

News cutting from: "IN-NAZZJON TAGHNA"

" " date: 18 March 1975

IL-PROPOSTA TA' MALTA TA' L-1967 DWAR QIEGH IL-BAHAR

Mrs. Borgese Tappella lill-Gvern biex Ikompji Jiehu Interess fil-Proposta

PIETA', it-Tnejn ta' qiegħ il-baħar u l-oċeani, Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese, li hija magħrufa sewwa għax-xogħol tagħha in-konnessjoni ma' l-użu paċifiku

ta' qiegħ il-baħar u l-oċeani, huwa magħruf li waqt taħditiet li hija kelliha ma' uffiċjali għolja tal-Gvern, uriet ix-xewqa u anke heġġet lill-Gvern Malti biex ikompji jiehu interess u jaħdem fuq il-proposta li kienet għamlet Malta fl-1967 dwar qiegħ il-baħar u l-oċeani.

Mrs. Mann Borgese halliet Malta l-Hamis li għadda fi tmiem żjara li matulha hja itaqgħet mal-Ministru tal-Gustizzja u Afarijiet tal-Parlament, l-Avukat A. Buttigieg, u ma' l-Ambaxxatur Plenipotenżjarju ta' Malta, s-Sur J. Attard Kingwell, u kienet il-kelliema prinċipali waqt laqgħa ta' l-Istitut tad-Diretturi li saret fl-Lukanda Dragonara.

F'intervista li tatna qabel halliet Malta, Mrs. Mann Borgese tkellmet dwar il-proposta li kienet saret m'd-delegazzjoni Maltija fin Nazzjonijiet Magħquda fl-1967 u kif din l-istess proposta waslet biex tqajjem kuxjenza internazzjonali dwar l-użu paċifiku ta' qiegħ il-baħar u l-oċeani.

Hija qalet li kien unur kbir u li "bqa" jissema għal Malta li mill-pajjiżi kollha fid-dinja kellha tkun proprju hi li toħroġ proposta tant meħtieġa u li tista' tkun ta' benefiċċju għall-umanità kollha.

Hija ziedet tgħid li hija haġa unika fl-istorja tad-dinja li pajjiżi żgħir bħal Malta kellu jkun proprju huwa li johroġ b'xi haġa li b'a dubju kienet halliet impatt daqshekk kbir fuq affarijiet internazzjonali.

Mrs. Mann Borgese qalet ukoll li wara li kien twaqqaf il-Kumitat dwar qiegħ il-Baħar fl-1968, Malta reggħet għamlet żewġ interventi oħra importanti — l-ewwel intervent sar f'Marzu 1971 meta Malta ntro-



duċiet proposta oħra għat-twaqqif ta' "international ocean space authority". Dak iż-żmien ukoll id-delegazzjoni Maltija, l-imbaxxiera minn Arvid Pardo, kienet ipprezentat abbozz ta' trattat internazzjonali li kellu jirregola l-aspetti kollha ta' din il-problema.

Bejn Gunju u Awissu tas-sena l-għaddiet saret il-konferenza ta' Caracas. Hija qalet li għal din il-konferenza kienu attendew madwar 3,000 delegat, fosthom tnejn — is-Sur Alfred Bel'izzi u s-Sur Carmel Vella — bħala rappreżentanti tal-Gvern Malti.

Qabel saret din il-Konferenza kien diġa' beda jsir xi xogħol dwar proposta biex titwaqqaf Awtorità dwar Qiegħ il-Baħar u Malta kelliha ċans kbir li ssir iċ-ċentru ta' din l-awtorità. Izda gara li fil-laqgħa d-delegazzjoni Maltija għarrfet lid-delegati l-oħra li Malta ma xtaqetx tkomp'i tiehu parti attiva fuq din il-kwestjoni.

Mrs. Mann Borgese qalet li

hija ma tafx x'k'enet ir-raguni it-twaqqif ta' "Ocean Space Authority" għaliex din hija aħri nuqqas ta' interess għaliex baqgħu ma ngħataw l-ebda raggħunijiet.

Hija ssoktat tgħid li aktar tard il-Gamajka ssuġġeriet li kienet lesta sservi bħa' ċentru għal din l-Awtorità u mill-ewwel rebħet appoġġ minn għadd kbir ta' pajjiżi. "Għali-

ja dan kien diżappunt kbir għaliex minn dejjem xtaqt li l-kwartieri ta' din l-Awtorità jkunu f'Malta. Haġa bħa' din kienet tkun ta' benefiċċju kbir għall-pajjiż, mill-lat finanzjarju, ekonomiku u politiku".

Fl-aħharnett, Mrs. Mann Borgese qalet li Malta tista' terġa' tibda tiehu parti minn ta' quddiem. L-aqwa haġa li tista' tagħmel hija li tkompji thegħeġ

għaliex din hija aħri nuqqas ta' interess għaliex baqgħu ma ngħataw l-ebda raggħunijiet.

Hija heġġet ukoll lill-Gvern biex jagħme użu akbar mill-"expertise" u "brain power" tal-pajjiż għaliex b'riżultat ta' dan Malta tkun tista' tkompji tliġħab parti mill-aktar importanti fil-isfera internazzjonali.

"Kull ma nista' ngħid għalissa huwa li Malta "has left an unfinished business at the United Nations", temmet tgħid Mrs. Mann Borgese.

IMPACT

translation from In-Nazzjon taghna - Tuesday, 18 March 1975

Malta's 1967 proposal regarding the seabed.

Mrs. Borgese appeals to the Government to continue showing interest in the proposal.

It is understood that Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese, who is well known for her work in connection with the peaceful uses of the seabed and the oceans, whilst having discussions with high government officials expressed the wish and also emphasised the need that the Maltese government should continue showing interest and working on the proposal made by Malta in 1967 regarding the seabed and the oceans.

Mrs. Mann Borgese left Malta last Thursday following a visit during which she had meetings with the Minister of Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, Dr. A. Buttigieg and with the Maltese Plenepotentiary Ambassador, Mr. J. Attard Kingswell. She was also the main speaker during a meeting of the Institute of Directors at the Dragonara Hotel.

During an interview she gave us before leaving Malta, Mrs. Mann Borgese spoke on the proposal made by the Maltese delegation at the United Nations in 1967 and explained how this proposal led to the creation of international awareness on the peaceful uses of the seabed and oceans.

She said that it was an outstanding honour for Malta that it was this Island from amongst all the nations that came forward with a proposal of such importance and from which all humanity could benefit.

She further stated that this was a unique instance in world history that such a small country as Malta came forward with a proposal that, without any doubt, left such an impact on international affairs.

Mrs. Mann Borgese also said that following the setting up of the 1968 seabed committee, Malta made another two important proposals - the first was in March 1971 when Malta put forward a proposal for the setting up of the "International Ocean Space Authority". It was also at that time that the Maltese delegation led by Arvid Pardo, presented a draft of an international treaty that would regulate all the aspects connected with this problem.

Between June and August of last year there was the Caracas conference. She said that this conference was attended by around 3,000 delegates amongst whom were two - Mr. Alfred Bellizzi and Mr. Carmel Vella - who represented the Maltese government.

Even before this conference some work had been done on the proposal for the setting up of the Seabed Authority and Malta has had a very good chance of being chosen as the Authority's headquarters. But it so happened that during the conference the Maltese delegation announced that Malta no longer wished to take active part in this problem.

Mrs. Mann Borgese said that she is not aware of the reason that could have led the Maltese Government to show lack of interest since no such reasons have been forthcoming.

She further stated that later on Jamaica proposed itself as the headquarters for the Authority and immediately gained the support of many countries. "To me this was a great disappointment since I had always hoped to see the Authority's headquarters in Malta. This would have been of great benefit to the country, both from the financial, economic and political aspects."

Finally, Mrs. Mann Borgese said that Malta could still return to its active role within this sphere. The most important thing however that Malta could do would be to promote the setting up of the "Ocean Space Authority" since this is even better than the "International Seabed Authority" and also since Malta would have an even better chance of being chosen as the headquarters for the "Ocean Space Authority" rather than that for the "International Seabed Authority". This besides the fact that the former has now become of even greater importance than the latter.

she also stressed the need that the Maltese Government should make better use of the country's expertise and brain power since this could help Malta to continue in its active role within the international sphere. "All that I can say at this moment is that Malta has left an unfinished business at the United Nations", concluded Mrs. Mann Borgese.

"Seabed" delegation on final stages of tour

The two-man delegation seeking support in Europe for Malta's candidature as headquarters of the International Seabed Authority (ISA) is expected in Dublin, Ireland, today, on the final stage of a five-country tour. Yesterday, the delegation was in Lisbon, Portugal.

Mr. J. Grima (M.L.P.) and Dr. V. Tabone (N.P.) had talks with representatives of the French Government in Paris, with the head of the Belgian Foreign Office in Brussels and representatives of the Spanish Government in Madrid. Mr. Grima handed the Spanish Foreign Minister Perez Lorca a personal letter from Mr.

Mintoff.

In Lisbon, the delegates had a meeting with the Secretary-General, Joao Themido, a former Portuguese Ambassador to Malta.

A Press release yesterday said the meetings held so far by the delegation had been cordial.

The delegation, which left last Sunday, is expected back at the beginning of next week.

Another delegation led by Mr. D. Cremona, Minister of Tourism, and including Mr. V. Gauci, Permanent Representative at the United Nations, is touring several African countries for the same purpose.

The Times, Friday 19 July 1981.

Maltese delegation leaves for talks with French Govt

■ A Malta Government delegation led by Trade Minister Dr Patrick Holland left Malta for Paris for what have been described "important" talks with the new French administration of Socialist President Francois Mitterrand.

The delegation includes Notary Alex Scerberras Trigona, international secretary of the Malta Labour Party; TeleMalta Corporation administration head Mr Salvu Fenech and Mr Leslie Agius, Maltese Charge d'Affaires in Paris.

Labour Parliamentarian Mr Joe Grima is expected to join the delegation later this week in Paris.

Informed sources said that the Paris talks are ex-

pected to cover all aspects of bilateral relations between Malta and France, particularly cooperation in the economic sectors.

These are going to be the first official talks between Malta and France since Mitterrand's Socialist Party's landslide victory in the presidential and legislative assembly elections.

