximately the present level until 1960. Any reduction will come about, in the main, not through discharges but rather through normal wastage.

No decision has yet been taken as to the exact future of the Dockyard after 1960, but whatever is decided will fully take into account the interests of the Dockyard workers. There would be advantages if civilian firms were to take over all or part of the ship-repairing facilities, and this project is already being investigated. Furthermore, the Secretary of State has made it clear that any capital which might be required for this would be a separate issue and would not affect the arrangements just described. If some redundancies were unavoidable after 1960, it should be possible to absorb these in new projects or enterprises resulting from the five-year plan.

Quite apart from these financial arrangements, constitutional advances with or without Integration, including considerable further measures of Self-Government have been proposed. These are being made known by the Secretary of State.

The financial offer outlined above is of course subject to agreement being reached in one form or another on constitutional changes. In the meantime, H.M.G. have offered to make a contribution of £5 million towards the Maltese Budget for 1958/59, which, together with a reasonable contribution from her own resources of which Malta is capable, need lead to no reduction in the level of expenditure.

Finally, it must be obvious that much must depend on the ability of

the Maltese Government to create an atmosphere of confidence and stability in the Islands which is so essential to the prospects of industrialisation and a secure future for Malta.

The Palace,
Valletta,
Malta.

25th March, 1958.

THE TEXT OF AN ORAL STATEMENT MADE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE AFTERNOON OF TUESDAY, 25TH MARCH, 1958.

With permission I will now answer Question No. 86 on Malta. The plan for Integration was accepted in principle by the British Government in March 1956. Last October and November in talks with Maltese Ministers we reached agreement on most of the outstanding points in the detailed plans for Integration. Then on the 30th December last a Resolution threatening the severance of ties with the United Kingdom and her Allies was passed by the Maltese Legislative Assembly on the initiative of the Maltese Government. In the view of H.M.G. this has done great harm to the relations between the two countries and the future well-being of Malta, which the plan of Integration was intended to enhance.

In the discussions which have just concluded the Prime Minister of Malta refused to recommend Integration to the Maltese people on the imaginative terms proposed by H.M.G. He attempted to attach a political condition, namely the right to Independence on a unilateral basis, which strikes at the root of a union in mutual confidence which was the basis of the Integration proposals. It is impossible for the U.K. Government to pledge Parliament to proceed with Integration unless a very different state of mind is shown. H.M.G. are, however, prepared to resume discussions with the Maltese Government in order to find a *modus vivendi* pending consideration of long term arrangements.

At the talks the Prime Minister of Malta proposed that H.M.G. should immediately enter into further financial commitments of a most extensive character or be ready to grant Independence to Malta. He suggested that

in implementing the plan for Integration the U.K. Parliament should undertake that until such time as full economic equivalence was achieved they would be prepared to grand Independence to Malta if a Maltese Government were at any time during that period returned to office with a mandate for that policy. At a later stage he offered to withdraw this proposal, provided that the U.K. Parliament were prepared to extend to the Maltese people at their next election a choice between Integration and Independence.

In the circumstances I revived the tentative suggestion that rather than lose all the fruits of our long negotiations, H.M.G. would be prepared, if the Maltese people so desired, to proceed with interim Constitutional and economic arrangements for a period of five years. The essence of this five-year plan would be that Malta would be granted a Constitution broadly on the lines of that proposed under the Integration plan, save for the time being making Malta part of the U.K. and providing for representation at Westminster: the same economic and financial arrangements: and at the end of the five years, both Governments would consult together to review the working of the Constitutional and economic arrangements and to consider whether they could then proceed to the conclusion of arrangements on a permanent basis.

Let me tell the House what our other offers were. In the first place I made it abundantly clear that there was no question whatever of H.M.G. abandoning Malta and its people or of their being indifferent to the economic consequences of the effect of Defence cuts. I repeated again the assurances already given about the level of employment in the Dockyard until 1960 and again confirm that pending investigation of the possibility of converting the Dockyard to commercial use, no decision had been taken about its future thereafter. I repeated that we stood by the economic and financial commitments under the Integration plan. What in fact were these? We offered to provide over a period of five years capital assistance of £25 million for diversifying the economy. We offered percentage grants towards the Social Services costing not less at the start that £1 million a year and with provision for it to rise materially thereafter. We offered additional assistance towards remedial measures in the event of there being, unhappily, substantial unemployment. We offered to set up a Working Party at once to consider what practical plans could be made in advance to deal with the problems that might arise if, despite the joint efforts of both Governments, there should be substantial unemployment after 1960 owing to changes in Defence policy. As to the cost of converting

the Dockyard to commercial use, we made it clear that this is a separate issue and that it would not affect the arrangements which I have just described.

At our last meeting we discussed the 1958/59 budget. I said that in the light of our current financial difficulties, our contribution would have to be less than in the present financial year: but we were still ready to provide the very substantial sum of £5 million. In our view and that of independent economic experts, the Maltese Government are fully capable of making a contribution from their own resources, such as raising a local loan. There was, therefore, no reason why the rate of advance in Malta need be slowed down. It was then suggested that there should be a period of three months during which H.M.G. should provide interim financial assistance. The Maltese Government maintained, however, that this should be given without prejudice to the size of the U.K. contribution for the whole year and to the question of the Maltese Government making a contribution from their own resources. It was not, however, possible to agree on the provision of interim financial assistance without prior agreement on these two points, since it would make the U.K. taxpayer liable for an unknown deficit which would in the end be determined only by the rate of expenditure which the Maltese Government decided to incur. Moreover, Mr. Mintoff maintained that he could not withdraw the Resolution unless agreement had been reached at the end of three months on all outstanding issues.

I regret that Mr. Mintoff did not accept H.M.G. offers. He and his colleagues returned to Malta on the 21st March. I have felt it my duty to this House and to the people of Malta to inform them of the full undertakings worked out in the negotiations with the Maltese Government to which H.M.G. were prepared to agree. With permission, I will circulate a full summary of them in the official report.

THE TEXT OF THE FURTHER STATEMENT REFERRED TO BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES AT THE CONCLUSION OF HIS ORAL STATEMENT MADE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE AFTERNOON OF 25TH MARCH, 1958.

The following is a summary of the main features of the proposals that had been worked out in negotiations with the Maltese Government.

Constitutional:

It would be provided in Legislation that Malta would be comprised in the territories of the United Kingdom and Parliament would also be asked to affirm in the Legislation that in no event will Malta cease to have this status without the consent of the Maltese Parliament.

Provision would be made for Maltese representation (by 3 members) at Westminster and Parliament would affirm that the representation of Malta would not cease without the consent of the Maltese Parliament.

Parliament would be asked to affirm in the preamble to the Legislation that they would not pass laws extending to Malta with respect to which the Maltese Parliament had power to make laws except so far as the United Kingdom Parliament might judge it necessary for the fulfilment of Her Majesty's Government's responsibilities for defence and external affairs and certain other specified purposes.

The new Constitution for Malta would provide for the disappearance of the Dyarchy in its present form and for the Governor to act in accordance with the advice of Maltese Ministers in matters within their responsibility.

The Maltese Parliament would have power to legislate on all matters except those specified in a schedule of excluded matters of which the main items would be defence and external affairs.

The Maltese Government would have delegated to it certain executive powers in the field of external affairs, notably to negotiate trade agreements with neighbouring countries.

Her Majesty in Council would have power to make provision for Malta by Order in Council with respect to defence and external affairs where such provision is urgently necessary and for a limited period, in order to modify or adapt the law of Malta in those fields.

There would be provision in the Legislation for consultative machinery in Malta and in London. The responsible Secretary of State would have certain powers of directing reservation of Maltese Bills affecting Her Majesty's Government's responsibilities for defence or exteral affairs or certain other specified matters.

Economic.

Her Majesty's Goverment would approve and support the ultimate aim of the Maltese Goverment that after a reasonable period of years Malta should reach an economy and standard of living comparable to that of the United Kingdom.

It would be open to the Maltese Goverment after 12 to 15 years to request that their economy become an integral part of the United Kingdom.

The Maltese Government should recognise the obligation of the Maltese people to make sustained efforts to bring the economy of Malta to a level which taking account of all relevant factors was comparable to that of the United Kingdom.

A development programme would be drawn up on certain lines in consultation with Her Majesty's Government.

Towards this plan Her Majesty's Government would as a first step provide assistance for the first 5 years as follows:

Capital. A grant of £25 million over the 5 years. The good offices of the United Kingdom Government to attract industry to Malta.

Recurrent. A minimum annual contribution of £1 million towards the Social Services or more as the case might be as follows.

(i) *Education:*— One third of the annual recurrent expenditure of the Maltese Government if it was less than £1,250,000 or one half if such expenditure were £1,250,000 or more

(ii) *Health:*— One third of the Maltese Government's expenditure

(iii) *Other Social Welfare Services:*— One quarter of the Maltese Government's expenditure.

General:

The above financial arrangement would be reviewed and the United Kingdom Government would be willing to assist the Maltese Government in taking remedial measures to be agreed if in consequence of any drastic change in Imperial Defence Policy, the level of unemployment in Malta should reach and for 6 months remain at a higher level than the rate in the United Kingdom.

A Working Party would be set up at once to consider in advance what plans might be made to deal with such a situation should it seem likely to arise, including the possibility of changes in the arrangements for unemployment benefit and gratuities for men discharged by the Service Departments.

An independent Commission could be set up after two years and would in any case be appointed towards the end of the first five years to review progress and to report on possible changes in the above arrangements.

Five Year Trial Period:

1. *Constitutional*
   A new Constitution for Malta broadly on the lines of proposed Integration arrangements, save the comprising of Malta in the United Kingdom and representation at Westminster.
2. *Financial.*
   The same arrangements as under the Integration plan.
3. *General.*
   The same commitments as under the Integration plan.
4. *Final Arrangements.*
   The working of the arrangements in 1–3 above would be subject to review by both Governments at the end of the 5 years in order to see whether agreement could be reached to proceed with more permanent arrangements for the achievement of full Integration or for some other agreed Constitutional and economic basis for Malta's future.

The Palace,
Valletta.
25th March, 1958.

DOCUMENT 84

A New Plan for Malta

MINTOFF'S
"NEW PLAN FOR MALTA"
IN DECEMBER 1958

In this important article the Leader of the Malta Labour Party outlines for the first time his new proposals for the future of the island.

This has been the least merry Christmas in Malta since the war. The atmosphere is tense with uncertainty and insecurity. Even the powerful British administrators are unnerved and shaky: outside the gates of the naval dockyard fidgety, steel-helmeted policemen were posted in force on Christmas Eve. In the yard of the Governor's palace the canvas water tanks were filled and the guardians of law and order checked once more the pressure of their water hoses.

This pathetic show of force proved altogether unnecessary. Although the news of the failure of the London talks on a new constitution for Malta was received here with deep regret, it came as a shock to nobody. The result was a foregone conclusion. A deep gulf still separates the Conservative British goverment from the Maltese leaders. Violence might, of course, focus the attention of the world on our plight and supply posterity with a few more heroes but only a strong determination to resist political bondage and rapid, clear, realistic thinking would ensure our survival.

So far, Malta has thrown up no patriotic terrorist organisation. Indeed the disturbances of the past have all been spontaneous and unorganised. They have been the steam escaping from the safety-valve of the boiling economic and political situation. To shut the valve and jam it tight might for a short time prevent the unsightly and embarassing diffusion of vapour and deaden the hissing warning of danger but it will certainly bring us nearer to the peril of a sudden explosion.

This is exactly what Mr. Lennox-Boyd has been asked to do by his Conservative colleagues. In reply to our request for independence he wrote in his own hand on Sunday, 30 November 1958.

> I am not prepared to start discussions with a fixed date for independence or with a view to fixing a date. I cannot therefore see how we can progress at a further talk unless you are able to tell me that your delegation recognises what I have said as representing the considered view of HMG, and in the full knowledge of this are prepared in good faith to enter into discussions for an interim constitutional agreement. I must also be sure that you understand that such a constitution will make no provision for or indeed reference to any final solution.

When one compares this inane attitude with the urgency shown by the Malta Round Table Conference to find for the people of Malta a permanent constitutional solution to their legitimate aspirations, one wonders no longer at the shrinking influence of Britain in the Mediterranean basin. The irony is still more bitter when one remembers that the members of this British all-party conference were only swayed in favour of offering Malta membership of a cherished and exclusive institution–the House of Commons–after listening to an inspiring address by the Colonial Secretary. In the debate on Malta at Westminster in March 1956 Conservative members vied with their Labour opponents in cham-

pioning the right of the Maltese people to a dignified status of full citizenship and economic betterment.

Four years ago it seemed to us in Malta that fate would eventually spare us the spasms, the upheaval and the turmoil which elsewhere characterised the liberation of colonial peoples. A rude awakening lay in store for us. Gradually but surely our conception of a fraternal association on a basis of equality was debated by scheming British officialdom into the pre-Gaullist pattern of French colonial rule. Three seats in the Mother of Parliaments were ready for the taking but the economic measure necessary to give substance to these shadows were categorically denied us. While politically we were invited to become, for all intents and purposes, an integral part of Britain, economically we were merely to rely on low and unilaterally fixed British subsidies. Our economy, bruised and bleeding from the British shackles of defence and foreign affairs, was condemned by Whitehall to flow in isolation, away from the main stream of Britain's prosperity. A new idea was thus successfully deformed at birth by the backroom boys of the British Treasury.

No wonder, therefore, that integration is stone-dead in Malta and artificially breathing in the dusty files of the Colonial Office. What is indeed surprising is the naiveté of Britain's conservative rulers in believing that a few forced steps backwards into political tutelage would knock some sense into the Maltese people and finally elevate them to the dazzling heights of Whitehall's intricate integration philosophy. Indeed the British government's preliminary view of an interim constitution for Malta amount to no more than a reimposition of our 1921 diarchical constitution, minus the democratic control of the Maltese people over their police force, their public service and part of their economy. How could an elected Maltese goverment, shorn of its powers on foreign affairs, defence, the police, the public service, the economy, currency, coinage, civil aviation, and the harbour waters, be held responsible for the welfare of its people?

Why a traditionally brave European community have not yet seriously rebelled against these iniquities is not very hard to understand. Since the very first day of Britain's occupation, over 150 years ago, the British government turned the island into a fortress and the life of the islanders was manipulated and channelled to serve this aim. Today Malta is so dependent on British defence expenditure and on British Exchequer contributions that, were the British forces to leave tomorrow, and no

alternative means of livelihood discovered, no more than 60,000 out of a population numbering one third of a million would probably survive.

What, therefore, is Malta to do? To follow the example of Iceland and become the young charge of the signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty would merely ratify a *status quo*: Nato forces are already here. They are completely and selfishly detached, caring very much if their privileges of duty-free cars, furniture and whisky are threatened and very little if the islanders weep or laugh. Formal ratification would only lead to the unpleasant Russian pressure to which Iceland is being subjected today.

Unification with a neighbouring mainland is impracticable with Italy, as it is with the new Arab States. In the case of the former, differences in temperament, race and language would militate against the experiment; it is even doubtful whether Italy would willingly undertake to under-write single-handed the cost of Maltese industrial reconstruction when her efforts in a feudal, impoverished, overpopulated Sicily have as yet borne so little fruit. Nasser, who when I was his guest in January 1956, was big enough to give his blessing to the prospective integration of Malta with Britain, has his hands full of economic problems and his main interest is to make sure that Malta is never again turned into a sword pointing to the heart of his federation.

Deliverance could mainly come to us in one way: the neutralisation of Malta as a free port with our freedom guaranteed by the Security Council of the United Nations. Fortunately for us a precedent exists – the case of Trieste immediatey after the war. We would pledge ourselves never to make any military or other warlike alliance with any bloc or state. We would solemnly undertake to repair the merchant or naval shipping of any nation. As a denuclearised zone with a stable free society we would rapidly develop into a little Switzerland in the heart of the Mediterranean—a heaven of peace and rest for weary, disarmed tourists. In trade we would join the Common Market and form similar commercial bonds with our Arab neighbours whose traditional friendship with us is epitomised by the Arab saying: *Malta Hanina*—Malta is kind. We have the skill, the manpower and the social capital on which to build a new Malta, the bridgehead of industry and commerce between the continent of Europe and the Arab nations. Given a stable outlet, American and European capital would flow into our parched land and the armless industry of the West would serve without strings the rapidly expanding demands of the Arab countries.

To turn this dream into a reality, to change Malta from an arsenal of death into an oasis of co-existence, life and prosperity, would entail a capital investment of about £100 million—less than the cost of a modern aircraft carrier. To launch this first Christian experiment, in a greedy materialistic century bent on total destruction, would primarily necessitate the co-operation of the people of Britain who still feel towards Malta the moral obligation of rehabilitating her. They will no longer be asked to incur yearly heavy defence expenditure on offensive weapons which might one day be used against their own security. They have one small price to pay—the forging of defence interests on the value of which their high command and ministers stand today divided.

For my part, I feel confident that this new approach will find the support of all forward-looking persons and men of goodwill throughout the world. Speedily and boldly executed, this fresh scheme would constitute the first tangible challenge of the West to the Soviet camp. Towards this realisation, rather than to futile plots of terror and bloodshed, the Malta Labour Party will devote all its energies in the days to come.

Malta DOM MINTOFF

DOCUMENT 85

Stricklandian Fears of Independence (January 1959)

PROGRESSIVE CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY AT MOSTA AND THE FIVE YEAR PLAN

INDEPENDENCE: A DANGEROUS PAWN

Miss Strickland speaking at Mosta on the 26th January, 1959, said that those attending the P.C.P. meeting that day could not fail to contrast—as she contrasted—the difference from the last time she had addressed the people of Mosta. Since then the Mintoff dictatorship had been swept away; imported gangs no longer denied to the people and to the speakers the fundamental right of free speech. The P.C.P. had fought

for freedom undaunted. It had been won. Everyone should thank the Police for it.

The Police by their devotion to duty had won freedom for all.

Miss Strickland emphasized that this freedom of speech had been won not only on the squares, for the Press and for radio but for the individual at work and in the streets.

Liberty which had been so hard to regain must never be lost again by voting a dictator into power. The need of the hour was to know the truth, to spread it and defend it, to abolish fear and rumour, to kill lies.

The Maltese knew no fear in war. Side by side the standard-bearers of the Maltese flag and the Union Jack fought for and maintained freedom here.

Priceless Heritage

Freedom is a heritage that has to be guarded and frequently fought for. The apathetic, the faint-hearted surrender it, as indeed do the illiterate trouble-makers and the blind deluded tools of the power-seekers, together with a handful of accomplices.

Here in Malta we are in the front line of battle in the cold war in the Mediterranean. Today Britain and Malta must remain together in the fight against the forces whose interest it was to create chaos, unrest and poverty.

The problems facing the Island at present must be divided into two categories: the urgent domestic problems and the Island's resistance to the ideologies and blandishments of foreign powers interested in strengthening their foothold in Malta.

Peace, order and good goverment were more than ever essential when the whole economy of the Island, was being changed from Defence services to the commercialization of the naval yard.

Blind Tools

Now what was one of the known Russian aims? It was to disrupt economy so as to cause poverty, then to cause war and so take over. The other aim was to fight and disrupt the Church.

Let everyone realize that to sabotage the economy of his own country or of his own bread and butter, or to challenge peace and order was to become the willing and blind tool of the enemies of the free world and of religion.

"We have witnessed the attack on the Church, subtle and unrelenting, with misinformed, misguided, muddled-headed, avaricious and materialistic forces ganged up together here and in Britain to undermine the authority of the Church. The same forces which attack the church attack the economy of the Islands. It is time they opened their eyes".

The blindest of all these was Mintoff who once succeeded in deceiving both the British Government and the Maltese people. He thinks he can do it again. He is mistaken. His ego is such, that he fails to realize that he is no longer the favourite son of the socialists and conservatives alike or of the awakening people of Gozo and Malta. He clamours for one thing, switches to another tomorrow. He now shouts for Independence—he asserts that on what we the Maltese will live is his headache. It will certainly be Malta's bellyache were he to have any further say in Maltese affairs.

His double-talk and lies have been exposed, so have his subterfuges.

At Malta's Expense

Now the wrecker of the Constitution says he wants a "Day of Mourning". He is asking the people to mourn that he is not in power, to mourn that Britain and not Mintoff will be spending £29 millions of British money in Malta in the next five years for the benefit of the Maltese economy, to mourn that he is not in power to break with Britain.

He does, however, still deceive a few roving journalists and enables them 'to get a story' at Malta's expense.

Such a story appeared in the *Daily Express*. It was that Malta might become a second Cyprus. Mintoff ruins trade by this. He frightens away tourists and capital.

"Another visiting journalist has been fooled into believing that a so-called Day of Mourning called by a defunct dictator can be called 'a strike' and this gets on to the B.B.C. Timid listeners in Malta not realizing that the B.B.C. can err and unhappily has erred far too often recently on Malta – and the B.B.C. is not British Government – begin to surrender to fear. And so, rank rumour spreads." Miss Strickland declared.

Melodramatic Nonsense

Miss Strickland then recalled the damage done by the illegal strike of last April. The P.C.P. leader said that the penalties were paid not by

Mintoff but by his blind followers. The evening of the strike Mintoff slept in a farmhouse in Dingli. Was this his attempt to become known as a 'Malta Grivas?' The people of Malta could not afford this melodramatic nonsense, nor could they continue to let Mintoff provide copy for the overseas press at their expense. There was no place for this if prosperity were to be maintained and increased in Malta.

Useless Ally

Dr. Borg Olivier was a useless ally of Mintoff's. True he had assisted and backed the 'Break with Britain Resolution'. He had finally wrecked the Constitution when, last year, probably through fear of Mintoff, he declined to assume responsibility.

Borg Olivier had wrecked the London Conference by only agreeing to sit with Mintoff. Borg Olivier had no policy on which to talk except 'independence' dressed up as dominion status. Did he see himself the Head of a Dominion making treaties with all and sundry?

PART 8

1959–1964

The final leap to Independence,
The position of all five parties represented in Parliament
during consultations in London,
The Constitution of Independence,
Borg Olivier's speech
on Malta's accession to the Council of Europe.

An Introduction to Maltese Political Development (8)

Responsible Government was withdrawn in 1959 and no fresh elections were held before 1962.

A commission led by Sir Hilary Blood in 1961 recommended the restoration of Responsible Government. A summary of this position is incorporated in this volume.[1] Blood shows caution in the light of what had ensued in previous years but at the same time paves the way ahead for Malta's statehood.**(86)** Both the P.N. and the M.L.P. objected to certain restrictions placed on the Ministry—particularly control over the Police Force—and pledged to revise and to reverse these. On being returned with a working majority in 1962, Borg Olivier proceeded to do just that. As economic assistance from Britain was not easily forthcoming, the need for independence became more compelling. Disagreement between the larger parties was as to what independence Malta would get, whereas the smaller parties feared immediate independence. Two debates in May 1962 show this clearly enough. Debate, however, was marred by a "politico-religious" question which had rather dominated the run-up to the 1962 elections.**(87)**[2] A referendum on the Independence Constitution proposed by the Government was held and a majority of voters approved it. In the record of the 1962 debates in this anthology, an issue is whether Malta would be a member of the Commonwealth or not and when it would decide to become so or not.**(88)**[3]

In the Malta Independence Conference held at Marlborough House in 1963, the parties formally stated their basic positions. Internal freedom, defence means and foreign policy were among the main concerns; these all hinged to some extent on Malta's ability to pull through economically as well as politically.[4] Thousands feared for their jobs with the British Services. A new economy would have to be put on rails. Could Malta do it? Was the risk worth taking?**(89)** Agreement between Malta and Britain on financial aid and mutual defence accompanied the arrival of independence.

Essentially the final version of the Malta Independence Constitution of 1964 was a democratic instrument safeguarding all basic rights.[5] Its arrangement of sections, given here, is indicative of the content; so too is the Declaration of Principles in Chapter II of the Constitution.**(90)**

Ultimately constitutions will always be mere pieces of paper if those charged with ensuring their proper implementation do not have the will or the ability to deliver. Malta was no exception: freedom had to be faced and to be won in the realm of the spirit. In spite of challenges, perils and vicissitudes, some of which linger on, the consensus over a quarter of a century later is that the plunge was worth taking and indeed was inescapable. Moreover, by and large, it worked.

In conclusion, I ask for licence from the reader to allow me to step into 1965 and end on a brief note that, like Janus, looks backwards and fowards at the same time. I refer to the speech by the first premier of independent Malta, Borg Olivier, on Malta's decision to join the Council of Europe,**(91)**[6] and his subsequent speech to the Assembly as head of a member State in Strasbourg on 4 May 1965. (Reference was made to this occasion in the Preface to this work.)**(92)** Not only did Borg Olivier describe Europe as "home", he also augured a rapprochement between East and West in Europe, and warned againt divisive nationalisms.[7]

Malta joined and stayed in the Council of Europe, as it did also in the Commonwealth and in the United Nations, where it has sought and found expression at the international level on many an occasion.

If 1798 was a missed opportunity, 1964 was an irreversible departure.

Notes

1 A stencilled copy of this report was consulted in the National Library of Malta, Valletta. This "Summary of Recommendations" is contained in pp. 1–9 of the Report, which is dated February 1961 and entitled "Report of the Malta Constitutional Commission".

2 Taken from sitting No. 3 of 2 May 1962 (pp. 52–73). Mr Mintoff is in possession of the House.

3 Dr Herbert Ganado, leader of the Democratic Nationalist Party, is in possession of the House. Sitting No. 5 of the 10 May 1962, pp. 150–165.

4 The report of the Chairman of the Conference, Duncan Sandys, and the opening statements by the Maltese party leaders are taken from the *Malta Independence Conference, 1963*, presented to the British Parliament by the

Secretary of State of the Colonies by command of Her Majesty in August 1963 (Cmnd. 2121), pp. 1–14.

5 The Malta Independence Constitution was similarly printed and presented to Parliament, in July 1964 (Cmnd. 2406). Our quotations below are from pp. iii–vii and 1–3.

6 The Statement was made in Malta's House of Representatives on 7 April 1965.

7 This speech, like the previous one, was published by the Department of Information, Valletta.

DOCUMENT 86

Extracts from the Report of the Malta Constitutional Commission 1961

This extended summary has been prepared to assist study of the Report. It does not pretend to be exhaustive nor to be a substitute for study of the Report itself.

Introduction

On 27 July, 1960, the Secretary of State for the Colonies announced to the House of Commons Her Majesty's Government's desire to restore representative government in Malta and said that the time had come to work out a new Constitution under which elections could be held as soon as the Constitution had been introduced. A Constitutional Commission was then set up.

The Blood Commission

2. The task of the Malta Constitutional Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Hilary Blood was to take detailed proposals for the new Constitution. The Commission had to take account of Her Majesty's Government's responsibility for defence and foreign affairs and their undertakings in respect of the public service, the police and human rights generally. Within this framework, the Commission was free to submit such recommendations as it saw fit.

Terms of Reference no restriction

3. In the Report made to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and presented by him to Parliament, the Commission makes it clear that it did not find itself hampered in any way by the limitations within which it had to work. However wide its terms of reference might have been, the Commission could not have envisaged Malta progressing, at the present time and in existing circumstances, to a more advanced stage along the path of constitutional progress than that which the Commission now recommends. The Commission considers that what is now contemplated

exceeds anything which Malta has previously enjoyed in the way of responsibility for its own affairs and for the affairs of the United Kingdom so far as Malta is concerned.

Need for Goodwill

4. The Commission adds that no constitution can work if the will to make it work is not present. The commission cannot create that will but it believes that if the will is forthcoming the Maltese State could grow, and flourish, in the constitutional framework which the Commission has proposed.

A NEW APPROACH

Partnership and Concurrent Powers

5. The Commission has looked for a new basis of partnership between Malta and the United Kingdom. They do not recommend a return to the days of the diarchy, with two distinct and separate Governments, each with its own sphere of action, each with its own responsibilities and powers. The Commission thinks that the United Kingdom Government and the Maltese Goverment, by which it means the Government to be set up following on its recommendations, should not be separated as in the diarchical form of government but brought closer together and their work linked and harmonised. There should be a joint approach to the day-to-day work of Government, a new approach based on free and full exchange of information and the mutual acknowledgement of interests. To this end, the Commission proposes a new system of "concurrent powers" of legislation.

No Reserved Matters

6. The Commission recommends that there should no longer be "reserved matters" over which the Maltese Legislature has no powers to legislate. Instead, there should be "concurrent powers", relating to subjects in respect of which both the United Kingdom Government and the Maltese Government would have the power to legislate, the United Kingdom legislation prevailing only if conflict arose. In this way, the Commission thinks, the United Kingdom Government may leave with, or delegate to, the Maltese Legislature and Maltese Ministers many of the powers and duties which, in defence and foreign affairs, were previously in the hands of the Imperial Government. The new proposals will extend

the operations of the Maltese Goverment well beyond the normal area of internal self-government.

The United Kingdom Commissioner

7. The Commission considers that the United Kingdom's interests should be in the care of a United Kingdom Commissioner stationed in Malta, leaving the Queen's Representative free to function as the embodiment of the Maltese people, a constitutional Head of State.

The New Pattern

8. The Commission wants to see provision made for consultation between the United Kingdom Government and the Maltese Government so that they may be able to exchange views and information and better appreciate each other's requirements and difficulties. Human rights should be made widely known, generally honoured and speedily vindicated; the public service should be protected from victimisation and political interference, and certain vital Ordinances should be protected so that the new Goverment may have a firm basis of operations on which it can function. To remove the economic future of the Islands, as the Report puts it, "from the poker table to the counting house", a clear and unequivocal statement of the financial intentions of the United Kingdom Government is recommended.

THE HEART OF THE MATTER

The State of Malta: a summary

9. Summing up in general terms, the Commission foresees the creation of The State of Malta, under a Representative of the Crown acting as far as possible in the circumstances of Malta as a constitutional Head of State. The Maltese Legislature would be empowered to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Malta, including defence and foreign affairs. These, as "*concurrent subjects*", would come under the over-riding authority of the United Kingdom Commissioner. From the Maltese Legislature would be drawn a Cabinet with the necessary executive power. It would have full knowledge of what financial aid, no more, no less, could be expected over a reasonable period of time from the United Kingdom. Limitations in the internal powers of the Maltese Government would be kept to a minimum. The Commission believes that Malta would thus have a constitutional status affording due recognition

to Maltese personality and a new and appropriate form of goverment which will reconcile, so far as possible, Maltese desires and ambitions with the responsibilities and undertakings of the United Kingdom Government.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Looking Ahead

10. The Commission say they do not know and cannot predict what is to be the final constitution of Malta. The immediate aim to which the Commission has addressed itself is, however, quite clear. It is "*to give effect to Her Majesty's Government's desire to restore representative government in Malta on as wide a basis as possible, consistent with Her Majesty's Government's external responsibilities and interal undertakings*". The Commission considers that the constitution they propose will work if, and this is of supreme importance, both sides are prepared to try and make it work. The Commission accepts the view often put to them that the success of any new constitution would depend very largely on the economic situation and particularly on the amount of financial assistance to be provided one way or the other by the United Kingdom. The Commission feels it equally true to say that the success of the new constitution will depend also on the degree of responsibility and self-reliance displayed by the leaders of the Maltese people who themselves tend to look automatically to the United Kingdom for help. The Commission comments that a part of the electorate is, through lack of education, not easily able to understand the policies put before them and inclined rather to put their trust in persons or personalities. A proportion of more highly educated people, the Commission regrets, tend on the other hand to take little part in the political life of the country.

The Misuse of Power

11. The Commission expresses anxiety lest powers given into the hands of Maltese Ministers should be misused for party purposes. Under a new constitution there must be a renewal of confidence that power will not be misused and that the ordinary processes of democracy can operate in a proper way. Here again, the Commission deplores the lack of leadership and moral courage displayed by many of those persons who, by reason of their position, education and experience could contribute what is necessary to the healthy working of a democratic system. The Commission

regrets that such people seem afraid to speak out in public what they really believe.

Need for Stability

12. The Commission takes account of the effect on the Maltese economy of reductions in United Kingdom defence expenditure. The Commission attributes much of the political ferment in Malta to the basic feeling of insecurity and apprehension about future employment prospects in the Islands, a feeling which has been exploited politically. It considers it highly desirable that the conversion of the dockyard should be visibly progressing before the inauguration of a new constitution. It welcomes the progress made in developing the tourist trade and in building up new industries which are being attracted to Malta with increasing success. The Commission hopes that the Government which comes into office after the next elections will realise that for these new industries, many financed with local capital, to flourish and to encourage new undertakings to follow, there must be a period of stable government. The Commission hopes that nothing more will be heard of threats to disrupt the economy of the Islands. The Commission refers to extensive ignorance of the extent to which the United Kingdom taxpayer is assisting the Maltese economy, both by helping to pay the monthly bills for certain services under recurrent expenditure, and also by providing capital funds for long-term development to an extent unheard of in other small and just as needy territories. The Commission's Report quotes the figure of £45.8 million as the total of United Kingdom direct aid to Malta, actual and estimated, over the period 1954–1962. The Commission does not itself attempt to measure what future financial assistance is required from Her Majesty's Goverment. But it does consider that any Maltese Government which is to take office should have made perfectly plain to it just what help, for a period of years, can be expected from the United Kingdom Government.

