MALTESE HISTORY

Unit K

Political and Constitutional Developments

1921 to Date

Form 4
Unit K.1 - The Sette Giugno Riots of 1919

For the Causes of the revolt see Maltese History Textbook p. 57 (white text book).

1. The Events of 7th – 9th June 1919
In the morning of Saturday 7 June 1919 an angry crowd went to Valletta to show its support for the National Assembly. Some of the demonstrators resorted to the use of violence against the British. At one point the crowd got separated in groups. They attacked the Union Jack, the Union Club, the building of The Daily Chronicle, the residence of Francesco Azzopardi (a pro-British Nationalist member of the Council of Government) and the residence of the noble Cassar Torreggiani (a grain importer). The Police was unable to control the crowd. So the Acting-Governor had to call the Marines who opened fire on the crowd at Bakery Street. Three Maltese youths were killed and others were slightly injured. The victims were Lorenzo Dyer (21 from Birgu) shot near The Daily Chronicle, Manuel Attard (27 from Sliema) and Joseph Bajada (34 from Xaghra, Gozo).

On the morning of Sunday 8 June, another furious crowd went to Valletta. A British soldier was beaten and died of wounds some two months later. The building of The Daily Chronicle was assaulted and set on fire. The crowd attacked the Union Club and the house of Colonel Francica, grain importer and President of the Chamber of Commerce. The Marines were called again to disperse the crowd. A fourth victim, Carmelo Abela was injured and died on 16 June. Other smaller riots took place at Hamrun, Qormi, Rabat and Zejtun. Here the lower classes took advantage of the confusion to attack the houses of the upper classes. On Monday, 9 June, another huge crowd went to Valletta for the funeral of the three victims who were later buried at the Addolorata Cemetery.

The Acting-Governor Hunter-Blair expressed the view in a report that the riots had been planned in advance. But this view was rejected by the Commission of Inquiry set up to investigate the causes of the riots. On the contrary, the Secretary of State Colonel Amery judged the riots as the incoherent, unreasoning protest of a hungry populace against its sufferings.

2. The arrival of the Governor Plumer
The new Governor Viscount Plumer arrived on Monday 9 June. To restore public order he imposed temporary press censorship and stopped political meetings and demonstrations. On the other hand the Governor set up the Government Printing Office (later k/a the Department of Information or DOI). The leaders of the crowd suspected of having encouraged the crowd to use violence were arrested. The Governor increased the salaries of the Police to ensure their loyalty in case other riots in the future.

On the other hand the Governor took immediate steps to lessen hardships of the lower classes. He lowered the price of bread by a Government subsidy. He started a program of public works to reduce unemployment. Government employees had their salaries increased to make up for the rise in the cost of living. In the end the personality of the Governor helped much to calm down the tension of the previous days. He was an expert in negotiation for he started to consult the trade unions and the Maltese political leaders on important issues. More than once he defended the Maltese claim for self-government in his letters to the Colonial Secretary.
Unit K.1 - The Sette Giugno Riots 1919

1. Why did the Maltese leaders set up the National Assembly in 1919?
   _______________________________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________________________
   (2)

2. Identify one measure taken by Governor Plumer to ensure the following:
   (a) public order: _______________________________________________________________________
   (b) reduce social hardships: _______________________________________________________________________
   (2)

3. What effect did the National Assembly and Sette Giugno have on:
   (a) the political parties in Malta: _______________________________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________________________
   (1)
   (b) Malta’s constitutional development: _______________________________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________________________
   (1)

4. Write down captions for the sources on the Sette Giugno Riots found in the previous page.
   (a) Source 1: _______________________________________________________________________
   (b) Source 2: _______________________________________________________________________
   (c) Source 3: _______________________________________________________________________
   (d) Source 4: _______________________________________________________________________
   (e) Source 5: _______________________________________________________________________
   (f) Source 6: _______________________________________________________________________
   (g) Source 7: _______________________________________________________________________
   (7)