It is to be noted that the French Socialist leader,

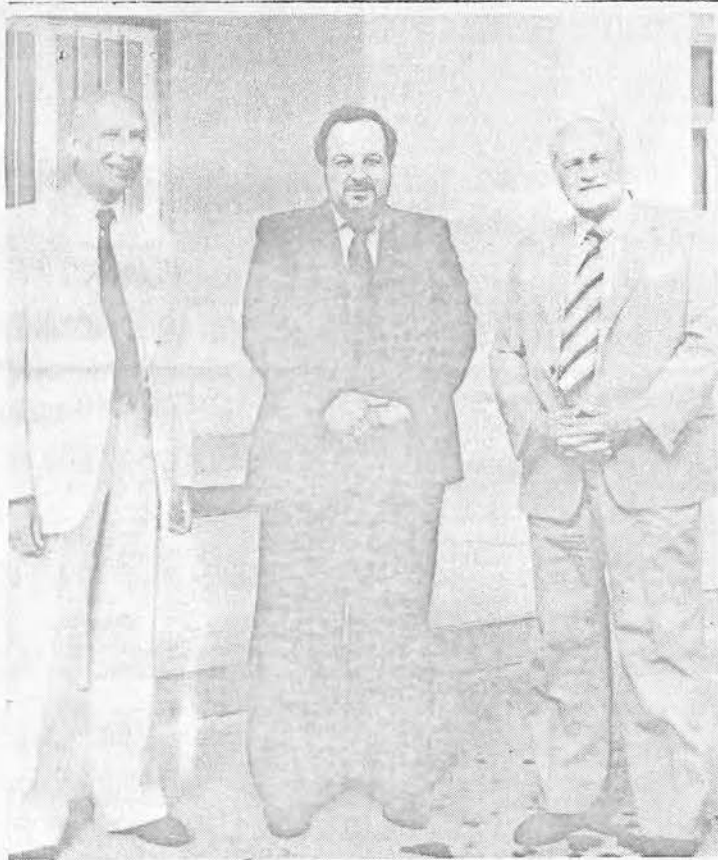


The Maltese delegation prior to their departure.

now President, was one of the Mediterranean Socialist leaders who a couple of years ago voted in favour of a resolution urging Mediterranean countries to

recognise Malta's status of neutrality.

The resolution was carried at a Lisbon conference of the Socialist International.



(l. to r.) Mr Gauci; Mr Grima and Dr Tabone

Seabed Authority Headquarters

Lobbying in Euro capitals continues

A Maltese delegation yesterday had a meeting with Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo in Rome. The talks focussed on Malta's candidature for the seat of the projected International Seabed Authority. The seat is also being contested by Fiji and Jamaica.

The delegation is led by Labour Parliamentarian Mr Joe Grima and includes

Opposition MP Dr Vincent Tabone and Malta's ambassador to the United Nations Mr Victor Gauci.

The delegation is also expected to have talks on the Seabed Authority's headquarters issue in other European capitals including Bonn, Copenhagen and Stockholm.

Prime Minister Dom Mintoff appointed the delegation to lobby in favour

of Malta's candidature in various European capitals. The delegation is now on its second trip to Europe, having visited Madrid, Paris, Lisbon, Brussels and Dublin late last month.

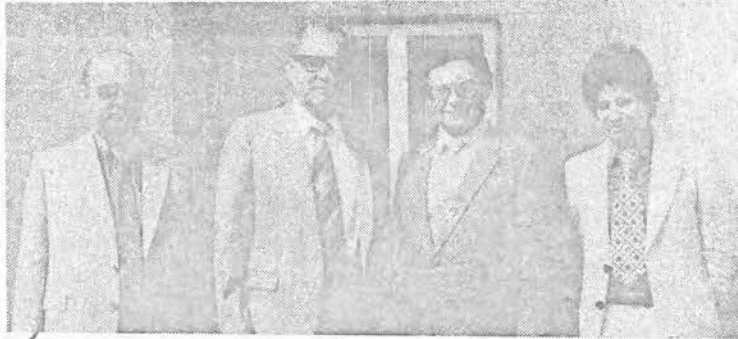
A second delegation has also visited several African capitals for the same purpose.

Talking to journalists at Luqa before leaving for

Rome, Mr Joe Grima said that the Malta Government is showing great interest in the possibility of Malta being selected to accommodate the seat of the Seabed Authority. He said that in the past the Prime Minister had personally discussed the advantages that Malta offers for such a UN-sponsored seat with representatives of various foreign Governments.

He said that a vote on the site of the authority's headquarters was expected to be taken next month and Malta was doing all it could to make sure that the votes goes in favour of Malta.

From Rome, Mr Grima will travel to Paris to join Trade Minister Dr Patick Holland who left Malta yesterday evening for talks with the French Government.



THE Minister of Health, Dr. V. Moran (second from right) with Mr. A. Falzon, Dr. A. Grech and Mr. A. Debono, before they left for Yugoslavia yesterday.

Health Minister for talks in Yugoslavia

by a Staff Reporter

A FOUR-MAN DELEGATION led by the Health Minister, Dr. Vincent Moran, yesterday left for Yugoslavia for talks on various fields of co-operation between the two countries.

The delegation included Dr. Alfred Grech, Chief Government Medical Officer, Mr. Alfred Falzon from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Anthony Debono, secretary to the Minister.

Dr. Moran's is a return visit, after the Yugoslav Minister of Health and Social Security, Mila Gorgic, paid a visit to Malta two years ago. A reciprocal health agreement was signed during that visit. It was then agreed that work programmes were to be reviewed every two years. The second programme is expected to include greater co-operation between the two countries in the medical field and a continuation

of the work that was begun in the first programme, which gave Maltese patients the opportunity of being treated in Yugoslav hospitals, allowed Yugoslav professors to perform operations in Malta and made possible the National Diabetes Survey which is currently under way.

Talks will also include the possibility of setting up a mixed commission from the Maltese and Yugoslav medical schools so that degrees given by these schools would be mutually recognized. Malta will also ask for more Yugoslav aid in expanding hospitals and medical services.

Yugoslavia's support for Malta's candidacy as the site of the Seabed Authority will also be discussed.

The delegation will also stop-over in Rome for talks on the expansion of medical services between Italy and Malta.

Right to intervene and the International Court of Justice

THE application by Malta to intervene in the Tunisia-Libya case to protect its legal interests relating to the delimitation of the seabed is not only of local interest. The results of the Maltese application will be studied by many other states, particularly those facing similar continental shelf disputes.

In this article it is proposed to examine very briefly some aspects of the interesting legal logic with which the International Court of Justice (I.C.J.) under the presidency of Sir Humphrey Waldock, unanimously refused to grant Malta permission to intervene under Article 62 of its Statute.

On August 18, 1980, Malta requested that it be furnished with copies of the pleadings in the Tunisia-Libya case. Similar requests had been submitted by the U.S.A. (June 12, 1980), Canada (June 13, 1980), The Netherlands (June 18, 1980) and Argentina (June 23, 1980). Significantly these states face continental shelf disputes of their own. On November 24, 1980, the Registrar

by David Attard, LL.D.

of the I.C.J. informed the Malta Government that the President had decided that the pleadings and documents would not, for the present, be made available to states not parties to the case.

The Prime Minister, on behalf of the Government of Malta, wrote to the Registrar, on January 28, 1981, and invoked Article 62 to intervene in the proceedings before the Court concerning the shelf areas lying in the vicinity of Tunisia and Libya. Article 62 provides that should a State "consider it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case it may submit a request to the Court to be permitted to intervene". It is for the Court to decide upon this request.

Malta's application

In his application to intervene the Prime Minister maintained that there was no other condition prescribed by the Statute other than that a State "should consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected". It was also stressed that Malta's object was not to obtain any form of ruling or decision concerning its own shelf boundaries. Malta did not seek to be admitted as a veritable "party" to the proceedings having a status on a footing of complete equality with the parties to the case, but was seeking the procedural position of a "participant" by way of intervention, counsel for Malta later emphasized.

In expounding Malta's legal interest attention was drawn to the fact that the question of its shelf boundary and its resources were of a vital concern to Malta. These rights over the shelf are derived from international law as are the criteria as to delimitation. Malta argued that because Malta stood in a different geographical relationship to Libya and Tunisia from that in which these two states stand to each other, this did not affect the fact that the Court's decision in the Tunisia-Libya case would affect the Maltese shelf's rights and boundaries.

It was pointed out that Tunisia and Libya requested the Court to "render its judgment" on the applicable international law rules "(and to) take its decision according to equitable principles and the relevant circumstances which characterise the area, as well as the new accepted trends in the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea".

It is unfortunate, perhaps, that Malta's application reproduced the Libyan translation of the agreement referring the matter to the I.C.J. Closer examination would have revealed that there is an important, if not vital, discrepancy between the translations of the original Arabic text signed by Libya and Tunisia. Unlike the official English translation the official French translation provided by Tunisia holds that in rendering its decision the I.C.J. was "de tenir compte des principes équitables". This was correctly translated by the Court Registry as "to take account of equitable principles" and contrasts with the Malta and Libya view that the Court's decision was to be "according to equitable principles". Anyone, who has read the previous 1969 judgment by the I.C.J., or has followed the long and tedious debates at the United Nations Conference, would immediately realise why both parties were careful to stress the difference. In Malta's case, whilst it would be useful to ask the Court to decide the Malta-Libya dispute by taking "account of equitable principles", it would be detrimental to our case if the decision had to be "according to equitable principles".

This subtle point reflects the Libyan policy of attempting to degrade the persuasive force of the rule of equidistance/median line. In fact at the United Nations, Malta forms part of a group of states that would like to see the method of equidistance having a

primary role in shelf delimitation; Libya, on the other hand, forms part of the opposition group favouring delimitation in accordance with equitable principles. The matter is too complex to describe here; basically, however, the use of the equitable principles concept negates the rule of equidistance of any primary force and considers it at par with other relevant circumstances.

In its application, Malta argued that the shelf boundaries of Libya, Tunisia and its own converge at a single, as yet undetermined, point. And, therefore, the proximity of the situation ensured that the "principles and rules of international law" applied in the Libya-Tunisia case are bound to be relevant to the delimitation of Malta's boundary. Mention was also made of the effects of the Court's findings on any geomorphic features and the question of coastline proportionality, amongst others. The Malta application also contained matters concerned with the procedural aspects of making a request.

Judge nomination

On March 2, 1981, Malta notified the Court that it had nominated a judge *ad hoc* on the Court "for the purpose of the intervention proceedings". This is envisaged by Article 31 (3) of the Statute when the Court does not include upon the Bench a judge of the parties' nationality. The I.C.J. decided that the March request was premature and declined the nomination.

Public hearings were held to consider Malta's application in the imposing Peace Palace at The Hague. The teams representing the parties included some very formidable personalities in international law and others less formidable; for Tunisia: Professor R.Y. Jennings, the well known professor of International Law at the University of Cambridge, a greatly respected international lawyer who has written a great deal on the subject, and Professor S. Belaid; for Libya: Sir Francis Vallat, Q.C., whose study on the continental shelf in 1946 (only one year after the 1945 Truman Proclamation on the U.S. Shelf) helped to develop the legal concept of the shelf as we know it today and Professor A. Malintoppi of the University of Rome; for Malta: Dr. E. Mizzi as Agent and Counsel, Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice, who is a former I.C.J. judge and sat on the Bench in the first continental shelf case decided in 1969 as consultant and coordinator, Professor P. Lalive of the University of Geneva and Mr. E. Attard Bezzina as co-agent.