Rejection of the "Two-Stage Approach", and of a Senate

13. The Commission considered arguments for a staged approach to a new constitution. The Commission comes to the conclusion, however, that Malta is sufficiently mature and experienced in political affairs to proceed at one stage to the new constitution which the Commission recommends. Similarly, the Commission considered views expressed in favour of the establishment of an Upper House or Senate. It found that

there were many people in Malta well equipped by experience, education and the exercise of authority and responsibility to take a greater part in the goverment of the country. Many such people were not prepared to offer themselves as candidates for election by popular vote to the Legislature. These were, moreover, the very people who should be encouraged to take part in the democratic political processes in the normal way. The Commission also foresaw difficulties in the operation of a constitution with an Upper and a Lower House. It concludes that the addition of such an Upper House or Senate would create an expensive and top-heavy structure, over-large for the government of a small country. Alternative suggestions were made to the Commission that certain specially elected members might be included in the Legislative Assembly. But the Commission did not think this would be supported by popular opinion. The Commission therefore recommends that the Assembly should be elected by universal suffrage on the basis of the form of proportional representation to which Malta is accustomed. It emphasises its belief that those who, by reason of their training, experience and education, feel that they should take a share in the government of the country, must do so through the ordinary democratic process. They must be prepared to find suitable leaders and fight their battles on the hustings. The sooner they realise that this is their duty, and that they must face squarely the political facts of life, the better it will be for Malta, and the more solidly and soundly will democracy in the Islands be based.

Internal Security

14. Internal security would be a matter for the Maltese Government and not a concurrent subject, i.e. not one on which both the United Kingdom Government, through the Commissioner, and the Maltese Government could legislate. Nevetheless, in view of the close relation of certain aspects of internal security to defence matters, the Commission thinks that to prevent ill-considered legislation all Bills relating to internal security should be reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure.

The Malta Police Force

15. Protection from political interference. The Commission deplores the irresponsible threats made against individual members of the Police Force. It considers that the Public Service Commission will afford protection for the more senior members of the Police Force so long as

they come within its ambit for the purposes of appointment, promotion and discipline and that they need not therefore fear victimisation. It further considers that if the Commissioner of Police is in sole charge of the Force as regards command, direction and superintendence including the recruitment of members of the Force of grades lower than those dealt with by the Public Service Commission, equal protection can be afforded to junior officers and to the rank and file of the police.

16. Control of Police. The Commission recognises the strength of the argument that it is the first duty of any government to maintain law and order, and that the Maltese Government of the future should therefore have a measure of control over the Police Force. If, indeed, a goverment cannot be trusted with that power it can be argued, the Commission say, that the government cannot be trusted with the power of government at all. On the other hand, political power, so far as the Police Force is concerned, has been misused in Malta in the past and a substantial section of public opinion fears that it may be misused again in the future. Finally, in a country so small as Malta, where important defence interests are concerned, internal security is at times almost inextricably mixed up with defence matters. If defence arrangements are to be adequate, internal security arrangements must also be satisfactory. The Commission therefore recommends that for the present, and as an interim arrangement, the Commissioner of Police should be directly responsible to the Governor or Head of State for the control of the police, including the provision, maintenance and administration of the Force, as well as its use and operational control.

17. A Police Council. The Commission sees no reason, however, why during the interim period Maltese Ministers, if they so desire, should not share responsibility in relation to the provision, maintenance and administration of the Force. The Commission suggests that a Police Council, on which Ministers would be represented, could usefully advise the Governor or Head of State on such matters. Such a Police Council would not deal with the use and operational control of the police, but could, in other matters, form a practical and helpful link between the Police Force and the Government of the day, in anticipation of the return of full responsibility to Maltese Ministers.

18. Cost of Police. The Commission as considered the argument that if the Maltese Ministers are to be denied ultimate responsibility for the police, Maltese funds should not be called upon to bear the cost. It has

considered whether to recommend that Her Majesty's Government should, during the period of interim control of the Police Force, make a subvention to the Maltese budget at what would have to be a rate of over £600,000 a year. The Commission recognises the very great assistance which such a subvention would be to Malta at this stage of development but was not able to make any unanimous recommendation on this point. It records that some of its members felt that Her Majesty's Government might favourably consider the suggestion that they should pay for the maintenance of the Force during the interim period and that when full responsibility is delegated to Maltese Ministers the grant should be gradually reduced thereafter over a period, depending on Malta's then financial needs..

Joint Responsibilities for Defence

19. The Commission does not want defence to be regarded as something which the United Kingdom Goverment conducts over the heads of the Maltese people. It should be an activity in which the Maltese can be asked to share. The defence of the western world is just as important for the survival of Malta as it is for the NATO countries including the United Kingdom, and it is an end to which the United Kingdom Government and Malta can jointly contribute. The Maltese Legislature should be able to legislate on defence matters and Maltese Ministers should be able to take appropriate executive action, either on the initiative of the Maltese Government or at the request of the United Kingdom Government conveyed through the United Kingdom Commissioner in Malta. The Commission makes it clear that they think the United Kingdom Goverment must have the last word in matters of defence, and the Commissioner should therefore be empowered, if his requests to the Maltese Government are not complied with, to make an Order which would have the force of law. Similarly, the United Kingdom Commissioner should be able to request the Maltese Government to refrain from action detrimental to United Kingdom defence interests, and to be able, if necessary, to make an appropriate Order with the force of law.

Responsibilities for Foreign Affairs

20. The Commission recommends that the Maltese Legislature should be able to legislate in the field of foreign affairs, the United Kingdom Commissioner being given powers similar to those he would be invested with in matters of defence. The Commission recommends that power to

negotiate such things as trade agreements should be delegated to the Maltese Government and that the Maltese Government should be eligible for full or associate membership, when practical and appropriate, of the United Nations specialised agencies and similar international organisations.

Consultation between the Maltese Goverment and the United Kingdom Commissioner

21. If the "concurrent powers" arrangement, which is such an important new feature of the constitutional proposals, is to work satisfactorily, there must be adequate arrangements for consultation between the Maltese Government and the United Kingdom Commissioner who represents the United Kingdom Government. Such consultations could usefully be extended to the economic and financial problems arising from the activities in Malta of the United Kingdom Service Departments, and also as occasion requires to internal security matters. The Commission recommends the formation of a *Consultative Council*, under the chairmanship of the Governor or Queen's Representative. Normally the Consultative Council would be composed of the Prime Minister and one other Minister and the United Kingdom Commissioner and another United Kingdom representative. The Council would be consultative and not executive and agreement rather than decision by vote should be the primary object. The Council would have access to relevant government papers and would be able to secure the attendance, as experts, of officers of either the Maltese or the United Kingdom Governments. The Commission adds that the records of meetings should be as brief and factual as possible!

Undertakings in respect of the Public Service

22. The Commission believes that a properly functioning Public Service Commission will afford adequate protection for the Civil Service from victimisation or political interference. The Commission was impressed by the obvious appreciation on the part of the Public Service Commission of the magnitude and importance of their task and by their desire to assist in establishing a public service for Malta imbued with the highest ideals. Entrenched provision for the Public Service Commission is recommended in the new Constitution. There is no question of making the Civil Service a "reserved" or a "concurrent" subject, or of removing it from normal Ministerial control.

Human Rights

23. The Commission was impressed by the fears and doubts of many people in Malta concerning the arbitrary use of power by future governments for party political ends. The Commission noted written records of positive threats to the liberty and freedom of government officers and other persons in Malta and went on to say:

> "It appears to us to be of primary importance that everyone in Malta should realise that he is living in a part of the Commonwealth which as a whole cannot tolerate the methods of a police state, and that everyone in Malta should have redress if he feels that his rights as a human being are threatened. To this end, we recommend that provisions dealing with fundamental human rights derived from the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and based on the most recent example of such legislation—that contained in the new Nigerian Constitution—should be inserted as entrenched provisions in the new Malta Constitution."

24. For convenience, the main Recommendations of the Constitutional Commission have been separately summarised.

The Palace
Valletta.

REPORT OF THE MALTA CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION

Secretary of State's Statement in Parliament

The Report of the Malta Constitutional Commission was published today (Wednesday, 8th March, 1961) in London as Command 1261, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Rt. Hon. Iain Macleod, M.P., made the following statement in the House of Commons:

"On 27th July last year I informed the House of the appointment of a Constitutional Commission to make recommendations for the restoration of elected government in Malta. The Commission's Report is published today as Command 1261.

Sir Hilary Blood and his fellow Commissioners, Mr. Edward St. John Q.C. and Mr. Fred Hayday, are to be congratulated on a most valuable report. The Government are grateful to the Australian Commonwealth Government for recommending Mr. St. John who, of course, served in a personal capacity. Sir Alfred Roberts, until regrettably he had to retire

through illness, was also a valued member of the Commission.

Although the Malta Labour Party and the Malta Nationalist Party did not give evidence the Commission were able to consult a wide range of Maltese personalities and interests of all political complexions.

The Government have decided to accept the Commission's constitutional recommendations as the basis for the next Maltese Constitution. The drafting of Constitutional Instruments will now be put in hand. I hope that it may be possible to hold elections before the end of the year.

The broad effect of the Commission's recommendations is that the Maltese Parliament and Government will be responsible for domestic matters including, with the reservation I mention later, internal security. In addition, and this is an innovation going much beyond the 1947 Constitution, the Maltese Government will be given concurrent powers in the field of external affairs by specific delegation, and in that of defence. Because of our ultimate responsibility for defence and external affairs, Her Majesty's Government will also retain powers in these two fields, Her Majesty's Government's view prevailing in the event of conflict. This arrangement, given reasonable co-operation between the two parties, should enable differences over defence and foreign affairs to be kept to a minimum. The consultative machinery recommended by the Commission will ensure that decisions in these fields are based on adequate information and discussion and, it is hoped, help to prevent disagreements arising or, if they arise, facilitate their settlement. This is a break with the long tradition of diarchy in Malta which the Commission are convinced is no longer practicable.

United Kingdom responsibilities for defence and external affairs in Malta will be in the hands of a United Kingdom Commissioner. The Governor will have duties analogous to a constitutional Head of State.

In view of the important step forward that these changes constitute, the Commission recommend that the Islands should in future be known as the State of Malta.

The Commission make it clear that the record of past political interference with the Police and the necessity to exclude political and other undesirable influences compel them to recommend that the Commissioner of Police, in whom the day to day responsibility for the administration and operation of the Force is vested, should for the time being be ultimately responsible to the Governor. Her Majesty's Government accept this recommendation.

Her Majesty's Government have noted the view of the Commission in paragraph 120 of their Report that they did not find themselves hampered in any way by their terms of reference. The Commission say that however wide these terms might have been they could not envisage Malta progressing at the present time and in existing circumstances to a more advanced stage along the path of constitutional progress.

The Constitution proposed by the Commission, of which I have given a very brief outline, will enable Malta to enjoy once more a very substantial degree of self-government. Our aim is to establish, as the Commission puts it, a partnership between Malta and the United Kingdom. This partnership will work only if both partners want it to work and are ready to co-operate with each other in ensuring that it does work. I offer Her Majesty's Government's full co-operation and I know the House will join me in the sincere hope that the same co-operation will be forthcoming from the duly elected Maltese leaders. Her Majesty's Government believe that, given the necessary degree of mutual confidence between the two partners, the Constitution proposed by the Blood Commission provides the best way in which elected government and self-government can be restored in Malta."

The Palace, *8th March, 1961*
Valletta.

Embargo 18.30 Hours Local Time Wednesday,
8th March, 1961

Text of Broadcast by His Honour, Mr. A. Campbell, Chief Secretary, on Wednesday, 8th March, 1961.

Good evening.

Malta is to have self-government again and it is hoped that it may be possible to hold elections before the end of the year. A few hours ago the Secretary of State in the House of Commons made it clear that Her Majesty's Government accepted the Blood Commission's constitutional recommendations as the basis for Malta's next Constitution. Here is part of what he said:

"The broad effect of the Commission's recommendations is that the Maltese Parliament and Government will be responsible for domestic

matters including, with the reservation I mention later, internal security. In addition, and this is an innovation going much beyond the 1947 Constitution, the Maltese Government will be given concurrent powers in the field of external affairs by specific delegation and in that of defence. Because of our ultimate responsibility for defence and external affairs Her Majesty's Government will also retain powers in these two fields, Her Majesty's Government's view prevailing in the event of conflict. This arrangement, given reasonable co-operation between the two parties, should enable differences over defence and foreign affairs to be kept to a minimum. The consultative machinery recommended by the Commission will ensure that decisions in these fields are based on adequate information and discussion and, it is hoped, help to prevent disagreements arising or, if they arise, facilitate their settlement. This is a break with the long tradition of diarchy in Malta which the Commission are convinced is no longer practicable.

United Kingdom responsibilities for defence and external affairs in Malta will be in the hands of a United Kingdom Commissioner. The Governor will have duties analogous to a constitutional Head of State.

In view of the important step forward that these changes constitute the Commission recommend that the Islands should in future be known as the State of Malta.

The Commission make it clear that the record of past political interference with the Police and the necessity to exclude political and other undesirable influences compel them to recommend that the Commissioner of Police, in whom the day-to-day responsibility for the administration and operation of the Force is vested, should for the time being be ultimately responsible to the Governor. Her Majesty's Government accept this recommendation."

Well, we in Malta can now at long last see what the Blood Commission have recommended. And we know, too, that the United Kingdom Government have accepted the proposals of the Commission and intend that they should be carried out. The Report represents the views of wise and experienced men, and they did not, as they make clear in their Report, find themselves hampered by the limitations within which they had to work. Indeed, they record that however wide their terms of reference might have been, they could not have envisaged Malta progressing "at the present time and in existing circumstances" further than they have recommended. Their proposals for the actual form of self-

government of Malta go further than any earlier Constitution, and they take full account of Malta's unique position and importance in the defence of the Western World. The Commission has drawn on practical experience in many parts of the Commonwealth, but mostly on the realistic constitutional arrangements which are working well in the State of Singapore. The new proposals are a genuinely new approach to the relationship between Malta and the United Kingdom, and they give real substance to the basic idea of partnership and identity of interests, which is what we all now want to see in all dealings between the United Kingdom and Malta.

I should like very briefly to talk about some of the main features of the Report. I am sure you will have noted the reference to the United Kingdom Commissioner. This is a completely new idea in Malta, but it is working well in Singapore. He would be appointed by The Queen and would be responsible for looking after the United Kingdom's interests in defence and external affairs. He would have to have facilities, such as the right to see relevant Cabinet papers and to be informed of matters which affect his responsibilities, to enable him to carry out his work. And he would have to have the immunities of an Ambassador. But he would be quite separate from the Governor: the United Kingdom Commissioner would not in any way be a part of the Maltese Government of the day. But the fact that he is there looking after United Kingdom interests would leave the Governor free to function as a constitutional Head of State.

Now, one of the main subjects with which the United Kingdom Commissioner will be concerned is obviously going to be defence. The Constitutional Commission was very keen that defence matters should not be regarded as something which the United Kingdom Government conducted behind the backs of the Maltese people; they wanted it to be an activity in which the Maltese people could be asked to share in partnership with the United Kingdom. That is why the Commission recommends that the Maltese Government should no longer, as in the old diarchy, be excluded from legislating in the field of defence. They can be admitted to this field and also to external affairs. But the Commission make it clear that the United Kingdom *must* have the last word, and therefore it is proposed that the United Kingdom Commissioner should be able to make an order which would prevail over local legislation; and that he should have power to call upon the Maltese Government to stop

taking any action which would prejudice the United Kingdom's responsibilities for defence or external affairs. These provisions work well in Singapore from where they have been borrowed, and there is therefore every reason why they should work equally well in Malta.

A second point which you will have noticed is that only the Maltese Legislature will have power to legislate on purely internal security matters. As internal security and defence are closely linked, the Commission thinks that all bills relating to internal security should be reserved, which means that the United Kingdom Government could advise the Crown whether or not to exercise the power of disallowance. This brings me to the difficult question of the operational control of the Police. The Commission has recommended—for reasons which all of you will understand—that for the present, and as an interim arrangement, the Commissioner of Police should be directly responsible to the Governor for the operational control of the Police. There would be special provision in the Constitution for the delegation of this responsibility as soon as circumstances permitted to Maltese Ministers, and in order to enable Maltese Ministers to share in matters arising on the provision, maintenance and administration of the Police, the Commission suggests the establishment of a Police Council. This would advise the Governor on these matters.

Thirdly, I would like to refer to the various other proposals which are designed to protect the individual, whether as a Civil Servant or as an ordinary citizen, from being picked upon and victimised. The Commission was impressed by the fears and doubts of many people in Malta concerning the arbitrary use of power by any future Government for party political ends. It noted written records of positive threats to the liberty and freedom of Government officers and other persons in Malta, and went on to say:—

"It appears to us to be or primary importance that everyone in Malta should realise that he is living in part of the Commonwealth which, as a whole, cannot tolerate the methods of a Police State and that everyone in Malta should have redress if he feels that his rights as a human being are being threatened."

To achieve this, the Commission recommends that the provisions contained in our existing Constitution, which cover the Public Service Commission and secure the Civil Service from political or other interference, should be carried over—with one or two minor amendments—

to the new Constitution. And it also recommends that the new Constitution should contain human rights, provisions, and that these (like those relating to the Public Service Commission) should be entrenched. By this I mean that no power would exist locally to alter those provisions. And it recommends that the Supreme Court should have special jurisdiction to ensure that human rights are enforced.

Well, I have talked about some of the main features of the new Constitution. All this would of course replace our present interim Administration. And it is not a return to 1947, and the old diarchy. Indeed, the whole structure is going to change. There will, for instance, be no United Kingdom officials occupying posts like mine, or the Financial and Legal Secretary's, in the next Government, and the Governor will not be charged with responsibilities on behalf of the United Kingdom Government. Their interests will be looked after by a specially appointed United Kingdom Commissioner. What will happen is that from the Maltese Legislature there will be drawn a Cabinet of Maltese Ministers. They will have, as we have had, the support of the loyal and efficient Maltese Civil Service. But it will not be a Civil Service Administration with a Chief Secretary responsible to the Governor: it will be a fully elected Maltese ministerial Government with a Maltese Prime Minister and a Governor who, in most of his functions, will be like a constitutional monarch acting on the advice of the Cabinet.

Well, there we are. What happens now? The United Kingdom Government have accepted these proposals. As for the future, the Colonial Secretary said today that this new Constitution establishes, as the Commission itself puts it, a partnership between Malta and the United Kingdom and this partnership will only work if the duly elected Maltese leaders want it to work and are ready to co-operate with the United Kingdom Government in ensuring that it does work. For its part, the United Kingdom Government sincerely looks forward to the establishment of this mutual confidence, and believes that with it the Constitution now proposed offers the best way in which elected government and self-government can be restored in Malta. Unless this close co-operation exists, Malta will be handicapped in *all* fields, including the vital field of economic and industrial development.

I want finally to ask you to remember something which His Excellency the Governor said in the course of his Candlemas Speech in February. He said then that:

"every thinking adult person in these Islands should make it his or her personal duty, as a matter of conscience and civic responsibility, to study these grave matters and weigh up any new proposals, not in grandiose terms of political theory and faction, but according to sober and considered judgment of what will provide hope for the true welfare and happiness of the nation as a whole."

We in Government will do what we can to ensure that everybody who wants to can study what is proposed. Copies of the Report itself are already on sale from the Department of Information. Through other publicity measures, in broadcasts and, I am sure, by full Press coverage, we hope that adequate and accurate publicity will be given to all these matters now, and as they develop over the months to come. And by the time we come to elections, I am sure that if I were going to be a voter, which I am not, I would want to know exactly what any political party asking for my vote stood for, and I would not be satisfied with fancy phrases and glib slogans. As the Commission itself and—"Malta is, or should be, politically mature; it does not need to elect as its political leaders those who will create a feeling of economic or political instability; to be more positive, it can in fact register its votes in favour of leaders who will give it stable government."

The real choice is between partnership with Britain, and through Britain with Britain's friends and allies; and a policy leading to isolation and going it alone, in a fiercely competitive and sometimes hostile world in which the weak and the small can easily go to the wall. Facts must be faced, and people have just got to decide for themselves which way they want to go. I appeal to every man and woman in Malta who regards himself or herself as a responsible citizen to rise to the challenge of these times. I appeal to those in positions of authority and trust, to those who conduct the affairs of political parties or exert influence on public opinion through the Press, for the exercise of wise and moderate leadership—that wise and moderate leadership for which there are such exceptional opportunities in the times through which we are now passing. You in Malta have a right to ask from those who would seek your support, clear, honest and straightforward leadership and clear, honest and straightforward policies. Malta is an old country and a proud country, with enough experience wisdom and steadiness among its people to ensure for it a prosperous and an honourable future. It is there for the asking.

DOCUMENT 87

Debates in May 1962 Regarding the Nature of Malta's Independence

Jiena quddiemi għandi l-programm elettorali tal-Partit Nazzjonalista li fil-bidu tiegħu hemm hekk:

"Iż-żmien ta' kostituzzjonijiet temporanji imraqqa b'materji riservati u imsaħħa bil-poteri tal-Gvern Ingliż li jista' jbiddilhom jew jirtirahom kull mita irid u kif jaqbillu spiċċa".

Jiġifieri l-ewwel battuta tal-programm Nazzjonalista qiegħda hawnhekk tgħid li hija l-aktar ħaġa kera li minn poplu dinjituż iġġibu f'poplu dominat. Din hija appuntu il-karatteristika tal-Kostituzzjoni li għandna li l-Gvern Ingliż meta irid u x'ħin irid u x'ħin jogħġbu, ibiddel kif irid u jagħmel biha li jrid. Din nerġa ngħid hija il-karatteristika tal-Kostituzzjoni speċjalment kif il-pajjiż iġġibu kolonja u tħallih kolonja u għalhekk il-Partit Nazzjonalista qabel ma sar Gvern Nazzjonalista tefa' subgħajh fuq il-ferita u l-ewwel ma ittratta din il-ħaġa li dan iż-żmien għal poplu Malti spiċċa. Fl-istess programm, dan il-Gvern qiegħed jgħid li it-traqqigħ ma huwa ser jiswa għal xejn.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Xi jgħid?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Din il-parti li qrajt: "imsaħħa bil-poteri tal-Gvern Ingliż" u jekk wieħed jara mhux biss l-ewwel paragrafu imma is-sostanza tal-programm kollu, l-programm kollu kif hu mibni, fuq il-fatt li l-poplu Malti għandu jispiċċa minn kolonja u għandu jieħu is-sovranità tiegħu li tixraqlu—għandu jifhem li l-Partit Nazzjonalista, qabel ma sar Gvern Nazzjonalista, wiegħed li jagħmel kollox biex jkun jista' jattwa dan il-programm.

HON. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Granted.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Issa aħna nħossu li nagħmlu kemm nagħmlu tibdil fil-kostituzzjoni, inġibu kemm inġibu konċessjonijiet, diment li fil-kostituzzjoni ta' Malta tibqa l-klawsola, il-famuża klawsola 121, li tagħti s-saħħa lill-Gvern Ingliż li ibiddel, ineħħi, jissostitwixxi mingħajr ebda konsultazzjoni mal-poplu Malti, mal-partiti Maltin, jaqbad u ineħħi kollox, dak kollu li nagħmlu ikun assolutament temporanju u ma jservi għal xejn.

Għaliex? għax mil-lum għal għada ma nafux fejn aħna. U nħoss li l-approach li sar min-naħa tal-partit li hemm fil-Gvern ma jservina

assolutament għal xejn għax għada fil-għodu, għax ikun jaqbel, il-Gvern Ingliż, għaliex iċ-ċirkostanzi jitbiddlu, għaliex il-partit li jkun hemm fil-Gvern ma jibqax ben vist mill-Gvern Ingliż, dak li jkun sar jispiċċa kollox u jinbidel u narġaw nibdew mill-ġdid bħal ma jidher fl-istorja kollha ta' Malta mill-occupation ta' l-Ingliżi sal-lum.

Aħna Malta kellna ħafna kostituzzjonijiet u daqqa waħda li tidher aħjar minn oħra u oħra tidher li sejra tkun permanenti imma ġara dejjem illi malli l-poplu Malti ma qagħadx eżatt kif qallu l-Gvern Ingliż, spiċċa kollox u arġajna bdejna mill-ġdid. Dan mhux bħal każ ta' tifel ta' l-iskola li mar jagħmel il-matrikola u għax weħel minn suġġett jarġa jagħmel lilu imma bħal meta wieħed għamel il-matrikola, weħel fil-matrikola u mbagħad irid jarġa jibda mill-iskola tan-nuna biex jarġa jagħmel il-matrikola. Hekk għamlulu l-Ingliżi lill-poplu Malti. Kull meta ma jogħġobx lill-Gvern Ingliż, jew il-Gvern Ingliż jidhirlu li l-poplu Malti qed jiġbed aktar għall-interessi tiegħu milli qed jiġbed għall-interessi ta' l-Ingilterra, addio affarijiet miktuba, addio konċessjonijiet, u dikjarazzjonijiet, jispiċċa kollox u jgħidulna issa nibdew mill-ġdid. U ma jridx wieħed jieħu l-atteġġament li għax il-lum qegħdin b'relazzjonijiet tajba allura dawn ir-relazzjonijiet sejrin jibqgħu.

Aħna l-Partit Laborista wasalna għat-triq ta' l-indipendenza b'mod differenti milli wasal il-Partit Nazzjonalista. Aħna wasalna għalija bil-mod prattiku li l-ewwel esplorajna it-triqat l-oħrajn li jeżistu li huma qosra aktar biex il-poplu tagħna. . . .

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Bl-*integration*.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena sejjer ngħid fuq l-approach tal-Partit Nazzjonalista kif waslu għall-indipendenza u fuq l-approach tagħna li mhux talli mhux sejrin nistħu minnu anzi aħna kburin li għamilnih. Aħna wasalna għall-istess konklużjoni minn lat differenti minn dak tal-Partit Nazzjonalista. L-ewwel fittixna it-triqat li huma qosra biex il-poplu jerbaħ id-dinjità individwali, biex il-poplu jkollu l-istess drittijiet li għandhom individwi f'nazzjonijiet oħra—u ma nafx għaliex il-partit tal-Gvern qed jieħu din it-teorija hekk bi kbira meta fl-imgħoddi kenna tant nies li tajjeb jew ħażin xtaqu li nsiru parti mill-Italja. Jiena nirrispetta l-opinjoni tagħhom għax nifhem. . . .

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Kont sejjer insaqsik domanda. *Assumendo* li dawn in-nies riedu l-annessjoni ma' l-Italja. Naturalment kienu iriduh dan għax kienu jaqblu li aħna Taljani. Naħseb li tirritienih dan int?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jien naħseb li kellhom dan l-ideal għax kienu jemmnu li għandna kultura taljana.

ONOR. DR. A. PARIS (Ministru ta' l-Edukazzjoni): Li hu fatt.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: It-tieni li kellna ma l-Italja in komuni parti kbira ta' l-istorja; it-tielet għandna l-istess reliġjon u r-raba' li ġeografikament qegħdin akbar viċin lejhom milli hu ħaddieħor. Imma mhux dan il-fatt. Jiena mhux qed ngħidu bi kritika dan, imma qed ngħid li dawn in-nies kienu jaħsbu sinċerament, onestament li l-poplu tagħna jista' isib postu dinjituż fid-dinja u jimxi l-quddiem jekk isir parti mill-Italja.

Jiena dan il-ħsieb nirrispettah. Nista' forsi f'affarijiet ma naqbilx miegħu imma nirrispettah u nara li fih ċertu *common sense* għax it-triq ħafna kienet iqsar mit-triq ta' l-indipendenza. Bħal ma ħasbu dawn in-nies, hekk ħaseb il-Partit Laborista: li jekk il-Gvern Ingliż lest biex jagħtina ċerti garanziji għall-ħajja tagħna nazzjonali u biex jagħtina ċerta egwaljanza fid-drittijiet mal-poplu Ingliż, aħna ħassejna li jekk il-poplu tiegħu ikun leali għal dan din kienet tkun soluzzjoni għall-poplu tagħna. (Interruzzjonijiet).

Sibna li din lill-Partit Nazzjonalista ma togħġobhomx. Sibna li l-Gvern Ingliż ukoll ma kinitx togħġbu din.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Il-Gvern Ingliż riedha.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ma kinitx togħġbu għax meta ġie biex jara x'kienu l-implikazzjonijiet ta' din, x'ifissru u x'iqumu u x'verament kien ser jirbaħ il-poplu Malti u x'kien ser jitlef il-Gvern Ingliż, il-poplu Ingliż u l-gazzetti Ingliżi li qabel tant kienu tawna l-appoġġ u tant kienu jidhru li huma ħbieb tagħna, meta daqqet din is-siegħa li ma qabilhomx aktar, addio ħbiberija u addio kollox u għamlu minn kollox biex lilna u lill-poplu Malti jitfgħuna minn taħt. Qed ngħid dan mhux l-għaliex nixtieq li dan jerġa' jiġri, u naħseb li kull Membru tal-Gvern jemmen li kemm jiena u kemm sħabi mhux talli ma nixtiqux dan imma nixtiequ li kemm jista' jkun malajr, minnufih, il-Gvern li hawn il-lum jirnexxilu li jeħles lil Malta mill-kolonjaliżmu.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Hear, hear.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: U jekk aħna nkunu ċerti mis-sinċerità tal-Gvern li jrid jagħmel dan, ikollu kwalunkwe appoġġ tagħna. Dan qed ngħidu naturalment f'dan il-qasam—għal dak li huwa delinjat preċiż għal dan l-iskop. Qed ngħid daqsxejn lill-Prim Ministru li ma jafdax wisq fuq dak li qalilna fl-iSpeech from the Throne, li l-gazzetti Ingliżi u nies oħra Ingliżi jidhru li addottaw atteġġjament differenti lejn Malta milli kellhom qabel.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Jiena ma għidtx fil-Colonial Office.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: L-anqas jiena ma semmejt il-Colonial Office.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Taħseb li l-*average man in the street* ma għandux simpatija lejn l-aspirazzjonijiet ta' Malta?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jien naqbel ħaġa waħda li l-poplu Ingliż huwa poplu patrijottiku ħafna u jekk il-leaders tiegħu *at any time* jgħidulu hekk jaqbel għal Ingilterra, u *at any time* ipinġu, per eżempju, lil Dottor Borg Olivier, Prim Ministru ta' Malta l-lum, bħala għadu ta' l-Ingilterra l-poplu Ingliż jimxi wara dawk u mhux ser jimxi warajh. U naħseb li miegħi jaqbel il-Prim Ministru.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Naqbel, u nipprova ma nagħtihomx il-pretest.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Din kwistjoni oħra. Il-fatt huwa, u fuq dan għandna naqblu, li l-poplu Ingliż huwa patrijottiku ħafna u meta l-leaders tagħhom jgħidulhom xi ħaġa isegwuhom, u inutili li l-poplu tgħidlu li min-naħa tal-gazzetti Ingliżi tidher li hemm ċerta simpatija l-għaliex meta l-affarijiet jiġu għas-si u n-no, bħalma ngħidu aħna l-Maltin, dawn man-naħa l-oħra jżommu u mhux man-naħa tagħna. Dan qed ngħidu l-għaliex aħna jidhrilna li l-metodu li beda bih il-Gvern, li jmur l-Ingilterra u jiddiskuti l-klawsoli tal-kostituzzjoni, anke kieku kienu ferm importanti aktar milli huma l-lum, la jaf li kollha huma soġġetti għall-aħħar klawsola, il-klawsola 121, li tgħid li l-Gvern Ingliż għandu d-dritt li jbiddel kollox u jħassar kollox, jidhirli li b'dan inkunu qed nibdew mit-tarf il-ħażin. Il-kostituzzjoni jmissu min għamilha, mingħajr ma staħa xejn, bdiha mill-aħħar l-għaliex il-qofol tagħha hemm qiegħed. Dawn bdew qalu kemm għandhom poteri u din ħalluha għall-aħħar u qalu: "Il-Maestà Tagħha b'dan tirriserva Lilha Nfisha setgħa, bil-parir tal-Kunsill Privat Tagħha, li temenda, iżżid ma', tħassar jew tissostitwixxi dan l-Ordni kif ikun jidher Lilha xieraq". Din jidhirli li kien imissha ġiet l-ewwelnett l-għaliex dak li jkun jekk qara sa nofsha jgħid: "Kemm għandha saħħa", fil-waqt li l-qofol tal-Kostituzzjoni qiegħed fl-aħħar. U din mhux għalina imma għalihom.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Jiena meta naqra xi ħaġa dejjem nara kif tispiċċa. L-ewwel nibda mill-bidu, imbagħad nibda nqalleb ħalli nara x'hemm fl-aħħar.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena ngħid li dan ser jibdieli bil-ħelu u fl-aħħar tal-mazzita ser jagħmilli ż-żbiba u mhux nippretendi li ż-żbiba se nsiba fil-bidu tal-mazzita. U ż-żbiba hemm qiegħda, fl-aħħar. Jidherli li jekk

immorru l-Ingilterra għoxrin darba u nibdlu l-klawsoli kollha u jibqgħalna dik fiha nkunu għadna ma għamilna xejn l-għaliex bħali jaħseb il-Prim Ministru li dejjem għandek din ix-xabla fuq rasek li rqadt mingħalik li hemm Gvern Malti u qomt l-għada filgħodu u ma tafx jekk għadux hemm. Dan ma jistax ikun li jgħib confidence fil-poplu Malti, u ma tistax lil-poplu Malti bl-ebda mod tgħinu u jgħid: "Id-dinja hija miftuħa għalina bħalma hija miftuħa għal ħaddieħor, ejjew nibdew almenu fl-1962 nikkostruwixxu dinja għalina".