5. Arrange sources 1 to 7 in their correct chronological order starting from no 1 for the first one.
   _______________________________________________________________________
   (7)

(Total = 20 marks)
# The 1921 Amery-Milner Constitution: Features

## The 1921 Amery-Milner Constitution fact sheet

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Government by <strong>Diarchy</strong> (meaning two authorities)</td>
<td>Two governments running simultaneously: the Maltese Government for local affairs; the Maltese Imperial Government for reserved matters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The Maltese side of the administration</td>
<td>The Senate (17 elected members) The Legislative Assembly (32 elected members) Cabinet made up of the Governor, the Head of Ministry (or Prime Minister) and 7 other Ministers The local administration was grouped under seven Maltese Ministries: Treasury, Public Instruction, Public Works, Public Health, the Police, Charitable Institutions, Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, Customs, Posts and Telegraphy. Laws were called acts or bills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Voting and election procedure</td>
<td>Election for the Legislative Assembly every 3 years: Males over 21 years according to proper education and property qualification Election for the Senate every 6 years: 10 Senate members were chosen by the general voters; 7 were chosen by the special voters to represent the clergy, nobility, graduates, Chamber of Commerce and the trade unions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Imperial side of the administration</td>
<td>Head of Government: the Governor summoned and presided these three councils: the Nominated Council, the Privy Council, and the Joint Committee to advice him on reserved matters. The Governor alone put questions for discussion in all three councils. He could agree to or act against their advice. Reserved Matters included: control over military and defence, the dockyard, the harbours, airports, communication system, land and buildings used by the British Government, issuing of money, passports, citizenship, censorship, revenue reserved to the Crown. Laws were called ordinances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>What happened in case of disagreement between both assemblies?</td>
<td>In case of disagreement between both assemblies, the Governor could call for joint session, dissolve one or both assemblies and call for new elections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>What happened in case of disagreement over reserved matters?</td>
<td>The Governor summoned the Privy Council (for serious matters) or the Joint Committee (for less serious matters).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Approval of acts and ordinances</td>
<td>Laws in both assemblies were passed by a majority of members present. All laws passed by both assemblies had to be approved first by the Governor and then by the Secretary of State (for the Crown) The Crown reserved the right to make laws by order-in-council or to annul laws passes. To amend the Constitution both assemblies had to meet in a joint session and obtain a two-thirds majority of all members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Life span of the Constitution</td>
<td>The Constitution was suspended in 1933 and revoked in 1936.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Unit K.3 - The 1921 Amery-Milner Constitution: Maltese Governments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Maltese Government under the 1921 Constitution fact sheet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Elections held under this Constitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1921, 1924, 1927, 1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Political parties that contested these elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unione Politica Maltese (UPM), Partito Democratico Nazionalista (PDN). In 1926 these two parties merged to form the Partit Nazjonalista (PN) Constitutional Party (CP), Labour Party (LP) (known as the Compact after 1927)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Prime Ministers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph Howard (UPM), Francesco Buhagiar (UPM), Ugo Mifsud Bonnici (PN), Gerald Strickland (CP), Ugo Mifsud Bonnici (PN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>British Governors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viscount Plumer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Nationalist Administrations of 1921-1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compulsory Primary Education Act of 1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Setting up of an Emigration Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Workmen’s Compensation Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Widows and Orphans Pension Scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Strickland Administration of 1927-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reforms in favour of English in the administration and education. The quarrel with the Senate over budget estimates of 1928. The Father Carta Incident gave rise to the Church-Strickland dispute of 1928-30 The Pastoral Letter of 1930 followed by the suspension of the 1930 general election. Strickland is kept as a caretaker government. The Police is placed under the authority of the Governor. The Royal Commission of Inquiry of 1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The Nationalist Administration of 1932-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The election campaign of 1932 and the PN victory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The death of Mons. Enrico Dandria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reforms in favour of the Italian language brought about the suspension of the Constitution. The Governor took control of the local administration.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source A  Source B  Source C  Source D  Source E  Source F  Source G
1. Why was the Constitution of 1921 called the Amery-Milner Constitution?  
_________________________________________________________________________________________________________ (1)