Intervention rejected

As is well known, the Court unanimously rejected Malta's application. It stressed that no conclusions or inferences may be legitimately drawn from its findings in the Tunisia-Libya case. To allow Malta's intervention, it held, would, in the particular circumstances of the present case, also leave the parties quite uncertain as to whether and how far they should consider their own separate legal interest *vis-à-vis* Malta as in effect constituting part of the subject-matter of the present case. This, it concluded, was not entitled, under Article 62.

The Malta application was the first time that the right to intervene under Article 62 was invoked. It is regrettable that the Court chose to give a restrictive interpretation of Article 62. It is submitted that Article 62 has a far broader scope than that which the Court was prepared to recognise. However, with the 200-mile zones claimed by States the impact of the Court's decision goes beyond the Maltese application.

It is impossible here to discuss

all the Court's arguments on the right to intervene, but the Court imposed too severe a test. The Tunisia-Libya case does not relate to a specific continental shelf area — in fact neither of the parties put forward any specified claims. Hence even the original claims of the litigants were not clear, at least at the stage of the submissions. Thus if Malta failed to assert its own claim against either or both litigants it cannot be a valid reason to question her request. The Court should not have demanded more from Malta than from Tunisia and Libya.

The litigants basically requested the Court for a statement on what the appropriate law will be in the delimitation of the respective areas of their shelves. They argued that this excluded any third-State interest. This view is unconvincing. How can the Court arrive at the area belonging to Libya and that belonging to Tunisia without defining all parameters? This is in fact what makes Malta not just an ordinary third State. Malta's geographic position ensures that it belongs to the very areas at issue and distinguishes it from all other States (with the possible exception of Italy). If in establishing the parameters Malta's position is to be taken into consideration how can one agree with the Court that Malta would remain unaffected by a decision in the Tunisia-Libya case? Does Malta not sit on the very same shelf that is in issue between Tunisia and Libya? If the answer is in the affirmative is it not possible that Malta's "shelf claims" may "well be affected" by the Court's findings on the claims of Tunisia and Libya?

It could be argued that Malta failed to seek a correct form of intervention consistent with the Statute of the Court, i.e. a *proper* request to the Court to be permitted to *intervene* rather than to *intervene* simply by submitting its arguments. The Court in its judgment declared: "If in the present application Malta were seeking permission to submit its own legal interest in the subject-matter of the case for decision by the Court, and to become a party to the case, another question would clearly call for the Court's immediate consideration". Of course in order to do this Malta would have to go into the question whether a jurisdictional link is necessary or not.

On the positive side it must be said that whilst Malta was not accorded the right to intervene, it has had an opportunity to voice its reasonable preoccupations and has ensured that the Court understands them.

In conclusion, it has been held that, in the course of shelf boundary negotiations account has to be taken "of the effects, actual or prospective, of any other continental shelf delimitations between adjacent States in the same region". This instruction was given by the same Court in the 1969 North Sea cases. It is hoped that a similar instruction will be given in the Tunisia-Libya case with regard to opposite States in the same region!

MPs on five-country tour to win support for Malta as Seabed Authority site

By A Staff Reporter

Two Members of Parliament, one from each party yesterday left on a five-country European tour in a bid to win support for Malta as the site of the headquarters of the International Seabed Authority.

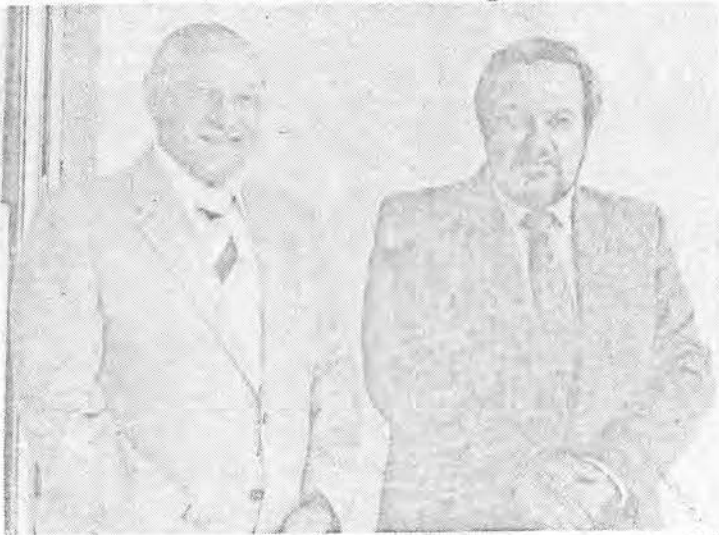
Mr. Joe Grima M.L.P. and Dr. Vincent Tabone N.P. are visiting Paris, Madrid, Lisbon, Brussels and Dublin.

Malta is competing for the I.S.A. headquarters with Jamaica and Fiji. It is possible that before the summer is out, other delegations will be sent to other parts of the world, notably Africa, to rally support.

Dr. Vincent Moran, Minister of Health successfully won support for Malta's candidature from Saudi Arabia and Greece during last week's visit to the two countries.

Other countries, particularly Arab, are said to favour Malta as the site for the proposed Seabed Authority.

A decision on the siting of the I.S.A. headquarters is expected



Dr. Vincent Tabone (left) with Mr. J. Grima just before they left for Paris yesterday.

to be taken by the International Seabed Authority some time in August.

Two years ago, the Prime Minister offered Fort St. Elmo and a site in the Pembroke area as possible sites for the headquarters. A pamphlet giving details of the facilities was distributed among members of the conference.

The strength of Malta's bid lies in the fact that it was Malta which in 1967 proposed a law of the sea.

Greece and Saudi Arabia promise support for Malta as Seabed Authority site

by a Staff Reporter

HEALTH MINISTER Dr. Vincent Moran returned yesterday from a visit to Saudi Arabia and Greece.

Dr. Moran said on arrival at Luqa that both Greece and Saudi Arabia promised to give Malta their support in its quest to house the Seabed Authority.

The Saudi Arabian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Ali Reza, at a meeting with Dr. Moran, re-affirmed Saudi support for the Maltese candidacy for the Seabed Authority headquarters in conformity with an Arab League decision.

The Acting Greek Foreign Minister, also promised Dr. Moran his Government's support for Malta's candidacy. Greece also promised to help Malta win wider support.

In Saudi Arabia, Dr. Moran discussed the strengthening of commercial links between the two countries with the Minister of Trade, Dr. Salmat Suleiman, and the president and secretary general of the Saudi Arabian Chamber of Commerce.

Dr. Moran said that the Saudi Trade Minister helped his delegation to strengthen its contacts with various industrialists

and organisations. The Saudi Minister was also favourably impressed by the Maltese products he was shown and said that their price and quality were competitive.

Trade links with Saudi Arabia were also discussed with Chamber of Commerce officials. Dr. Moran said that, later this year, a Maltese delegation of industrialists is to visit Saudi Arabia to discuss in greater detail trade opportunities. A delegation of Saudi industrialists from Jeddah will also be visiting Malta.

Referring to the reciprocal health agreement which he signed in Greece last Thursday, Dr. Moran said that as many as 30 Maltese patients can go to Greece immediately for specialised treatment and particularly heart patients.

An agreement about the transfer of technical and educational agricultural assistance was also reached during a meeting with the Greek Agriculture Minister, Mr. Kanellopoulos. This had been proposed when a Greek technical, social and economic commission came to Malta last October.

The Sunday Times 14 June, 1981.

Seabed authority

The Prime Minister Mr. MINTOFF was right to act quickly on a suggestion made by Dr. V. TABONE, the Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, to send a Parliamentary delegation on a last-minute bid to win support for Malta as the site of the proposed International Seabed Authority. This is the Authority that would eventually monitor the implementation of the Law of the Sea that has been under discussion by a United Nations Conference for more than seven years.

The assignment given to Mr. JOE GRIMA, for the Government, and Dr. V. TABONE, from the Opposition side, may go at least part of the way in removing the impression created during the present Government's first term of office. That impression unfortunately was one of lack of interest in pursuing what should have been within Malta's relatively easy grasp.

This is said because it was on Malta's initiative, ably and influentially directed by Malta's representative at the United Nations, Dr. ARVID PARDO, that the first step was taken for a new Law of the Sea. The year was 1967 — three years after Malta became independent — when Dr. PARDO put before the XXII session of the General Assembly, the idea of a law of the sea that would consider the sea, beyond the confines of national jurisdiction, the common heritage of mankind safeguarded by an international agency, acting under that law in the interest of the developing countries. That initiative led to the setting up of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea which has been hammering out the law that would hopefully be observed and respected by all nations.

With Malta taking such an initiative, this Island could have had an unequalled claim for selection as the site to house the headquarters of the International Seabed Authority.

Unfortunately, Malta's initiative became a local party issue with the Labour Party, then in Opposition, caught in a mood of prejudice against its predecessors. On the Labour Party's assumption of office in 1971, that prejudice was turned against the very originator of the idea of the oceans as the common heritage of mankind and Dr. PARDO was sacked by the Government in July, 1973.

A year later, in 1974, Malta offered to host the Seabed Authority but by that time others joined the race following incessant lobbying at the diplomatic level in various capitals and within the United Nations where Malta's representation, after the loss of Dr. PARDO, remained by comparison, at a very low key. First Fiji and then Jamaica came up as widely supported favourites with Jamaica now apparently very well placed.

A decision was in fact expected at the last Conference session in New York in March. The Conference was however postponed following a request by the new United States Reagan administration for time to review parts of the law already agreed upon. That postponement till next August gave Malta what may well be a last chance. The parliamentarians going out to gain support for Malta take the nation's support with them on a very difficult task. It is never easy to regain lost ground among nations who are already committed to Malta's rivals who pressed their claims with uninterrupted persistence.

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The Prime Minister Mr. MINTOFF was right to act quickly on a suggestion made by Dr. V. TABONE, the Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, to send a Parliamentary delegation on a last-minute bid to win support for Malta as the site of the proposed International Seabed Authority. This is the Authority that would eventually monitor the implementation of the Law of the Sea that has been under discussion by a United Nations Conference for more than seven years.

The assignment given to Mr. JOE GRIMA, for the Government, and Dr. V. TABONE, from the Opposition side, may go at least part of the way in removing the impression created during the present Government's first term of office. That impression unfortunately was one of lack of interest in pursuing what should have been within Malta's relatively easy grasp.