ONOR. DR. A. PARIS: Ir-responsabiltà kienet tagħkom l-għaliex tlaqtu.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Mr Speaker, ma joqgħodx jinterrompini l-Onor. Dr Paris l-għaliex kellu *chance* huwa u sħabu fl-1598 li jidħlu fil-Gvern minflokna u anke jamministraw, biss biex imexxu l-kostituzzjoni fuq dawk iċ-ċirkostanzi ma ridux. U jiena nammirahom li ma ridux dikinhar. Jiena mhux kontra tagħhom li ma ridux imma issa mhux jgħid lilna, li tlaqna minn jeddna u kellna l-maġġoranza u stajna bqajna hawnhekk, li jmissna sofrejna dak l-insult u bqajna hemmhekk. U dan ma kienx insult wieħed: meta l-Gvern Ingliża iwiegħdek il-*funds* u f'daqqa waħda jgħidlek "Issa għandna intopp, tridx taqta' miljun lira?" Meta l-Gvern Ingliż iwiegħdek fuq id-Dockyard u ma jagħmel xejn; meta l-Gvern Ingliż imbagħad jisserva bil-Gvernatur biex iqajjem inċident ħalli jieħu l-Pulizija, u inti allura tgħid lil-poplu: "Isma, il-Gvern Ingliż għamilli dan kollu, jiena ser noqgħod hawn l-għaliex naħseb li minn ġewwa nista' ngħinek aktar milli nista' ngħinek minn barra". Aħna ma deherilnix dan. Aħna deherilna li minn barra aktar nistgħu ngħinu lill-poplu Malti milli nistgħu minn ġewwa. Diment li l-Partit Nazzjonalista ma jaqbadx bis-serjetà il-kwistjoni ta' l-indipendenza u ma jiġġilidx mal-Gvern Ingliż jiena ngħidilkom li l-Gvern Ingliż iħallikom hemmhekk, jekk iħallikom il-poplu, mhux erba' snin, anke erba' mitt sena iħallikom ukoll; imma meta jkollkom xi tgħidu mal-Gvern Ingliż ikeċċikom . . .

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Il-poplu ikeċċina minn hawn!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ma jgħidx il-poplu jkeċċina minn hawn. Jiftakar daqsxejn fi sħabu l-antiki; jiftakar jekk hux l-poplu jew il-Gvern Ingliż keċċihom. Intom tafu li sħabkom l-antiki mhux huma telqu; keċċihom il-Gvern Ingliż. Tinsewhiex dik! L-idea tiegħi hi li meta ma taqbilx mal-Gvern Ingliż, it-triqat li hemm miftuħa huma tnejn: jew taqbad biex titlaq waħdek u tiġġilidlu minn barra, jew tistenna biex ikeċċik kif kien għamel lil tagħkom.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Żminijiet ġodda.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Żminijiet ġodda imma bl-istess problema u jekk dan il-problema napproċjawh bl-istess mod kif kien sar fl-imgħoddi, jiġifieri kif qed tagħmlu llum, ikollna l-istess riżultati li kellna fl-imgħoddi għaliex jekk fiż-żminijiet il-ġodda wieħed irid li jkollu riżultati ġodda jrid juża l-għodda l-ġodda u mhux l-għodda antiki, u appuntu dan li qed ngħidu aħna. L-argument tagħna hu wieħed, li dan hu il-metodu l-antik li billi l-Prim Ministru jmur l-Ingilterra u jgħid lis-Segretarju ta' l-Istat għall-Kolonji "Din il-Kostituzzjoni ma tixraqx lil Malta; aħna nixtiequ relazzjonijiet tajba, nixtiequ hekk, nixtiequ hekk" ser ikollna riżultati ġodda; ikollna riżultati bħal ma għandna li huma face saving għall-mument imma kostituzzjonalment iħalluna eżattament fejn konna qabel għaliex diment li tibqa dik il-klawsola nerġa ngħid ir-riżultat hu identiku, l-istess bħal ma kellna qabel.

Inkompli ngħid li aħna min-naħa tagħna, u jiena ċert li min-naħa tagħhom ukoll jafu li għadna ma bdejniex fl-istorja kostituzzjonali; għadna assolutament ma bdejniex, u għandu raġun l-Onor. Prim Ministru jgħidli "Tina ż-żmien", għax għadna ma bdejniex u dan hu fatt. Hu inutili li joqgħodu jagħmlu l-*barracking* għaliex b'daqshekk fejn naslu? Aktar ma dak li għandna ngħidu ngħiduh malajr aktar aħjar.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Kont qed tgħid "għodda ġodda"...

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Għaliex jekk aħna nużaw l-istess għodda li uża Sir Ugo Mifsud fl-1930–35 allura ma nkunux qegħdin napprofittaw ruħna mit-tibdil taż-żmien. Dan bħal meta 'llum hawn l-elettriku u wieħed juża l-musbieħ. Veru li jekk tuża l-musbieħ tara wkoll imma tara bħal dak ta' ħames mitt sena ilu mentri bl-elettriku tara aktar u aħjar. Allura fl-1962 għandek tgħid: nuża l-metodi tal-1962. Illum hemm metodi oħra kif tasal u dawn il-metodi naslu għalihom billi naraw x'għamel ħaddieħor u kif wasal u qed jasal ħaddieħor, għaliex jekk ma nagħmlux dan mhux ser naslu.

ONOR. T. PELLEGRINI: Billi l-ewwel jaqsam il-poplu naslu!

ONOR. DR. H. GANADO: Bl-AAPSO naslu!

ONOR. DR. A. BUTTIGIEG: Le, inxejru lil Lady Laycock mill-Barrakka b'hekk naslu!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Mr Speaker, jiena ser nirrivolġi ruħi għall-interruzzjoni li saret min-naħa ta' Dr Ganado. Jiena ma nistenniex li Dr Ganado dan li qiegħed ngħid japprovah, lanqas nistenna....

Mr. Speaker: Nosserva lill-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni li għalaqlu l-ħin.

ONOR. DR. A. PARIS: Nipproponi li l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni jibqa' jinstema.

ONOR. DR. J. MICALLEF STAFRACE: Nissekonda.

Leave granted.
Il-permess ingħata.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Nerġa ngħid li jiena ma nistenniex li l-Onor, Dr Ganado sejjer idoqqlu tajjeb dan id-diskors għal widnejh, għaliex? Għaliex min ma jridx jasal fih ma jeħux gost jisma' dan. Kull grupp li għal xi raġuni jew oħra ma jridx li l-poplu tagħna jiġġieled biex l-indipendenza joħodha minnufih ma nistennihx li ser jogħġbu dan il-kliem li qed ngħid jien . . . u hu d-dover tiegħu li meta jiġi t-*turn* tiegħu jispjegalna l-għaliex il-poplu tagħna għandu joqgħod jistenna biex ikollu l-ħelsien. Mhux billi joqgħod jagħmel dawn ir-rimarki dwar liema organizzazzjoni għandha tgħina u ma tgħiniex. Id-differenza bejnietna u l-Onor. Dr Ganado mhux liema organizzazzjoni ser tgħina imma hi li hu jidhirlu li l-poplu tagħna ma għandux jiġġieled għal-ħelsien, għandu jistenna, u aħna minn naħa tagħna nagħmlu minn kollox ħalli nieħdu l-ħelsien minnufih. Fuq dan diżgrazzjatament ma naqblux, u inutili insemmu liema organizzazzjoni għanda tgħina u liema le. Naħseb li meta l-Onor. Dr. Ganado jsemmi l-organizzazzjonijiet ikun qiegħed jagħmlu mhux għax ma jaqbilx mal-metodu tagħna imma għax ma jaqbilx mal-prinċipju u din tiddiskwalifikah daqsxejn milli jgħidilna liema organizzazzjoni għandna napproċjaw. Naħseb li l-Onor. Dr. Ganado fehemni b'daqshekk. Jiena ma qiegħed noffendi lil ħadd. Hu ma jridx jasal, imma mhux ser ngħidlu liema triq ser naqbdu. Inkompli. Inħarsu x'se jagħmlu l-Ministri f'dawn iż-żminijiet meta l-pern prinċipali Kostituzzjonali għadna l-anqas bdejna niddiskutuh. Dawn qalulna, fid-Diskors mit-Tron, li ser jippruvaw jistudjaw miżuri li bihom jittakiljaw *policy* ġdida dwar il-"grants" għall-industrializzazzjoni, dwar id-*dockyard* ta' Malta, dwar kif l-ekonomija tal-pajjiż tista' tiġi megħjuna, f'dan "l-interim period", qabel ma jkollna l-industriji. Jiena nistaqsi dan: kull ħaġa li hawn imsemmija hawn għandha l-qofol tagħha fl-indipendenza. Kif nistgħu aħna llum ngħidu x'*policy* u mhux *policy*, x'ser nagħmlu u ma nagħmlux. Ma nistgħux ngħidu tant li l-Gvern ma qalilniex liema huma l-*policies* tiegħu, xejn. Ma qalilniex. Għidilna fuq ic-changes li tixtieq tagħmel kemm trid, imma x'inhi l-policy? Aħna ma

nippretendux li l-Gvern jgħidilna c-*changes* x'inhuma, imma il-*policy* għal inqas għandha tkun fl-iSpeech from the Throne.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Mela fl-iSpeech from the Thone toqgħod tagħti d-dettalji.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Fl-iSpeech from the Throne hawn illi l-Gvern ma qabilx mal-miżuri li ħa l-Gvern ta' qabel—l-anqas hawn ċar daqshekk—din xkuma.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Mhux aħjar tikkwota?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena ser nikkwota l-fatti li ġew imsemmija imbagħad għidli.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Imma għidli fejn?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Hawn

"My Ministers have taken over the Administration of these Islands after four years of Crown Colony Government in which political parties were neither represented nor consulted. During that period various measures were taken in connection with the diversification of the economy of these Islands, prominent amongst which were the transfer of the dockyard, etc., etc.,

Imbagħad hawn:

These and other measures call for a thorough reassessment".

Xi jfisser dan?

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: "*Reassessment*", il-kelma preċiża.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Għax ma taqblux li jibqgħu hekk?

ONOR. DR. S. ABELA: Mhux neċessarjament.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: *Reassessment* tagħmlu għax ma taqbilx ma dak li hemm. Għax jekk mhux hekk allura ngħid li dan inkiteb għal xejn.

ONOR. DR. A. PARIS: Kompli aqra.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena naqralek fejn trid. Intom qed iġġibu d-dubbji.

ONOR. DR. G. FELICE: Fil-kelma "*reassessment*" ma hemm l-ebda dubbju, jiġifieri sar *assessment* mill-Gvern Ingliż, issa, għax ma nafux il-pożizzjoni, ser nagħmlu *reassessment* u nistgħu naqblu u nistgħu ma naqblux.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Nistaqsi lill-Onor. Dr. G. Felice, suppost u naħseb li hu veru dak li qiegħed jgħid, kif tista' tagħmel *assessment* jew *re-assessment* jekk ma għandekx *policy*?

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Kif ma għandniex *policy*?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Fejn hi?

ONOR. DR. G. FELICE: Li nagħmlu *reassessment* li semmejna.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Fuq hiex?

ONOR. DR. G. FELICE: Fuq dawk l-affarijiet li semmejna.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ma nafux x'inhi l-*policy*. Jiena mhux qiegħed nipprova nagħmel kritika distruttiva qiegħed nagħmel kritika kostruttiva għax irrid li l-Gvern jilluminani, għax il-Gvern għadu ma qalx fejn hu miexi.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Jgħid meta jagħmel ir-*reassessment*.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Biex tagħmel *reassessment* irid ikollok *policy*, Mhux hekk. Biex tagħmel *reassessment* ta' dak li qiegħed tgħid l-ewwel irid ikun hemm il-*policy*, affarijiet li ma humiex quddiemna. Il-Gvern ma qalilniex kif inhi s-sitwazzjoni finanzjarja tal-pajjiż. Qatt ma kellna statement finanzjarju, ekonomiku, u nispera li l-Gvern għandu, u ma nifhimx għala ma għandux isir pubbliku. Wara li l-Gvern ikun jaf is-sitwazzjoni finanzjarja u ekonomika u rrid nadotta din il-*policy* fuq id-divesifikazzjoni għax għandna dan l-*assessment*.

ONOR. DR. G. FELICE: Qiegħed jagħmilha.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Għandna fit-tielet seduta.

ONOR. DR. G. FELICE: Din ko-operazzjoni.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena rrid li jismani sewwa biex jifhimni ħalli jattakkani wara. Jiena mhux nipprova indawwar dak li qiegħed ngħid mod ieħor. Qiegħed ngħid dan biex ikun hemm *reassessment* serju tal-*policy* kemm dwar l-industrijalizzazzjoni u kemm dwar id-*dockyard* u l-industriji l-oħra.

ONOR. DR. G. FELICE: Irid isir dak li qegħdin nagħmlu.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Irridu l-ewwel inkunu nafu x'inhi s-sitwazzjoni finanzjarja, irridu inkunu nafu x'hini is-sitwazzjoni ekonomika u dan il-Gvern ma jistax jgħid li ma jistax jafu. Qiegħed ngħid li l-Gvern żmien kellu biżżejjed biex ikun jaf is-sitwazzjoni finanzjarja.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Allura b'daqshekk fejn tasal?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Qed ngħid li żmien kellu biżżejjed il-Gvern biex ikun jaf is-sitwazzjoni ekonomika, qed ngħid li l-Gvern dawn imissu għamilhom pubbliċi jekk iridna nikkooperaw f'ħaġa li fuqha kulħadd għandu jaqbel, għaliex m'għandux ikun hemm *partisan approach* fuqha. Jippubblikahom l-istatement finanzjarju u l-istatement ekonomiku.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Fejn?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Hawn, fil-Parlament.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Għadna deħlin!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Anki fil-pajjiż seta' ppubblikahom.

ONOR. DR. G. FELICE: Il-pajjiż huwa hawn, il-lum il-poplu tagħna.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Intom għidu li l-poplu tagħkom kemm tridu.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Il-proċedura tgħid "*Speech from the Throne and Address in Reply*". Jispiċċa dak u jiġu affarijiet oħra.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Il-proċedura tgħid li meta taċċenna għal "new policy" tgħid x'inhi.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Għidna "re-assessment."

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Alura xejn ma jfisser dan. Allura jista' wieħed jgħid—jien qed nagħmel *re-assessment* tat-triqat u l-affarijiet kollha ta' Malta. Għalfejn jgħidhom? Lili dan iwassalni f'konklużjoni waħda, li jekk trid taqbad xi ħaġa, hawn ma tistax taqbad. Anki qaluli qabel—riedu jmeruni—li għandhom l-idea li jagħmlu *policy* ġdida. M'għandhom xejn, la li jagħmlu *policy* ġdida u lanqas xejn. Li ser jaraw għandna biss. Dan hemm bżonn iġġibu fi Speech from the Throne?! *It goes without saying* li l-Gvern għandu jara ħaġa u oħra. Issa mbagħad fl-istess ħin il-Gvern qalilna hawnhekk li għamel Economic Committee. Jien qed nipprova nsib il-laħam, x'ser niddiskuti, għaliex verament hawn diffikoltà kbira biex taqbad. Il-Gvern qalilna li sar Economic Committee biex jagħmel *review* tal-Five-Year Plan "in the light of present and prospective trends of employment". Jien ma nafx liema hu dan l-Economic Committee; ma nafx jekk hux l-istess Kumitat li hu kontemplat fil-Kostituzzjoni, u għandu sub-Committee. Imma anki wara l-fatt li l-Gvern Ingliż qed jgħid li Malta m'għandux bżonnha,—u nerġa naċċenna għal dan 'il quddiem—jekk fil-Kumitat Ekonomiku ma jkunx hemm nies responsabbli li jistgħu jagħtu b'ċertu *commitment* il-figura li ser ikun hemm f'*employment* mas-Services, ma nafx jien dan l-Economic Committee kemm jista' jservi għal dak li huwa *fact finding* biss. U wkoll ma nafx jien kif jista' l-Gvern f'ċirkostanzi li għal Malta ekonomikament huma diffiċilissimi ma jqabbadx *economist*, naturalment li jkollu fiduċja fih il-Gvern, u li jkollu daqxejn ta' esperjenza mondjali fuq dawn l-affarijiet, biex ikun jista' jgħinu kemm f'rapport kif ukoll biex jifformola policies li huma moderni u li huma adattati għaż-żminijiet tal-lum. Minn dan kollu ma hawn xejn fl-iSpeech from the Throne, u jien sal-lum. . . .

ONOR. DR. A. PARIS: L-intelliġenza tiegħek taqra *between the lines*.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: L-ewwel għidtuli li qed naqra anqas milli hemm,

u issa triduni naqra aktar milli hemm. Jekk rajt li hemm *re-assessment*, fhimt li għandkom *policy*, mentri qed tgħidu li ser taraw, u issa triduni naqra ż-żejjed. Aħna la nafu min huma l-Economic Committee, u lanqas nafu hux ser ikollu *economic expert*. Jien jekk jgħiduli l-lum nieħu gost anzi l-kritika tiegħi hija li biex isir dan trid ikollok dawn l-affarijiet—u dan mhux qed ngħidu biex inbaxxi lil ħadd fis-Civil Service, *far from it.*

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: *It is obvious.*

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Min ma kellux opportunità fid-dinja biex jagħmel ċerti affarijiet m'għandekx tippretendi minnu ż-żejjed, għaliex għaref kemm hu għaref l-ewwel irid jipprova li jaf jagħmel il-ħaġa u mbagħad tgħid li jista' jagħmilha. Din bħal meta wieħed ikun ser jagħmel operazzjoni diffiċli fuq xi ħadd: tgħid "Aħjar jagħmilha fuq xi ħadd ieħor qabel milli fuqi."

Imbagħad hawn għandna wkoll "My Ministers are carefully considering the implications of Malta's prospective participation in the Common Market.' Jien ma nafx din b'liema *commitment* hija mitfugħa bħal meta wieħed jitfa' tajra biex jara fejn għaddej ir-riħ jew hijiex mitfugħa b'xi serjetà kbira. U ngħid bis-serjetà kollha li jekk fuq dil-kwistjoni l-Gvern jaf aktar milli ser ngħid, nitolbu jilluminani. Il-Common Market il-lum mhux biss politika ekonomika. Il-pern tal-Common Market huwa l-pern politiku.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Sa hawn naħseb li l-Kamra kollha taf—għaliex inkella nitilfu ż-żmien.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ma naħsibx li nitilfu ż-żmien jekk nitkellmu fuq il-Common Market.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Le, nitilfu ż-żmien jekk nitkellmu fuq prinċipji ġenerali li jafhom kulħadd.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Il-pern huwa l-pern politiku, u tant huwa politiku l-pern li per eżempju l-Greċja ilha li applikat biex tidħol fil-Common Market tgħidx kemm.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Daħlet issa? Kif daħlet?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Għidli inti.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Daħlet?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ma daħletx. Apparti l-Greċja.....

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Ma daħletx il-Greċja bħala associate member?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Issa naslu. Jien qed ngħidlek li bħala membru ma daħletx.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Bħala *full member* mhix—jafu kulħadd ukoll!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Il-Greċja għada ma saritx *full member.*

ONOR. DR. G. FELICE: Għaliex ma kienx jaqbillha.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ma kienx jaqbel lill-oħrajn u għaliex il-pern politiku hu ferm aktar importanti mill-pern ekonomiku. Norway, l-Isvizzera u l-Awstrija li ħadd ma jista' jgħid li mhumiex parti kontinentali u parti mill-Ewropa mhux aktar mill-Greċja, għaliex din hija aktar 'il bogħod, qiegħda proprju fit-tarf.....

ONOR. DR. G. FELICE: Huma jaħsbu li qegħdin fl-Ewropa daqs l-oħrajn.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Din għandha tant problemi politiċi.....

ONOR. DR. G. FELICE: U l-Awstria m'għandhiex?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Fis-sens li għal taparsi għandhom stat li hu demokratiku, il-lum u jridu jżommu *argine* kontra l-kommuniżmu, u għalhekk għandhom bżonn ta' kwantità ta' għajnuna mill-Amerika u din hija l-akbar diffikoltà li hemm fejn tidħol il-Greċja. Kont qiegħed ngħid li Norway, l-Awstrija u l-Isvizzera talbu biex jidħlu *associate members*, dak li l-Common Market wiegħed li forsi jkollha il-Greċja, u sallum x'jimplika *associate member* għadu mhux deċiż. Jekk xi ħadd mill-Onor. Ministri jinteressa ruħu f'din il-kwistjoni, nista' nurih ġurnali Ġermaniżi tradotti bl-Ingliż li appuntu jitkellmu fuq din il-Kwistjoni tal-*associate membership* u jgħidu huma stess li l-akbar diffikolta' hija li l-Common Market qiegħed isir mhux mill-*approach* ekonomiku biss imma biex fl-aħħar mill-aħħar ikun hemm Ewropa magħquda jew federali u jkollha qawwa biżżejjed fid-dinja li tmur bejn iż-żewġ blokki. Meta tpoġġi dan hawnhekk u tinjora dan il-fatt politiku u li jekk jkun hemm *associate membership* għall-Gvern ta' Malta, ara xi status sabiħ ser ikollna.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Imma xi ħadd minnha qal hekk?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena qiegħed ngħid li jekk ma jkollniex indipendenza, ma nistgħux naslu.

ONOR. DR. A. PARIS: Anke il-bażi politika trid tiġi definita.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jekk tidħol l-Ingilterra jiftħulna il-bieb għal *associate membership*, voldieri meta nidħlu mingħajr drittijiet.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Imma aħna fidili daqshekk nidhru?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Inkunu fidili jekk naħsbu li sejrin nistudjaw dawn l-affarijiet u fl-istess ħin sejrin nitolbu l-indipendenza, ngħid għaliex. Ir-raġuni hija ovvja għaliex stati aktar indipendenti minn l-Isvizzera ma

hawnx u dan il-pajjiż talab li jkun *associate member* mal-Common Market u għadhom ma waslux u ma waslux minħabba d-diffikultajiet politiċi għaliex il-pajjiżi tal-Common Market fl-aħħar iridu jorganizzaw armata waħda, Parlament wieħed u fi kliem ieħor issir integrazzjoni u jekk ma jaslux pajjiżi bħal l-Isvizzera kif tista' tasal biċċa kolonja?

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Ma nintremewx aħna stess.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ma irridux ninsew li tant kissruna l-Ingliżi .....

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Tibżax.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena ma tantx nibża, kieku nibża lanqas nitkellem hekk. Jiena qiegħed ngħid: ejja jkollna sens ta' proporzjon. L-iSvizzera, Norway u l-Awstrija—billi l-Onor. Dr Paris qiegħed jinterrompi u jiena lanqas biss naf x'qiegħed jgħid, b'daqshekk lili ma jħabbilix rasi—qegħdin jitolbu l-*associate membership* u ma ħaduhx u ma ħaduhx għaliex l-implikazzjonijiet politiċi huma ferm aktar importanti minn dawk ekonomiċi u aħna qegħdin nitkellmu fuq il-Common Market. Issa naraw x'inhuma il-prospetti meta nafu li aħna kolonja—u hawnhekk wieħed għandu jħares lejn it-Trattat ta' Ruma fejn isib li pajjiż membru jista' jdaħħal bħala *associate member* lill-kolonji tiegħu.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Jekk jkun pajjiż fl-Ewropa bi dritt.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ma hemm xejn minn dan. Inġibu t-Trattat ta' Ruma.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Jekk it-territorju jkun fl-Ewropa jidħol bi dritt u ma nagħmlux taħwid.

ONOR. DR. G. FELICE: Dawn l-affarijiet rajniehom, dawn huma elementari.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Mela dawn huma elementari. Jiena ngħid li wieħed m'għandux jitkellem fuq il-Common Market qabel ma jara sewwa dawn l-affarijiet. Jekk il-Gvern verament jaf b'dawn l-affarijiet, allura juruna l-*policy* tagħhom, mhux xejn, għaliex il-Gvern mhux jgħid li jafhom dawn l-affarijiet imma tridu tgħidu u turu liema hija il-*policy* tagħkom.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Ma setax jkun hemm dan, għaliex din hija *a brief session.*

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Kieku il-Gvern qal: aħna qabbadna ekonomista biex dan jgħidilna x'ifisser għal Malta li tkun *associate member* jew *full member* nifhem. . . .

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Qiegħed tistudja il-parir ta' kull minn jista' jagħtihulek.

MR. SPEAKER: Nosserva lill-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni li skada il-ħin.

HON. M. PULIS: I move the suspension of the Standing Orders so that the hon. member may be further heard.

ONOR. DR. TOM CARUANA DEMAJO (MINISTRU TAL-ĠUSTIZZJA): Nissekonda.

Motion agreed to.
Il-mozzjoni ġiet approvata nem. con.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Nirringrazzja lill-Onor. proponent u lil-Onor. sekondant kif ukoll l-Onor. membri l-oħra tal-Kamra li ippermettewli inkompli nitkellem u nipprometti li jekk ma jkolliex interruzzjonijiet nispiċċa malajr.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: U aħna inżidulek il-ħin.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiġifieri sa issa aħna ma nafux xi tfisser din tal-Common Market, x'inhuma it-*trends* ta' l-*economic situation.* U mbagħad hemm:-

During the current session the House will be asked to consider some urgent legislation mainly connected with the control and management of public monies and the auditing of accounts.

Issa fuq din ma naħsibx li l-Gvern jista' jgħidilna jiena ma stajtx nagħti dawl fuq din il-kwistjoni. Il-Gvern seta' qalilna xi ħaġ'oħra fuq din, jekk veru sejra ssir. X'inhi l-"urgent legislation mainly connected with the control and management of public monies?"

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Bħat-Treasury and Audit Act u affarijiet simili.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Imma hawn m'għandna xejn fuqhom dawn.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Il-Bills ma tistax issejħilhom b'isimhom mill-ewwel imma tgħid l-*object* tagħhom.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Hawn ma hawnx.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Dak li qrajt.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Dawn jgħidu *legislation* konnessa mal-kontroll tal-flus. Jiena ma nistax nifhem. Daqqa jgħiduli li hawn qed nara aktar milli hemm, daqqa jgħiduli li qed nara anqas milli hemm u daqqa jgħiduli li rrid inkun profeta.

Għandna quddiemna l-programm Nazzjonalista. Mil-lat kostituzzjonali l-veru problema tal-kostituzzjoni ta' Malta għadna ma bdejnix niddiskutuh u l-problem ekonomiku li għandna quddiemna mid-dehra

l-lum hu ferm aktar ikrah milli konna naħsbu aħna. Per eżempju, dan l-aħħar aħna sirna nafu offiċjalment, min-naħa tal-General Workers' Union, li Bailey qalu ċar lill-Gvern Ingliż li jekk il-Gvern Ingliż ma itihomx il-flus li jridu eżatt, huma jitfgħu l-barra elf u ħames mitt ruħ u f'ċirkostanzi bħal dawn allura mhix kwistjoni li jkollna *observer* hemmhekk, fl-enquiry. X'jiġifieri *observer*?! Dan f'pajjiżna, f'art tagħna, bin-nies tagħna u jkollna *observer aħna* fuq dak li qed jiġri?! *Aħna* "observer" għandu jkollna hemmhekk?!

ONOR. DR. A.V. HYZLER: *Major say* għax Malta tagħna u ta' ħadd aktar.

ONOR. DR. A. PARIS: Aħna f'*meetings* tagħna sentejn ilu għadnielhom lill-General Workers' Union, meta ma kienx hawn gvern Malta (Interruzzjonijiet) .....

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Il-General Workers' Union lil Bailey iġġilditlu daqs kemm iġġilidnielu aħna. Dan problema li l-lum il-Gvern suppost li jieħu interess kbir ħafna fih. Issa qed ngħidu li dawn qalulhom minn hemm ġew li jekk Bailey ma jirċevux il-flus li qed jitolbu lill-Gvern Ingliż, huma jitfgħu elf u ħames mitt ruħ il-barra, kwistjoni li ma tibqax aktar problema tal-General Workers' Union biss imma ssir problema nazzjonali. U ġejna informati wkoll min-naħa tal-General Workers' Union li l-Prim Ministru ġie mogħti offiċċjalment ġewwa Londra t-tagħrif kollu dwar l-*employment* fis-Services issa u fil-futur. Jekk hux veru dan anqas nafuh. Anqas idea ma għandna.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Kif inhi?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Il-General Workers' Union ġew informati mill-Armirall li ġewwa Londra, jew Malta int, il-Prim Ministru, ġejt informat dwar il-qagħda tax-xogħol, il-qagħda ta' l-*employment* ġewwa n-Naval Base u stabbilimenti oħrajn issa u fil-futur.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Nixtieq itini informazzjoni preċiża.

ONOR. DR. A. BUTTIĠIEĠ: Din dehret fit-"Torċa" ta' tlitt iħdud ilu, jew żewġt iħdud jidhirli. Dan kien f'intervista tal-Union mal-Flag Officer.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Meta qed jitkellem fuq *future policy* dwar *employment* il-Gvern Ingliż qed iqabbes mill-ewwel lill-Gvern Malti u jgħid din issa kwistjoni li qed niddeċiduha mal-Gvern Malti u għalhekk u bi dritt li l-Gvern Malti għadu jinsisti li f'din l-*enquiry* li sejjer ikun hemm fuq Bailey hu għandu jkun rappreżentat mhux bħala *observer*,

imma bħala membru tal-kumitat ta' l-*enquiry*. Fuq dan m'għandux ikollna ġlied.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Kważi kultant mhux tajjeb tiddiskuti hekk.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena ngħid li jekk ikollna *observer* biss, il-proċedura, id-domandi li jsru, l-istħarriġiet li jsiru u d-dokumenti li jkun hemm ikunu jirrigwardaw biss dak li għandu x'jaqsam miegħu Bailey u dak li għandu x'jaqsam miegħu l-Gvern Ingliż u dak li hu ta' interess għalina ma jidher qatt.

Observer lill-Gvern jista' jgħidlu ġara hekk u hekk u ma jistax iċaqlaq l-affarijiet.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Jgħid lill-Gvern u mbagħad il-Gvern iċaqlaq.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Le. Naħseb li l-Gvern jaqbel li jekk jista' jkollu membru hemm ġew aħjar minn *observer*. Mhux qed ngħid li *observer* ma jiswa xejn għax inkella nkun qed ngħid ħaġa li mhux minna, imma qed ngħid. . . .

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Forsi f'dan l-istadju jaqblilna li jkollna *observer* biss.

ONOR. DR. A. HYZLER: Imbagħad meta ssir il-ftira, jgħidlek ħudha.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Il-ftira jekk saret, saret. Allura nkompli naffiġha jien ukoll?! Almenu inħares lejha.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena ma naħsibx li jkun hemm ħsara għall-interess tal-pubbliku li meta jitkellem 'il quddiem il-Prim Ministru jispjega għala jkun aħjar li jkun hemm *observer* u mhux membru.

Issa fadalli ħaġa waħda biss u din hi it-tfittix għaż-żejt. Hawn għandna: "During this session the prospects of resuming oil exploration in Malta will be examined". Nixtieq ngħid li fuq dan is-suġġett taż-żejt hemm ħafna x'wieħed igħid, u wieħed forsi l-aħjar li jista' isemmi l-avvenimenti ta' Sqallija biex minnhom forsi wieħed ikun jista' jiġbed paragun. Ġio Sqallija l-B.P. wkoll kellha *concession* u dawn damu żmien ġio Sqallija b'din il-*concession* tagħhom. *Eventually* dawn ħaffru, għamlu toqba waħda u mbagħad ħarġu *statement* bħalma għamlu hawn Malta u qalu li ma sabux iż-żejt fi kwantità kummerċjali biżżejjed biex l-intrapriża tkun tista' tkompli ekonomikament. Xi sena wara li għamlu hekk dawn u imlew il-*bore hole* bil-konkos, żewġ mili 'l bogħod minn din il-ħofra, fuq *concession* li ngħatat lill-Gulf Company, u wara storbju kbir li qam fil-Parlament kemm nazzjonali kif ukoll reġjonali ta' Sqallija fuq

il-*concession* li ħadet il-Gulf Company, instab iż-żejt fi kwantità kummerċjali u in segwitu anke l-B.P. kompliet tħaffer. Jiena ngħid biss dak li kienu jgħidu t-Taljani fi Sqallija u fl-Italja fuq il-B.P. meta ġralhom hekk ġio Sqallija. Dawn id-ditti l-kbar li huma bħal-B.P., ix-Shell, l-Esso u oħrajn ma għandhom l-ebda interess li jsibu iż-żejt l-għaliex dawn qegħdin tajjeb u għandhom kwantità ta' żejt immensa kullimkien u l-interess tagħhom hu li ma jsibux ħaddieħor, u jekk jaraw li jista' jinqala' xi ħadd ieħor u jidħlilhom fl-għalqa allura jgħidu: "Ħalli nippruvaw". Dawn ma għandhom l-ebda interess li jżidu ma' l-ħażniet li għandhom u l-anqas ma għandhom interess li jagħmlu *refineries* oħra l-għaliex għandhom biżżejjed biex jaqdu is-swieq tagħhom kullimkien. Issa fil-każ tagħna sakemm kien hemm il-Gvern Malti dawn ma waqfux, anzi il-Gvern Mati kien jagħtihom ħafna skossi fuqhom l-għaliex kien jgħidilhom li m'humiex mexjin skond il-programm u huma qatt ma kienu jgħidu: "Isma' mhux ser insibu xi ħaġa ta' l-għaġeb", imma kienu jġibu skuża fuq ir-riċerki. Wara li spiċċa l-Gvern, dawn f'Awissu 1958 ħarġu dak il-famuż kommunikat u ħarġu 'l barra. Il-fatt huwa illi dwar din il-kwistjoni taż-żejt mhux biżżejjed li tgħid: "Aħna ser neżaminaw f'din is-Sessjoni il-prospetti ta' l-esplorazzjoni f'Malta" l-għaliex b'hekk ma tasal qatt. X'nistgħu neżaminaw? Aħna li rridu ngħidu huwa dan: Noħorġu avviż mad-dinja li min jinteressaħ li jkollu *concession*, jew bħal dik li ħa l-B.P. jew differenti jiġi jiddiskuti. Jiena b'dan ma rrid bl-ebda mod norbot idejn il-Gvern fuq xi *policy*. AĦna lesti biex ngħinu lill-Gvern u nagħtuh il-kooperazzjoni tagħha.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Flok li torbot b'idejk it-tnejn, tgħid: "Jiena ser nara għadx hemm prospetti".