2. Mention four new features present in this Constitution.  
   (a) ____________________________________________  (c) ____________________________________________  
   (b) ____________________________________________  (d) ____________________________________________ (4)

3. Explain the meaning of the term Diarchy as used under this Constitution?  
_________________________________________________________________ ___________________________________________ (2)

4. Which side of the Diarchy controlled the following institutions of Government?  
   (a) The Legislative Assembly ___________________________________________  
   (b) The Cabinet of Ministers ___________________________________________  
   (c) Reserved Matters ___________________________________________  
   (d) Defence and Foreign Affairs ___________________________________________ (4)

5. What was the function of the Legislative Assembly the Senate?  
_________________________________________________________________________________________________________ (2)

6. When could the Governor call for a joint session of the Legislative Assembly and the Senate?  
_________________________________________________________________________________________________________ (2)

7. Who was in charge of the reserved matters under this Constitution? ______________________________ (1)

8. Why did the British include a reserved matters list in this Constitution?  
_________________________________________________________________________________________________________ (2)

9. List four items included in the list of reserved matters.  
   (a) ____________________________________________  (c) ____________________________________________  
   (b) ____________________________________________  (d) ____________________________________________ (2)

(Total = 20 marks)
1. Give the years when an election was held in Malta under this Constitution and the political party or parties that won each of these elections.

__________________________________________
__________________________________________
__________________________________________
__________________________________________ (4)

2. Name the four Maltese Prime Ministers under this Constitution in chronological order.

__________________________________________
__________________________________________
__________________________________________
__________________________________________ (4)

3. How was the Maltese Government of 1927-1930 called? Why was it called so?

__________________________________________________________________________________ (3)

4. Name two political disputes that took place when this Constitution was in force.

__________________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________________ (4)

5. Which excuse did the British use to suspend this Constitution in 1933?

__________________________________________________________________________________ (2)

6. When was another similar Constitution granted to the Maltese? ________________________ (1)

7. Which aspect of the 1921 Constitution was criticized by the Maltese political leaders and why?

__________________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________________ (2)

(Total = 20 marks)
The table below shows the number of seats in the Legislative Assembly won by Maltese political parties during general elections held between 1921 and 1932. Note that the number of seats in the Legislative Assembly was set at 32 members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Parties</th>
<th>1921 Election Seats won</th>
<th>1924 Election Seats won</th>
<th>1927 Election Seats won</th>
<th>1932 Election Seats won</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unione Politica Maltese (U.P.M.)</strong></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Partito Democratico Nazionalista (P.D.N.)</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Constitutional Party (C.P.)</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labour Party (L.P.)</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. From the election results, name the two political parties that formed coalition governments between 1921 and 1927?
   ___________________________________________________________ (2)

2. Explain why political parties sometimes have to form coalition governments.
   __________________________________________________________________________________________ (2)
   __________________________________________________________________________________________ (2)

3. How was the Nationalist Party formed in 1926?
   __________________________________________________________________________________________ (2)

4. Which were the two **Compact** parties in 1927. Why did they form a Compact?
   __________________________________________________________________________________________ (4)

5. Why there was no general election in 1930?
   __________________________________________________________________________________________ (2)

6. Name the political that had an absolute majority of seats in the 1932 election. ____________ (1)

7. Which parties were in Opposition in 1932-33? __________________________________________________________________________________________ (2)

8. Which **three** of these political leaders were Prime Ministers in Malta between 1921-1933? Underline the correct ones.
   **Herbert Ganado, Joseph Howard, Gerald Strickland, Ugo Mifsud, Paul Boffa, Filippo Sciberras** (3)