This is said because it was on Malta's initiative, ably and influentially directed by Malta's representative at the United Nations, Dr. ARVID PARDO, that the first step was taken for a new Law of the Sea. The year was 1967 — three years after Malta became independent — when Dr. PARDO put before the XXII session of the General Assembly, the idea of a law of the sea that would consider the sea, beyond the confines of national jurisdiction, the common heritage of mankind safeguarded by an international agency, acting under that law in the interest of the developing countries. That initiative led to the setting up of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea which has been hammering out the law that would hopefully be observed and respected by all nations.

With Malta taking such an initiative, this Island could have had an unequalled claim for selection as the site to house the headquarters of the International Seabed Authority.

Unfortunately, Malta's initiative became a local party issue with the Labour Party, then in Opposition, caught in a mood of prejudice against its predecessors. On the Labour Party's assumption of office in 1971, that prejudice was turned against the very originator of the idea of the oceans as the common heritage of mankind and Dr. PARDO was sacked by the Government in July, 1973.

A year later, in 1974, Malta offered to host the Seabed Authority but by that time others joined the race following incessant lobbying at the diplomatic level in various capitals and within the United Nations where Malta's representation, after the loss of Dr. PARDO, remained by comparison, at a very low key. First Fiji and then Jamaica came up as widely supported favourites with Jamaica now apparently very well placed.

A decision was in fact expected at the last Conference session in New York in March. The Conference was however postponed following a request by the new United States Reagan administration for time to review parts of the law already agreed upon. That postponement till next August gave Malta what may well be a last chance. The parliamentarians going out to gain support for Malta take the nation's support with them on a very difficult task. It is never easy to regain lost ground among nations who are already committed to Malta's rivals who pressed their claims with uninterupted persistence.

Malta diplomatic offensive to host Seabed Authority

■ MALTA will be launching an intensive diplomatic offensive in mid-June to win backing from other countries to its request to set up the Seabed Authority general headquarters on the island.

Two Maltese officials, Labour Parliamentarian Mr Joe Grima and Nationalist MP Dr Ċensu Tabone will leave Malta for Western Europe on June 15 for important discussions with European Foreign Ministers on the proposed Seabed Authority and Malta's application to host it.

The Seabed Authority is to be established to regulate oceanfloor mining. Malta and two other countries —

Jamaica and Fiji — have proposed that the international authority should be established on their territory. The three announced candidates for host government to the Authority got into an argument at the 10th session of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held in March and April. At the time the committee on the international seabed area discussed estimates by the

UN Secretariat of the costs of the authority, its international mining arm, the enterprise and the preparatory commission that would function before the authority was established.

It is to be recalled that Malta's permanent representative at the UN Mr Victor Gauci had explained to the UN delegates why the Seabed Authority would be less expensive if it was set up in Malta. Mr Gauci had

stated that the Maltese government had estimated the cost of the headquarters of the authority at considerably less than has been estimated by the UN Secretariat, more so because Malta already had a Mediterranean Conference Centre that could accommodate the preparatory commission of the Authority as soon as they needed to meet.

While the two Maltese Parliamentarians are touring Western Europe, another diplomatic offensive is expected to be launched by the Minister for Tourism, Mr Danny Cremona in African countries. Similar discussions are also expected to be held in East-European countries by the International Secretary of the Malta Communist Party Mr Paul Agius, who is currently on visits to Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

It is reliably understood that a final decision over where the Seabed authority would be based would be taken early in August.

The last session of the UN conference on the Law of the Sea, ended early in April without action being taken over the issue.

DAILY NEWS 8 June 1981

Malta and the International Seabed Authority

"THE Americans may unintentionally have helped Malta to become the site of the International Seabed Authority... if the Maltese play their cards well or have enough sense to change their government". This is how one Western observer summed up the results of the latest session of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The ways of diplomacy are neither straight nor transparent, but this observer was probably right.

UNCLOS, as the Law of the Sea Conference is known, was expected to complete its work at the meeting which ended last April. But the Americans argued that the Reagan Administration needed more time to study the issues involved and were not ready to go ahead with the negotiations. As a result, the conference adjourned to August when it is expected to hold its "last" working session; but once more the Americans may not be ready and there is a distinct possibility of a further session in 1982.

Indirectly, this delay is to Malta's advantage. Malta is one of the three countries which have declared their interest in hosting the International Seabed Authority, the organisation which will be set up by the conference; the others are Jamaica and Fiji. Had a decision been taken at last April's session, the conference would almost certainly have

by IRACIL

voted for Jamaica; however, the decision was postponed till August and, judging by the way these things go, it could be further postponed. At the moment, Malta's chances of being selected seem small and, the more time we gain, the greater will be our opportunities to lobby effectively for support.

1967 initiative

It is a fact universally acknowledged that Malta was at the origin of UNCLOS. In 1967, on the initiative of Arvid Pardo, Malta's ambassador to the United Nations, the General Assembly established a committee to study the peaceful uses of the seabed. This led to the convening of UNCLOS in 1973, one of its objectives being "to deal with the establishment of an equitable international regime — including an international machinery — for the area and the resources of the seabed and the ocean floor".

In 1971, however, Pardo was dismissed as Malta's representative by the newly elected Socialist government. Unfortunately for Malta, the government did not realise that he had established himself not only as the founding father of UNCLOS, but as one of the foremost authorities on the law of the sea and the guiding spirit for its reform in the interests of all mankind. In U.N. quarters he had become identified with Malta, and as a result of his activities Malta's stock had risen considerably.

Other officials took Pardo's place, but they could not replace him, for none of them could match his personality, effectiveness and sheer expertise both in U.N. diplomacy and in international law. Pardo used to speak with authority on all aspects of the law of the sea: his successors spoke from briefs (when they received any) and their statements were restricted to matters of particular interest to Malta. From being a nation with a leading role, Malta became just another participant with a limited interest to defend and with an importance proportionate to its size.

Jamaica jumps in

The results were soon to be seen. It had been generally assumed that, since the initiative had been Pardo's, the Authority Maltese wanted it. But, at the key Venezuela conference, in 1974, Malta did not express any interest in hosting the Authority. On the contrary, the official records of that meeting recall that the Maltese delegate said that "the path indicated by Malta in the past remained open, but his delegation would not be acting as guides". A clearer expression of disinterest could not be made and many felt that the Socialist government was discarding the project because it had been launched by the previous Nationalist government.

Jamaica jumped into the vacuum left by Malta, declared its candidacy and secured the support of the so-called "Group of 77"; this includes all the developing countries, most of which are also members of the non-aligned movement, and now number about 120 countries. Weeks after the conference had finished, however, the Maltese government finally made up its mind and declared that Malta too was interested in being the site for the Authority.

The delay constituted a blunder from which Malta has never recovered. Indeed, some months later, the negotiating text for the treaty appeared bearing the name of Jamaica as the site of the future Seabed Authority. It was not, of course, the final text and a specific decision still needs to be taken, but since then it has been an uphill task for us. And now Malta runs the risk of losing the considerable advantages, both material and otherwise, that it would reap if it became the headquarters of this new international organisation.

The wrong approach

A study by the U.N. secretariat has concluded that the initial costs of setting up the headquarters would exceed US\$100 million and that these would be followed by a recurrent expenditure of over \$20 million a year. It cannot be said that all these sums would be a net addition to the national income of the host country; but the presence of 250 staff members and the visits of numerous officials for meetings all the year round, as well as the indirect expenses generated, would have a substantial, positive effect on local employment and incomes. Besides, the experience of other U.N. agencies shows that these have a tendency to expand rather rapidly.

In the case of Malta, the non-material advantages would be even greater. The presence of experts on scientific, legal and other aspects of the sea would inevitably arouse the interest of the local population and improve our standards in these subjects. Malta would be put on the map and for the first time in its history it would become the world centre for something useful to all mankind.

The Socialist government, however, has gone about it the wrong way and has tackled the issue at the technical and not at the political level where it belongs. One theory is that the government may not really want to have the Authority in Malta; for example, in his statement to the recent conference of non-aligned states in New Delhi, the Maltese delegate spoke about Kampuchea, Korea and many other things, but did not take advantage of that occasion to remind the ministers present that Malta was a candidate for the site of the Seabed Authority.

A kinder — and likelier — theory is that the government anticipates that Malta might lose when the U.N. Conference votes on the matter. It is thus afraid that, if the issue were raised to the political level, the failure would be laid at the government's door, whereas if it is played down it could even go unnoticed. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that the pro-government press, as well as the government-controlled television and sound broadcasting, have avoided focussing the public's attention on this matter. However, should Malta be selected nonetheless, they would defend by the world in the Maltese Socialist government and a victory for its leader.

Last April's debate

The precariousness of Malta's position became obvious during last April's meeting. The debate was shrouded in procedural and diplomatic niceties, but its essence can be briefly described; Jamaica, sensing that it would win a vote, tried to force an immediate decision, but Malta and Fiji succeeded in postponing it.

The Jamaican delegate "noted that his country was the only candidate to be endorsed by the Group of 77" and Tanzania remarked "that the Group of 77 had unanimously welcomed Jamaica's offer, in 1974, to act as the host for the Seabed Authority" and "hoped that the Group of 77 would stand by its decision". The Maltese delegate argued that in 1974 "Malta had not been a member of the Group and so could not have submitted its candidacy" — a very limp excuse, because we could have submitted our candidacy through the Western European Group to which we belonged at the time, but failed to do so.

Malta joined the Group of 77 later on because this was supposed to be in our interest; but it is precisely within this group that we are constantly being placed in a minority. At last April's meeting, in addition to the candidate countries, 40 members of the Group expressed their views, 34 of them in favour of Jamaica, the remaining six not so much — though not explicitly in favour of Malta. Those in favour of Jamaica included 19 countries from Latin

America, 14 from Africa, and Yugoslavia — a leading member of the Group of 77, which can influence many others and with which the Maltese government is said to have established privileged relations. The Western and the Communist countries, as well as most of the Arab and Asian countries, were eloquent by their silence.

Western Europe

Malta seems headed for a similar kind of defeat as that suffered last autumn when we unsuccessfully stood for election to the U.N. Security Council. But a last, desperate effort could and should be made to save the situation and prevent Jamaica from benefiting from a bandwagon effect in the vote.

At present, most African and Latin American countries seem committed in favour of Jamaica, while the Asians appear divided among the three candidates. The majority of the Arab countries are said to favour Malta, but some of them could be pressured by the other non-aligned countries into voting for Jamaica. The same applies to the Eastern Europeans.

The countries that could play a key role in turning the tide in favour of Malta are those of Western Europe and North America. Up to last October, when Jamaica had a Socialist government, the Western countries were ill disposed towards both Malta and Jamaica; but they would still have preferred Malta, if only for geographical proximity. However, at the elections held in October 1980, the Jamaicans heavily defeated their Socialist government and elected instead a middle-of-the-road government more friendly to the West. As a result, many Western countries are now looking more favourably towards Jamaica.