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ma nafx l-għaliex qed tgħid hekk l-għaliex jekk tħares lejn il-programm ta' l-Partit Nazzjonalista ssib dan: "It-tfittxija taż-żejt titkompla bis-serjetà minnufih la darba l-Gvern Kolonjali abbadunaha".

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Meta tkun barra mill-Gvern tgħid li tagħmel kollox u meta tkun fil-Gvern tgħid: "Ser neżamina l-karti kollha".

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Allura jiena ngħidlek li meta tkun barra mill-Gvern oqgħod attent li ma tintrabatx ħafna l-għaliex aħjar twegħid ftit u tagħmel ħafna.

ONOR. DR. A. PARIS: Daqs kemm wiegħedt £9 int!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena lill-Onor Dr. Paris ma nieħdux bis-serjetà l-

għaliex lanqas jaf li mhux £9, l-għaliex kieku l-*integration* saret veru, illum £16. Aħna għidna li jekk tiġi l-*integration* ikun hawn £9 fil-ġimgħa u inthom ikkumbattejtuha. Allura la ma għentuniex biex inġibu id-£9 fil-ġimgħa, toqgħodux tattakawna!

Mr Speaker, inkompli ngħid li din il-kwistjoni taż-żejt mhix kwistjoni diffiċli l-għaliex ir-riċerki saru kollha. L-ispecimens kollha qegħdin fl-armarji ta' l-Auberge, kollha klassifikati u hemm kollox. Issa jekk dawn għadhomx hemm jiena ma nafx però nista' ngħid li sa żmienna kollox kien hemm u jekk naqas xi ħaġa minn dak iż-żmien 'l hawn mhux responsabiltà tagħna. Kulma rridu nagħmlu huwa li nsibu min huwa interessat li dan iż-żejt jitla'.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Nagħtu każ li ma ssib l-ebda kumpanija li tintriga.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ma nistgħux ngħidu hekk qabel ma noħorġu l-avviżi.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Allura għalhekk tgħid li teżamina l-prospetti.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Aħna mhux ngħidu li teżamina u ma teżaminax . . .

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Aħna ma naqblux fuq il-mod li nesprimu ruħna.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Aħna qegħdin ngħidu li l-Gvern l-unika ħaġa li għandu jagħmel, u li jista' jagħmel f'dan il-każ, hi li joħroġ avviżi u jgħid: "Jiena lest biex nikkoopera ma' min irid ikompli jagħmel it-tħaffir għaż-żejt". Dan li qed ngħid, u dan hu konsistenti mal-programm Nazzjonalista; l-ieħor li hemm fl-iSpeech from the Throne mhux konsistenti.

Issa, Mr Speaker, jgħidulna: x'inhu l-*approach* tagħkom? Aħna semmejna x'inhu l-*approach* tagħna u tal-Gvern imma f'hiex għad irridu naslu ma nafux għaliex ma nafux in-negozjati f'hiex waslu, ma nafux xi kwestjonijiet ser jiġu trattati u ma nafu xejn. Aħna ma naqblux ma' dan l-*approach*. AĦna nħossu li l-Gvern kif miexi ma jistax isolvi l-problema kostituzzjonali ta' Malta u wisq u wisq anqas ma jista' jsolvi l-problema ekonomika ta' Malta. Illum fl-1962 hemm metodi oħra kif tieħu l-indipendenza. Illum hu anakronistiku li tmur waħdek tirrappreżenta kolonja għand is-Segretarju ta' l-Istat għall-Kolonji u tgħidlu: "Irrid l-indipendenza". Għaliex? Għaliex ma hemmx għalfejn isir hekk illum. Illum il-metodi huma differenti. Kieku l-Gvern Ingliż kellu jimxi fuq id-dikjarazzjonijiet li għamel hu stess, kieku malli l-Prim Ministru mar hemmhekk din id-darba biss u semma l-emendi żgħar li ried jagħmel

għall-Kostituzzjoni kieku Mr Maudling kien jgħidlu: "Dawn biss trid? U le, ħa kollox", kieku kellu jimxi fuq il-loġika u d-dikjarazzjonijiet li għamel. Għaliex? Malli spiċċa d-dikjarazzjoni ġie Wakefield Malta u qalilna li Malta fl-istrateġija ma tiswa xejn, li għan-NATO ma jaħsibx li tiswa anzi qed jipprova jikkonvinċihom biex jibqgħu hawnhekk; qalilna li l-Ingliżi ma jistgħux jonfqu flus u li bilfors irridu nippruvaw ngħixu minn xi ħaġa oħra u mhux mis-Servizzi. Issa meta dawn id-dikjarazzjonijiet toħodhom bħala mingħand persuna serja u mhux ta' waħda li trid tgħaddik biż-żmien, int tippretendi li wara dikjarazzjoni bħal din u l-Prim Ministru ta' Malta jmur l-Ingilterra u jsemmi l-Kostituzzjoni, Maudling għandu jdur fuqu u jgħidlu: "Għalfejn dan il-ħafna kliem? Hu kollox, ħa!"

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Imma tinsiex li huma għandhom obbligazzjoni lejna!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Dak għandek tippretendi jekk timxi bil-loġika. Dana Wakefield ġie hawn u mingħajr ħadd ma staqsih qalilna: "Aħna ma għandniex bżonnkom, in-NATO ma għandhomx bżonnkom; aħna ma għandniex flus u araw x'ser tagħmlu". Issa dan x'ifisser? Ifisser li mal-Gvern Ingliż fuq bażi li tgħidlu x'għandek bżonn mhux ser tasal u li mal-Gvern Ingliż tasal biss fuq bażi ta' dak li hu prattiku, x'jistgħu jagħmlu huma u x'nistgħu nagħmlu aħna. Issa x'nistgħu nagħmlu? Nafu li waħedna impossibbli li nġegħlu tabilfors lill-Gvern Ingliż jibda jirraġuna; u l-mossa tiegħu hija ċara: biex meta nitkellmu fuq affarijiet ekonomiċi jgħidilna li mhux qed jisfrutta xejn minn Malta u meta niġu għall-affarijiet kostituzzjonali jgħidilna "Jiena b'saħħti u nagħmel li rrid." Din hija l-pożizzjoni tal-Gvern Ingliż mhux ser nirranġaw il-pożizzjoni ekonomika u nafu li mal-Gvern Ingliż waħedna mhux ser nirranġaw il-kwistjoni kostituzzjonali. U jiena ngħid li fl-1962 trid tuża l-għodda tal-1962. Ara kieku konna fi żmien Garibaldi konna nagħmlu bħal ma għamel Cavour, irranġa ma' Franza, u ħarbex illum u ħarbex għada fl-aħħar ġiet il-Gwerra u Franza u l-Ingilterra għenuh biex ħa l-indipendenza mill-Awstrija. Imma llum ma għadniex f'dak il-baħar aktar. Għaliex? Illum hemm l-organizzazzjoni li jisimha "United Nations", li fuqha, fuq il-lat loġiku ma jista' jopponi ħadd; hemm il-kuluri kollha fiha. Din l-organizzazzjoni fl-1960 ħadet riżoluzzjoni li l-gvernijiet kollha għandhom jgħinu lill-kolonji biex jieħdu l-indipendenza u qalet ċar fl-1960 li s-sitwazzjonijiet ekonomiċi tal-kolonji ma għandhomx jiġu sfruttati bħala skuża mill-potenzi kolonjalisti biex ma tingħatax l-indipen-

denza. Dan sar f'Diċembru tal-1960. Is-sena l-oħra meta raw li xi pajjiżi —bħall-Ingilterra—fil-kolonji tagħhom mhux talli ma kienux qed jgħinu lill-popli biex jieħdu l-ħelsien, imma talli kienu qed jagħmlu minn kollox ħalli jtawlu l-kolonjaliżmu. Is-sena l-oħra l-United Nations għamlu kumitat ta' sbatax-il nazzjon biex hu jirrapporta u jaħdem ħalli dawn in-nazzjonijiet li m'humiex qed jimxu skond din ir-riżoluzzjoni jibdew jaderixxu ma' l-ispirtu u ma' l-ittra tar-riżoluzzjoni li għaddiet. X'kien ir-riżultat ta' din ir-riżolujoni? Dan qed narawh issa. Waqt li l-Prim Ministru Malti min jaf kemm bata Londra biex Maudling sab il-ħin għalih biex ikellmu dwar il-Kostituzzjoni ta' Malta fl-istess żmien kien hemm delegazzjoni ta' sitta mis-17 Nations Committee—jiena niftakar minnhom l-Indja, it-Tanganika u mingħalija s-Sudan—li marru Londra u tkellmu mal-Gvern Ingliż fuq is-Southern Rhodesia u l-Kenya, biex il-Gvern Ingliż jagħtihom l-indipendenza. Dawn waslu Londra wara li wasal il-Prim Ministru ta' Malta u telqu minn Londra qablu u ltaqgħu u ddiskutew mhux biss ma' Maudling imma ma' Macmillan, Butler u l-Ministri l-oħra kollha u qajmu mhux kwistjoni bħal ta' Malta imma kwistjonijiet ferm serji.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: U l-Gvern Ingliż iddeċieda li ma tantx jagħtihom sodisfazzjon.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Il-kuntrarju. Jekk trid nurik il-bulletin tal-United Nations.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Għandi informazzjoni.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Mela l-informazzjoni li għandek hi ħażina u allaħares hu hekk. Il-fatt hu li dawn fi żmien ġimgħa li damu iddiskutew mhux fuq Malta imma fuq is-Southern Rhodesia, li hija waħda mill-problemi l-aktar diffiċli għall-Ingilterra u li fuqha l-Ingliżi jieħdu l-istess atteġġjament li kienu jieħdu l-Franċiżi fl-Alġerija, għaliex? Għax is-Southern Rhodesia hemm popolazzjoni mhux ħażin ta' *white settlers* li żviluppaw l-ekonomija tal-pajjiż u investew kwantità immensa ta' flus u naturalment il-Gvern Ingliż jixtieq jipproteġihom u jagħmel minn kollox biex is-Southern Rhodesia ma taqax f'idejn is-suwed ta' dak il-post. Hawn qiegħed kumbinazzjoni l-bullitin tal-United Nations, u mhux eżatt dak li qiegħed jgħid l-Onor. Prim Ministru li l-Gvern Ingliż ma riedx jagħtihom sodisfazzjon. Ħa naqra x'hawn fil-bulletin tal-United Nations tas-17 ta' April, 1962. Mr Jha huwa ċ-chairman tas-17 Nations Committee u fl-istess ħin tas-*sub-committee* li marret Londra biex tiddiskuti dawn il-problemi mal-Gvern Ingliż:

"After the final meeting, on 12th April, Mr Jha told correspondents that the question of Southern Rhodesia had been discussed "very fully". The sub-committee had stated the views of the Committee of 17, firmly and in very friendly terms, and the United Kingdom Government had stated their position, courteously but also firmly, he said"

Allura ma tawhomx sodisfazzjon?

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: *Tea and sympathy.*

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Le, mhux *tea and sympathy.* Tal-United Nations jekk hemm xi ħaġa li m'hix *tea and sympathy* hija l-kolonjaliżmu. Ara x'qal aktar:

"After making his observation on the value of the talks, Mr Jha said: "We hope what we have said will be pondered carefully by the United Kingdom Government".

Xi jfisser dan? Ifisser li ddiskutew kollox, wieħed naħa u l-ieħor l-oħra, u l-Gvern Ingliż qal li għalkemm ma jaqblux ma' dik il-kwistjoni ikompli jikkoopera.

ONOR. DR. A. PARIS: Diġa għandna invit biex immorru.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ngħid lill-Onor. Ministru biex ma jkunx pružuntuż. Aħna hawn ma naqblux, ma naqblux fl-*approach*, u jekk nibdew niddubitaw mis-sinċerita' tal-partit li hemm fil-Gvern nispiċċaw biex ikun hemm dissidju bejnietna. Jiena domt niġġieled tlett snin. Jiena ma stajtx immur il-United Nations biex nitlob l-*integration* lill-Gvern Ingliż. Fil-United Nations ma ġġibx *integration* iġġib l-indipendenza. Aħna stajna mmorru l-United Nations għall-*integration*?

ONOR. DR. A.V. HYZLER: L-Ewropa għad trid tintegra.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Kif stajna mmorru l-United Nations fuqha?

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Stajtu tmorru fuq l-indipendenza?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Quddiem il-United Nations inti taf daqsi li hemm riżoluzzjoni fuq il-kolonjaliżmu li saret fl-elf disgħa mija u sittin. Illum inti tista' tmur għand is-17 Nations Committee u tilqgħak fi ħdanha u ddaħħlek tiġri.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Stajt tmur inti?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Le ma stajtx. Ma kienx hemm proċedura li nistgħu mmorru. Nistgħu immorru llum, mhux biss bħala Gvern imma anke bħala partit, imma dakinhar ma stajniex.

ONOR. DR. A. PARIS: Sierra Leone, Tanganika, marru hemm biex ħadu l-indipendenza?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena ngħid: nużaw l-għodda tal-lum. Fil-ġwerra tiegħu Napuljun għax ma tefax l-*atom bomb*? għax ma kellux, il-lum nistgħu. Jiena qiegħed ngħid x'qiegħed jagħmel ħaddieħor, x'għamlu s-suwed tas-Southern Rhodesia u bl-aġitazzjoni li qed jagħmlu dan il-kumitat qiegħed jagħti każ tagħhom u jieħu ħsieb. Aħna qed ngħidu li fondamentalment aħna rridu naslu għall-indipendenza. Jidherli li 'l quddiem ser naqblu aktar u dan il-Prim Ministru għadu kif ikkonfermah għax milli sirna nafu fil-*public meeting* ta' Qui-si-Sana qal li jkun hemm referendum jekk aħna nibqgħux fil-Commonwealth, jew le. Ma rridux aħna illi fuq *foreign policy* il-pajjiż jinqasam ukoll. (Onor. Membri: Hear, hear). Aħna qatt ma għidna li ma rridux nibqgħu fil-Commonwealth. Aħna dejjem għidna, bħalma ngħidu issa, li rridu li l-ewwel ikollna l-libertà li niddeċiedu, u mbagħad ikun hemm referendum u kif jgħid il-poplu jsir.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Imma marbutin b'politika ta' newtralità.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Mela ma nistgħux nagħmlu hekk?! Hemm l-Indja, is-Sudan—kollha newtrali u fil-Commonwealth. Aħna ma nbiddlux l-idea tagħna għal xejn b'xejn, għaliex iridu l-Ingliżi. Dak le. Jekk insibu li għandna żball, inbiddluha wkoll, imma għaliex iridu l-Ingliżi biss ma nbiddluhiex. Aħna l-idea tagħna hija li l-poplu jiddeċidi jekk joqgħodx fil-Commonwealth, jew le, meta jkollu s-saħħa verament li dik id-deċiżjoni tkun *binding*, jiġifieri meta jkollu l-indipendenza. It-tieni, aħna nippreferixxu li pajjiżna jkun newtrali, nippreferixxu li la nżommu mas-sistema tal-blokki tal-punent u ngħinu lill-kapitalismu, u lanqas inżommu mas-sistema kommunista.

ONOR. G. CARUANA: Għaliex tridu l-għajnuna tagħhom?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jekk noqgħodu nsemmu r-reliġjon .....

ONOR. G. CARUANA: Mhux reliġjon—għaliex tieħdu l-għajnuna tagħhom?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: X'għajnuna? Ta' min?

ONOR. G. CARUANA: Intom pinnur!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Pinnur inti! Ma jgħidlix hekk, Mr Speaker, għadu ġej il-bieraħ.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Għandu l-istess drittijiet.

ONOR. DR. A. BUTTIĠIEĠ: Caruana wkoll jismu!

ONOR. L. SANT: Taf li qed tagħmel diżunur lill-badge li għandek fuqek.

ONOR. G. CARUANA: Dik unur tagħmilli.

ONOR. L. SANT: Int idjota!

ONOR. DR. G.M. CAMILLERI: Smajtu x'qal, Sur President?

ONOR. L. SANT: Ġa għidt li nirtiraha.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Imma l-Onor. membru jirtira wkoll il-kelma "pinnur".

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: "Pinnur" mhix kelma offensiva. Konna ngħiduha lil Cole u lil kulħadd.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: "Pinnur" kelma parlamentari.

MR. SPEAKER: Nitlob lill-Onor. Sur Caruana jispjega ruħu kif qal dil-kelma.

ONOR. G. CARUANA: Jien irrid ngħid li fil-politika tagħhom huma inkonsistenti (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Bravu.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Fil-politika tagħna m'aħna nkonsistenti xejn. Qed ngħidu li aħna nippreferixxu li Malta tkun newtrali, nippreferuh għal affarijiet oħra.

ONOR. DR. A. PARIS: *De gustibus.*

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Inti ilsienek jieklok.

ONOR. DR. A. BUTTIĠIEĠ: L-*atom bomb* lilek ma naħsibx li tolqtok.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Fuq interuzzjoni tal-Prim Ministru spiegajt li tista' tkun fil-Commonwealth u tista' tkun newtrali.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Mhux dak staqsejtek.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Meta nkunu qed nitkellmu bis-serietà, nirrispondi.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Staqsejtek intix marbut malpolitika tan-newtralità.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: X'iġifieri?

ONOR. DR. A.V. HYZLER: M'għandniex *commitments* ma ħadd!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Mhux dak li jrid jgħid, imma jekk hix ħaġa li fuqha ma niċċaqilqu qatt. Biex tagħmel politika estera li trid, trid tkun f'ċirkostanzi ekonomiċi li jħalluk. Dan mhux għalina biss japplika imma għal kulħadd. Jiġifieri aħna qed ngħidu li nippreferixxu li nkunu newtrali; jiġifieri kieku jkollna c-*chance* li nkunu newtrali nippreferixu li nkunu newtrali. Din ħaġa minn lewn id-dinja, li aħjar tkun tgħix b'xi mod milli ma tkun tgħix xejn.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Mhux kulħadd jaqbel.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Naħseb li kulħadd jaqbel li aħjar tkun tgħix b'xi mod, u tistenna li ċ-ċirkostanzi tiegħek jinbidlu biex mbgħad tgħix kif

trid inti u kif irid Alla—u hawn ser nasal fil-parti tiegħek, Sur Caruana.

ONOR. G. CARUANA: *Cicero pro domo sua.*

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Aħjar tgħix milli ma tgħix xejn, għaliex lanqas tkun tista' taħtaf l-okkazzjonijiet. X'qed ngħidu? Qed ngħidu li bħala Partit Laburista, u bħala Partit Laburista nisrani,...

ONOR. DR. S. ABELA: X'ifisser nisrani?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Issa ser ngħid, u meta tismani forsi taqbel. Inthom iġġibuh dan, għaliex tagħmlu dawn l-interruzzjonijiet.

ONOR. DR. S. ABELA: Għaliex issa xbajna nisimgħu.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Fil-każ, inressaq l-emenda u nieqaf, imma billi tinterrompu ma naslu mkien. Jien qed ngħid li bħala Partit Laburista nisrani .....

ONOR. DR. G.M. CAMILLERI: Laburista jew Soċjalista?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Aħna bħala Partit Laburista nisrani nifhmu li għandna nagħmlu minn kollox biex pajjiżna ma jgħix bil-gwerrer. Aħna nifhmu li l-aktar sitwazzjoni li fiha l-bniedem il-lum ikun qiegħed verament jipprattika r-reliġjon hija meta joqgħod f'sitwazzjoni newtrali u jgħid "Jien la rrid niġġieled għall-kapitalismu u lanqas irrid niġġieled għall-kommuniżmu."

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: U jħalluk!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: X'nippreferixxu qed ngħid. Għidtha qabel ma għidtha int. Hemm min ħallewh u hemm min ma ħallewhx.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: L-Ungerija.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Aħna se ngħidu lil min ħallew, l-Isvizzera.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Il-ħbieb tagħkom ma ħellewhomx lill-Ungeriżi!

ONOR. DR. A. BUTTIĠIEĠ: Din ukoll permessa, Mr Speaker?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Il-Partit Soċjalista fl-Ungerija kienu li iġġieldu għall-libertà.

ONOR. DR. G.M. CAMILLERI: Soċjalisti u nsara ma tistgħux tkunu.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Lilkom ma togħġobkomx u nitlob li l-Onor. Dr. Caruana jirtira dak li qal, Mr Speaker.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Jiena nixtieq naf għal x'hiex qegħdin jgħidu. (Interruptions).

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Dak li għidt li l-ħbieb tagħna ma ħallewhomx.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Jiena qiegħed ngħid li l-Labour Party assoċja fl-A.A.P.S.O. li fih hemm iċ-Ċina u dawn kienu in-nies li qerdu lill-Ungerija.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jekk l-Onor. Ministru qed jgħid hekk, jiena ngħidlu li b'dan il-konċett li għandu f'moħħu l-Onor. Dr. Caruana, lanqas mita nkunu indipendenti ma għandna nidħlu fil-United Nations għaliex fiha hemm ir-Russja u dawn qegħdin fl-istess dinja u taħt l-istess xemx u taħt l-istess sema li qegħda r-Russja, taħt l-istess xemx li ssaħħan lilna u lilhom u għalkemm aħna fl-istess dinja u qegħdin taħt l-istess xemx li ssaħħanna t-tnejn, aħna għandna in komuni bħalma għandek int u bħalma għandhom nies oħra tad-dinja li ma naqblux magħhom u għalkemm aħna fl-istess assoċjazzjoni, ma naqblux mar-Russja, naqblu magħhom biss f'ħaġa waħda li l-kolonjaliżmu għandu jispiċċa (Uproar) (Hon. Members Ungerija, Rumanija, Ċekoslovakja, Albanija .....).

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Hawn Onor. membri f'din il-Kamra li qegħdin jagħmlu ħafna asserzjonijiet bl-intenzjoni .....

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Din qbiżtha.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: L-ewwel ħallini nirrispondi. Aħna naqblu mar-Russja li l-kolonjaliżmu Ingliż għandu jispiċċa (continued interruptions) u naqblu ma' l-Amerikani li l-kolonjaliżmu Russu għandu jispiċċa (Hon. Members: Hear, hear). Issa l-Onor. Membri tal-Gvern jaħsbu allura li aħna daqstant bla melħ f'rasna li jekk irridu nikkumbattu il-kolonjaliżmu Ingliż sejrin inqabbdu l-Ingliżi biex jikkumbattuh jew li sejrin inqabbdu lill-Amerikani biex jikkumbattu l-kolonjaliżmu Ingliż?

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Iva, mela lir-Russja?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Aħna qabbadniehom lill-Amerikani u qabbadna ukoll lit-Taljani u lill-Franċiżi u dawn kollha qalulna li minħabba t-trattat li għandhom ma' l-Ingilterra ma jistgħu jagħmlu xejn għalina. Dawn qalulna: Inthom tippretendu li sejrin niġġieldu għalikhom? Min mela jista' jgħinna? Dawn qalulna hekk mhux għaliex ma jaqblux magħna. Jistgħu jgħinuna biss dawk il-pajjiżi newtrali u dawk li huma di natura kontra l-kolonjalismu.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Kellimtuhom lis-soċjalisti Franċiżi? Lill-kap tagħhom Mollet ma kellimtuhx.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: L-Onor. membru ma jafx x'ġara f'Ruma u ma jafx x'ġara fi Franza. Inti taf biss biċċa u trid tinsinwa ..... (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER: Nitlob lill-Onor Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni biex jindirizza lis-Sedja.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Biex inkun nista' nħares lejn is-Sedja filwaqt li

qed nitkellem nitolbok, Mr. Speaker, li tinżamm l-ordni. Jiena kont qiegħed ngħid lill-Onor. Dr. G.M. Camilleri li meta jkun jaf biċċa storja, aħjar ma jitkellem xejn. Dan bħal mita qabdu jgħidu li aħna favur li r-Russja għamlet kolonja mill-Ungerija.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Qatt ma ġibtu kelma fil-ġurnali tagħkom fuq hekk.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Aħna m'aħna favur li jkun hemm kolonji mkien u dawk li huma soċjalisti bħalna kienu l-aktar nies li ħallew pajjiżhom u dawk li l-aktar sofrew huma soċjalisti u inutli li jridu jakkollawna bi kredu li ma għandniex u, kieku kellna, aħna għandna l-kuraġġ biex ngħiduh. In-newtraliżmu tagħna jikkonsisti fil-fatt li aħna, bħala Maltin, jekk jirnexxilna u jekk ma jirnexxielniex x'irridu nagħmlu, inkunu newtrali bħal l-Isvizzera u bħall l-Awstrija. Ma insemmux l-Isvizzera u lill-Sweden li ilhom f'posizzjoni newtrali għal żmien twil imma pajjiżi oħra li saru newtrali dan l-aħħar. Jiena qatt ma smajt organizzazzjonijiet reliġjużi jattakkaw lill-Norveġja u lill-Sweden u lanqas lill-Awstria li saret newtrali minn wara l-gwerra. Jekk nistgħu nagħmlu dan, x'hawn kuntrarju li jsir? Dan huwa dak li jiena irrivolġejt lill-Onor. Prim Ministru jekk irridu nkunu prattiċi. Hawn min qal: Minn fejn trid iġġib l-għajnuna? Aħna l-lum, bil-mozzjoni li għandna, bl-emenda li għandna, qed ngħidu minn fejn għandha proprjament tiġi l-għajnuna biex Malta *from the frying-pan* ma taqax *into the fire*. Illum hemm organizzazzonijiet internazzjonali li suppost jagħtuna għajnuna ekonomika u għajnuna oħra biex kostituzzjonalment nieħdu d-drittijiet tagħna. Issa aħna, bħala partit, sejrin nimmuvjaw emenda li konsistentement malprogramm li għandna sejra tgħid lill-Gvern jiddispjaċini li ma mxejtx b'dan il-metodu.

Dan mhux sejrin nagħmluh biex nakkużaw lil ħadd u, kieku kulħadd jieħu l-affarijiet fl-ispirtu li bih nagħmlu l-kommenti tagħna, kieku naslu aktar. Aħna qed ngħidu lill-Gvern: Hemm il-United Nations, u ħadd ma jista' jattakkana, jekk immorru għandhom, li aħna mal-West jew ma l-East. Hemm l-organizzazzjonijiet hemmhekk, u l-każ tagħna għandna inpoġġuh hemmhekk u, apparti x'nagħmlu aħna bħala gvern, bħala partit, wasal iż-żmien li l-każ tagħna jitpoġġa offiċċjalment hemmhekk u aħna ngħidu lill-United Nations bil-pożizzjoni ekonomika tagħna wkoll. Issa jiena flejtha .....

ONOR. DR. S. ABELA: Int ma tħoss li tkun tqiegħed il-karettun qabel iż-żiemel?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena ma tantx nitfixkel fl-argumenti tiegħi bl-interruzzjonijiet, imma ikun hemm xi membri oħra li jitilfu l-fil. Fil-programm Nazzjonalista ma hemm xejn li hu kontra din l-emenda anzi f'dan il-programm hemm ċar li dan jaqblu fuqu. Għax x'jgħid il-programm? Jgħid li l-Gvern Nazzjonalista jaħseb li l-għajnuna mingħand il-Gvern Ingliż ma tkunx biżżejjed u li l-Gvern ifittex għajnuna minn organizzazzjonijiet internazzjonali. Issa jiena nifhem li l-aqwa organizzazzjoni internazzjonali l-lum hija l-United Nations u, għalkemm fil-programm Nazzjonalista dan mhux ċar nifhmu li dak li jridu jifhmu b'organizzazjonijiet internazzjonali.

U għaliex dan il-pass aktar jgħaqqad il-pajjiż u mhux aktar ikompli jaqsmu? L-ewwelnett huma stess qalu li għandna inġibu l-indipendenza malajr u li nonostante il-fatt li għandna ekonomija fil-pajjiż debboli, din mhix raġuni għala m'għandniex inġibu l-indipenenza. Huma wkoll semmew organizzazzjonijiet internazzjonali u minħabba dawn ir-raġunijiet aħna nħossu li jekk din l-emenda ma tgħaddix, ma tgħaddix mhux għax ikollhom raġun imma minħabba pika banali. Aħna nħossu li għandna nimmuvjaw l-emenda u li din l-emenda għandu jkollha s-support tal-Membri Nazzjonalisti kollha ta' din il-Kamra li l-lum jifformaw il-Gvern.

L-emenda hija din:—

MR. SPEAKER: Ninforma lill-Onor. Membri li fl-emenda ċirkolata hemm *typing error* li jrid jiġi korrett skond ma tidher fin-Notice Paper tal-lum. Il-kliem "brought over" iridu jkunu "brought about".

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: I beg to move this addition:—

But regret that the following has been omitted:—

The Legislative Assembly, faithful to the manifest aspirations of the great majority of the Maltese People, ask Her Majesty's Government to give Malta her independence and bring to the attention of the 17 Nations Committee of the United Nations the economic feebleness of the Maltese Islands brought about by over a century and a half of British colonialism, so that the United Nations Organisation may extend to our people the economic aid necessary for a viable economy.

Aħna f'din l-emenda qed nagħmlu ċar il-fatt li l-pożizzjoni ta' Malta, il-pożizzjoni ekonomika ta' Malta hija diżastruża, li aktar ma jgħaddi ż-żmien aktar sejra sir diżastruża, li aktar ma nibqgħu taħt il-Gvern Ingliż aktar is-sitwazzjoni sejra titgħarraq. Aħna qed nagħmluha ċar li ma jistax ikun li taħt is-sistema kolonjali xi darba l-pożizzjoni ekonomika

tagħna sejra titjib. Qed ngħidu wkoll li għall-ewwel darba f'din il-Kamra l-maġġoranza tal-Membri sejrin ngħidu lill-Gvern Ingliż: "Tihielna l-indipendenza, irriduha." Dan għadu ma sar qatt u dan għandna nagħmluh mill-aktar fis.

ONOR. DR GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Imma fl-Address in Reply?! Dik tiġi sfiduċja fil-Gvern.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Kieku din jaċċettaha l-Prim Ministru nagħmililu kwalunkwe forma li jrid għax m'hix *meant* bħala *vote of no confidence.* Jiena naċċertah li, kieku jaċċetta, nirtirha issa u inġibha, jew iġibha hu darb'oħra. Aħna li ma naqblux ma l-*approach* li qed isir. Jiena qed ngħid li, li kieku l-Gvern jgħid li jaċċettaha mhux biss lest biex ma tkunx *vote of no confidence* imma anki nagħmlu din il-mozzjoni darb'oħra b'forma oħra.