9. What type of Government did Malta have between 1921 and 1933?
   __________________________________________________________________________________________ (1)

10. Why did this type of government come to an abrupt end in 1933?
    __________________________________________________________________________________________ (1)

(Total 20 marks)
3. The (MacMichael) Constitution of 1947
Similar to the 1921 Constitution, but with some differences:
- The Senate was abolished.
- The Legislative Assembly was made up of 40 (not 32) elected members elected every three years.
- Voting was by universal suffrage, (men and women over 21 years).
- The Cabinet was made up of the Governor, the Prime Minister and eight other Ministers.
The Governor had considerable powers in the Executive Council and in the Nominated Council. Reserved Matters were set up as they were in 1930.
The Governor could take over the control of the Government in case of an emergency.

4. The (Blood) Constitution of 1961
The Legislative Assembly was elected every four years. The Cabinet was made up of a Prime Minister and 7 Ministers appointed by the Governor. A UK Commissioner represented the UK Government in Malta. He had final say in defense and foreign affairs. He could advise the Governor to reserve any law passed by the Legislative Assembly. This meant that the Reserved Matters list was abolished. The Crown could still change or revoke the Constitution.

Main political events under this Constitution:
- Dom Mintoff criticized PM Paul Boffa (1947-50) because Malta was not given Marshall Aid. Britain received this aid from the USA after the war. The Marshall Aid resulted in a split in the Labour Party in 1949: the MLP (led by Dom Mintoff) and the Malta Workers’ Party (led by Boffa).
- PM George Borg Olivier (PN) (1950-54) asked the British to grant Malta Dominion Status (independence within the British Commonwealth), but this was refused.
- PM Dom Mintoff (1955-58) proposed Integration (i.e. the union of Malta with the UK). But the Church came out against Integration a few days before the Integration Referendum of 1956.
- In 1957 talks on Integration broke down when the British Government started its first rundown of military personnel in Malta.
- In April 1958 Mintoff’s government resigned as a protest and the Governor took direct control of the administration.

Main political events under this Constitution:
- The Dockyard was sold to a private firm (Bailey’s Co Ltd).
- The First Five Year Plan aimed to change Malta from a fortress-economy to a modern one based on manufacturing industries and tourism.
- The dispute between the Church and the MLP over certain clauses in the Independence Constitution. During the general election of 1962 the Bishops advised voters not to vote to Labour candidates.

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

Main political events under this Constitution:
- Independence was granted on 21st Sept. 1964. Malta became a member of the Commonwealth, the United Nations and the Council of Europe.
- In 1969 the Church and the MLP made peace between them, paving the way for an MLP victory in the general elections of 1971.
6. The Republican Constitution of 1974
The 1974 Constitution was in fact very similar to that of 1964 but for the change of some important clauses.

- Malta became a Republic.
- The Head of State became the President of the Republic chosen by the Chamber of Deputies for 5 years.
- Elections to the Chamber of Deputies were fixed every 5 years.
- The number of MPs were increased to 65.
- The functions of the Governor-General were transferred to the President.
- There was separation between Church and State.

Main political events under this Constitution:

- On 31st March 1979 (Freedom Day) Britain closed its military base in Malta and Malta started to follow a policy of neutrality in foreign affairs.
- The general election of 1981 gave the PN 51% of the votes with 31 parliamentary seats, while the MLP with 49% of the votes obtained 34 seats. This brought about a constitutional crisis until.
- In 1987, Government and the Opposition agreed that the party obtaining 50%+1 of the votes in the next general election would be the party in government. The clause that declared Malta a neutral and non-aligned state was included in the Constitution.
The Independence Bill was presented to the House of Commons together with two other very important documents, a ten year Defense Agreement that was to ensure a smooth and absolute continuity of the actual military arrangements on the Island, and a ten year financial agreement that provided for £50 million in aid through grants and loans to Malta over the same period.