The same countries are hesitant about Malta for two main reasons: (1) they regard the Maltese Socialist government as unreliable and less than friendly, as witnessed by its attitude to the Council of Europe, the oil bunkering agreement with Russia, and its repressive domestic policy; and (2) they are reluctant to give the impression that they are backing the Socialist government during the run-up to the elections.

As of now, Malta has to overcome four handicaps in order to secure election as the site of the Seabed Authority: the low level of its representation, its poor participation in the debates, its damaging foreign policy, and the present atmosphere of transition preceding the general elections. For Malta to win it has to succeed in delaying the vote as much as possible and in mobilising the Western, Eastern and Arab countries.

This could be done by tackling the issue (a) at the highest possible level, and (b) on a national and bipartisan basis. More specifically, I would suggest the formation of a three-man parliamentary commission made up of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, as Chairman, a senior minister, and a high-ranking member of the Shadow Cabinet. The commission would start by visiting the major capitals of Western Europe; in addition, it would seek the formal or informal support of the member states of the Council of Europe for an undertaking which is more serious and more useful to Malta than fishing for bombs in Filfla's waters. Following this, all means would be deployed to secure the support of European countries, as well as of those Asian and African countries which are not yet committed in favour of the rival candidates.

The three-man mission would argue Malta's case and emphasise the fact that all Malta, and not just one political party, wants the International Seabed Authority to have its head-quarters here. This bipartisan approach would have the advantage of mobilising all Malta's friends, whether they feel closer to the Government or to the Opposition.

This suggestion may seem unorthodox, but it is obvious that, at this late date, only a concerted national approach can increase Malta's chances of obtaining what it deserves more than any other nation.

* A similar suggestion was made by Dr. Vincent Tabone, the Opposition's chief spokesman on foreign affairs, in the House of Representatives last Tuesday.

The

The Sunday Times. 31 May, 1981.

DR. TABONE DEFENDS VOTE ON TURKEY IN COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Dr. Vincent Tabone, the Opposition's chief spokesman on foreign affairs, on Tuesday criticised an article in the Socialist daily *L-Orizzont* on the way he had voted in the Council of Europe on Turkish representation.

Dr. TABONE, who was speaking on the Adjournment of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, said the term "fascist" was used to incite.

Dr. TABONE said that a dictatorship was bad, whatever it called itself. The truth is that the two military coups that took place in Turkey in the past 20 years occurred under a rightist administration. Everybody condemned what had happened in Turkey.

Dr. TABONE explained that there were two discussions at the Council of Europe. The first was about the possible expulsion of Turkey from the Council of Europe. The second was whether to allow the delegates from the pre-coup Turkish Parliament to attend. When he voted against the expulsion of Turkey he had made it clear that he was doing so in the hope that the pre-coup Turkish

parliamentarians would be allowed to take their seats in the Council of Europe.

What eventually happened was that Turkey was not expelled but the representatives from the pre-coup Turkish Parliament were not allowed to attend. Dr. TABONE said this was absurd. The very last threads of Turkish democracy were in this way cut. Next October he would vote for Turkey's expulsion, for he was against a representative of the present Turkish regime taking part in the business of the Council of Europe. It was the Maltese Socialist delegates who had voted not to allow the Turkish parliamentarians to take their seat.

The Seabed Authority

Dr. TABONE said that he had been waiting for a long time for an opportunity to rebut Mr. Reno Calleja's accusation that the Nationalists had done nothing except talk with regard to the Seabed Authority. This was the best proposal ever made by Malta on an international level.

In November 1967, Dr. Arvid Pardo, on behalf of the Maltese Government, had proposed that the fruits of the seabed be declared the property of all mankind and that an international authority be set up to administer this wealth. All countries with the exception of the two superpowers had backed Malta. In time

even they gave in to overwhelming pressure.

During the Nationalist administration Malta took the lead in this field and suggested that the Authority be set up in Malta. With the coming to power of the present Administration things changed. Mr. Mintoff declared that Malta could get no benefit from such an Authority. To set up this Authority in 1972 one needed an estimated \$100 million, 250 employees and a recurrent expenditure of \$20 million a year.

Malta lost its lead in this field to Jamaica, which even got the support of the non-aligned movement. Jamaica now also had a very big advantage over Malta regarding the site of the Seabed Authority.

Dr. TABONE said that the Maltese Government realised its mistake in October 1974 when it applied for the International Seabed Authority to be housed in Malta. A decision was to be taken last April. The reason why it wasn't was because the new American Administration wanted to revise its stand. Had the decision been taken in April Malta's chances would have been small. Now we had gained time.

Dr. TABONE suggested that a Maltese Parliamentary delegation visit other countries to try and gain support on this matter. The Opposition would give all possible support.

Relations with Libya

Dr. TABONE then commented on Mr. Mintoff's interview with the American magazine *Newsweek* in which the Maltese Prime Minister said that relations with Libya were made worse by the Nationalist delegation's visit to Libya, because the Libyans were given the impression that the friendship could exist between the two countries even if the median line dispute were not solved.

Dr. TABONE said that they said nothing against the Maltese Government. All they tried to do was to solve the median line dispute and the lifting of the ban on Maltese exports to Libya. He himself had told Colonel Gaddafi, when the Libyan leader had addressed the Maltese Parliament, to show his friendship towards Malta by allowing us to drill for oil.

Malta-Sicily ferry

Dr. TABONE finally spoke on the Malta-Sicily ferry service. He said that Tirrenia, the Italian shipping line, was not catering well for our needs. Dr. Tabone suggested that a local company be set up to deal with the matter and that a new ship be used for this purpose. Dr. TABONE also suggested that Consuls be appointed in Syracuse, Catania and Reggio to look after the interests of Maltese nationals who might find themselves stranded, without money and shelter as recently happened when the ferry had some trouble.

The US and the Law of the Sea

EVER SINCE the well-known speech by the Maltese Ambassador to the United Nations, Dr. Arvid Pardo, in 1967, sparked off the third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III), a number of Americans (possibly also a number of Soviets) have asked: "Why should we care? We are a sea-power. We have a 200-mile economic zone, a maritime area bigger than that of any other country and it is rich in minerals and resources. Let's just go our own way".

One may not agree with this approach, but a closer look at the facts could explain this attitude. The *U.S. Geographer* has calculated that by establishing a 200-mile exclusive economic zone, wherein a State has exclusive control over all marine resources, the U.S. will gain an area measuring 2,222,000 square nautical miles. Ironically, the U.S. had for many years confronted the demands of the developing states for such a zone. In fact whilst opposing the concept in the U.N. Seabed Committee, both the USA and the USSR indicated their willingness to accept the 200-mile zone if certain conditions were met. It is estimated that the USSR will get 1,309,500 square nautical miles.

Deep sea mining

Two other areas of utmost importance to U.S. interests are be-

by David Attard, LL.D.

ing discussed at UNCLOS III: deep seabed mining and navigation. The rapid and dynamic development of U.S. deep-sea marine technology has made it possible to exploit the mineral resources that lie on and in the seabed below the high seas and which the Conference has declared to be "the common heritage of mankind". A term, I hasten to add, introduced by Malta at the initial stages of the conference. The implication of this approach is that the resources will not be subject to national appropriation of any State. This concept has been applied to navigation on the high seas since Hugo Grotius, the lawyer to the Dutch East India Company, wrote his famous defence of the freedom of the seas, *Mare Liberum*, in the 17th century.

It is not surprising that the U.S. mining industry is annoyed at this development. It claims that successive U.S. Governments have permitted their future access to the mineral resources of the deep seabeds to become "hostage" to the whims of UNCLOS III. The clear implication of their accusations is that the Government either through naïveté or duplicity, was playing fast and loose with the nation's economic security in order to curry favour with the Third World. This opposition grew and by 1975 Dr. Kissinger took the matter into his hands and proclaimed that the U.S. would no longer postpone unilateral action to exploit the deep-sea mineral resources in particular the nodules in the "international area". That year he offered to allow two "parallel access" systems of deep-sea mining, whereby the International Seabed Authority would mine on behalf of the developing states and the ocean mining countries would concurrently mine for their own benefit, provided the Authority's decision-making council was weighted in favour of the advanced technology states.

The Group of 77 accepted some parts of Dr. Kissinger's plan but disagreed with others. When the Carter Administration took over, the job was given to another experienced diplomat, Elliott Richardson. In 1977 he branded the seabed mining part of the negotiating text, which had emerged on the basis of UNCLOS III's deliberations, as "totally unacceptable". Thanks to a great deal of ingenuity and very hard bargaining he was able to inform the American Mining Congress on September 24, 1980, that the objectionable features of the negotiating text that he had denounced had "been replaced by fair and workable compromises". This does not seem to have assured the mining companies. They now view Reagan's

decision to review the U.S. position on the Law of the Sea as a major victory for their interests. They are concerned about provisions made to protect land-based mineral producers, lack of guarantees for their interests, the taxation system and the problem of transfer of technology.

Both the US and the Federal Republic of Germany have enacted legislation that would authorise their nationals to mine the deep seabed and to reciprocally agree to respect the licences by other states. It is possible that other industrial countries, not likely to be more than seven, will do likewise. The problem is, with the absence of a Law of the Sea Treaty, can these states collectively provide sufficient security for seabed mining investments?

Mining operations

There are presently five major industrial groups considering mining operations. It is estimated that each operation will cost more than one billion dollars in terms of capital investment and technological development costs. Their goal is to harvest rich nodules of manganese, cobalt and nickel and strategic minerals that are found on land in only a few areas. Two banks have shown an interest: the Bank of America and Chase Manhattan. However, very recently, after discussing the developments at UNCLOS III, executives of the consortia were told that presently the project was "not bankable". Clearly, only a universally accepted Law of the Sea Treaty can offer the removal of the threats of reprisal and uncertainties that surround deep-sea mining.

The attempts by the U.S. to renegotiate the draft treaty, that has emerged at UNCLOS III, has made delegates pessimistic. As Koh of Singapore, the Conference's new president, has put it: "To demand major changes at this point would be impossible to accommodate". A point, I am informed, he has passed on to the new U.S. representative Malone. The developing world is annoyed that after so many years of negotiations and concessions, the Conference may fail.

In the long-term the U.S. in-

terest in seabed mining would not be served by having no treaty. Whilst deep seabed activities could possibly be undertaken under the traditional freedom of the seas principle, exclusive rights for deep seabed mining are necessary to support the large investments and provide the security of tenure of the mining site. This can only be assured by a generally accepted Law of the Sea Treaty. Furthermore other important provisions, such as the 12-mile territorial sea, transit through straits and archipelagoes, protection of the marine environment, protection of scientific research, constitute a well balanced package not merely in the interest of industrialised states but of the international community as a whole. Many had thought that the U.S. policy at the Conference has been bipartisan, adhered to by successive Administrations of Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter. And three leaders of the U.S. delegation, since its beginning in 1973, had been "very distinguished Republicans". Clearly, they have underestimated the influence of certain interested groups within the new Administration.