ONOR. DR. A.V. HYZLER: Riżoluzzjoni tal-Kamra kollha.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiġifieri aħna l-Laburisti għalina l-aqwa li Malta tiġi l-Indipendenza. Min iġibha għalina, dak hu immaterjali. (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

Issa x'qed ngħidu? Qed ngħidu liema huwa l-mezz li għandna miftuħ. Għalfejn qed ninħlew l-Ingilterra nagħmlu dawn l-affarijiet? Għadna anqas għamilna dikjarazzjoni li dan il-Parlament irid l-Indipendenza. Il-Gvern Ingliż jista' jdur fuqna u jgħid: Fejn għedtu uffiċjalment li tridu l-indipendenza; fejn qal il-Parlament li tridu l-indipendenza? Għax ma nagħmlux din l-ewwel? X'sejra ttellef din? X'sejrin nitilfu aħna billi ngħidu lis-17 Nations Committee: "Ara dawn mhux talli s-sitwazzjoni ekonomika ta' Malta mhux qed jirranġawha, imma talli qed jgħarrquha apposta biex ma jkollniex l-indipendenza." U x'hemm xi jżommna li ngħidu lill-Ingliżi: "Aħna, jekk tagħtuna l-indipendenza, mhux sejrin nerġgħu nibdew bil-power politics fil-Mediterran." Aħna ma rridu niġġieldu ma' ħadd. Aħna ma rridu neħduha kontra ħadd. Nistaqsi lilkom hawn, lil dawk li jitkellmu fuq il-kattoliċiżmu: "X'hawn kontra l-Kattoliċiżmu, hawn xi ħaġa ħażina li napprowċjaw lill-United Nations?" Hawn xi ħaġa ħażina li ngħidulhom bis-sitwazzjoni ekonomika ta' Malta? X'hawn ħażin? Aħna dan li qegħdin ngħidu hawn. Biex inkunu serraħna moħħ kulħadd hawn ħalli ngħidilkom il-pożizzjoni tagħna aktar ċara. Aħna ma kellna xi ngħidu xejn mal-Kleru jew mal-Kurja fuq affarijiet ta' Domma, fuq affarijiet purament reliġjużi. Jekk wieħed jara l-oriġinal ta' l-interdett li għandna kull membru li għandna hawnhekk, x'isib? X'qalulna l-Kurja? (interruzzjonijiet)

Qiegħed ngħid li aħna ma għandna l-ebda deficjenzi fuq religjon, fuq filosofiji u affarijiet bħal dawn, u d-dikjarazzjoni tagħna trid tkun li min qiegħed jiddispjaċih ikompli jiddispjaċih.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Aħna ma għandna l-ebda dispjaċir.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Mela nieħduha b'dak l-ispirtu. Aħna ma għandniex deficjenzi fuq id-Domma. Aħna li ma naqblux hu li f'Malta tibqa' s-sistema medjevali. Anzi aħna nemmnu li aktar ma jibqgħu l-privileġġi medjevali, aktar ma jibqgħu l-privileġġi materjali li jiddistingwu lill-Kleru mill-parti l-oħra tal-popolazzjoni ħsara ssir lill-Knisja u mhux ġid. Aħna nemmnu li għandu jkun hemm indħil mill-anqas, jew xejn, min-naħa ta' l-Awtoritajiet Ekklesjastiċi f'affarijiet politiċi.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Ma naqblux miegħek.

ONOR. DR. A.V. HYZLER: Imma meta jimbuttawlkom lil xi ħadd fin-nofs kemm toqomsu.

ONOR. DR. P. SALIBA: Imma ma wasalniex biex niġġieldu mal-Knisja.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Aħna nemmnu wkoll li l-intervent tal-Kleru f'din l-aħħar elezzjoni aktar ħawwad is-sitwazzjoni.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Mr Speaker, nipprotesta kontra dan il-mod ta' diskors li ma għandu x'jaqsam xejn mal-kustjoni li għandna quddiemna u nappella lis-Sinjorija Tiegħek biex ineħħi mid-*debate* ċerti allużjonijiet.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Qed inħallih jitkellem l-għaliex qiegħed jgħid il-ħmerijiet.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Ma nħallikx tisfoga.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ejja żommni.

ONOR. L. SANT: Mr Speaker, keċċieh 'l barra, jekk ma jridx jisma'.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Oħorġu intom. Jiena mhux ser inħallik a kwalunkwe kost tattakka l-Awtorita' Ekklesjastika.

ONOR. DR. A. BUTTIĠIEĠ: Mr Speaker, *on a point of order*. Dan mhux biss qiegħed jinterrompi, imma qiegħed jiddikjara espressament li se jkompli jinterrompi. L-Onor. Dr Caruana iddikjara li ser jisfida s-Sedja l-għaliex qal li mhux se jħalli lill-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni jitħadded, u għalhekk nitlob lis-Sinjorija Tiegħek biex iġġiegħel lil-Onor. Dr Caruana jirtira dik l-espressjoni.

MR. SPEAKER: Is-Sedja taf x'għandha tagħmel jekk xi ħadd ma jiddeportax ruħu sewwa, u, jekk ikun il-każ, tieħu l-miżuri meħtieġa.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Mr Speaker, kont qed ngħid li l-intervent

tal-Kleru f'dawn l-aħħar elezzjonijiet fejn sar dnub mejjet li tivvota għall-Partit Laburista ..... (Membri tal-Gvern: Quote!)

Jiena nikkwota l-kull min mar iqerr; il-qassis jew il-patri, il-konfessur tiegħu qallu: "Jekk int bi ħsiebek tivvota għal-Labour Party jiena ma nagħtikx assoluzzjoni".

ONOR. DR. S. ABELA: Kont miegħu int dak il-ħin?!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Għaliex iridu jmeru ħaġa li jafha kulħadd?!

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Jiena kont ser nagħmel appell lil-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni, li l-Kamra miegħu kienet ġeneruża, tagħtu l-ħin kollu li ried .....

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ħadtuli l-ħin, mhux kienet ġeneruża!

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: ..... biex iżomm ruħu għall-Address in Reply u ma jqanqalx kwestjonijiet li huma kontenzjużi.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena qiegħed ma' l-Address in Reply, u nerġa' nirripeti illi l-intervent fejn il-vot lill-Partit Laburista sar dnub mejjet ma ġibx ġid il-pajjiż u wassalna f'sitwazzjoni li minħabba f'hekk illum ma nafux aħna min ivvota għat-tali programm għax jaqbel mat-tali programm jew ivvota għat-tali programm għax ħaseb li din hi kwistjoni reliġjuża u ma ivvutax għal partit ieħor. Dan li qed ngħid, u ma nafx għaliex dan l-għajjat kollu, għaliex dawn affarijiet li min jaf intom stess kemm għedtuhom anke minn fuq ir-Rediffusion li n-nies ma għadhomx jivvutaw għalina għaliex aħna partit kontra l-Knisja. Issa ser naslu biex ngħidu li dak ma kienx fattur deċiżiv fl-elezzjonijiet? Jiena nkompli ngħid li l-fattur reliġjuż f'dawn l-elezzjonijiet ma għamilx ġid lil Malta u ma għamilx ġid lill-popolazzjoni. Għaliex ma għamilx ġid?.....

ONOR. N. LAIVIERA: Mr Speaker, min jinterrompi seba' u tmien darbiet is-Sedja għandha tieħu passi kontra tiegħu! Nattira l-attenzjoni tas-Sedja għal dan il-fatt.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena ngħid li dana ħsara għamel. Għaliex? Għaliex illum għandna Gvern li tela' bi programm—jgħid hu—imma aħna ngħidu li kieku ma kienx hemm il-fattur reliġjuż ma kienx ikollu maġġoranza, u nippruvawh dan, u b'hekk nikkontestaw aħna l-validità ta' l-elezzjoni.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Imma dan kif jidħol fl-Address in Reply?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Dan jidħol fl-Address in Reply għaliex aħna qed nippruvaw li l-Gvern l-ewwelnett mhux qed jimxi skond il-programm tiegħu elettorali, it-tieni li l-Gvern fil-qagħda li qiegħed illum m'huwiex

f'pożizzjoni li sinċerament u bis-saħħa kollha jimxi fit-triq ta' l-indipendenza li wieġħed lill-poplu għax daħlu fatturi oħra fi żmien l-elezzjoni li jikkonfondu din il-kwistjoni, u t-tielet, u wkoll dina tmissna direttament, għax aħna nemmnu li jekk ser nibnu pajjiż ġdid demokratiku l-elezzjonijiet għandhom jitqiesu bħala sakrosanti u ma għandux ikun hemm dak l-intervent fihom li jibdlilhom in-natura politika tagħhom kollha u ssir kwistjoni reliġjuża. (*Għajjat*)

At 8.50 p.m. Mr Speaker ordered the Hon. Dr S. Abela to withdraw for five minutes.

Fit-8.50 p.m. Mr Speaker ordna lill-Onor. Dr S. Abela biex jirtira għal ħames minuti.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena nkompli ngħid li ma jistax ikun li demokrazija timxi hekk għax is-saħħa tal-Gvern ried u ma riedx qiegħda undermined. Aħna ma nafux fejn aħna u ma nistgħux nibnu Stat demokratiku. Stat demokratiku biex jinbena kif imiss irid jimbena fuq il-prinċipju tat-tolleranza kollha. Anke kieku veru, li m'hix, li ma konniex Kattoliċi aħna għandna jkollna l-istess drittijiet u protezzjoni mill-Istat.

ONOR. DR. A. TABONE: Imma mhux f'Malta.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Dak medjovali! Araw il-kostituzzjoni ta' l-Italja. Nerġa ngħid anke li kieku konna ta' reliġjon oħra, li mhux veru dan, aħna intitolati għall-protezzjoni kollha tal-liġi u għandna ikollna l-istess drittijiet daqs kemm għandhom il-Kattoliċi kieku konna ta' reliġjon oħra, aħseb u ara li m'aħniex. U b'hekk nistgħu aħna nibnu kostituzzjoni ġdida u moderna li fiha jista' jkun hemm l-unita' nazzjonali. Aħna għamilna ċar li kuntenti b'kostituzzjoni bħal ma għandha l-Italja; kuntenti, u ħadd ma jista' jgħid li l-Italja għandha xi kostituzzjoni li toħnoq il-Kattoliċeżimu. Għandha kostituzzjoni moderna, kostituzzjoni antifaxxista, kostituzzjoni bi prinċipji soċjali moderni, kostituzzjoni li l-Gvernijiet Kattoliċi qatt ma ippruvaw jibdlu la qabel il-Mater et Maġistra u lanqas wara. Kuntenti b'dan aħna għax Stat modern hu mibni fuq dawk id-drittijiet. Imma li nibqgħu mixjin kif aħna dejjem bil-periklu li ser jiġri xi ħaġa f'kull elezzjoni li tiġi, ma jistax ikun. Din id-darba qlajnieha aħna u darb'oħra ma tafux jekk taqilhuwiex intom .....(Għajjat).

ONOR. DR. A. BUTTIGIEG: Fortunato Mizzi kien kielha l-ewwel!

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: L-ewwel Kattoliċi aħna!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ngħiduhilkom bis-serjetà kollha li llum ħa l-*brunt*

kollu il-Partit Laburista. Fl-imgħoddi ħa d-daqqa l-Partit Stricklandjan, illum id-daqqa ħadnieha aħna tal-Partit Laburista pero' m'hix ħaġa kbira jekk għada fuq kwestjonijiet politiċi bħal ma kellna aħna toħduha intom, taf! Dan li nsostnu aħna. Aħna nafu li l-Kurja ma taqbilx magħna. Id-domanda li għamilli l-aħħar darba l-Onor. Sur Caruana ta' *practising Catholic* u mhux *practising Catholic* nixtieq nirrispondiehielu, pero' mhux bil-kliem tiegħi nirrispondih għax ngħid frankament li fit-teoloġija u fil-filosofija ma tantx nifhem.

ONOR. DR. J. SPITERI (Ministru tax-Xogħlijiet u Djar): Mhux awtorità.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Mhux awtorita' daqshekk.

ONOR. MR. G. CARUANA: Allura għalfejn tikkummenta?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena ser nirrispondih m'hux filosifikament, jew teoloġikament, imma ser nirrispondih b'dak li tgħallimt minn fonti suprema, mill-għajn li suppost saqqiet lilna ilkoll fit-twemmin tagħna ta' insara u jiena qiegħed nirreferixxi teoloġikament—u jidhirli li ma hemmx għalfejn l-Onor. Membri jidħku għax dawn ma humiex affarijiet tad-daħk—għal dak li hemm fil-vanġelu.

ONOR. DR. S. ABELA: Ma tistax tikkwota mill-vanġelu!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Kieku nikkwota lil Mawmettu għandhom raġun jgħidu hekk, imma mhux għaliex nikkwota l-fonti suprem tar-religion tagħna.

ONOR. DR. PH. SALIBA: Imma ikkwota tajjeb.

ONOR. DR. S. ABELA: Ma għandekx dritt tikkwota!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ma għandix dritt nikkwota? Dan oskurantiżmu. Jiena ser nikkwota— l-interpretazzjoni inħalliha lilkom.

ONOR DR. S. ABELA: Ix-xitan ukoll ikkwota l-bibbja!

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: U naqra xi jgħid St. John, Chapter IV, meta Sidna Ġesù Kristu intaqa' mas-Samaritana.

ONOR. DR. PH. SALIBA: Missek tgħallimtha bl-amment?

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Bl-amment ma nafhiex. "But the hour cometh.....

ONOR. DR. A.V. HYZLER: Lill-ġakbini ngħalquhom?

ONOR. DR. A. PARIS: Dan skond il-vanġelu?

ONOR. DR. A.V. HYZLER: Alla ħalaq l-infern.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: "But the hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth".

(Onor. Membri: Hear, hear). Issa dan il-Membri tal-Gvern tal-Partit Nazzjonalista jinterpretawh kif iridu.

ONOR. MEMBRU: Inti?

ONOR. DR. PH. SALIBA: Mr Speaker, qiegħed jakkuża lill-grupp Nazzjonalista li jinterpretaw il-vanġelu kif irridu.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena akkużajt dan? Għidt tinterpretawh kif tridu.

ONOR. DR. PH. SALIBA: Qiegħed jgħid li nikkwotaw l-iskrittura (interruzzjonijiet).

ONOR. DR. A. BUTTIĠIEĠ: Ma fhimtx.

ONOR. DR. PH. SALIBA: Ix-xitan ukoll ikkwota l-bibbja.

DOCUMENT 88

Further Debate on Points Arising from the Speech from the Throne Regarding Independence within the Commonwealth

..... Ma jistax ikun li fi żmien hekk qasir, meta ma tbiddel xejn fis-sitwazzjoni ta' Malta, anzi jekk tbiddlet xi ħaġa tbiddlet fis-sens li tagħmel l-indipendenza aktar diffiċli milli faċli, bniedem isostni li l-indipendenza tal-pajjiż, mingħajr bażi ekonomika soda, hija ħaġa possibbli; bniedem li sostna li Malta ma jistax ikollha din il-bażi soda jekk ma tintegrax ma pajjiż ieħor ma jistax ikun li llum jemmen il-kuntrarju ta' dak li kien jemmen dak in-nhar.

Lanqas ma nistgħu jien u sħabi nivvutaw l-emenda ta' l-Onor. Pellegrini, l-ewwelnett għaliex issejħilha x'issejħilha jien nara li bħala emenda għad-Diskors mit-Tron għandha dejjem is-sinjifikat ta' *vote of no confidence*; u għalhekk jien, li f'dan il-mument irrid nagħti appoġġ totali lill-Gvern (Hon. Members: Hear, hear), lejliet li sejjer l-Ingilterra biex jiġġieled għad-drittijiet tal-poplu Malti, inkun qed innaqqaslu mill-forza tiegħu kieku kelli nivvota l-emenda. Terġa l-Onor. Pellegrini f'din l-emenda qalilna ħaġa vera, ħaġa verissima li nemmen fiha jien ukoll, li ħalli jkun hawn indipendenza fil-pajjiż irid ikun hawn bażi ekonomika, jiġifieri li l-indipendenza politika tista' tiġi ottenuta biss meta magħha jkun hemm ukoll stabilità ekonomika, meta tkun assigurata l-ekonomija tal-pajjiż b'mod li l-poplu jkun jista' jgħix, iżomm l-istandards tiegħu, u jmur 'il quddiem. Però mbagħad l-Onor. Pellegrini, bil-formula li ħarġilna biha, ma ipprova xejn; anzi qalilna li meta

l-United Nations tagħti l-għajnuna, allura aħna nieħdu l-indipendenza. Issa aħna nafu li matul l-istorja tal-aħħar snin, meta kwantità ta' paġġiżi ħadu l-indipendenza, il-United Nations qatt ma għenet lil ħadd biex l-ekonomija tiegħu tkun *viable*, u nafu wkoll li dan huwa impossibbli. Il-United Nations, kif jaf kulħadd, għandha quddiemha tliet-kwarti tal-popolazzjoni tad-dinja li hija *under-fed* u *under-nourished*, li qed tikkumbatti biex tgħix, biex ma timradx; u jekk għandha tgħin, u jekk tista' tgħin, kif qed jgħinu l-potenzi sinjuri fil-United Nations, l-ewwel li tgħin ikun lil dawk li qed jillottjaw bejn il-ħajja u l-mewt u dawk li għandhom wara l-bieb il-perikolu kummunista, u mhux ser tiġi tagħti miljuni lilna biex nakkwistaw l-economic viability li tkellem fuqha l-Onor. Pellegrini. Jien inħoss li huwa dover tagħna— u dan il-poplu qed jistenna minnha— li huwa dover gravissimu ta' dan il-Parlament li f'din is-siegħa diffiċli ma nilludux 'il-poplu, li ngħidulu l-verità, u ngħidulu kemm hija serja u gravi s-sitwazzjoni ekonomika, ħalli l-poplu, ta' poplu għaqli, ikun jista' jirreaġixxi b'mod kostruttiv.

ONOR. M. PULIS: Ilna ngħidulu erba' snin.

ONOR. DR. H. GANADO: Ilkom tgħidulu erba' snin, u f'erba' snin ma tajtuhx suġġeriment wieħed prattiku biex jirranġa s-sitwazzjoni ekonomika tiegħu. Jien qed ngħid li s-sitwazzjoni ekonomika hija gravissima, forsi l-aktar waħda gravi li qatt kellna fl-istorja ekonomika tagħna moderna, għal ħafna raġunijiet. Malta fl-aħħar 450 sena għexet dejjem bħala bażi navali ta' l-aqwa potenza fil-Mediterran. Għexet taħt l-Ordni meta l-Ordni dik il-ħabta kien qiegħed jiddefendi l-Mediterran kontra l-piraterija; ġew il-Franċizi, u Malta għażlet l-Ingilterra, għaliex l-Ingilterra allura kienet l-aqwa potenza navali tad-dinja. Illum, dan kollu ser jispiċċa, qaltilna id-Defence White Paper u tajjeb jew ħażin huwa fatt li filwaqt li dari Malta kien hemm il-bżonn li teżisti ekonomikament bħala bażi Navali, dan il-bżonn m'għadux jeżisti. Barra minn dan, il-popolazzjoni taż-żmien imgħoddi ma kinitx kbira bħal ma hija llum, il-popolazzjoni allura kienet ta' mitt elf ruħ u wara mitejn elf ruħ. Barra minn dan, il-popolazzjoni ma kellhiex l-istandard of living li għandha llum u jiena nkun l-aħħar wieħed li nixtieq li dan l-istandard of living imur lura, standard of living ġust li l-poplu tagħna għandu dritt għalih, u poplu ċivilizzat m'għandu qatt imur lura. Għal xi kapriċċi ta' lussu żejjed fil-klassijiet kollha, nistgħu f'ċerti mumenti nagħmlu ċerti sagrifiċċji fuqhom. Barra minn hekk, Malta, barra milli kellha miljuni ta' flus bħala bażi navali, kellha wkoll riżorsi kbar fl-antik, meta kellna

l-industrija tal-vapuri tal-qlugħ. Malta dak iż-żmien kienet tissupplixxi lill-flotta kollha tal-Mediterran, u kienet tirċevi it-tabakk li mbagħad kien imur l-Italja, kif l-istess ħaġa jista' jingħad għall-bakkaljaw li qabel kien jiġi Malta. Jekk aħna naraw l-istorja ta' l-ewwel epoka ta' l-Ingliżi, insibu li kien hawn ħafna ditti Ingliżi għaliex kien hawn kummerċ kbir ta' trasbord u meta nfetaħ is-Suez Canal u l-vapuri saru jaħdmu bl-isteam naraw, jekk inqalbu ftit l-istatistika tad-Dwana li, f'pajjiżna ġie li kien hawn għoxrin u tletin vapur jistennew fil-queue biex jgħabbu l-faħam. Dan fisser li Malta kellha riżorsi oħra mentri llum, f'dan il-mument, dawn ma jeżistux. Nistgħu ngħidu biss li għandna l-isperanza u j'Alla jseħħu l-industriji l-ġodda, però ma għandniex bħal qabel riżorsi biżżejjed għal popolazzjoni kbira, ma għandniex riżorsi sfruttati ħalli nkunu nistgħu nħallsu l-kont ta' kważi tletin miljun għall-importazzjoni li Malta timporta daż-żminijiet.

X'jista' jsir? X'għandna nagħmlu. Il-Gvern jidhirli li fid-Diskors mit-Tron li għamel qal li din sejra tkun sessjoni qasira għaliex qalilna l-onor. Prim Ministru li sejjer Londra biex jittratta l-kwistjoni ekonomika, għalkemm jien jidhirli li jmissu diġà qanqalha meta mar Londra, imma naturalment, aħjar issa milli tard aktar. L-unika soluzzjoni hija li l-Gvern Malti u l-Gvern Ingliż skond ir-rabta ta' ftehim ta' l-1955 bejn iż-żewġ nazzjonijiet għandhom jippruvaw ifittxu soluzzjoni ekonomika u nieħu gost li s-Segretarju ta' l-Istat għall-Kolonji, waqt li rrisponda xi jumejn ilu l-Interpellanza li għamillu wieħed mill-membri tal-Partit tal-Ħaddiema Ingliż fil-House of Commons, meta ġie mistoqsi fuq is-sitwazzjoni tal-qagħad f'Malta, dan ma ppruvax jeħles minnha, imma qal li huwa preokkupat u jħoss li għandu jsib xi mezz, jiġifieri li l-Gvern Ingliż qiegħed jaċċetta l-pożizzjoni tiegħu ta' responsabbilta' fis-sitwazzjoni tagħna. U ma jistax ma jaċċettax għal diversi raġunijiet, għax il-Gvern Ingliż ħa minn Malta mitqla deheb matul il-mija u sittin sena li kellna l-Ingliżi f'Malta. Jekk naraw l-istorja nsibu li Malta swiet għall-Ingliżi għall-anqas matul tliet gwerer li kellha l-Ingilterra, u ċjoè l-battalja ta' Navarino fl-1827, fil-gwerra tal-Krimea meta kien hawn il-kriżi ta' bejn ir-Russja u t-Turkija u li ma kinitx għall-flotta Ingliża bażata f'Malta li setgħet malajr tmur hemm, ma nafx x'kien isir u anke fl-aħħar gwerra meta l-istess Ingliżi qalu li kieku ma kinitx Malta l-gwerra kienet titwal b'xi tliet snin.

Hawnhekk jiena jidhirli li naqblu lkoll li l-Gvern Ingliż ma jistax jaħrab mir-responsabilità u nispera li ma jridx jaħrab minnha. Hemm

raġuni oħra għaliex il-Gvern Ingliż għadu d-dover morali li jipprovdi għall-ekonomija tagħna li għal mija u ħamsin sena ġiet subordinata għall-bżonnijiet ta' l-Ingilterra meta ħalliet lill-Malta tkun biss bażi navali. Jiena m'hiniex sejjer inkun minn dawk li ngħid u nesaġera bħal ma għamlu xi nies, speċjalment fl-antik li Malta tingħata lill-Ingliżi, lanqas ma jiena ser ngħid li Malta ġiet sfruttata, imma ngħid li Malta rnexxilha li jkollha standard of living li kien l-aħjar wieħed fil-Mediterran, dak iż-żmien però nirripeti illi avvolja Malta kellha dak l-istatus, il-Gvern Ingliż li amministra Malta għal mija u ħamsa sena u l-Colonial Office li kien qed imexxi, who was running the show, huma responsabbli li ma żviluppaw qatt Malta b'mod li jiddiversifikaw l-ekonomija tagħna. Il-Gvern Ingliż għamel l-iżball li kkonċentra kollox għal bażi navali. Jekk aħna naraw il-gazzetti antiki u d-debates tal-Kunsill, insibu li anke l-Maltin ma urewniex inizjattiva biżżejjed, ma urewniex l-iniżjattiva li kien imisshom urewna. Meta wieħed jaqra d-*debates* isib li l-ġurnali kollha ta' dik l-epoka r-"Risorgimento", il-"Malta" ta' Mizzi, il-"Malta Chronicle" li kienet konsidrata bħala gazzetta imperjali, dejjem insistew li Malta għandha tiġi żviluppata, li l-port tagħna għandu jiġi modernizzat, għaliex fil-bidu tas-seklu, malli l-vapuri bdew jikbru, il-prospetti tal-port tagħna bdew bil-ftit il-ftit jonqsu, u anke dak iż-żmien pajjiżna beda jallarma ruħu meta saret l-Entente Cordiale u kien hawn biża li Malta sejra tispiċċa bħala bażi navali u l-flotta Ingliża kienet sejra lejn in-North Sea. Allura l-poplu kollu, anki l-president tas-Soċjetà ta' l-Arte, Manifattura e Commercio, is-Sur Falzon, għamlu mill-aħjar biex il-Gvern jiftaħ industrji, jimmodernizza l-port u jsiru dawn l-affarijiet kollha imma ma sar xejn.

Għalhekk jidhirli li wara li l-ekonomija tagħna ġiet subordinata għall-bżonnijiet tan-Naval Base ma jistax il-Gvern Ingliż *overnight* jgħidilna: "Ejjew niddiversifikaw l-ekonomija tal-pajjiż" hekk f'daqqa. Però min-naħa l-oħra dan ma jfisserx li għadna nkunu parassiti. Għalkemm il-Maltin dejjem iddipendew minn gvernijiet oħra ma jistax ikun però li aħna ma nurux l-inizzjattiva tagħna speċjalment f'dan il-parlament, li ħareġ minn lotta moderna. Hemm bżonn li dan il-Gvern li ġie elett b'tant speranzi, dan il-parlament iqajjem fil-poplu Malti dak is-sens ta' responsabiltà, ta' inizzjattiva, ta' entużjażmu u ta' sagrifiċċju li hemm bżonn biex Malta tieqaf fuq saqajha. Dan qed ngħidu f'sens realistiku għax jiena ma nħobbx l-entużjażmu ta' wieħed li jgħix fl-isħab. Inħallu ftit mill-ġlied ta' bejnietna, inħallu l-interruzzjonijiet żejda. Jiena

ġdid fil-parlament u ma rridx ngħid wisq u nkun prużuntuż, imma nħallu ftit mill-ġlied u l-piki u f'mumenti bħal dawn nuru lill-poplu li qed nallarmaw ruħna u li qed naħdmu biex nagħtu ħajja ġdida lill-pajjiż. (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

L-ewwel dover tagħna hu li nbiddlu l-mentalità tal-pajjiż, imma meta jgħidulna biex inbiddlu l-mentalità tagħna fi pjan ta' ħames snin ma jirrealizzawx kemm din hija ħaġa iebsa. Il-Gvern Ingliż għandu quddiemu l-problema tal-Common Market. Bih qed iqajmulu ħaġa li tmur kontra l-idea tal-poplu Ingliż tal-Commonwealth u kontra l-idea ta' l-*isolation* u din l-idea ma jistax jadottaha faċilment u forsi sakemm il-poplu Ingliż jasal biex jifhem li għandu jadottaha, għad iridu jgħaddu ħafna snin.

Hemm bżonn li nfehmu lill-poplu li spiċċa dak iż-żmien li jista' jiddependi minn gvernijiet u li jekk irid jiġi 'l quddiem irid ikun hu stess li jrid jipprova jsalva lil pajjiżu kif għamlu l-Italja u l-Ġermanja f'dak li jgħidulu l-miraklu ekonomiku, kif isejħulu l-Financial *Times* u l-*Economist.* Dawk il-pajjiżi, għalkemm tilfu l-gwerra, bl-isforzi tagħhom ġew rebħu. Jiena nieħu gost li fl-iSpeech from the Throne il-Gvern semma l-Common Market. Jiena kont wieħed mill-ewwel nies li nsistejt kemm flaħt biex naraw x'jista' jsir, għaliex jien inħoss li l-Common Market allavolja fil-bidu jista' jkollu xi żvantaġġi, dik hija l-unika possibilita' li għandu pajjiżna biex jimxi 'l quddiem. Malta tagħmel ma' l-Ewropa, irridu jew ma rridux, u jekk l-Ewropa sejra torganizza ruħha—inkluża l-Ingilterra—fil-Common Market u l-Ingilterra bl-organizzazzjoni tagħha b'kollox qed tħoss il-bżonn li tidħol fih, kif nistgħu aħna, din id-daqxejn ta' gżira nibqgħu waħedna barra inferfru fil-Mediterran, nibgħatu t-telegrammi lil Nasser u lil Tito? (Hon. Members: Hear, hear). Jiena jidhirli li anki l-Labour Party Ingliż irid jidħol fil-Common Market. Dan qaluh proprju l-bieraħ.

ONOR. DR. C. CARUANA: Dawn mhux wara l-Labour Party qed jimxu.

ONOR. MEMBRU: Wara ħadd ma nimxu.

ONOR. DR. H. GANADO: Malta l-pożizzjoni tagħha fil-Common Market tkun dik ta' pajjiż assoċjat. Jiena naħseb li t-trattat tal-Common Market ħafna Membri qrawh. Fl-edizzjoni Franċiża hemm ċerta elastiċità u ma hemmx riġidità għax l-iskop tiegħu hu li jkun trattat adattabbli biex ikunu jistgħu jidħlu fih diversi membri. Imma tidħol fil-Common Market mhux għax kulħadd ikun iridek. Inneħħuha darba

għal dejjem minn rasna li n-nazzjonijiet tad-dinja sejrin jagħmlu *queue* biex jagħtuna l-miljuni. Jiġi aċċettat u mdaħħal fil-Common Market u organizzazzjonijiet oħra min jista' jkun utili.

F'Malta għandna żewġ rikkezzi: il-pożizzjoni ta' Malta u tal-port bejn l-Ewropa u l-Afrika li qed titwieled u għad tkun suq għal quddiem, il-pożizzjoni ta' Malta bejn l-orjent u l-lvant, u l-pożizzjoni tagħha fuq it-triq tal-pitrolju u rikezza oħra li hija l-ħaddiem Malti. Dan il-ħaddiem ngħallmuh it-teknika tajjeb. Intqal fl-iSpeech from the Throne li sejrin jinfetħu żewġ skejjel tekniċi. Ħadt gost. Intuhom in-"know how" lin-nies tagħna għax mingħajr dan ma jkunx hemm post għalihom. L-Ewropa, skond ir-rapporti finanzjarji tad-dinja, ma ddumx ma tkun sinjura u sinjura daqs l-Amerika tal-lum għax għandha r-riżorsi, għadha s-swieq, għandha t-tekniċi u dan kollu.

Aħna għandna nagħmlu sforz kbir biex nippruvaw niżviluppaw u ngħinu l-industrija tagħna. Jekk fil-passat ingħatat għajnuna lill-industriji, ma nabbandunawhomx. Nafu li fejn tidħol protezzjoni u għajnuna hemm ċerta diffikultà kbira u li għandu jkun hemm ċerta libertà fil-kummerċ, imma l-protezzjoni li ġa ġiet mogħtija għandha tibqa' hemm biex ma jkunx hawn qagħad. Jidhirli, Mr Speaker, li l-Gvern għandu jutilizza l-għajnuna ta' l-esperti, u għandu jġib esperti mill-Common Market ħalli jistudja s-sitwazzjoni ta' Malta, jekk mhux uffiċjament semi-uffiċjalment. Nispera li l-Onor. Dr Felice, li hu bniedem li għadi fiduċja kbira ħafna fih, imur Bruxelles u jieħu delegazzjoni miegħu ħalli jistudja hu stess il-kwistjoni tal-Common Market. Din hi ħaġa komplikata ħafna u forsi aħna l-Maltin m'aħniex intiżi biżżejjed minnha u jkollna bżonn ta' l-esperti. Jidhirli wkoll li l-Gvern ma għandux jistenna lill-kapitalisti jiġu Malta. Veru li aħna stedinna u tajna ħafna faċilitajiet, imma jiena nipprova nissuġġerixxi lill-Gvern biex, per eżempju, jistieden lill-Kamra tal-Kummerċ Tedeska ħalli tibgħat delegazzjoni ta' erba' jew ħames industrjalisti ħalli jaraw x'jista' jsir f'Malta. Il-Ġermanja llum hija pajjiż sinjur u għandha surplus ta' flus li qiegħda tinvestihom f'pajjiżi oħra, u forsi nistgħu nħajruha li tinvesti flusha hawn ukoll. Nattira l-attenzjoni għall-istudju li sar mill-Marketing Development Company u għall-potentiality tad-development industry ġo Malta. Il-Kanada timporta b'seba' miljun lira *hand tools* mill-Ġermanja kull sena, u l-*hand tools* tal-Commonwealth fil-Kanada għandhom *preferential duty* ta' 15½% bħala maximum. Issa jiena naħseb li Malta tkun tista' tidħol fl-esportazzjoni ta' dawn il-hand tools u tikkom-

peti mat-Tedeski. Jiena ngħid dan: kieku nħajru ditta Tedeska li qed tesporta kwantità kbira fil-Kanada, u ngħidulha: "Inti diġà għadek suq, tista' tiġi Malta u tiftiehem mal-Maltin u tiftaħ fabbrika fuq bażi ta' fifty fifty u jkollkom il-vantaġġ li tesportaw l-oġġetti bil-preferential duty li hemm fil-Kanada". B'dan il-mod nħoss li nistgħu nattiraw industrja ġdida li tkun tħaddem ħafna nies. Nissottometti din il-proposta, tiswa x'tiswa, lill-Onor. Ministru biex jistudjaha.