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

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


1.1 Source A is:
(a) entirely a primary source
(b) entirely a secondary source
(c) a mixture of primary and secondary sources

1.2 Can you trace the bias in source A? Explain the bias.

______________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________

1.3 Why do you think a ‘Defense Agreement’ was beneficial for Britain and Malta in 1964?

______________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________

1.4 What led Malta to demand Independence from Britain when a few years back it had asked for Integration?

______________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________

1.5 Who was Duncan Sandys mentioned in the extract? ________________________

1.6 Quote from the extract two clauses from the Independence Agreements:

(a) ___________________________________________________________________

(b) ___________________________________________________________________

1.7 Give another word for ‘reduction in military requirements’ (line 10). __________

1.8 What happened to the Defense Agreements in 1972, before the 10 year period expired in 1974?

______________________________________________________________________

1.9 How did relations between Malta and Britain change after 31st March 1979?

______________________________________________________________________

(Total 20 marks)
Look carefully at the following table and fill in the missing information correctly. Some answers are given as examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constitution</th>
<th>British Governor at the time</th>
<th>Members of Parliament</th>
<th>Elections held in:</th>
<th>Prime Ministers</th>
<th>One main feature of this Constitution</th>
<th>One main political development that took place during this Constitution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constitution of 1947</td>
<td>Sir Francis Douglas</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1947 1950 1951 1953 1955</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Senate was abolished and the right to vote was given to women.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitution of 1961</td>
<td>Sir Guy Grantham</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitution of 1974</td>
<td>Sir Maurice Dorman (Governor-General after Independence)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1st President of the Republic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Unit K.7 - Political and Constitutional Development, 1921 to Date

Read carefully the following essay titles and answer any ONE in about 200 to 300 words. Essays carry 20 marks each.

**PAPER 2A**

1. (a) What were the main features of the 1947 Constitution? (8)
   (b) What were the main achievements of the different governments under this constitution? (6)
   (c) Why and how did the constitution come to an end in the late 1950s? (6) (SEC 1996)

2. In the 1950’s the Labour Government planned to integrate Malta with Britain.
   (a) What was actually proposed? (8)
   (b) Who opposed the Integration proposals and why? (6)
   (c) Why did the Integration proposals fail to be realized? (6) (SEC 1996)

3. (a) How was Malta granted independence within the Commonwealth in 1964? (8)
   (b) What were the views of the Nationalist Party and the Malta Labour Party about independence for Malta? (6)
   (c) How did these views originate? (4) (SEC 1997)

4. Explain the causes and effects of the Sette Giugno riots in terms of both the political and the economic development of Malta in the early 20th century. (SEC 2010)

**PAPER 2B**

1. Malta was granted political independence from Britain in 1964.
   (a) What parties in Malta were in favour of Independence?
   (b) Which parties were against?
   (c) What exactly was the position of the Labour Party?
   (d) How was the Independence of Malta improved upon in later years? (5 x 4) (SEC 1996)

2. Choose four of these and give sufficient information to show their importance in the history of Malta:
   (a) the 1947 Constitution  (b) the Integration proposals of the 1950s
   (c) the 1964 Constitution  (d) the constitutional changes of 1974
   (e) the closure of the British base (5 x 4) (SEC 1997)

3. Compare the careers and contributions to Maltese political development of any two Maltese leaders during this period. (10 x 2)

4. Write briefly on two of the following: (a) Independence (1964) (b) Republican status (1974); (c) closure of the British Base (1979). (10 x 2)

5. (a) What were the main issues dealt with the first Labour Government, 1947-1950? (12)
   (b) Why did a ‘split’ occur in the Labour ranks in 1949 and with what results? (8)

6. (a) What were the causes of the Sette Giugno riots? (12)
   (b) Describe the effects of these riots. (8) (SEC 2010)