The Law of the Sea, whether for better or worse, has changed since the 1958 Geneva Law of the Sea Conventions were established. At its latest March 1981 session UNCLOS III came to a point where states must evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of a treaty against having no treaty at all. The world community has tried for years to achieve a "realistic" package deal which attempts not to satisfy all conflicting interests but to accommodate them. This determined attempt to succeed now faces a demand by the world's leading maritime states that the Conference postpone its final negotiations until it has had time to review its position. One hopes that this rhetorical manifestation of caution is mainly aimed for local US consumption and will not be allowed to destroy what the world community, including the US, has worked so hard to achieve.

**This article is based on a talk recently delivered by Dr. Attard to the professorial staff and their guests at the University of Colgate, New York, entitled "The U.S. impact on the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea".*

Seabed Authority site to be considered

next year

By a Staff Reporter

Malta's request to host the International Seabed Authority, made by Government in 1974, is expected to be considered at the tenth session of the Law of the Sea Conference to be held in New York in March-April next year. There are two other countries aspiring to host the Seabed Authority, Jamaica and Fiji.

Malta's request was brought up in a Parliamentary question put to the Prime Minister, Mr. Mintoff, by Nationalist MP Dr. Josie Muscat. The Member asked if Malta took part in the recent United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, and if yes, who were the members of the delegation. He also asked what was Malta's position as regards the Seabed Authority.

The Prime Minister said Malta had taken part in the recent Law of the Sea Conference, as indeed it had done in every session held so far. The delegation was made up of Dr. Edgar Mizzi, Attorney General, Mr. Evarist Saliba, Malta's U.N. Permanent Delegate in Geneva, Mr. Carmel Vella, First Secretary, and Mr. Salvu Borg and Mr. Vincent Camilleri, Second Secretaries.

Mr. Mintoff said that in a reply to a question by Dr. Herman Farrugia last June, he stated that it had been decided that at the appropriate time the Conference had to decide, by means of a vote, in which of the three countries, Malta, Jamaica and Fiji, it should set up the Seabed Authority.

In fact, pointed out the Prime Minister, the Conference had agreed to add a footnote to paragraph three of Article 156 of the Informal Composite Negotiation Text (Rev 2). The footnote reads: "The Conference decided

that at an appropriate time the Conference will be given an opportunity to express its preference among the candidatures of Jamaica, Malta and Fiji by means of a vote unless the Conference decided otherwise".

Mr. Mintoff said that at the recent session in Geneva, it was agreed to include this footnote in the Draft Convention of the Law of the Sea. It was also agreed that "the matter will be fully considered at the tenth session" in New York in March-April next year.

It was an initiative taken by Malta in 1967 that led to the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. At the XXII General Assembly of the United Nations, Malta had proposed a new law of the sea which would declare the seabed and ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction to be the common heritage of mankind and to create an international agency to manage the area in the interest of developing

countries.

Malta has offered two historic buildings, St. Elmo and the Auberge de Baviere, to house the headquarters of the International Seabed Authority. To meet the long-term requirements of the Seabed Authority, Malta even offered two alternatives: the Authority could either further develop St. Elmo or build a completely new building of modern construction and design on a premium location a few miles away from Valetta.

St. Elmo, said Government in a brochure to promote the island as "the natural site" for the Seabed Authority, could be converted to serve the expanding role of the Authority. An "architect of international repute", had been engaged to show how St. Elmo could be modified and, at the same time, conserve its historic character and identity.

SEAT OF SEABED AUTHORITY ISSUE

NOT YET SETTLED

SATURDAY, March 22.

The issue concerning the seat of the International Seabed Authority, for which there are three candidatures, including one from Malta, has not been settled yet and is not expected to come up for discussion during the current U.N. Law of the Sea Conference which is meeting in New York because of the number of basic issues and other problems which have still to be resolved.

According to a report pub-

lished in the latest issue of "Aussen Politik" the other two offers came from Jamaica and Fiji. It also says that although the issue has never been dealt with, the Informal Composite Negotiating Text in its revised version of April 1979, in accordance with Latin American wishes, names Jamaica as the seat of the organization.

The report adds: "Renewed

protests were lodged on this account during last year's session. The Arab states back Malta's bid. The group of West European and other states and the group of Asian states advocated equal treatment for all three applications."

It is worth recalling that way back in 1974, Malta lost a golden chance of becoming the headquarters of this Au-

thority when, on the advice of a foreign country, failed to press forward its candidature.

Jamaica was the first country to table its candidature in early 1974 and before the closing of the second session of the Law of the Sea Conference in August of the same year, it earned the support of the Group of 77, of which Malta is also a member. The Maltese Government started lobbying for support in September 1974, when it seem-

* Continued Backpage

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* continued from page 1

ed it was already too late.

It is understood that besides the support of some Arab states, Malta has also been promised support from some East European countries. Mr. Tudor Zhivkov, the Bulgarian President, who visited Malta last weekend, promised that Bulgaria would consider sympathetically Malta's candidature for the proposed Seabed Authority.

Local reaction to Malta's defeat in vote for I.S.A. site

by a Staff Reporter

THE local reaction to the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference's choice of Jamaica to seat the headquarters of the Seabed Authority is one of disappointment.

Malta's efforts to attract the headquarters failed when Jamaica, which offered a site

near Kingston, obtained 76 votes compared with 66 for Malta.

The ballot took place in Geneva where the current session of the Law of the Sea Conference is being held. There were five abstentions. In the first ballot, Malta obtained 56 votes, Jamaica 69 while the third contender, Fiji, obtained 14 votes and was dropped.

Both Mr. Joe Grima, Labour MP, and Dr. Vincent Tabone, the Nationalist Party's spokesman on Foreign Affairs, expressed Malta's disappointment at the delegates' final decision. Both had visited various European capitals to promote Malta's case.

Mr. Grima said that judging by what Jamaica and Fiji were offering as a site for the Seabed Authority, he was convinced that Malta and the Conference Centre were a million times better. Mr. Grima said it was incongruous that the headquarters of such an important international authority was going to be set up in a country "where the rule of law had broken down and where rep-

representatives of the international community would be sent to exercise their functions at their own peril".

Mr. Grima said that, in his opinion, Jamaica's victory was a result of much string-pulling. He added that President Reagan, on taking office, had said that he wanted to turn Jamaica into a showpiece of his brand of conservatism and of the capitalist system. He added that the attempt of the United States' delegation during Friday's meeting to play down the issue of the headquarters and to describe it as "not a substantive" part of any potential agreement on seabed legislation was totally unconvincing.

Mr. Grima said that the hospitality and friendliness of the freedom loving people of Malta had been exchanged by the delegates who chose Jamaica, for the coldness and unfriendliness of a country that since the last elections some months ago, had been unable to find its own feet.

Malta's magnificent Conference Centre, with its adjacent building, which the Maltese Government generously offered for a nominal rent had been traded for a "hole in the ground" and a matchstick model which would cost the countries involved three times as much as it would have cost them had they chosen Malta.

Mr. Grima added that the result obtained by Malta reflected the hard work of all the Maltese

(Cont. Backpage Col. 1)

MALTA LOST ITS LEAD IN 1974

(Continued from page 1)

politicians and officials who were involved in the campaign to win the seabed headquarters.

GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE CRITICIZED

Dr. Vincent Tabone said that on behalf of the Opposition, he had suggested to Government in Parliament, strong diplomatic action in an effort to persuade delegates who were still undecided to support Malta. He said, that despite this initiative and another to invite the heads of delegations to come to Malta, which was accepted by the Government, the result was still unfavourable to Malta.

Dr. Tabone said that it was worth recalling that when he made suggestions in Parliament some weeks ago, he had pointed out that it was Government's attitude that had placed Malta in a position which was inferior to

that of Jamaica.

Dr. Tabone said that this attitude was taken by the Socialist Government as soon as it took office in 1971 when it no longer supported the work of Dr. Arvid Pardo, and that of his successors, for Malta to retain the lead in the drive to promote the concept of the exploitation of the seabed for peaceful purposes. It was Malta which had first promoted this concept as the common heritage of mankind.

Dr. Tabone said that up to the Caracas Conference, in 1974, Malta was still considered in the lead with the status of rapporteur. But at that Conference Malta's representative had stated, on behalf of the Socialist Government, that Malta did not wish to remain leader on this matter, Dr. Tabone said.

He said that following that declaration Jamaica came forward with a request to host the Author-

ity and obtained the rapporteurship. Dr. Tabone said that a few months later, in October of the same year, the Maltese Government had formally offered to host the Authority. The Caracas declaration had proved disastrous for Malta's case.

Dr. Tabone said the fact that Malta obtained 66 votes, 10 fewer than Jamaica, showed that interest in Malta's favour began to pick up again following the initiatives taken recently.

He said the fact that the voting took place now proved to be unfortunate for Malta. It would have been better for Malta had the voting taken place at a later date because by then the country would have gained more support and votes.

The Conference chose West Germany for the proposed international tribunal for the Law of the Sea. The voting was 78 votes for West Germany which offered Hamburg as the site, against 61 votes in favour of Yugoslavia and the 15 votes in favour of Portugal.

Parliamentary statement of April 21st 1975 one will find that -

Jamaica's request according to Dr. A. Borg Olivier De Puget had been submitted in May 1974 i.e. prior to the Caracas conference.

Malta's request had been tabled in September and not in October '74.

Malta's representative in Caracas had merely stated that Malta was trying to establish the middle way between the needs of countries bordering on the sea and the joint needs of all nations.

What the opposition fail to mention is:

That although Dr. Pardo had accused Government in "The Bulletin" of Thursday April 17th, that - "Malta lost the opportunities to promote her candidature for the Group of 77..."

Although this group was set up in 1964 the Nationalists had never deemed it fit or opportune to belong

Minister Plenipotentiary for Oceanic Affairs to ensure that Dr. Pardo could dedicate all his efforts to the issue of the law of the sea, as well as to eliminate any chances of having government accused of having used personal vindictiveness against Pardo.

(2) Mrs. Mann Borgese had written to government advising it of an assurance given her by the United Nations Development Pro-

Maltese p
officially f
that Dr.

Various bits about the Seabed Authority vote. Please do not react in the newspapers here about them. Most people think the Labour papers/people are being silly to blame the Nats on losing the vote.

DAILY

NEWS

• LOSS OF SEABED AUTHORITY SITE

Gross inaccuracies by Opposition

•WAY back in April 1975 – Monday April 21st to be precise – Maltese Premier Dom Mintoff had made a lengthy statement in Parliament to put the record straight in connection with developments linked to the possibility of siting the seabed authority centre in Malta.