Mr Speaker, jidhirli li għal ftit żmien li fadal għidt biżżejjed u ma rridx intawwal iktar biex nagħti chance lil ħaddieħor jitkellem, però nagħmel appell lil dan il-Parlament u lil kulħadd biex f'dak li naqblu naħdmu id f'id u lkoll flimkien biex il-pajjiż tagħna jkun jista' jmur 'l quddiem. Biex nimxu 'l quddiem hemm bżonn ta' entużjażmu, ottimiżmu u sagrifiċċji, u bħala pajjiż kattoliku jekk nieħdu l-affarijiet bis-serjetà u mingħajr ma noqgħodu ninsolentaw lil xulxin, mingħajr ma nindunaw jispiċċa dan il-ġlied ta' bejniethom. U ma tistax tagħmel ġid lil pajjiżek jekk kemm-il darba ma tħobbx ir-reliġjon ta' pajjiżek. Jekk nidħlu f'dan l-ispirtu jiena ċert li ftit ftit nerġgħu nkunu pajjiż wieħed, Malta waħda, li tafda fil-ħniena ta' Alla ħalli tmur 'l quddiem u tagħti l-għajxien lill-poplu tagħha.

HON. M. STRICKLAND: Mr Speaker, the Minister's work in London has the approval of the group which I represent. I would, however, have liked to have seen greater emphasis on the economic position of the Island. We will however support the Government against the Socialist Opposition. The economic problem is a basic one and has nothing to do with the Government or the Constitution. It is something that we have got to face under various difficulties and circumstances because it is basic and because it is difficult. There are many of us who will be inclined to look to other people other than ourselves to help us in our problem. The problem is one that has to be faced and I am certain that the Government is not going to look round the world for cooperation other than to ourselves. Then we can lift our heads and be proud of helping ourselves.

Mr Speaker, I would have liked to see in the Speech from the Throne some reference to the world banks because I do think that we must have a large loan for the development of water and electricity. Scientists in America are almost getting the price of water distilled from the sea to an economic level. This is really happening and we hope that this will happen in this island of Malta within a reasonable time because without

water and power, my friend the Hon. Minister of Agriculture, Power and Communications agrees and everyone else agrees with me that we cannot go forward without those basic means, and I hope that this House will use all its intelligence to help solve this economic problem.

I regret that young Dr Bonnici should have imagined that somehow countries in Europe were going to give us a lot of money if we had a different status. The status is not the question, and we all can move forward in inter-dependence with Europe, Britain and the Commonwealth. Britain itself is to become inter-dependent. We have grown up for many generations in Malta living on an industry called defence. The standard of Malta is eleven times higher than that of Greece and that of Greece is higher than that of other countries. And here is a book "Malta and the Maltese" written by an Australian, Professor Charles Price of the University of Canberra, who did a great deal of research and it records that as far back as 1856 the money spent in that year on defence was £817,000. In these days this sum is equal to very nearly ten million. So, right from the beginning there were these injections of money into the economy of Malta on which we increased and multiplied. I have seen a lot of this happen during the forty years which I have been in Malta. The point is that defence now is no longer an industry and that our problem is to see how we can replace it, and here again I say that this can be achieved by first getting water and power into these Islands.

Therefore, I should like to have seen in the Speech from the Throne a greater emphasis on the economic side. Very naturally the group I represent would not vote for independence. We stand for inter-dependence. The Prime Minister showed statesmanship in not irritating that section of the country which is intelligent, and enabled us to give support to the policy outlined in the Address. He is going slowly and with statesmanship and he has not fallen into the cunning trap of the Labour Opposition which was put forward for nearly three hours with skill until suddenly it turned into venom when it became obvious that it was not going to work.

With regard to my colleagues of the Christian Workers' Party, by whose courtesy I have had time to speak, I regret that they have moved a motion which supports the United Nations interference in the domestic affairs of a protectorate, because we are not a colony. We always had our own Civil Service; we always had our own Judges. We never were a colony.

One often sees Labour Party posters with the words "British Get Out" or "British Go Home", but that shows that they do not read or know history. Whilst they tell the British to get out, if the British were to go out and the flats and shops were to close they themselves would be the first people to begin to complain. And it was because of their attitude towards the Americans at Ħal Far that thousands of pounds have been lost to shopkeepers and householders in Birżebbuġa when the Americans left. The Americans wondered how the English stood the arrogance of a certain section of the people. In fact the Americans decided to go.

Common sense should prevail. With common sense, cooperation and inter-dependence I think we can well go forward and for that reason we will support the Government. But again when it comes to the United Nations I have figures here which show that the United Nations are hopelessly in debt, and very definitely so in connection with the Congo affair. It is really laughable and ludicrous that somebody who pretend to represent the country and who had been to Oxford should tell the people that the United Nations would support the Island. The United Nations are thirty three million pounds in arrears and they are raising a loan particularly for their military operations in the Congo, a loan which is being mainly subscribed to by the United States and Great Britain. The United Nations financial problem is serious and affects its ability to continue to carry out its responsibilities. These are the people who are supposed to come and help us!

I was talking to Sir Roy Welensky in London about the type of soldiers serving in the Congo and he said that many were adventurers. He said he would have to tax the people of Rhodesia to pay for their own defence. Here in Malta we are very fortunate. For example a Maltese regiment is paid for by the United Kingdom. It is truly unrealistic to suggest that the United Nations can support these Islands. It is all right for people who have not been to Oxford to believe that; but for a leader to talk that type of propaganda is simply disgraceful! (Interruptions).

I want very definitely to conclude by urging the Government to look into the social side of these Islands. When it comes to discussing the economic needs you have got two things to keep in mind: one is money to improve bad housing which is shocking even in the Sliema area and probably it is much worse in the dockyard areas, and there is overcrowding especially at Rabat; and the other is education because it is only through education that any of us can earn our living, our bread and butter.

HON. DR. A.V. HYZLER: How many schools did the British build in Malta?

HON. M. STRICKLAND: The first schools were built in Malta some way back in 1890 by Lord Strickland, my father!

Then you want a strong and brave migratory policy so that the young men and women can earn money overseas. (Interruptions) I am not afraid to tell the young people the truth. Many of them who have emigrated to Australia are sending money back to Malta and Gozo. We have got to encourage this, and to encourage communications that make the return to this country quick and easy. It is only three days by air to Australia but the cost is high.

The economic picture is grave but it is not hopeless. If we pull together as Maltese and citizens of the Commonwealth we will win through.

The other point is that this is a Catholic Parliament. I agree with the hon. Member for Gozo, Doctor Tabone that the time has come that there should not be this business of throwing religion backward and forward .....

HON. DR. A.V. HYZLER: As you did in 1930. You remember Bishop Caruana!

HON. M. STRICKLAND: We have got to live in the present. Now if the Opposition want freedom and toleration under this Constitution they are perfectly entitled to it under the pertinent clause, but they cannot call themselves Catholic if they wish to disobey the Bishops. They have got to choose either one or the other. They are entitled to religious toleration but we Catholics are totally entitled to defend our religion and His Grace the Archbishop. I suggest that they take the toleration which is theirs and stop abusing the other side of the House. (Hon. Members: Hear, hear.)

ONOR. E. CAMILLERI: Jiena irriservajt id-dritt li nitkellem wara l-Onor. Miss Strickland. Issa meta s-Sinjorija Tiegħek, Mr Speaker, tippermettili jiena rrid ngħid xi ħaġa.

MR SPEAKER: Iva, meta tgħidlek is-Sedja għaliex il-Gvern għadu ma tkellimx.

ONOR. DR GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Sur President, ippruvajt mill-aħjar li stajt insegwi d-diskors ta' l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni in konnessjoni mal-mozzjoni ta' l-Address in Reply għall-iSpeech from the Throne u sibt illi l-kritika hija bażata, prinċipalment, fuq nuqqas ta' *policy*, allegat mill-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni u fuq nuqqas, da parti tal-Gvern Nazzjonalista, li jimxi fuq il-linji tal-programm elettorali tal-Partit

Nazzjonalista. Kritika ta' nuqqas ta' policy, Sur President, hija inġusta u m'hux flokha, aktar mhux flokha milli forsi inġusta, għax meta tgħid mhux flokha ma tistax tgħid ħaġa oħra, u li mhux flokha dik il-kritika hija ħaġa ċara u ovvja meta wieħed irid bis-serjetà josserva l-iSpeech from the Throne u l-kontenut tiegħu. Fl-iSpeech from the Throne, il-Gvern ma jippretendix li qiegħed jannunzja xi policy ta' xi programm ta' xogħol għal xi sessjoni twila illi fiha sejjer jagħti esekuzzjoni għall-parti l-kbira tal-programm elettorali tiegħu. Il-Gvern iddikjara mill-ewwel li din ser tkun sessjoni qasira u qal f'din is-sessjoni qasira x'sejjer isir sakemm tiġi sessjoni oħra fejn jistgħu jiġu annunzjati items tal-programm. Il-Gvern qal ukoll il-Ministri x'qegħdin jagħmlu u fuq kollox, Sur President, il-Gvern ta importanza, l-importanza illi ħaqqa, lill-kwestjoni ta' l-emendi tal-Kostituzzjonijiet oħra ta' importanza kbira li dwarhom ma setax jgħid ħlief dak li qal fl-iSpeech from the Throne. Il-Gvern ma ridtx u ma pprovax jinganna lil ħadd, semma kwestjoniiet ta' importanza li fuqhom taqbel il-Kamra kollha u qal li qiegħed jittrattahom, jittakiljahom, naturalment fl-istadju inizjali tax-xogħol tiegħu, qiegħed jittrattahom bl-aħjar mod li huwa jidherlu li jista' jwasslu għar-riżultati tajba. Kellu l-Gvern chance, Sur President, f'anqas minn xahrejn wara li ħa l-amministrazzjoni f'idejh jifformola policy u jannunzjaha fl-iSpeech from the Throne? Kellu chance jagħti esekuzzjoni lill-parti, almenu kif jippretendi l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni, mill-programm elettorali tiegħu? Ċertament ma kellux.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Fejn għidtulna minnufih.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Anke fejn għidna minnufih min irid in bona fede jinterpreta dak il-kliem tal-programm. Kif jista' l-Gvern jibda jagħtih eżekuzzjoni qabel isir l-Address in Reply, qabel ma tieqaf is-sessjoni qasira li ppropona li jagħmel il-Gvern fl-iSpeech from the Throne. B'danakollu avolja ma kienx hemm iċ-chance, avolja sessjoni qasira, naraw f'dawn ix-xahrejn li l-Gvern ilu fil-kariga jekk kienx hemm nuqqas ta' policy, naraw jekk kienx hemm ksur tal-wegħdiet tal-programm. Jiena ngħid li ma kienx hemm. Fuq dan il-punt jista' l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni jikkontradini? Infatti, Sur President, nippruvaw kemm nippruvaw nimmenomaw il-valur ta' l-emendi li saru, jew qegħdin fil-proċess li jsiru għall-Kostituzzjoni, ċert illi l-valur tagħhom jibqa' hemm, ċert li qatt fl-istorja Kostituzzjonali, safejn naf jien, ħadd ma pprova u rnexxielu li jbiddel Kostituzzjoni qabel l-istess Kostituzzjoni bdiet taħdem, qabel il-ftuħ tal-Parlament. Jiena ma nfaħħarx lili nnifsi

u lanqas naħseb li jlumni l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni, u f'dan il-kontest irrid indaħħal anke lill-Onor. Kap tal-Partit tal-Ħaddiema Nsara, u ma naħsibx li dawn iż-żewġ onor. kapijiet ta' partiti jlumuni meta ngħid li huma ppruvaw inaqqsu mill-meritu tal-Gvern. Huwa fatt, Sur President, illi bil-kritika li saret fuq l-emendi fil-Kostituzzjoni li saru mill-Gvern, l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni pprova jnaqqas il-meritu tal-Gvern b'mod divers milli għamel l-Onor. Kap tal-Partit tal-Ħaddiema Nsara. Infatti l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni illimita ruħu billi qal li inutili mmorru Londra u nġibu l-konċessjonijiet, inutili nbiddlu parti mill-Kostituzzjoni; jekk ser tibqa l-Klawsola 121 qisna ma ġibna xejn. Huwa "fair" dan, Sur President? Lanqas naħseb li huwa. L-għaliex? L-għaliex aħna żgur, din in-naħa tal-Kamra, li ma nistgħux niġu attakkati jew ikkritikati illi qatt, f'xi mument, għidna li l-Kostituzzjoni attwali hi sodisfaċenti, jew li konna beħsiebna nikkuntentaw biha. Żgur li ħadd iżjed minna ma jieħu fastidju bil-klawsola 121 u kemm il-kap tal-Partit Nazzjonalista kien hawn, fiż-żmien li għadda, ilmenta u pprova jipperswadi lill-membri u lill-poplu li qabel ikollna Kostituzzjoni li ma tistax tiġi rtirata u sospiża meta jogħġobha l-Maestà Tagħha r-Reġina bil-parir tal-Kunsill Privat Tagħha, qabel ma jkollna Kostituzzjoni li ma tistax tiġi hekk irtirata ma għandna xejn u l-ħidma tal-Partit Nazzjonalista, speċjalment anke meta l-Partit Nazzjonalista kellu l-anqas *chance* illi jiggverna lill-pajjiż, kienet dejjem diretta lejn dak l-iskop, l-iskop li jkollna Kostituzzjoni kif tixraq lill-pajjiż politikament matur, u għal dak il-fini nibqgħu naħdmu sakemm nottjenu dak li aħna pprefiġġejna fil-programm, u fil-politika ininterrotta tagħna għal Malta. Imma mill-banda l-oħra, sakemm jirnexxilna—u biex jirnexxilna rridu naħdmu, irridu naqblu, irridu l-poplu ma naqsmuhx, irridu l-poplu ma nħalluhx maqsum—inġibu awtonomija sħiħa, sakemm jirnexxilna nġibu kostituzzjoni li tkun denja ta' l-isem u tal-poplu li ser jirċeviha, mhux ta' min inaqqas mill-importanza ta' l-emendi li rnexxilna nagħmlu biex almenu nkunu nistgħu ngħidu li ser nippruvaw inħaddmu l-Kostituzzjoni, sakemm aħna jirnexxilna nġibu indipendenza, kif iridha naturalment il-Gvern, skond il-wegħda li għamel u skond ir-rabtiet li għamel u li jirriżultaw mill-programm elettorali u mill-kampanja elettorali. Sakemm jasal dak il-mument għandna nagħmlu ħilitna kollha biex il-Kostituzzjoni, li rridu jew ma rridux qegħdin naħdmu taħtha, nirrangawha mill-aħjar li nistgħu—u dak jien bi ħsiebni nibqa' nagħmlu. L-emendi li saru sal-lum jien la ma nistax nagħtihom importanza aktar

milli għandhom, però jien dan iddikjarajtu, mill-bidu, li mingħajr lanqas lontanament nirrinunzja għal ebda kelma jew virgola li hemm fil-programm elettorali tal-Partit Nazzjonalista rigward status finali, rigward l-istatus kostituzzjonali li rridu nġibu għal Malta, proprju qabel naqbeż it-tarġa tal-bieb tal-poter jien ridt li almenu dawk it-tliet affarijiet li semmejt—li kienu jħammru wiċċ kull min jidħol f'dan il-Parlament u jaħdem dik il-Kostituzzjoni kif kienet qabel ġibt l-emendi – jien għidt proprju fuq it-tarġa, *ad limina*, li dawk l-affarijiet kellhom jinbidlu. U fuq dak jien poġġejt *at stake* l-istess prestiġju tiegħu, poġġejt *at stake* anki l-istess kariga li l-poplu bil-volontà tiegħu ridni nokkupa. Ma kontx b'hekk inkun qed naħrab minn xi dover, kif xi ħadd ipprova jissuġġerixxi, għaliex dawn il-kondizzjonijiet aħna għamilniehom anki quddiem l-elettorat qabel l-elezzjoni. Jien żammejt kelmti ma' l-elettorat u miegħi nnifsi għaliex bqajt ninsisti fuq emendi li almenu jissoddisfawni, safejn wieħed umanament jista' jippretendi li jakkwista fi żmien relattivament qasir u f'ċirkostanzi li ma kienux tant favorevoli, imma anzi meta tħares lejn il-*background* tara li kienu kuntrarji għal min jipprova jġib l-emendi. Jien nippretendi li dawk l-emendi għandhom il-valur tagħhom. U m'inix ser nieqaf hemm, għaliex inkompli—u dan iddikjarajtu kullimkien—sakemm il-programm elettorali tal-Partit Nazzjonalista narah esegwit anki u prinċipalment f'dan il-kwistjoni kostituzzjonali li jien, forsi a differenza ta' ħaddieħor, nagħtiha importanza primarja, għaliex insostni, kontra dak li jsostnu x'uħud li qegħdin f'minoranza, li qabel ma nirranġaw il-kwistjoni kostituzzjonali ma nistgħux nisperaw li nirranġaw il-kwistjoni ekonomika ta' pajjiżna. (Hon. Members: Hear, hear).

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Dak naqblu.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Il-kwistjoni trid taraha fil-kwadru ġenerali, trid tara l-*background*. X'kienu ċ-ċirkustanzi li fihom jien mort l-Ingilterra, b'avviż qasir lis-Segretarju ta' l-Istat, biex inġib dawn l-emendi? Iċ-ċirkostanzi ma kienu xejn favorevoli. Infatti konna għandna sew sew ħerġin minn erba' snin ta' dittatura l-aktar ħarxa, minn reġim kolonjali (Hon. Members: Hear, hear), u mingħajr ma noqgħod ngħid "I told you so" jew mingħajr ma noqgħod ngħid "Kellek tort inti, dan tort tiegħek", iċ-ċirkostanzi kienu wkoll tali li taw pretest kbir lill-Gvern Ingliż li jgħidilna "Ma nistax nafda l-pulizija f'idejkom, ma nistax nafda l-*public service* f'idejkom". Imma niżżukħajr 'l Alla fl-aħħar irnexxielna, anki kontra dan il-pretest tal-Gvern Ingliż, nottjenu dak li ottenejna.

ONOR. DR. A. BUTTIĠIEĠ: "Pretest" qal.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Jien inħobb nuża l-kelma "pretest", għaliex ma nħobbx nagħtihom raġun, u ma għandhomx raġun (Hon. Members: Hear, hear), però huma japprofittaw mill-inqas ċirkostanza u l-pretest joħduh. Mill-banda l-oħra jeħtieġ nammettu li forsi l-pretest, mhux ir-raġuni, tajnihulhom, u dik kienet sfortuna li tellfitna ħafna snin utili, meta aħna stajna bqajna bi ħwejjiġna f'idejna, meta aħna stajna bqajna niġġieldu għal-libertajiet kostituzzjonali tagħna, u kieku sal-lum forsi wasalna.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ejja ngħaġġlu, għaliex insibu pretest ieħor!

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Imxejna kontra l-programm? Għaliex l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni jsostni li aħna mxejna kontra l-programm? Għaliex fil-programm hemm il-kelma "minnufih". Imma meta Gvern ikun għadu diehel wara erba' snin ta' amministrazzjoni Kolonjali, meta ma kellniex informazzjonijiet f'idejna, meta ma kienx hawn Parlament fejn jitpoġġew interpellanzi u jingħataw risposti, u jsiru *statements*, meta Gvern ikun għadu diehel f'ċirkostanzi bħal dawn, il-kelma "minnufih" għandek tippretendi li tfisser li malli jersaq fil-Parlament, fl-ewwel seduta, iħabbar fl-iSpeech from the Throne li diġà ġieb l-indipendenza għall-pajjiż? Jiddispjaċini ngħidlu lill-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni li naħseb li ma jista' jikkonvinċi lil ħadd b'dan l-argument tiegħu.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Ma nixtieqx ninterrompi għalxejn, imma jrid jagħmel distinzjoni bejn fejn jien ikkritikajt fuq il-"minnufih" u fejn ikkritikat li l-kwistjoni kostituzzjonali qed naqbduha m'hux minn rasha imma minn denbha. Jien għamilt distinzjoni—ippretendejt li fl-iSpeech from the Throne ser ikun hemm dawk il-miżuri fejn il-Partit Nazzjonalista, qabel ma sar Gvern, qal "minnufih", u fuq il-kwistjoni kostituzzjonali għidt "We handled it the wrong way", għaliex flok sejrin għall-pern tal-kwistjoni sejrin għad-dettalji. Issa jekk ma jaqbilx il-Gvern, ħalli ma jaqbilx, imma almenu niġi interpretat tajjeb.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Jiddispjaċini jekk interpretajt lill-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni ħażin però jibqa l-fatt li hu kkritika lill-Gvern li ma qabadx il-kwistjoni kostituzzjonali. Hawnhekk nixtieq ngħid li, waqt li l-Gvern kien impenjat biex jagħmel dawk l-emendi li aħna nikkonsideraw *sine qua non* biex aħna nieħdu l-amministrazzjoni f'idejna, il-Gvern ma telaq qatt il-kwistjoni kostituzzjonali, u, anke fl-Londra stess, il-kwistjoni ġiet impoġġiha ċara u preċiża quddiem kulħadd. L-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni ma jistax jistenna li dan

il-Gvern seta' qabad mill-bidu l-kwistjoni fil-United Nations u organizzazzjonijiet oħra li huwa jista' jkollu f'moħħu f'dan il-qasir żmien, meta kien għadu lanqas fetaħ il-Parlament.

ONOR. DR. A. BUTTIĠIEĠ: Imma inthom sibtu n-nazzjon biex tippreżentalkom il-mozzjoni fil-United Nations, voldieri bdejtu il-proċeduri.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: U ħadd ma jista' jeskludi li qiegħda titkompla.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: U l-Parlament ma jkunx jaf biha.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Sa issa, lill-Parlament dak li stajt ngħidlu jinsab fl-iSpeech from the Throne, u, malli nkun f'pożizzjoni li nista' inħabbar affarijiet oħra, niġi hawn u nħabbarhom, imma ma jistax l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni ħlief bi skop ta' propaganda politika jgħidli: imissek qbadtha fil-United Nations u int imissek għamilt hekk u hekk, għaliex huwa jaf li kull Gvern jagħmel il-programm tiegħu, jippjana l-programm tiegħu u jiena l-ewwel pass li pprefiġġejt fil-programm għall-amministrazzjoni tagħna .....

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Inthom għandkom id-dritt li tagħmlu l-programm tagħkom u aħna għandna id-dritt li nikkritikaw.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Imma biex tikkritika irid ikollok argument validu. Kieku l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni ġie hawnhekk anke wara sena u jgħidli li ma rnexxejtx, għaliex ma avviċinajtx lil United Nations .....

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Aħna ħabel wieħed qegħdin niġbdu.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Però jiena naħseb li dik l-osservazzjoni l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni għamilha bi skop politiku .....

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: L-Onor. Kap tal-Gvern mhux qed ikun *fair* magħna, għal kuntrarju aħna ma ridniex li l-ewwel issir il-ftira imbagħad niġi ngħidlek għax għamilt hekk. Aħna nixtiequ li nagħmlu pjan wieħed u niġbdu ħabel wieħed flimkien.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: L-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni jidhirlu li l-Gvern għandu mill-ewwel jaqbad il-kwistjoni kostituzzjonali jew mal-Kumitat tas-Seventeen Nations, mal-Grupp tal-United Nations li qiegħed apposta u l-Gvern tagħna jista' jidhirlu li *in un primo stadio* għandu jittratta din il-kwistjoni mal-Gvern Ingliż, u, għalkemm l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni kategorikament qal li mal-Gvern Ingliż ma naslux żgur la għas-soluzzjoni Kostituzzjonali u lanqas fil-kwistjoni ekonomika, jiena ma jiniex daqshekk qalbi maqtugħa, almenu talment

li ma nurix bonafede da parti tal-Gvern Nazzjonalista, li, kif dejjem qal lill-elettorat, nonostante dak li sofra mill-Gvern Ingliż bil-proposta tal-Home Office u bit-trattament ħażin li sofrejna, il-Partit Nazzjonalista baqa' dejjem isostni li għandha fl-aħħar l-Ingilterra tirrikonoxxi dawn id-drittijiet ta' Malta u l-Gvern Nazzjonalista illum, dan bi ħsiebu jippruvah biex juri li dejjem konna in bonafede, biex juri li ma hemmx animosità u anke bl-isperanza li jasal fl-iskop tiegħu. Jekk ma naslux mal-Gvern Ingliż, nassigura lill-Kamra li nesploraw il-mezzi kollha biex nottjenu l-iskop tagħna, però jidhirli, u dan naħseb li jikkonċedih kulħadd, li l-Gvern għandu jagħżel l-*approach* tiegħu, u, jekk ma jasalx u ma ifittixx metodi oħra, imbagħad ħalli jieħu li jkun ħaqqu.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Imma aħna għandna d-dover li ngħidu lill-Gvern liema aħna naħsbu li hu l-aħjar mezz, u din m'hix kritika.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Hija kritika indiretta. Jiena qiegħed nipprova nirribattiha għaliex għandi d-dover li nirribattiha, speċjalment jekk inħoss li ma kinitx ġusta.

Hemm il-kwistjonijiet l-oħra li l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni semma minn l-iSpeech from the Throne li fuqhom aħna m'aħniex mixjin skond il-programm tagħna u li jiena naħseb li kien qiegħed jalludi speċjalment għall-kwistjoni taż-żejt, għaliex jgħid li l-Gvern imissu minnufih, jew xi ħaġa simili, jiftaħ l-kwistjoni taż-żejt. Nirrispondi billi ngħid li dan il-Gvern fetaħha il-kwistjoni taż-żejt. Il-kwistjoni taż-żejt beda jittrattaha, imma meta inti tkun ilek nieqes mil-*file* relattiv għal seba' snin, meta ma tafx .....

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Aħna sibna kollox.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: ..... meta ma tafx x'sar taħt l-amministrazzjoni kolonjali u ma tafx iċ-ċirkostanzi kif huma, avolja tkun wegħidt lill-elettorat li l-kwistjoni taż-żejt taqbadha minnufih malli tkun fil-Gvern, l-ewwel dover hu li teżamina s-sitwazzjoni, tara il-possibilitajiet għadhomx jiżistu u tagħmel dak kollu li kwistjoni bħal din, – kwistjoni ta' importanza kbira, kwistjoni serja ħafna,— tirrikjedi bħala preparazzjoni, u l-preparazzjoni ssir minnufih. Appena jkun hemm kollox lest biex tibda l-esplorazzjoni, il-Gvern jipproċedi anke għal dan l-istadju.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Hemm oħrajn bħal dik, per eżempju, tar-Rediffusion u din ukoll qiegħda fil-programm.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Jiena sejjer nillimita ruħi għal dak li hemm fl-iSpeech from the Throne.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Aħna xtaqna li dik il-liċenza u r-*relative documents* jiġu impoġġijin fuq il-Mejda.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Imma meta tagħti *chance.*

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Lanqas ma hemm aċċenn għalihom.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: M'għandux ikun hemm aċċenn għaliex il-Gvern iddikjara li din sejra tkun sessjoni qasira.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Imma kemm qasira, sa Ġunju?

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Sadattant il-Gvern qed jaqbad ħafna kwistjonijiet importanti, bħal ma huma il-kwistjoni tar-Rediffusion, imma dawn iridu jiġu studjati.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Aħna riedna nafu kemm hija qasira s-sessjoni u veru li ppretendejna li għall-anqas ikun hemm aċċenn. Jiena naħseb li lanqas il-Gvern ma jaf kemm hija qasira għaliex kieku jaf kien jgħid, għaliex dan mhux xi segriet.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Ma nistax ngħid bis-siegħat. Nista' ngħid li relattivament qasira ħafna.

Ġejna kkritikati wkoll fl-iSpeech from the Throne għax għidna li sejrin nagħmlu *re-assessment* fuq diversi kwistjonijiet li intuhom importanza kbira. Għaliex m'għandniex nagħmlu *re-assessment*?! Għaliex għandna niġu kkritikati li ma poġġejnix is-sitwazzjoni ekonomika quddiem il-parlament meta nafu li f'dan il-perjodu hekk qasir, il-Ministri ma setgħux jagħmlu ħaġ'oħra ħlief li jeżaminaw dak kollu li sar mill-amministrazzjoni kolonjali biex, fejn hu tajjeb, jikkonfermawh, u, fejn hu ħażin, ibiddlu l-*policy* u jagħmlu *policy* ġdida?

Ma tistax waqt li qed tagħmel *re-assessment* tgħid x'inhi l-*policy* tiegħek determinata, anqas tagħmel *re-assessment* mingħajr ma tara l-miżuri li ttieħdu mill-Gvern Kolonjali hux sejrin jipproduċu riżultati tajba, kinux sodisfaċenti biex jipproduċu r-riżultati li kulħadd jixtieq li jkollna u mingħajr ma tara jekk hemmx bżonn li jsir tibdil. Wara r-riżultat ta' dan ir-*re-assessment* tista' mbagħad tħabbar il-politika li sejjer timxi biha. Kien sar *assessment* mill-Gvern Kolonjali u issa jsir *re-assessment* mill-Gvern il-ġdid biex jara kinitx politika tajba, jew ħażina, u jekk għandhiex tinbidel.

Nieħu gost li l-Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni sostna li m'għandux ikun hemm *partisan approach* għall-kwistjoni ekonomika u nispera li dan ikun jispikka anke a rigward tal-kwistjoni kostituzzjonali.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Imma mhux kull kritika li nagħmlu joħduha b'mala fede għax inkella kif jista' jkollna *bi-partisan policy.*

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Mala fede żgur li ma attribwejt lil ħadd u kieku s-Sinjorija Tiegħek, Mr Speaker, kienet iżżommni. Ma naqblux fuq affarijiet fondamentali. Aħna nafu li l-indipendenza trid titħabat għaliha u li l-indipendenza ma tiġix billi ngħidu: Din irriduha u noħduha b'idejna, imma rridu nikkonvinċu. Aħna żgħar u m'għandniex l-armi biex niġġieldu għaliha u jekk nafu li l-maġġoranza tal-poplu tridha fil-Commonwealth għandna naqblu fuq dan u ma ngħidux l-ewwel nieħdu l-indipendenza u mbagħad naraw nidħlux fil-Commonwealth, jew nibqgħux barra mil-Commonwealth. Jekk aħna verament irridu naslu nafu fejn il-maġġoranza tal-poplu hija miexja u jekk nimxu b'politika oħra nżommu l-poplu maqsum b'riżultat disastruż għall-pajjiż.

Fuq il-kwistjoni tal-Common Market il-Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni ma setax jagħmel kommenti oħra ħlief li jgħid li n-nazzjonijiet li qegħdin imexxu l-kwistjoni tal-Common Market għandhom aktar quddiemhom l-għaqda politika milli l-għaqda ekonomika. Dawn huma ħwejjeġ llum jafhom kulħadd, jaqrahom kulħadd u jisma' bihom kulħadd. Il-Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni ma jistax ma jarax id-diffikultà tal-Gvern li forsi f'qasir żmien ikun irid jieħu deċiżjoni li tista' tkun tajba kemm ħażina, jista' jkollha vantaġġi u jista' jkollha anki affarijiet li jkunu ta' preġudizzju jew għall-industrija tagħna, jew għall-ekonomija tagħna, jew għall-inspirazzjonijiet politiċi tagħna.

Il-kwistjoni m'hix faċli u l-Gvern sal-lum ma setax fl-iSpeech from the Throne jgħid ħlief dak li qal jiġifieri li hu qed jistudja l-implikazzjonijiet ta' assoċjazzjoni eventwali ta' Malta fil-Common Market. Naħseb li ebda Membru m'għandu l-iċken dubju li l-Gvern jistudja bir-reqqa l-implikazzjonijiet kollha u jżomm quddiem għajnejh unikament l-interessi ta' Malta kompatibilment mal-pożizzjoni ta' Malta li sal-lum la hija indipendenti politikament u anqas indipendenti ekonomikament.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiena ġbit l-attenzjoni tal-Prim Ministru għall-fatt li peress li aħna qegħdin kolonja u l-pajjiżi tal-Common Market l-aktar ħaġa prinċipali għalihom hija l-għaqda politika, għall-fatt li aħna kolonja, jekk nidħlu fih, aħna sejrin nieħdu *the worst of both worlds* u semmejt Sweden u l-pajjiżi l-oħra u għidt li għax dawn indipendenti, għandhom politika newtrali u *foreign policy* li ma taqbilx ma' tal-pajjiżi l-oħra li hemm fil-Common Market, dawn ukoll m'għandhomx l-istess privileġġi u m'hux sejjer ikollhom l-istess vantaġġi. Anqas waslu biex jiddefinixxu x'sejjer ikun l-istatus ta' l-*associate member*. U għidt li

fil-pożizzjoni tagħna tal-lum ta' kolonja ma jistax ikun li ngawdu l-vantaġġi li ngawdu kieku nkunu politikament indipendenti.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Napprezza l-kritika kostruttiva, però m'hix kritika kostruttiva meta jgħid li fl-iSpeech from the Throne ma kien hemm xejn minn dan. Fl-iSpeech from the Throne ma tistax toqgħod tgħid: Jiena qed nistudja l-implikazzjonijiet tal-Common Market, qed nara x'għamlu l-Isvizzera, Sweden, Norway u l-Greċja, imma tgħid biss: Jiena qed nistudja l-implikazzjonijiet tal-kwistjoni ta' l-*entry* ta' Malta fil-Common Market u meta tkun għidt hekk, tkun għidt kollox. U min irid jagħti l-interpretazzjoni xierqa lil dak l-iSpeech irid jagħmel minn kollox biex jara l-implikazzjonijiet kollha tal-kwistjoni biex meta jieħu l-pass, meta javviċina lill-Kamra jew anke forsi jieħu l-opinjoni tal-Kamra fuq dak il-pass, ikun għamlu *con cognizione di causa*, ikun jaf fejn dieħel u x'ser ibati u jgawdi mill-misuri li ser jieħu. U nerġa' ngħid li sal-lum ma stajniex nagħmlu ħaġa oħra.