Six years ago, Dom Mintoff had already predicted that “where the choice not to fall on Malta” the opposi-

tion would undoubtedly put the blame on the govt.

Predictably this is what they did. One only has to read through the front page comments of Il-Mument of the 23rd August, as well as the remarks made by Dr. V. Tabone to the Sunday Times of the same date.

Both reports allege that –

In July 1974 the Maltese representative in Caracas stated that Malta did not wish to remain leader on this project.

Following this declaration Jamaica came forward with a request to host the authority.

The Maltese Government had formally offered to host the centre in October '74.

Where one to consult the proceedings of the debate that followed Mr. Mintoff's Parliamentary statement of April 21st 1975 one will find that –

to this group for fear of being stigmatised as anti-westerners. It seems that on his part Dr. Pardo himself never recommended to the B.O. government that Malta should have formed part of this grouping.

The Nats. should have admitted that by the time Malta applied for membership in the Group of '77 Jamaica was already a member of the Group of '77, while Malta – due to the Nationalist Government's and Pardo's indifference – had remained out of this grouping till then.

Before the Nationalists go on praising Dr. Pardo and Mrs. Mann Borgese in vain, they should recall what Mr. Mintoff pointed out in Parliament six years ago:

(1) That Mintoff had offered Pardo the post of Minister Plenipotentiary for Oceanic Affairs to ensure that Dr. Pardo could

programme that her international ocean institute in Malta would become a regional institute for the whole Mediterranean, within a short time. Upon verification, Govt. found that this was not true.

(3) When Mrs. Mann Borgese came to Malta in 1974/75 she had informed government that Malta was losing the support of the other member states affiliated in Pacem In Maribus because Dr. Pardo was not retained as Malta's representative to the UN on these issues. She had mentioned Yugoslavia and Norway as having taken this attitude. Upon verification her claim was once again found out to be untrue.

(4) Mrs. Mann Borgese wanted Mr. Mintoff as Maltese premier to declare officially that Malta desired that Dr. Pardo be awarded

By
Leo Brincat

the Noble Prize.

(5) Although the Nats. like mentioning that Malta abandoned the draft articles submitted by Dr. Pardo up to August 1973, “no other government wanted to assume responsibility or showed any interest in adopting these articles and to continue to promote them... all wanted first to establish points of agreement and then to draft articles...”

In the final analysis, particularly when recalling that Malta remained out of the Group of '77 for at least seven years under a Nationalist government, one cannot but conclude that as Mr. Mintoff mentioned six years back: “Dr. Pardo's draft treaties were prepared more from the empirical and academic aspect than to serve the special needs of Malta in this sphere...”

7

DAILY



NEWS

says...

WIDESPREAD DISAPPOINTMENT

MALTA'S efforts to host the Law of the Sea Headquarters which started over a decade ago failed by just ten votes when the Law of the Sea Conference delegates at present meeting in Geneva decided to establish the Headquarters in Jamaica. The loss of this prestigious seat brought with it deep disappointment all round since Malta was optimistic that it would clinch the nomination.

Both the Government and the Opposition had worked to see the Headquarters housed in Malta: The efforts were intensified in recent months when various delegations from both sides of the House had visited a number of European and African countries to lobby for support. This initiative was taken on the suggestion of Dr Vincent Tabone of the Nationalist Party who appealed for a last strong diplomatic effort and who also suggested that the Government should invite the heads of the delegations in Geneva to visit Malta and to see what the island had to offer.

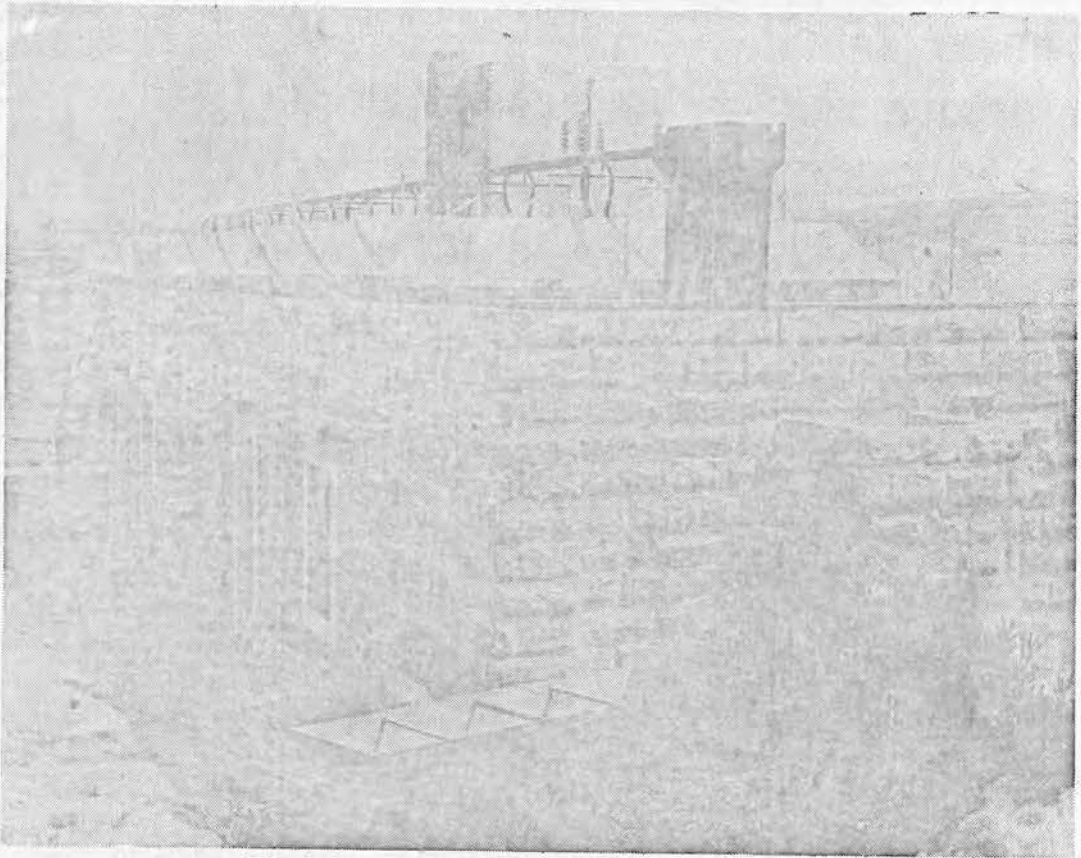
It was, therefore, quite unexpected and unfair to say the least to read in the Nationalist Party newspapers that the Socialist Government had wasted substantial public funds when it hosted the foreign delegations, whose visit as it turned out now, had been in vain as far as the nomination goes.

It was also unexpected that Dr Tabone should attempt to pin the blame on the Socialist Government for failing to obtain the nomination. He would have probably done a better service to himself and his country had his criticism been directed towards Mgr Professor Sapiano, who very unchristian like, had waited for the delegates to come to Malta to launch a sharp and unjustified attack on the health services and education facilities available in Malta.

Still with the election now only a few months away, it was expected that the Nationalists and their supporters would attempt to shift the blame on the Government for losing "this golden opportunity". But Mr Mintoff had seen through the Opposition when he predicted way back in 1974 that the Nationalists who had refused to join the Group of 77, an influential and powerful group at the United Nations, would blame the Government if its efforts to House the Headquarters were to prove unsuccessful. In fact it was the Nationalist Party's lack of concern for this group which gave Jamaica a head start.

The advantages of being a member of the Group of 77, which the Socialist Government recognised when it became one of its members some years ago, was pointed out by Dr Pardo, Malta's former representative at the UN who is probably more responsible than anyone for Malta losing the nomination, when he said that "Malta had lost the opportunities to promote her candidature for the Group of 77," whose support for Jamaica has probably been the deciding factor.

It was expected, however, that the Nationalists would take advantage of this setback, so close to the election, in the hope of gaining some votes. But they, who would have probably claimed most of the credit had Malta won the nomination, should now share the widespread disappointment that the efforts and endeavours to attract to our shores a leading UN agency have failed to the detriment of one and all.



The Solar Energy Research Centre at Marsaxlokk

Progressing Steadily at Solar Energy Centre

□ **THE WORK** at the Solar Energy Research Centre, set up jointly by the Governments of Malta and Austria, is progressing steadily. The centre is situated at former British Services building at Marsaxlokk.

The centre has been given prominence in the 1981-85 Development Plan. The plan says that the 1973 increases in the prices of oil showed

the urgent need of other energy sources.

According to a bilateral agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and

Malta, German experts carried out studies in the past two years to help the Malta Government reduce its dependence on imported energy sources.

The Maltese Government has already taken initiative at international levels for the introduction of a new form of mechanism to help small industries particularly those in developing countries.

In the light of the new energy sources co-operation programme, the Malta Government has already offered the United Nations Development Programme to set up a regional centre for this aim in Malta.

NDEDOctober 16, 1978

Strickland House

341, St. Paul Street, Valetta.

TEL: 24031 (6 lines)

328, VALETTA, CABLES: BERQA MALTA
TELEX MALTA 341.

SDAY, AUGUST 20, 1981

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CODEV COUNCIL

From Codev Executive Committee Member

Sir, — In your editorial "Flow of information" (August 3) you commented on the fact that the CODEV Foundation appointed to its Council two Maltese "publicly known to come from the same political mainstream". You considered that a mix of political ideologies would have been more consonant with CODEV's views.

CODEV's philosophy of democracy, pluralism and social responsibility in communications can indeed be embraced by people from different political streams, provided that these are democratic ones. The composition of CODEV's Executive Committee, which is responsible for directing the work of the Foundation and is now operational, proves this point.

The Council of CODEV, the function of whose members is to provide advice to the Executive Committee at the latter's request, is still in formation. It may have up to 51 members serving in a personal capacity; the only qualification concerning its composition is that — as in the case of the

Executive Committee — two-thirds of the members must be citizens of Third World countries. Once we have received responses from the people invited to join the Council, we will publish a list of council members and you will be able to judge its political balance.

As would be the case with any other international institution setting up house in this country, CODEV's first contacts in Malta have been largely with government circles. We have been encouraged by expressions of interest from other quarters, particularly so by the unanimous adoption by Parliament of the resolution concerning the lease of premises to CODEV. We trust that we will be able to build up contacts with different sectors of the community of our host country, in particular with other groups which, like us, are seeking to establish a space for development action which is neither governmental nor profit-oriented.

We remain, however, an institution with an international vocation. We have come to Malta because we believe it can be a good base for international operations. The last thing we desire is to be drawn into Malta's partisan politics.

Yours truly,
MICHAEL ZAMMIT CUTAJAR
St. Julian's.

HOME NEWS

International 'Communications for Development' Foundation

□ "CODEV; Communications for Development", an international, non-governmental, non-profit-making foundation, established in Malta in April, 1981, is to be officially launched at a reception which will be held next Tuesday.