MR. SPEAKER: Nattira l-attenzjoni ta' l-Onor. Prim Ministru li skadielu l-ħin.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Nissekonda.

Motion agreed to.
Il-Mozzjoni ġiet approvata nem. con.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Jista' jiġri li ħin bla waqt ikollna jew nagħtu risposta jekk irridux nidħlu.....

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Jiġifieri dan bilfors irridu nidħlu jew ma nidħlux?

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Nistgħu nkunu qegħdin f'sitwazzjoni bħal dik.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Imma dan ħażin.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Nistgħu nkunu f'pożizzjoni bħal dik li jekk ma nidħlux inbatu, u jekk nidħlu nbatu minħabba r-raġuni li qal l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni li Malta għad m'hijiex indipendenti. Dik hi s-sitwazzjoni li sab ruħu fiha l-Gvern. U dan illum m'hux l-Onor. Membri ta' din il-Kamra biss jafuh imma jafu l-pajjiż kollu; tafu l-istess Ingilterra l-għaliex din l-amministrazzjoni, dan il-Gvern, wiret sitwazzjoni li xejn ma tagħti nkoraġġiment, sitwazzjoni li ma ġġiegħel lil ħadd jgħir li mhux qiegħed hu fiha, li l-Gvern mhux f'idejh: sitwazzjoni li jeħtieġ li naffrontawha b'animu li lill-pajjiżna nfittxulu l-aħjar interessi tiegħu, jeħtieġ naffrontawha bi spirtu nazzjonali. . . .

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Dan ifisser li se jsir mingħajr *debate* fil-Parlament?

ONOR. DR. A. V. HYZLER: Ser tagħtina fatt kompjut.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Meta nkun nista', nagħti informazzjonijiet aktar. Jiena għidt li lill-Parlament nagħtih l-informazzjoni. Fatt kompjut il-Gvern għandu dritt jersaq bih ukoll però affarijiet ta' importanza nazzjonali jiena nittrattahom mil-lat nazzjonali u nżomm il-Parlament informat kemm jista' jkun.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Nispera li jkollna *debate* fuq din!

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Jiena rrid li jkollna l-koperazzjoni ta' kulħadd, u naf li l-Onor. Membri japprezzaw li s-sitwazzjoni, kif għidt qabel, m'hix li tagħti wisq kuraġġ u jiena nistenna li jkun hemm kritika kostruttiva u kooperazzjoni biex insibu soluzzjoni fl-aħjar interess tal-pajjiż. L-Oppożizzjoni taf li l-ebda Gvern ma huwa mistenni li jagħmel il-mirakli, l-ebda gvern ma huwa mistenni li f'qasir żmien jittratta l-kwistjonijiet kollha, l-ebda Gvern ma huwa mistenni li f'qasir żmien isib soluzzjoni għal kwistjonijiet kollha u jannunzja *policy* fuq il-kwistjonijiet kollha. Il-Gvern m'huwiex jitlef iż-żmien tiegħu. Il-Gvern qiegħed jiġbor l-aħjar informazzjoni u qed jirrikorri għall-aħjar mezzi kemm biex isolvi l-kwistjoni ekonomika u kemm biex isolvi l-kwistjoni tal-Common Market, u anke biex isolvi l-kwistjoni Nazzjonali.....

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Nirringrazzja mill-ġdid lill-Kamra għas-sospensjoni tar-regolamenti li għoġobha tagħtini, u jkolli allura f'dawn iċ-ċirkostanzi, fid-daqxejn żmien li baqagħli, nillimita ruħi biex nitkellem fuq l-emendi—jiddispjaċini li hemm punti oħra li ma kellix *chance* nitkellem fuqhom, anke fuq osservazzjonijiet li għamlu l-*leaders* tal-partiti l-oħrajn, però nieħu xi opportunità oħra biex nirrispondi b'xi mod għalihom.

Għar-rigward ta' l-emendi li għandna quddiemna l-Gvern jirritieni, u jirritieni dejjem illi, anke kieku jaqbel mija fil-mija ma' l-emendi li ġew proposti għall-iSpeech from the Throne, ma jista' qatt jaċċettahom għax ikun qiegħed jaċċetta li għandu nuqqas fl-iSpeech from the Throne ikun qiegħed jaċċetta li l-*policy* tiegħu hi fqira, u minħabba din ir-raġuni biss, Sur President, għar-rigward ta' l-emenda proposta mill-Onor. Kap ta l-Oppożizzjoni, il-Gvern ma jistax jaċċettaha. Għar-rigward ta' l-emenda proposta mill-Onor. Kap tal-Partit tal-Ħaddiema Nsara jirritjeni illi m'għandniex inkunu indipendenti politikament qabel ma nkunu "viable", qabel ma nirranġaw l-ekonomija tagħna. Dak għalina huwa ċirku vizzjuż. Jekk ma jkollniex l-indipendenza politika ma nistgħu qatt nirranġaw l-ekonomija tagħna, l-għaliex ma nkunux liberi li niggvernaw b'mod kif nafu nirranġaw l-ekonomija tagħna minħabba restrizzjonijiet

fil-Kostituzzjoni u ċirkostanzi oħra. Allura aħna sostanzjalment ma naqblux ma' l-Onor. Leader tal-Partit tal-Ħaddiema Nsara u anke minħabba hekk ma konniex naċċettawha fi kwalunkwe każ. L-emenda l-oħra ta' l-Onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni hija differenti. Il-partit Nazzjonalista qatt ma waqaf li jgħid li beħsiebu jkompli jiġġieled għall-indipendenza fil-Commonwealth—kif għandna fil-programm tagħna—u jkompli jitħabat sakemm jakkwistaha. Infatti kemm fil-programm elettorali, kif fil-kampanja elettorali, kemm anke fil-Press Conference li jiena tajt fit-23 ta' Frar ta' din is-sena, appena ħarġu r-riżultati ta' l-elezzjoni, kemm fil-*broadcast* fuq ir-Rediffusion, kif ukoll qabel it-tluq tiegħi għal Londra, malli wasalt fil-London Airport, lill-gazzetti, *press* Ingliża, lill-B.B.C., lil United Kingdom Government fil-korrispondenza uffiċjali, fir-ritorn tiegħi f'Malta, fil-meeting tal-partit li sar fi Qui-si-Sana, jiena dejjem għidt li nibqa' sakemm nesegwixxi l-programm elettorali, anke f'dak li jirrigwarda s-soluzzjoni Kostituzzjonali. Infatti, Sur President, fl-ewwel Press Conference li tajt wara r-riżultat ta' l- elezzjoni jiena għidt hekk:

"The result is a vindication of the policy of the Nationalist Party which, as everyone knows, is independence within the Commonwealth. Indeed but for a negligible section, almost all Malta has shown that Colonialism must be buried once and for all".

Fid-diskors tiegħi fuq ir-Rediffusion fit-3 ta' Marzu, jiġifieri dakinhar li jiena ħadt il-ġurament ta' l-uffiċċju jiena għidt:

Wara kollox, ir-riżultati ta' l-elezzjonijiet ma ħallew anqas l-iċken dubbju dwar kif jaħsibha l-poplu fuq is-soluzzjoni li għadha tinstab għal kwestjoni kostituzzjonali ta' Malta. Għalhekk, filwaqt li nagħmel b'mod li l-Amministrazzjoni tibqa' miexja, nara li 'l quddiem infittex tibdil radikali fil-Kostituzzjoni bl-iskop li nasal għall-esekuzzjoni tal-programm elettorali tal-Partit Nazzjonalista anke f'dak li jirrigwarda l-istatus li aħna insostnu li Malta għandu jkollha bħala membru indipendenti tal-Commonwealth.

Malli jiena ersaqt lejn il-Gvern Ingliż, fl-ewwel diskors tiegħi mas-Segretarju ta' l-Istat għall-Kolonji u fl-ewwel ittra fil-korrispondenza, fil-bidunett tal-korrispondenza mill-ewwel ittra, mill-ewwel paragrafu, jiena sostnejt hekk:

I feel that it would not be inappropriate if, before dealing specifically with the points contained in them (on the S. of S.'s letters) I refer to the fact that my

Government has taken office with a clear mandate from the Maltese electorate to achieve for Malta independence within the Commonwealth.

U bqajt miexi b'dak it-ton anke meta ġejt lura Malta u jiena għidt fl-*airport*:

I want to make it clear that I am fighting not for my party's interests but for Malta's future stability. The Nationalist Government will never cease in its efforts to gain independence within the Commonwealth.

U l-istess ħaġa għidt f'meeting ġo Qui-si-Sana fejn skond ir-rapport li deher fil-gazzetti jiena għidt:

The elections proved that Malta wanted independence but an independence as the Nationalist Party sought—within the Commonwealth. In fact, Dr Borg Olivier added, he was not afraid to hold a referendum on this issue.

Issa jiena ma għidtx preċiż dak il-kliem "to hold a referendum". Jiena għidt li tant jiena konvint li l-maġġoranza kbira tal-poplu trid l-indipendenza fil-Commonwealth li kieku kellu jsir referendum fuq din il-kwestjoni jiena żgur li kien ikollna xi tlitt kwarti tal-elettorat jivvota favur indipendenza fil-Commonwealth.

Jiena nibża wisq li b'dan ikolli nagħlaq id-diskors tiegħi u ngħid li ma nistgħux naċċettaw dik l-emenda. Anzi nieħu l-ispunt mill-kliem stess ta' l-onor. Leader ta' l-Opposizzjoni u ngħidlu li forsi ikun aħjar kieku hu ma jinsistix għall-emenda tiegħu biex ma jurix quddiem ħaddieħor li hawn Kamra maqsuma fuq din il-kwestjoni. Iħalli l-kwestjoni għall-mument opportun fejn forsi nkunu nistgħu nuru lill-Ingilterra u lil min għandu jara l-pożizzjoni f'Malta li Malta fil-maġġoranza kbira tagħha, li l-Kamra tal-Parlament Malti fil-maġġoranza kbira tagħna trid l-indipendenza għall-pajjiżha.

ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Mr Speaker, jiena diġa' offrejt lill-Prim Ministru fejn għidtlu li jekk iwiegħedni li f'seduta oħra dik il-mozzjoni jibbakkjaha l-Gvern u jħallina inġibuha, jew inkella jġibha hu stess, aħna lesti biex nirtirawha. Imma altrimenti ma nirtirawhiex għaliex dik hija l-policy tagħna.

ONOR. DR. GIORGIO BORG OLIVIER: Jiena wieġħdtu li naħdem għall-indipendenza b'kemm għandi nifs u żmien. Jiena ma nħobbx ngħaġġel f'dawn l-affarijiet. Jekk ikun hemm bżonn biex nieħdu l-indipendenza tagħna li ssir riżoluzzjoni oqgħod żgur li nressaqha. Però jekk forsi bir-riżoluzzjoni flok nimxi aktar 'l quddiem nimxi lura u npoġġi ostakolu

quddiemna, allura naħseb li l-istess Leader ta' l-Oppożizzjoni jirrealizza li ma jkunx opportun li ssir. Dawn affarijiet li wieħed jista jarahom aktar 'l quddiem. L-indipendenza mhux ser tiġi qabel għaliex ngħaddu riżoluzzjoni għada u mhux pitgħada. L-indipendenza jekk għandha tiġi għaliex il-poplu x-xewqa tiegħu wiriha fl-elezzjonijiet. Ir-riżultat ta' l-elezzjoni hu mandat li ta l-poplu Malti permezz tar-rappresentanti tiegħu lill-Kamra għall-indipendenza fil-Commonwealth.

MR. SPEAKER: *The question is*: l-emenda mressqa mill-onor. Kap ta' l-Oppożizzjoni, cioè—

To make this addition to the Speech from the Throne:

But regret that the following has been omitted:—

The Legislative Assembly, faithful to the manifest aspirations of the great majority of the Maltese people, ask Her Majesty's Government to give Malta her independence and bring to the attention of the 17 Nations Committee of the United Nations the economic feebleness of the Maltese Islands brought about by over a century and a half of British colonialism, so that the United Nations Organisation may extend to our people the economic aid necessary for a viable economy.

Those in favour?

*ONOR. D. MINTOFF: Division!

Mr Speaker, nipproponi s-sospensjoni tar-regolamenti għal biex il-ħin tad-*division* li jiena tlabt jiġi ridott minn għoxrin għal għaxar minuti.

Leave granted and at 9.02 p.m. the Sitting was suspended and was resumed at 9.10 p.m.

Il-permess inġħata u fid-9.02 p.m. is-Seduta ġiet sospiża u tkompliet fid-9.10 p.m.

The House divided: Ayes 16—Noes 34.

Il-Kamra vvutat: Favur 16—Kontra 34.

Division No. 3.

Votazzjoni Nru. 3.

AYES – FAVUR

L-onorevoli	
Mr R. Abdilla	Mr D. Mintoff
Mr E. Attard Bezzina	Dr V. C. Moran
A. Barbara	Dr Ph. Muscat
Dr A. Buttigieg	Dr D. Piscopo
Dr P. Holland	Mr M. Pulis
Dr A. V. Hyzler	Mr L. Sant
Mr N. Laiviera	Mr L. Spiteri
Dr J. Micallef Stafrace	Mr P. Xuereb

NOES – KONTRA

L-onorevoli
Dr S. Abela
Notary E. Agius
Mr C. Attard
Dr A. Bonnici
Dr Gaetano Borg Olivier
Dr Giorgio Borg Olivier
Dr Paul Borg Olivier
Dr A. Busuttil
Dr A. Cachia Zammit
Dr B. Camilleri
Mr E. Camilleri
Dr G. M. Camilleri
Dr C. Caruana
Mr E. Caruana
Mr G. Caruana
Dr T. Caruana Demajo
Dr J. Cassar Galea
Mr E. Catania
Dr G. Felice
Mr G. Galea
Dr H. Ganado
Dr G. Hyzler
Dr D. Micallef
Dr J. Muscat
Mr N. Muscat
Dr A. Paris
Mr T. Pellegrini
Mr N. Pisani
Mr C. Refalo
Dr P. Saliba
Mr E. G. Soler
Dr J. Spiteri
M. Strickland
Dr A. Tabone

Amendment negatived

L-emenda ma ġietx approvata

DOCUMENT 89

Extracts from the Report of the Malta Independence Conference at Marlbourough House in 1963

MALTA INDEPENDENCE CONFERENCE, 1963
REPORT BY THE CHAIRMAN

In August 1962, the Prime Minister of Malta, Dr. Borg Olivier, wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Duncan Sandys, requesting that Malta be granted independence. Mr. Sandys undertook to convene a Conference to consider this request and asked the Government of Malta to prepare, as a basis for discussion, the draft of a constitution for an independent Malta.

2. Thus the main task of the Conference was to provide answers to two questions—

(a) Should Malta become independent now?
(b) If so, what should be her constitution?

Attendance

3. The Conference met at Marlborough House under Mr. Sandys' chairmanship from 16th July 1963 until 1st August 1963. It was attended by representatives of all the political parties in the Malta Legislative Assembly, namely:

* *The Nationalist Party* (leader: Dr. Borg Olivier) which at the last election won 25 out of the 50 seats in the Legislature and polled 42 per cent. of the votes cast;

The Malta Labour Party (leader: Mr. Dom Mintoff) which won 16 seats and polled 34 per cent. of the votes;

The Christian Workers Party (leader: Mr. Toni Pellegrini) which won 4 seats and polled 10 per cent. of the votes;

* *The Democratic Nationalist Party* (leader: Dr. Herbert Ganado) which won 4 seats and polled 9 per cent. of the votes; and

The Progressive Constitutional Party (leader: Miss Mabel Strickland) which won one seat and polled 5 per cent. of the votes.

4. The respective positions of the British Government and of the five Maltese parties were outlined at the first session of the Conference by the Secretary of State and the leaders of the five Maltese parties. The texts of their speeches are given in Annex A.

Constitution

5. Before addressing themselves to the basic question of independence, the Conference considered the form which an independence constitution might take. The draft constitution prepared by the Maltese Government was adopted as a basis for discussion. While agreeing to participate in this discussion, the Christian Workers Party, the Democratic Nationalist Party and the Progressive Constitutional Party explained that they must reserve their position on those aspects of the constitution which were based on the assumption that Malta was to be independent.

---

* Since the election, one member of the Democratic Nationalist Party has transferred to the Natioanlist Party.

6. Large parts of the constitution did not raise any acute controversy and, thanks to the helpfulness of all delegations, a wide measure of agreement was reached. However, it was clearly not possible to reconcile divergent views on certain important aspects, some of which raised questions of principle and conscience. The differences between the delegations centred on the following issues:

(*a*) the status of the Roman Catholic Church;
(*b*) the choice between monarchy and republic;
(*c*) Commonwealth membership;
(*d*) the electoral system;
(*e*) the extent to which certain provisions of the constitution should be entrenched; and
(*f*) the question whether fresh elections should be held before independence.

7. It would be extremely difficult to produce a fair and balanced summary of the divergences between the parties on these questions. It was therefore thought best to publish the differing versions of the constitution recommended by each party from which their respective views can be assessed. Annex B sets out on opposite pages the draft constitution now recommended by the Nationalist Party, and the amendments proposed by the Malta Labour Party. The amendments proposed by the other three parties are set out in Annexes C, D and E.

8. Annexes F and G contain memoranda submitted by the Christian Workers Party on Co-citizenship and by the Progressive Constitutional Party on Interdependence.

Independence

9. On the question of independence, Mr. Sandys summed up the attitude of the British Government in the following terms:

"We, in Britain, have no desire to hustle Malta into independence or to lay down our responsibilities so long as you need us. On the other hand, once you are ready and willing to take over the full management of your own affairs, we have no wish to hold you back."

10. The Nationalist Party and the Malta Labour Party pointed out that, in their manifestos at the last general election and throughout the campaign, they had both declared themselves in favour of early independence, and that together they had polled 76 per cent. of the votes cast.

There was therefore, in their opinion, no doubt about the wishes of the Maltese people on this question.

11. On the other hand, the three other parties, who together polled 24 per cent. of the votes, expressed the view that Malta was not ready for independence. They maintained that this had not been a central issue at the last election, and they questioned the claim of the two main parties to possess a mandate for early independence. They therefore urged that the views of the electors should be sought on this specific issue through a referendum.

12. At the end of the second week, the Secretary of State adjourned the Conference for two days to enable him to hold private consultations with individual delegations.

13. In the course of these separate consultations, Mr. Sandys discussed with each party the question of independence. He explained that, from the larger number of votes cast for the two pro-independence parties at the last election, it appeared that a substantial majority favoured early independence. However, since this conclusion was disputed by the three smaller parties, he suggested that any possible doubt on this question should be eliminated by a referendum, and that in the meantime further discussion of the constitution should be deferred.

14. This proposal was welcomed by the three smaller parties. The attitude of the two main parties was distinctly unfavourable, but they agreed to give the proposal careful consideration.

15. At the resumed plenary session on 31st July, the Secretary of State formally proposed that a referendum should be held on the question: "Do you want independence now?"

16. The three smaller parties confirmed their approval of this proposal. The Nationalist Party expressed the view that a referendum on independence was unnecessary, since the people of Malta had already given a clear decision on this issue at the last general election. Nevertheless they said they would be prepared to agree, provided that all parties accepted the proposal for a referendum and would participate in it.

17. The Malta Labour Party, whose delegation had meanwhile withdrawn from the Conference, were separately consulted by the Secretary of State. They declared themselves unwilling to participate in a referendum, unless they were given a firm undertaking that a number of amendments proposed by them to the draft constitution would be accepted and that fresh elections would be held before independence.

The other four parties felt unable to accept these conditions, since they involved prejudging controversial issues which, in their view, could be settled only in relation to the constitution as a whole, after the prior question of independence had been decided.

18. After consultation with individual delegations on the situation thus created, the Secretary of State reached the conclusion that, in view of the probability of a boycott by a substantial section of the electorate, a referendum could not produce a reliable result and that the proposal would therefore have to be dropped. He expressed his regret to the smaller parties that his efforts to secure agreement on a referendum had thus failed.

19. In these circumstances there was no longer any justification for withholding a decision on the Malta Government's application for independence, supported as it was by the results of the 1962 elections, which, in the opinion of the British Government, showed that a substantial majority of the Maltese people wanted early independence.

20. The Secretary of State accordingly announced that Her Majesty's Government had decided that Malta should become independent on a date not later than 31st May 1964.

21. In the light of this definite decision, he invited the Prime Minister of Malta to hold discussions in Malta with representatives of all political parties, in a further endeavour to agree upon joint constitutional proposals. He explained that the British Government could not divest themselves of their share of responsibility for Malta's future constitution. Nevertheless, it was probable that they would feel able to accept any provisions agreed by the Maltese parties. Should the parties fail to reach agreement, the outstanding issues could be referred for decision either to the people of Malta or to the British Government, as might be most appropriate.

Signed: DUNCAN SANDYS,
Chairman.

Marlborough House, S.W.1.
1*st August*, 1963.

LIST OF THOSE ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE

Mr. Duncan Sandys, M.P., *Secretary of State for the Colonies* (Chairman)
The Marquess of Lansdowne, *Minister of State for Colonial Affairs*

Sir John Martin, *Deputy Under-Secretary of State*
Sir Edward Wakefield, *United Kingdom Commissioner, Malta*
Mr. C.G. Eastwood
Mr. J.M. Kisch — *Colonial Office*
Mr. A.J. Fairclough
Mr. J.C. McPetrie — *Legal Advisers*
Mr. M.G. de Winton

Sir Maurice Dorman, *Governor of Malta*

Dr. G. Borg Olivier, *Prime Minister*
Dr. G. Felice, *Minister of Industrial Development and Tourism*
Dr. G.M. Camilleri
Dr. J. Cassar Galea — *Nationalist Party*
Dr. B. Camilleri
Dr. V. Ragonesi (Adviser)
Dr. V. Tabone (Adviser)

Mr. D. Mintoff
Dr. A. Buttigieg
Mr. E.A. Bezzina
Mr. D. Cremona — *Malta Labour Party*
Mr. A.J. Scerri (Adviser)
Mr. Attard Kingswell (Adviser)
Mr. Dingle Foot, Q.C., M.P. (Adviser)

Mr. T. Pellegrini
Dr. D. Micallef — *Christian Workers Party*
Mr. A. Sammut (Adviser)

Dr. H. Ganado
Dr. R. Farrugia — *Democratic Nationalist Party*
Dr. A. Ganado (Adviser)

Miss M. Strickland
Captain V. Formosa — *Progressive Consititutional Party*
Dr. C. Scicluna (Adviser)

Professor J.J. Cremona, *Attorney General, Malta*
Mr. E. Cuschieri, *Administrative Secretary, Malta*
Mr. J.F. Axisa, *Commissioner General for Malta in the United Kingdom*

Mr. W.M. Knighton
Mr. E.W.J. Crawley
Mr. R. J. Harding *Secretariat*
Mr. D.J.L. Moore

ANNEX A

OPENING STATEMENTS BY MR. SANDYS, DR. BORG OLIVIER, MR. MINTOFF, MR. PELLEGRINI, DR. GANADO AND MISS STRICKLAND

Statement by the Secretary of State.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS said—

"Your Excellency, Mr. Prime Minister and delegates, it is with very great pleasure that I welcome you here this morning on behalf of the British Government. Incidentally, I was a little doubtful as to whether I was going to be here myself—I had a bit of aeroplane trouble on the way back from British Guiana last night.

We have round this table, in addition to His Excellency the Governor, representatives of all the parties in Malta's legislature.

When I was in Malta at the beginning of June I undertook to convene a Conference to consider the request for independence, and to discuss the changes in the constitution which independence would entail. These are the two main purposes for which we are met. First we shall have to discuss the principle of independence. Malta is of course already almost entirely self-governing. We in Britain have no desire to hustle Malta into independence or to lay down our responsibilities so long as you need us. On the other hand once you are ready and willing to take over the full management of your own affairs, we have no wish to hold you back.

Behind the political issue of independence there lie of course the problems of economics and defence, and I know these matters are very

much in your minds. As I assured you when I was in Malta recently, independence will not bring British assistance to an end. We have many inescapable commitments all round the world, but we fully realise that Malta will need continuing help to reorganise her economy, especially in view of the run-down of the British Services, and we shall continue to give such help as we can afford. We propose to discuss this question of financial aid with the Government of Malta after we have received their own proposals.

With regard to defence, we no longer have an absolute need for a military base in the Central Mediterranean. Nevertheless we would like to retain facilities in Malta for our forces, if this is acceptable to you. This again is a matter which I propose to pursue with your Government if we reach agreement on the question of independence. However, it may well be your feeling that this important question should not be finally settled until after Malta has achieved her full sovereignty. If so, we would not wish to press you.

When we come to discuss the constitution, we shall have before us the draft prepared by your Attorney General. If I may say so I think he has done a very admirable job and provided us with a most excellent basis for discussion, running into over 100 pages.

No doubt there are many points which different members of this Conference will wish to raise—I myself have quite a number I would like to raise. We in Britain have no constitution of our own, but we have quite a lot of experience of writing constitutions for other people, and our advice may therefore be useful.

If you decide that independence is what you want, you will have to consider whether you wish to have it inside or outside the Commonwealth. If you wish to become a member of the Commonwealth, I am sure you will be welcome as a free and equal partner in this great world-wide association of sovereign nations. But whatever you decide on that, or on any other matter before us, of one thing I am certain: the friendship between Britain and Malta will remain unchanged. In peace and in war we have together faced and overcome many difficulties and dangers. Out of our common experience there have grown up between our peoples deep feelings of affection and mutual trust. These are indeed precious assets which will, I know, remain unaffected by any changes in our constitutional relationship."

Statement by the Prime Minister of Malta and Leader of the Nationalist Party.

DR BORG OLIVIER said—

"Mr. Secretary of State, Your Excellency, Gentlemen: I wish in the first place to thank you, Sir, both personally and on behalf of my colleagues, for the kind words with which you have welcomed us to this Conference on Malta's independence.

We had occasion, Sir, to appreciate your feelings towards Malta during your recent stay in our island, when we found in you an understanding and encouraging friend. We were impressed by the way in which within the compass of a few days you arrived at a clear appreciation of our ideals and their historical and political background, and of the realities of the present situation.

This is an historical day for Malta, which is now about to regain her sovereignty. A century and a half ago it was the inhabitants of Malta themselves that freely and voluntarily placed their homeland under the protection of the British Crown. More than a century later our two island peoples fought side by side for the preservation of what is most sacred to both of them: freedom and Christian civilisation. As you said, Sir, in Malta recently, together we have faced dangers and death, and together we have shared in the honours of victory.

We, like you, are not unnaturally proud of the feats of our forefathers. Our association with Britain was in fact due to our forefathers' clear perception of Malta's position in the world at a crucial period in history. Malta is thus in a unique position, and, as you know, her status as a British dependency was in no way and at no time due to inability to govern herself. There is in Malta a unified people with an ancient European civilisation, a 900-years old national flag, a glorious history and a centuries-old culture with its roots in old Rome and the other great Mediterranean civilisations—a people with strong national feelings and a deep sense of attachment to freedom, both national and individual.

It is therefore not surprising that when we demand independence we are truly voicing the feelings of the whole Maltese people. There is, it is true, some expression of dissent as to when independence should come, but free dissent is really the hallmark of democracy, and democracy represents for us not only a form of government but a way of life. It does,

however, also mean that the wish of the majority must of course prevail.

Indeed, during the last election both my party and the main opposition party, which between them secured 41 out of the present 50 parliamentary seats, made it abundantly clear to the electorate that, if elected, they would press for independence. In the light of this it is I think correct to say that the principle of independence for Malta has been accepted.

We are now here to discuss the form of government which independence should bring us. Although the proposals embodied in the draft constitution which we have prepared entail independence in its fullest sense—and this is only an expression of convenience, for in political theory sovereignty is not a matter of degree—we have chosen not to sever certain political links which in no way impinge on the concept of independence. We envisage Malta as a monarchy within that family of nations which is the Commonwealth.

The constitution which we envisage incorporates the principle of responsible parliamentary government based on a tested democratic system. It safeguards the interests of the nation and the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individuals composing the nation. It secures the independence of such organs and authorities as must be outside political influence. It reaffirms the political sovereignty of the electorate by ensuring the holding of free elections at fixed intervals.

Two of the major difficulties which usually confront an independence conference are singularly and fortunately absent in our case. They are the problems inevitably associated with multi-racial communities and an expatriate civil service. In the case of Malta there is a unified people forming a nationality, and for obvious reasons there has been no need for expatriate civil servants. In Malta the problem of minorities does not arise except in the ordinary sense of a political minority as opposed to a political majority in the government; and that is no problem, for we firmly believe in the right of every political minority eventually to become a majority, which is the essence of democratic government. Indeed we propose to retain the traditional voting system of Malta, that is, proportional representation by the single transferable vote, a tested system which has among its recognised merits the great one of favouring rather than obliterating the minority parties existing at any given time. On the occasion of the grant of internal self-government to Malta as far back as 1921, this system was described by one of our predecessors in

office as that which gives the most accurate representation of the true wishes of the electorate and is best calculated to secure the return of representatives who individually enjoy the confidence of their fellow citizens.

My reference to the absence of the major difficulties just mentioned in no way means that there are none on our part or that we are not sensitive to them. We do not ignore or belittle the difficulties which inevitably lie ahead but we are confident that under God's guidance and with friendly help (and in the matter of help we look first to your country as a tried friend) we shall overcome them.

We are now facing a new era in our long history. I feel we are not at the cross-road, for as I see it there is only one road ahead and, finding ourselves on it, we cannot but look forward. This is more the start of a new road than the end of an old one.

It only remains for me to say that my fellow delegates and I look forward to the decisions which will emerge from this Conference and particularly to the fixing of a date for our independence."

Statement by the Leader of the Malta Labour Party.

MR. MINTOFF said—

"Mr. Secretary of State, fellow delegates, this is indeed a memorable day for Malta. We are all gathered here to give Malta independence: independence built on democratic ideas, enjoying full sovereignty, with the provisions for building an economy which will provide its people with the necessary welfare to continue a civilised existence.

We shall in the course of the next few days be discussing these three objectives. With regard to democratic ideas and the workings of democracy in Malta, it is not the occasion this morning for me to refer to the past irregularities and sad events. But I am sure all of us will want during the next few days to discuss the obstacles which have so far been in the way of democratic existence in Malta. We shall, I hope, be discussing freedom of worship, freedom of conscience with particular reference to freedom of conscience in the most critical times during elections. We shall be discussing the question of the rights of minorities which after all are the yardstick of any democratic existence and we shall be discussing in detail those measures which should be incorporated in the Constitution to avoid the setting up of any dictatorship in Malta. We

shall be doing this in the light of the most modern teachings, especially of the teachings of the late Pope.

With regard to sovereignty we were particularly happy to note in the statement made by the Secretary of State in Malta that economic aid to Malta will not be conditional on the signing of a defence treaty with the United Kingdom. We have the strongest hope that during the discussion of this Constitution no attempt will be made to entrench beforehand clauses which will bind Malta to remain in the Commonwealth.

I must here make clear the position of the Labour Party. Notwithstanding the statement issued by the B.B.C. immediately on our arrival, the Labour Party is not against remaining in the Commonwealth. What the Labour Party has stood for, what the Labour Party will be striving for during the next few days will be to see that independence for Malta will not be a mere formality but that the Maltese people after independence will have the full freedom to choose for themselves whether to remain in the Commonwealth or leave the Commonwealth.

The third condition, the question of economic aid is as vital to us as the first two conditions, democratic ideas and full sovereignty. I do not want this morning to waste the time of the Conference by referring to the economic plight of Malta as a result of the dismantling of the fortress. These are facts known throughout the whole world. But I hope that during the next few days we shall be discussing the ways and means which will enable the people of Britain who have throughout these last 160 years been staunch friends of Malta, we shall be discussing ways and means of how the people of Great Britain together with other free states of the world can help Malta to rebuild an economy which unfortunately today is shattered."

Statement by the Leader of the Christian Workers Party.

MR. PELLEGRINI said—

"Mr. Secretary of State, Your Excellency, colleagues, it is well known both in London and in Malta that independence is not the solution to Malta's problem.

The Christian Workers Party is concentrating its energies to avoid a national catastrophe through the granting of immediate independence to Malta. This must not be misinterpreted: we are not against independence *ut sic*. We are against immediate independence because Malta is

not prepared for such a fundamental change in the Constitution.

Independence is meaningless unless it enables Malta to continue to exist under conditions of free democratic institutions and traditions, as gradually developed during a century and a half of British rule; unless it enables Malta to keep and improve the standard of living and cultural values so far attained.

We are positively certain that Dr. Borg Olivier's strategy of rushing helter-skelter into independence, and letting the devil take the hindmost, leads directly and almost immediately into political and economic chaos. Within three or four years it would deprive the Maltese of all advantages and benefits accrued under the British and it would not remove the restrictions and the limitations which our people have had to accept under a colonial rule; it would simply multiply and accentuate them under some other power. We look facts squarely in the face and harbour no sentimental illusions. The Maltese people are European in culture and traditions. They are in these respects immeasurably ahead of most emergent nations that have recently fumbled and stumbled into independence. But judged by the political standards of maturity of European countries we are still in our infancy—quite apart from the other unpalatable fact that planning for economic viability has yet to make a start in earnest.

Malta's geographical position with easy access to the Middle East, North Africa and Southern Europe makes it a very desirable foothold by any nation avid to control or keep an eye on any of these zones. Being a small, unwarlike nation, Malta, unarmed and undefended, would be an easy prey to any unscrupulous nation eager to attain a commercial or a military foothold in the Mediterranean. Such a nation would find very willing collaborators in minority reactionary elements compactly organised and led with ruthlessless by some Maltese megalomaniac. We are deeply convinced that this minority will not feel any scruples at launching fratricidal strife to seize the reins of government. We strongly believe that in such a contingency the dice will be heavily loaded in the demagogue's favour, who will be unashamedly trading on the people's peace-loving instancts fostered by 160 years of Pax Brittannica. To recover Malta after this wreck would require ten times the effort and money needed now to help Malta towards the attainment of a true well-planned independence.

The Maltese consider that the only solution to their problem lies in an

association with a strong nation—an association which will guarantee the Maltese people's individuality—political, economic and religious. After so many years of British rule, of inter-marriage, of friendship and of loyalties, the Maltese people in their majority look upon Britain as the nation that could meet their aspirations. It is Britain that has been responsible for the gradual change in the Maltese way of life from conditions little better than mediaeval to the present day relatively affluent situation.

It is to Britain that we look for a factual and sincere co-operation during the transitional period necessary and vital before the attainment of a worthwhile political independence. During this period, as in the past, tensions and irksome divergencies of opinion may develop between our two nations, but we want them to be, as they have been, mere family quarrels to be resolved at the conference table. The Maltese will play their part loyally as long as they recognise England's goodwill in this difficult phase. It must, in fact and not only in name, be an Anglo-Maltese partnership for the hammering out and the forging of a future independent Malta that will not persist in being a burden on the British Exchequer.

The association that the Maltese aspire to, and which we consider will be acceptable to the United Kingdom Government, is one which does not allow undue interference without consultations in Malta's purely internal matters, which honours the individuality of the two nations and one which makes it possible for the two Governments to deal with each other on equitable footing.

Co-citizenship, Mr. Secretary of State, we feel is the form of association that will solve the problem of Malta. Co-citizenship is a form of association which could answer all these requirements.

By co-citizenship we understand a form of association between Great Britain and Malta which would affirm the individuality of each of the two nations. It will favour in Malta a completely free self-Government in all matters internal. British citizens will be considered as fully fledged Maltese citizens when in Malta and Maltese citizens will be considered as British citizens when outside Malta.

The people of Malta will write their own Constitution, like all free people. The Queen will be the guardian of that Constitution as much as Her Majesty is the guardian of the British Constitution.

By the words: "A completely free self-Government in all matters internal", we mean that the Maltese democratically elected Government

will have full and complete jurisdiction over all matters of administration, law and order, police, telecommunications, civil aviation, finance, coinage, foreign and local trade and education etc.

In all the above spheres there are bound to be regions where interests are common to the two countries. In such regions control will be open to unfettered discussions between the two Governments.

There will be a form of Customs Association between the two countries.

British born residents in Malta will not fall under the British income tax law, and Maltese born residents in the United Kingdom will not fall under the Maltese income tax law.

Defence and foreign affairs will be the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government.

Services personnel enlisted in Malta will be considered as enlisted in the United Kingdom.

The United Kingdom Government will help Malta to diversify its economy to one based on industry, tourism and agriculture. Towards this end the United Kingdom Government will for ten years contribute both financial and economic help with the recommendations put forward by the 1955 Round Table Conference as a basis for discussions.

British services personnel and services employees in Malta will enjoy the same facilities they enjoy in Great Britain. Britain's allies will be Malta' allies and their personnel will enjoy the same facilities afforded to them in Great Britain.

After ten years a referendum will be held in Malta in which the Maltese people will be asked to decide whether they would like to continue their association with Britain. The result will be despatched to the United Kingdom Government for approval or rejection: for a fresh agreement based on the improved economic situation of Malta; or for independence based on the friendship and the gratitude of an island whose destiny has been and will always be linked with that of Great Britain.

Statement by the Leader of the Democratic Nationalist Party.

DR. H. GANADO said—

"Mr. Secretary of State, Your Excellency, friends, as you have rightly said, it is up to the Maltese to decide whether they want independence and when they what independence. But, on the other hand, the British

Government has the great responsibility of ensuring that there is a good chance of independence succeeding without driving Malta into political and economic plight.

Nearly all of us, Mr. Chairman, aspire to independence. Some of us think, though, that independence should be granted now. Some of us think that independence should not be granted now as the country is not yet ready for it as Malta economically is not yet on her feet. We want independence to be a success and we fear that if independence were to fail there would be frustration, bitterness and trouble, economic and political chaos, which might in due course drive Malta to be the Cuba of the Mediterranean, and we all want to avoid that.

For independence to succeed, Mr. Chairman, I think two things are necessary. First, all the people, or practically the vast majority of the people that want independence, should want independence and should want independence at that particular time, and therefore we insist that the Maltese people should be given the chance to express in a clear and unmistakeable way that they want independence now. Not that they want independence in general—we all agree with that—but that they want independence now. That is why we insist and we ask for a referendum.

During the last election the two main political parties had independence in their political programmes, but for several reasons the last elections were not a clear expression of the Maltese mind. First of all, elections are a very mixed issue and, as was stated before the Round Table Conference in 1955, elections are never the expression of a country because they are a very mixed issue.

Secondly, in the last elections, as we all know, there has been the religious question and the Church, rightly so because religion as a fundamental part of life, exercised great influence on the electorate. The main issue was a religious fight not a political fight, and we feel, that we are all convinced about it, I am sure, if we are honest enough to admit it, that the last election result was a negative result. The Maltese electorate, the bulk of the Maltese electorate who voted for the Nationalist Party, gave a negative vote; they voted Nationalist because they wanted to make sure that Mr. Mintoff's party was out. In Britain you can realise that pretty well; I do not want to enter into your politics, but we all know that the Liberals many times vote Conservative just to keep Labour out. In Malta it happens on a very big scale, so you will understand what I mean.

Then, Mr. Chairman, before the election, on the eve of the election, two ex-Chief Justices and the Chief Justice, with a great moral influence in Malta, published letters in the press, which we are ready to submit to you, insisting on the public concentrating on the big party, because they said if Mr. Mintoff won more seats than the Nationalists, the Governor would have to ask Mr. Mintoff to form the Government, and the Catholic organisations were terribly worried to death and so the people concentrated on the big parties just to make sure that Mr. Mintoff was out. Independence never came to their minds.

Then there was another point. A Defence White Paper was published after the election. The image which the Maltese people had of the British Government in general was that it was terribly hard to change a comma in the Constitution, let alone get independence, and when other parties said they wanted independence the people said 'They will never grant it because Malta is a base, it is a fortress'. The Defence White Paper was published after the elections, and the whole thing changed and I do think, Mr. Chairman, that the people should be given the chance, an honest chance, to express unmistakably their view that they want independence now.

A second factor to make independence a success is to my mind economic and political stability. We all know that the Maltese economy for the last 160 years, for the last century, was all geared to the naval base—it was never exploited for commercial purposes, it was subordinated to the base. Now we have to change all that, Mr. Chairman. We have to change the mentality of the people, we have to persuade them to invest in business, we have to change our economic structure, and we cannot do it overnight. We have just started to try to do it. Do not expect us, a small island, without resources, to be able to change the economic structure overnight.

So that, Mr. Chairman, when we know that 25 per cent of our labour force (as His Excellency the Governor has said in a speech lately) will be unemployed in a few years time, unless we concentrate all our efforts on our economy, there will be chaos in Malta. We cannot disperse our energies, Mr. Chairman. We need a sort of political holiday and instead of having that we are embarking on a big political venture and we are going to leap into it. Unless we know what the economic arrangements are, what the defence arrangements are, what the guarantees for internal security are, we cannot make up our minds whether we want independence within the Commonwealth, whether we want to be a republic or

to retain the Crown, or whether we want to ask somebody else to help us defend ourselves. We object to it because we feel, Mr. Chairman, we belong to the West and all our feelings are with the West, but we feel—this is not blackmail, we leave that to somebody else—but we feel, Mr. Chairman, that if we are left to ourselves we might be an easy prey to Russia in due course. We want to avoid that because we hold that it is far better to wait for a few years to have independence than to lose all the human rights altogether, and that is a danger ahead of us. Mr. Chairman, we ask you here—forgive me my impertinence—perhaps not to behave like that mother who has had many daughters and who is in a hurry to marry them off and who will not worry who the husbands are going to be, and what their futures are going to be when they do not even know the facts of life. The Constitution has not been published and I am afraid we do not want to be guided by the consideration that our daughter should marry simply because the husband asked for a small dowry".

Statement by the Leader of the Progressive Constitutional Party.

MISS STRICKLAND said—

"Mr. Secretary of State, Your Excellency and Mr. Prime Minister: I thank you, Mr. Secretary of State, for your address, which is a recapitulation of what you told us in Malta. In fact it was only on the 5th June that I learned for the first time that this country was willing, if pressed by what they term the two major parties, to lay down British sovereignty in Malta, and they very kindly said that we would take our queue in the Commonwealth for the continuance of financial aid. We are grateful for that, but we are not grateful for the suggestion that the Union Jack should cease to fly in Malta, and the people of Malta were totally unaware of that when the election was fought in 1962. That election was fought to my knowledge to keep out the honourable Leader of the Opposition, who speaks with a very different voice at Marlborough House to what his representations are at Tanganyika and at the United Nations, where we have Cambodia and Russia pressing for independence for Malta. The people of Malta have never voted for independence; and I, on behalf of the people of Malta, am asking for a referendum, and for the democratic right to separate election issues from the political ones

which are very tangled—and which the honourable Leader of the Opposition would be the first to say were tangled, in front of the conference, but probably not in front of the press where he makes one issue: the Church. I say that I ask Her Majesty's Ministers not lightly to lay down their responsibility for the loyal people of Malta in the Central Mediterranean, on the basis of an election which was not fought on that issue.

My right honourable friend, the Prime Minister, thirty years ago, or perhaps longer, asked for Dominion Status. Dominion Status in the mind of the Maltese people is to be able to emigrate to Australia; we have got 100,000 of us there, one-tenth of us; we have got them here, we have got them in Canada. But it was never in the minds of the good people to have the independence which this conference is called for. And it is for this reason that I make a strong appeal for justice to two countries, to this country; at least let the people of Malta decide whether they want independence now or later, or not independence at all.

For my part, this present call for independence in one or other of its aspects needs a good deal of dispassionate examination, in order to clear the mind of cant and of catch-words. Now I oppose independence, definitely oppose it, because in the world today it is interdependence that we are all asking for—that is Europe, that is President Kennedy—and it is no longer a Boston Tea-Party based on the personal ambitions of two leaders of Malta. Let them at least not be frightened of the people of Malta, let us at least have a clear referendum. That is the point—what they mean by independence—that this conference must thrash out. It is a very dubious and overworked word.

My party have submitted a memorandum, placed on the table, because the Secretary of State asked for other proposals. We were informed of Government proposals only on the 27th June, but the constitutional lawyers have been at work, and we submit that the State of Malta can be fully self-governing, but interdependent, in matters of defence and foreign affairs, with the sovereignty remaining with the Crown, so that it is not worth any of the 17 nations that are in the Mediterranean challenging the Government of Malta–we are only 300,000 people, and under independence would be undefended. And that is what we are asking you, not to yield the sovereignty of this country, not to make us citizens of Malta and the Commonwealth like 'citizens of Jamaica and the Commonwealth'—I was going up to

Leamington Spa, there was an American lady in the train, and also a British-born Jamaican. He showed me his passport; he said, 'It is useless to me, "citizen of Jamaica and of the Commonwealth". It means a visa for France, it means a visa for Germany, and in South America they have never heard the word "Commonwealth" '.

We are proud of our British citizenship, and we are asking that the present constitution should be amended so widely that my honourable friend, the Prime Minister, may attend the Commonwealth conferences, may have the maximum of internal self-government, but at least that matters of external defence should remain with the British Crown and that we can feel that we can sleep at night without the chance of a Soviet aeroplane coming down; and pushing on to Ghana.

These are the things which this country has not considered, and we are asking that this may be put before the people of Malta. We have already started an appeal for a referendum, and people are signing it today. If we want to commit political and economic suicide, let those people commit it with their eyes open, but do not let them commit it because they voted to keep out the infiltration of Communist ideology into the island.

That is what we will be discussing, and at least we have a document which makes it very possible, to go a very long way, bar the actual yielding of sovereignty, to meet the desires—and I must say it—of people who are bitten with the idea of independence. But I do feel that we should not be rushed into it. In my case it was not until the Secretary of State said that he was willing to yield sovereignty that I had the slightest idea that this country would go as far as that, because two years before a previous Secretary of State had said he would not yield sovereignty. Now the people have had no chance in exactly three weeks, since the 27th, or whenever it was, to understand. But they are understanding it, and this conference has a very grave responsibility, not only to us in Malta but to Britain's position in the Mediterranean. As my good friend said, we do not want to be married off to the first person who comes in, whether it is France—because the French look upon Malta as the only European promontory left facing North Africa—or whether it is our old friend, Italy, or whether it is the United Arab Republic that the Leader of the Opposition at times flirts with. We do not want in Malta civil war, and we do not want either a repetition of Cuba, but we do want a clear indication from the people of Malta that they know what is likely to happen, and that is the statement that we make.

We are not reactionary, because we will go still further forward than

an already wide constitution. But we do at least want it done with the knowledge of the English people, with whom we fought side by side; and with the knowledge of the Maltese people, who for the first time have suddenly awoken to the fact that this is not a game between two leaders who would out-bid the other, which they always thought it was, but that the Secretary of State is really considering something, namely, withdrawing from Malta which the man in the street has suddenly woken up to.

Give us a referendum, as to whether we want independence now. We will give a reply, but at least give us a referendum and we will abide by what the people of Malta and Gozo say; but do not throw us away because it is convenient for Russia to ask for this to be done at the United Nations."

DOCUMENT 90

Extracts from the Malta Independence Constitution of 1964

MALTA—INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION

Subject to the passage of the Malta Independence Bill, the Government propose to advise Her Majesty in Council to make an Order to establish a new constitution for Malta in the form set out in the Annex hereto. The constitution would take effect on the date when Malta becomes independent.

CONSTITUTION OF MALTA

Arrangement of Sections

CHAPTER I

THE STATE

Section

1. Territories.
2. Religion.

3. National Flag.
4. National Anthem.
5. Language.
6. Constitution to be supreme law.

Chapter II

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

7. Right to work.
8. Promotion of culture, etc.
9. Safeguarding of landscape and historical and artistic patrimony.
10. Religious teaching in State schools.
11. Compulsory and free primary education.
12. Educational interests.
13. Protection of work.
14. Hours of work.
15. Rights of women workers.
16. Minimum age for paid labour.
17. Safeguarding labour of minors.
18. Social assistance and insurance.
19. Encouragement of private economic enterprise.
20. Protection of artisan trades.
21. Encouragement of co-operatives.
22. Application of the principles contained in this Chapter.

Chapter III

CITIZENSHIP

23. Persons who become citizens on appointed day.
24. Persons entitled to be registered as citizens.
25. Persons naturalised or registered as resident before appointed day.
26. Acquisition of citizenship by birth or descent by persons born on or after appointed day.
27. Marriage to citizen of Malta.

Section
28. Dual citizenship.
29. Commonwealth citizens.
30. Criminal liability of Commonwealth citizens.
31. Powers of Parliament.
32. Interpretation.

CHAPTER IV

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF THE INDIVIDUAL

33. Fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual.
34. Protection of right to life.
35. Protection from arbitrary arrest or detention.
36. Protection from forced labour.
37. Protection from inhuman treatment.
38. Protection from depriviation of property without compensation.
39. Protection for privacy of home or other property.
40. Provisions to secure protection of law.
41. Protection of freedom of conscience.
42. Protection of freedom of expression.
43. Protection of freedom of assembly and association.
44. Prohibition of deportation.
45. Protection of freedom of movement.
46. Protection from discrimination on the grounds of race, etc.
47. Enforcement of protective provisions.
48. Interpretation of Chapter IV.

CHAPTER V

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

49. Establishment of office of Governor-General.
50. Oaths to be taken by Governor-General.
51. Discharge of Governor-General's functions during vacancy, etc.

CHAPTER VI

PARLIAMENT

PART 1

Composition of Parliament

52. Establishment of Parliament.
53. Composition of the House of Representatives.
54. Qualifications for membership of House of Representatives.
55. Disqualifications for membership of House of Representatives.
56. Tenure of office of members.
57. Voting at Elections.
58. Qualification of voters.
59. Disqualification of voters.

Section
60. Speaker and Deputy Speaker.
61. Establishment of Electoral Commission.
62. Electoral divisions.
63. Filling of vacancies.
64. Determination of questions as to membership.
65. Clerk to House of Representatives and his staff.

PART 2

Powers and Procedure of Parliament

66. Power to make laws.
67. Alteration of this Constitution.
68. Regulation of procedure in House of Representatives.
69. Oath to be taken by members of House of Representatives.
70. Presiding in House of Representatives.
71. Quorum in House of Representatives.
72. Voting.
73. Mode of exercising legislative powers.
74. Restriction with regard to certain financial measures.
75. Language of Laws.

PART 3

Summoning, prorogation and dissolution

76. Sessions of Parliament.
77. Prorogation and dissolution of Parliament.
78. General elections.

CHAPTER VII

THE EXECUTIVE

79. Executive authority of Malta.
80. The Cabinet.
81. Appointment of Ministers.
82. Tenure of office of Ministers.
83. Allocation of portfolios to Ministers.
84. Acting Prime Minister.
85. Temporary Ministers.
86. Exercise of functions of Governor-General.
87. Exercise of Prime Minister's functions.
88. Governor-General to be informed concerning matters of government.
89. Parliamentary Secretaries.
90. Oaths to be taken by Ministers.
91. Leader of the Opposition.
92. Crown Advocate-General.
93. Permanent Secretaries and heads of government departments.
94. Prerogative of mercy.
95. Secretary to the Cabinet.

CHAPTER VIII

THE JUDICIARY

PART I

Courts

Section

96. Superior Courts.

97. Appointment of judges.
98. Tenure of office of judges.
99. Acting Chief Justice and acting judges.
100. Inferior Courts.
101. Magistrates.
102. Oaths to be taken by judges and magistrates.

PART 2

Appeals

103. Appeals to Her Majesty in Council.
104. Appeals from Superior Courts in Criminal matters.

CHAPTER IX

FINANCE

105. Consolidated Fund.
106. Authorisation of expenditure from Consolidated Fund.
107. Authorisation of expenditure before appropriation.
108. Contingencies Fund.
109. Public debt.
110. Remuneration of the Governor-General and certain other officers.
111. Director of Audit.

CHAPTER X

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

112. Public Service Commission.
113. Appointment etc. of public officers.
114. Principal representatives of Malta abroad.
115. Appointment on transfer in respect of certain offices.
116. Protection of pension rights.
117. Grant and withholding of pensions etc.
118. Protection of Public Service Commission from legal proceedings.

CHAPTER XI

MISCELLANEOUS

119. Actions on validity of laws.
120. Prohibition of certain associations.
121. Broadcasting Authority.

Section
122. Function of the Broadcasting Authority.
123. Powers and procedure of Commissions.
124. Resignations.
125. Reappointments, etc.
126. Interpretation.

CONSTITUTION OF MALTA

CHAPTER I

THE STATE

Territories

1. Until otherwise provided by law the territories of Malta consist of those territories comprised in Malta immediately before the appointed day, including the territorial waters thereof.

Religion

2–(1) The Religion of Malta is the Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion.

(2) The State guarantees to the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church the right freely to exercise her proper spiritual and ecclesiastical functions and duties and to manage her own affairs.

National Flag

3. The National Flag of Malta consists of two equal vertical stripes,

white in the hoist and red in the fly. A representation of the George Cross awarded to Malta by His Majesty King George the Sixth on the 15th April. 1942, is carried in the canton of the white stripe.

National Anthem

4. The National Anthem of Malta is "L-Innu Malti" opening with the words "Lil din l-Art ħelwa l-Omm li tatna isimha".

Language

5.–(1) The National language of Malta is the Maltese language.

(2) The Maltese and the English languages and such other language as may be prescribed by Parliament (by a law passed by not less than two-thirds of all the members of the House of Representatives) shall be the official languages of Malta and the Adminstration may for all official purposes use any of such languages:

Provided that any person may address the Administration in any of the official languages and the reply of the Administration thereto shall be in such language.

(3) The language of the Court shall be the Maltese language:

Provided that Parliament may make such provision for the use of the English language in such cases and under such conditions as it may prescribe.

(4) The House of Representatives may, in regulating its own procedure, determine the language or languages that shall be used in parliamentary proceedings and records.

Constitution to be supreme law

6. Subject to the provisions of sections 48(7) and (8) and 67 of this Constitution, if any other law is inconsistent with this Constitution this Consitution shall prevail and the other law shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be void.

Chapter II

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Right to work

7. The State recognises the right of all citizens to work and shall promote such conditions as will make this right effective.

Promotion of culture, etc.

8. The State shall promote the development of culture and scientific and technical research.

Safeguarding of landscape and historical and artistic patrimony

9. The State shall safeguard the landscape and the historical and artistic patrimony of the Nation.

Religious teaching in State schools

10. Religious teaching of the Roman Catholic faith shall be provided in all State schools.

Compulsory and free primary education

11. Primary education shall be compulsory and in State schools shall be free of charge.

Educational interests

12.–(1) Capable and deserving students, even if without financial resources, are entiled to attain the highest grades of education.

(2)) The State shall give effect to this pinciple by means of scholarships, of contributions to the families of students and other provisions on the basis of competitive examinations.

Protection of work

13.–(1) The State shall protect work.

(2) It shall provide for the professional or vocational training and advancement of workers.

Hours of work

14.–(1) The maximum number of hours of work per day shall be fixed by law.

(2) The worker is entitled to a weekly day of rest and to annual holidays with pay: he cannot renounce this right.

Rights of women workers

15. The State shall aim at ensuring that women workers enjoy equal rights and the same wages for the same work as males.

Minimum age for paid labour

16. The minimum age for paid labour shall be prescribed by law.

Safeguarding labour of minors

17. The State shall provide for safeguarding the labour of minors and assure to them the right to equal pay for equal work.

Social assistance and insurance

18.–(1) Every citizen incapable of work and unprovided with the resources necessary for subsistence is entitled to maintenance and social assistance.

(2) Workers are entitled to reasonable insurance on a contributory basis for their requirements in case of accident, illness, disability, old-age and involuntary unemployment.

(3) Disabled persons and persons incapable of work are entitled to eduation and vocational training.

Encouragement of private economic enterprise

19. The State shall encourage private economic enterprise.

Protection of artisan trades

20. The State shall provide for the protection and development of artisan trades.

Encouragement of co-operatives

21. The State recognises the social function of co-operatives and shall encourage their development.

Application of the principles contained in this Chapter

22. The provisions of this Chapter shall not be enforceable in any court, but the principles therein contained are nevertheless fundamental to the governance of the country and it shall be the aim of the State to apply these principles in making laws.

CHAPTER III

CITIZENSHIP

Persons who become citizens on appointed day

23.–(1) Every person who, having been born in Malta, is on the day before the appointed day a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies shall become a citizen of Malta on the appointed day.

Provided that a person shall not become a citizen of Malta by virtue of this subsection if neither one of his parents was born in Malta.

(2) Every person who, having been born outside Malta, is on the day before the appointed day a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies shall if his father become, or would but for his death have become, a citizen of Malta in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (1) of this section, become a citizen of Malta on the appointed day.

DOCUMENT 91

Malta's Admission to the Council of Europe

The following Statement was made by the Hon. Prime Minister in Malta's House of Representatives on the 7th April, 1965, regarding....

"In August 1964, the Cabinet confirmed that on attaining Independence Malta would become, among other international organizations, a Member of the Council of Europe.

"Malta's admission to the Council of Europe was sponsored by the Governments of Great Britain and Italy.

"In the 35th Session held in Paris in December, 1964, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe were unanimously in favour of Malta's admission to the Council of Europe.

"In January, 1965, the Consultative Assembly agreed to Malta's membership.

"By resolution (65) 10 adopted by the Committee of Ministers at their last meeting the Committee decided to invite Malta to become a member.

"This decision was conveyed to the Maltese Government by a letter from the Secretary General dated 16th March, 1965.

"At the beginning of April the instrument of accession was signed and forwarded to the Secretary General. Thus Malta became the 18th member of the Council of Europe.

"The aim of the Council of Europe, which was set up in May, 1949, is set out in Article 1 of the Statute. This states that the aim is "to achieve a greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realizing the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress" through discussions on

matters of common interest and agreements and common action in the economic, social, cultural, scientific, legal and adminstrative fields, as well as in the maintenance and further realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

"Defence matters are specifically excluded from the aims of the Council of Europe.

"The principal organs of the Council of Europe are:

"1) The Committee of Ministers.

"2) The Consultative Assembly.

"3) The Joint Committee.

"4) The Secretariat.

"The Committee of Ministers is the executive organ and consists of one representative (normally the Foreign Minister) from each member state. This meets about twice a year but meetings of Ministers' Deputies are held more frequently.

"The Consultative Assembly is the deliberative body of the Council of Europe. The Assembly holds one ordinary session a year but this may be divided into various meetings. The Assembly consists of parliamentary representatives from member states. The number of representatives is related to the size of the population of the country. Malta has been allocated three representatives, as in the case of Cyprus, Iceland and Luxembourg, who, according to the Council's statute are elected by Parliament or chosen in a manner decided upon by Parliament. Each representative may have a substitute, who, in the absence of the Representative may attend, speak and vote on his behalf.

"The Joint Committee is purely the coordinating body between the Committee of Ministers and the Consultative Assembly. This consists of from five to seven representatives of the Committee of Ministers and seven representatives of the Assembly including the president.

"The Secretariat consists of a Secretary General and two deputy Secretaries General, nominated by the Consultative Assembly on the recommendation of the Committee of Ministers, and their staff.

"The expenses of the Council of Europe are shared between members on a fixed proportion based on their respective population. Malta's contribution for the current year has been fixed at 41,545.55 French francs and that towards the Working Capital Fund, which is only paid once, amounts to 3,600 francs.

"The Consultative Assembly has discussed several matters of interest

to Europe such as the revision of the Treaty of Brussels and the setting up of the Western European Union (W.E.U.), the formation of the European Common Market, the European Atomic Energy Community, and the relations between the Common Market and the European Free Trade Association (E.F.T.A.).

"Among the many Conventions and Treaties emanating from the Council of Europe, the following are of particular significance:

"1) Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

"2) European Interim Agreement on Social Security, other than Schemes for Old Age, Invalidity and Survivors.

"3) European Convention on Social and Medical Assistance.

"4) European Social Charter.

"5) Convention on the elaboration of a European Pharmacopoeia.

"6) European Cultural Convention.

"7) European Convention on the Academic Recognition of University Qualifications.

"8) Convention on the unification of certain points of substantive law on Patents for Inventions.

"9) European Agreement concerning Programme exchanges by means of Television films.

"10) European Convention on Extradition.

"11) European Convention on Mutual Assistace in Criminal Matters.

"12) European Convention on Compulsory Insurance against Civil Liability in respect of Motor Vehicles.

"13) European Convention on the Liability of Hotel-keepers concerning the property of their guests.

"14) European Agreement on mutual Assistance in the matter of special medical treatments and climatic facilities.

"15) European Agreement on regulations governing the movement of persons between Member States of the Council of Europe.

"Member States are under no legal obligation to comply with these or other conventions, although there is a moral obligation.

"A detailed study of these conventions and treaties has still to be carried out before it is decided whether Malta should accede to them.

"In conclusion I wish to state that I am taking the early necessary steps to bring before the House a Resolution regarding the nomination of

the three members, and their three substitutes who will represent Malta in the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe;" the Prime Minister concluded.

DOCUMENT 92

Dr. Borg Olivier's Speech to the Council of Europe's Consultative Assembly in Strasbourg on 4 May, 1965

On the morning of May 4th, the Prime Minister addressed the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. The Hon. Dr Borg Olivier made the following statement:

"Mr President,

"It was with gratitude and no small measure of pride that my country received the invitation of the Council of Europe to become a member. Malta comes to this Council to share in the deliberations of its organs with the desire and the will to contribute to the efforts which are being made so that peace, prosperity, freedom and contentment may reign throughout the lands which constitute this noble continent.

"It is also with gratitude—and pride—that I have received the invitation which you, Sir, were good enough to send me to address the Consultative Assembly on which today sit for the first time parliamentarians of Malta's House of Representatives. This invitation is a great honour, much appreciated in my country.

"Mr President,

"Membership of the Council of Europe has been to my country like returning home after a long absence. Even before Malta passed from the Carthaginian rule to become part of the Roman Empire, She was a haven to sea farers of all Mediterranean countries.

"For six hundred years my country enjoyed the peace of the Roman world. Five centuries of Byzantine rule then passed until Malta went under before the rise of Islam.

"Three hundred years went by and European institutions came back to us, first through the Normans, then the Swabians, the Angevins, the Aragonese and the Castillians, each of whom left their mark on our ancient civilization. The truly European character of the Order of St John of Jerusalem then left a permanent stamp on the Island. The

institutions inherited from the Order went through a period of evolution and metamorphosis under the British, and emerged to form what in Europe today is a society with characteristics of its own.

"With the recent attainment of Independence, Malta regained her sovereignty of old; and one of the most ancient nations of Europe returned to take its place among the free countries of this Continent. It is for this reason that I said that coming to this institution is in many ways a home coming after a period of absence. Here we feel truly at home, joined with other members of the family who subscribe to the same, basic concepts and philosophy and who are prepared to build on the native heritage of this, our Europe.

"Members may be interested to hear what the policy of my Government is in relation to the Council and to European affairs in general, what we hope to be able to contribute, how we evaluate our relations with Europe and how we expect those relations to affect or be affected by our relations with other parts of the world.

"We bring to our membership of this Council two factors which influence our outlook. One is our position in the centre of the Mediterranean and the other our membership of the Commonwealth.

"Our position in the Middle Sea causes us to take a natural interest in the North African coast and in events and developments there. Membership of the Commonwealth is shared with two other member States of this Council. These connections with North Africa and the Commonwealth are of importance to us and are in no way incompatible with the aims of this council.

"They should indeed tend to foster the interest of this council in both fields.

"Whilst as a European country sharing a common culture, history and way of life, we naturally gravitate towards Europe, our geographical position makes us aware of the importance of North Africa which shares, with six members of this Council, a common sea, and which has much to contribute to the welfare of the area. We, therefore, would think that this aspect of European foreign policy could be given some more thought.

"In any work of this nature, as in all other work of this Council, Malta is prepared to play her part within the limitations to which the island is subjected by its size, present economy and other circumstances.

"Much progress has been made in European affairs since the inception of the Council in 1949. Some members have gone along the road further

than others in co-operating in certain fields; but for those members not yet ready to be among the leaders there is room for co-operation and advance in various directions.

"It is clear that many complex questions have still to be tackled and many problems to be solved. But it is equally clear that change must inevitably be inspired by good counsel and can rarely be spectacular to be sound; that the understanding of each other's difficulties must be the constant endeavour; that the ideal of Europe, a Europe more closely united, must continue to shine.

"These concepts we accept and to them we pledge our support.

"How far along the road we in Malta may go, how many of the commitments of this Council we are in a position to accede to, in what way we can offer to help, in what special fields of the activities of this Council we can make a contribution, these are things on which we have started thinking.

"Not a few are worried by the thought that Europe is divided into itself and has indeed been described as being at sixes and sevens. Some wonder if, at times, professions of a desire for unity are not made with mental reservations.

"There are fears and suspicions. There are grave apprehensions that the more rapid the advance to political union among a group of nations of Europe, the more difficult it will be to achieve later a wider union.

"This fear is real and has I think been referred to by eminent speakers in this Assembly before. It is well to say that this group of nations is setting the pace and is forming a nucleus to which other nations may later adhere. But a nucleaus tends to be rather hard to break into unless it is prepared to join another and in shedding some of its characteristics take on others. This is where the fear lies.

"Will these nations which have toiled hard to form the nucleus be prepared to compromise or to adapt to changing cirumstances the organisation which they built at great sacrifice?

"The fear is that there may arise a new form of nationalism which would keep Europe divided. It is the policy of this Council to take account of all opportunities for better relations between East and West Europe.

"This is important, but more important still is that within the nations of Europe embracing the ideals of this Council more should be done to condition the peoples represented in this Assembly to the idea of faster

advance towards unity and to remind those nations now moving fast on the road of political union that they bear a grave responsibility, the responsibility to ensure that nothing they may do should ever impede a wider union.

"It was this Council that first promoted European unity and it is felt this same Council should continue to be the organ—to the exclusion of proliferation—charged with watching progress, encouraging progress, and consolidating progress towards that ultimate aim," the Prime Minister concluded.