The main objective of CODEV is to open the Malta office of Inter Press Service, a Third World news agency, which is in fact one

set up

international Foundation for Development Alternatives of Switzerland, The Association of African Women for Research and Development of Senegal, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation of Sweden, the Instituto Latino Americano de Estudios Transaccionales of Mexico and the Third World Forum of Egypt.

The rationale underlying the creation of CODEV, and the interests of its sponsors, are reflected in the aims of the Foundation. As set out in its Constitution, these are:

— to contribute to the establishment and development of a new world information and communication order;

— to facilitate direct communications between Third World people and new



The CODEV executive members at Luqa yesterday

flows of Third World generated information to people in industrialized countries so as to give international relations a fuller human dimension and to promote a genuine cooperation between peoples on the basis of equality and recognition of their cultural diversity;

The organs of CODEV are the Executive Committee which may have between 7 and 17 members) and the Council (which may have between 27 and 51 members). At least two-thirds of the members of each of these or-

gans must be citizens of Third World countries.

The executive committee includes one Maltese national. He is Mr Michael Zammit Cutajar, a consultant on development matters.

The other members of the committee started to arrive in Malta yesterday. These included Marie-Angelique Savane of Senegal and Marc Nerfin of Switzerland.

They were welcomed at Luqa by Mr Maurice Pace director of the Castille Information Section and by Mr Zammit Cutajar.

International communications foundation set up in Malta

By a Staff Reporter

A newly-established international foundation for development alternatives, known as CODEV (Communications for Development), will be officially launched at the Mediterranean Conference Centre tomorrow.

The foundation has a particular link with Malta as it was established by notarial deed here last April 30. Its offices will be in Valetta.

One of the foundation's executive committee members is a Maltese who lives in Switzerland. He is Mr. Michael Zammit Cutajar, a consultant on development

matters.

The other members are from Egypt, Tanzania, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela, Senegal, Italy, Chile, and Sri Lanka.

Objectives

CODEV has been created to contribute towards the establishment and development of a new world information and communication order. It will particularly aim at improving communications among Third World people and from them to people in industrialized countries. It will also seek to promote pluralism in communications to counter what it sees as the present domination by the transnational corporate system and by governments.

In addition, it plans to encourage journalism which focuses on development processes and promote understanding of the role of communications in society.

Initiative

The Executive Committee will hold its first meeting here today and tomorrow at the Mediterranean Conference Centre. It will work on the foundation's initial programme of activities and draw up a list of persons to be invited to form the Council. Two Maltese are expected to be among those invited.

The initiative to set up CODEV was taken by people working in and associated with six other international, non-governmental and non-profit making institutions, International Foundation for Development Alternatives, of Switzerland, Inter Press Service Third World News Agency of Italy, Association of African Women for Research and Development of Senegal, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, of Sweden, Instituto Latino Americano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET), of Mexico, and Third World Forum, of Egypt.

Inter Press Service Third World News Agency plans to open an office in Malta.

THE NEW
The Socialist Government had for a long time realised that the Old University was incapable of proposing let alone putting into effect a reformed system of higher education to meet the demands of a new and independent Malta. The Old University had no constructive element at all. In other words there was a situation which had grown up in direct opposition to the existing requirements and eventually clashed with it. From the clash has emerged a new order. It is not hard to trace the emphasis on clash and opposition as a means of evolution. It was barren, negative and sterile institution composed solely of members with a senile and obscurantist mentality. It was in a state of collapse of morale, of intelligence and of progress.

When Government proposed the new worker-student scheme the Rector, Senate, the academic representatives on Council and most of the academic staff rebelled against it. In doing so and by trying to subvert the scheme, the Old University showed its inherent degenerate mind and it began to fall apart and cease to function. The members had no moral sense of duty, no loyalty, no spiritual courage and began to disintegrate. Like rats deserting a sinking ship the academics resigned in hordes to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere thus leaving their unloved alma mater and their students in the lurch. So much for patriotism and duty to country!

Notwithstanding all the opposition, intrigue and obstruction the worker-student scheme got well under way with students from all walks of life flocking to join the new courses conditioned to give worker students culture and professional ability to meet the demands of a young and growing independent nation. Instead of giving the students loans or grants Government gave them a job to make men out of them, a salary to make them totally independent of their families and a course to enable them to obtain a degree that is not a mere embellishment, but is both functional and conducive to a worthwhile career. In short

ORDER
it gave them security, dignity, independence and a guarantee of future employment.

It is small wonder, therefore, that not one single student joined the B.Sc. course and only a couple went in for the B.A. degree at the Old University. Surely a reasonable number would have joined these courses if they were **WORTHWHILE**. The fact that a fee was payable should not have deterred the sons and daughters of the wealthy from enrolling, for in their case a fee would have been no problem considering how their parents pamper them with money, luxury items, expensive clothes and even cars!

Why is it that virtually all the students went in for the new courses at the New University? The reason is simple: the B.A. and B.Sc. courses were shunned by all and sundry because students realised (a) that the New University courses were meaningful and offered a real purpose and scope to study and (b) that the B.A. and B.Sc. courses at the Old University were old fashioned and valueless as regards a prospective career. Considering the fact that the voice of the students manifested itself wholly in favour of the New University, the Government realised that it was not worthwhile to spend more than EM500,000 a year to run courses which students were declining to join. It is logical, therefore, that Government should not waste public money any further but decide to phase out these outmoded courses.

Government had from the very beginning declared that there would be one University when willingness to participate in implementing the worker-student scheme would be forthcoming from the Old University. But it remained recalcitrant; and the academics conspired to obstruct and hinder progress by every covert means at their disposal both here in Malta and by eliciting opposition and frustration from countries overseas.

On May 29, the Minister of Education declared that the time had come to merge the two universities together. If Government wants the merger to proceed smoothly and painlessly it should take the first step by allocating the Faculties of Arts and Science to the New University forthwith as empowered by Section 30 of the Education (Amendment) Act, 1978. By this action it will allow for the phasing out of the current B.A. and B.Sc. courses and at the same time enable the New University to assimilate and utilize the academic staff that would otherwise be idle and redundant.

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Water Works District Office

WITH the introduction of the worker-student scheme the Maltese Socialist Government has revolutionized tertiary education in our islands. It has given birth to a new egalitarian concept in higher education and has for the first time in our history brought university training to the workers and thus within the reach of the masses. This stands in sharp contrast with the former elitist regime where the offsprings of the rich could attend courses at leisure and the children of the poor could only do so by great financial burdens on the whole family.

The new order has pronounced that university instruction should first and foremost be made available to the worker — the cornerstone of the socialist state. Education is now freely attainable to those who work and want to reach the highest educational levels. The new system provides for work first because this gives the primary essential — financial security and independence from family support. It is economical for those who really want to study and work, will be trained and assured of a worthwhile career at the same time. When the worker-student finishes his studies he is not just a raw student imbued with empirical knowledge only but a mature person who knows what work is. He already has a

status and is fully qualified to go farther in his chosen profession. It is a study in manhood, culture and opportunity. It enables the worker-student to take his rightful place in society conscious not of his rights and privileges but of his obligations and duties towards the community and his country.

The Government and the country have been fortunate in having such a capable professional as Dr D. Walsyn-James as the first Rector of the New University. He has shown exceptional organising ability and the progress achieved so far has surpassed all expectations. His dynamic personality and unstinting efforts, at great personal sacrifice, have in a short period of time produced remarkable results. The foundations are there sound and steady. All this has been attained in spite of the fact that he has been working against the greatest odds all the time. Thwarted and obstructed by the old University in particular and maligned by the Opposition in general, he has remained aloof from politics and local intrigue. He has shown steadfast loyalty to

EGALITARIAN CONCEPT

THE NEW ORDER

BY PINTO

renewal or extension. All were extended some even up to retiring age! Surely the least that should have been done was to request them to signify their willingness to teach also at the New University as was done in the case of Professor Francois Cunen. A golden opportunity to show goodwill has been lost and this will only serve to exacerbate the situation. In the given circumstances the most that the Old University should have done was to extend the appointments on a temporary basis for one year and certainly not up to retiring age.

However before any progress for the merger can really come about there must be a complete severance with the past otherwise we shall soon be back to the same ancient regime. The best cure for cancerous growth is not therapy and palliation but judicious radical surgery. The BA and BSc courses in their present useless form must be abolished once and for all, and the sooner the better. There is a persistent rumour that Government may waver and allow the present BA and BSc degrees as evening courses. If anything it is these hotchpotch imitations of a degree that should be abolished first. We have been told that a certain academic has gone posthaste to UK to try to obtain fi-

nancial support for these evening courses. Is this not a cheap way of begging money from the foreigner? And why did not the Old University attempt to procure funds to support our medical students in Malta instead of scaring them to UK and using its connections and contacts to obtain grants to enable them to study there and thus deprive Government and the people of medical doctors?

The old order must pass away. Government should therefore transfer the Faculties of Arts and Science to the New University as empowered by Section 30 of the Education (Amendment) Act, 1978. This would enable the New University to phase out the present BA and BSc courses and at the same time give an opportunity to the present staff to assimilate itself into the new structure and thus give the members a last chance to reform themselves, forget the past, and become part of the new order. The Faculty of Laws would then be transferred at a later stage and the merger would be complete.

The next step would then be to determine the physical site of the unified university. The obvious choice is the campus at Tal-Qroqq and the New University should be moved there en bloc as early as possible. Even if at first it will not fit it does not really

matter. The important thing is that it will all be in one place. It will certainly be a lot more cheaper and economical to have one campus, even if this will mean that some of the buildings at the Old University site will have to be enlarged. To keep two separate campuses is too costly in manpower and running costs. This move will save Government thousands of pounds in maintenance expenses alone. But apart from costs it would be infinitely better for many obvious reasons to have the unified university in one specific area.

The building of the New University can then be put to better use for some other purpose. We would suggest the setting up of an Academy of Art and Music; a central Cultural Institute; an organized Evening Course Centre; a Drama School and an International School of English for Foreign Students. All these could be housed there if a careful time-table is planned out well in advance.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

MYSTERY WOMAN

I have been here many years.

But I have no job. But I am boss at the I.O.I.

My ID can be 3 6 22. Who am I?

FISHY RESEARCH

Where is the best fish bred — FSL

Where are the choicest oysters served — FSL

Where can a stranded tourist stay — FSL

Where is research done to save the national economy pay — FSL

GRATITUDE

Once there was a prodigious researcher who retired at 65 but somehow could not tear his heart away from the old place. So he stays on engrossed with his never ending researches. To relieve his tedium he takes a break sometimes to write scurrilous diatribes damning the Government, the New University and the Worker-Student Scheme. How's that for gratitude.

MY BROTHER'S KEEPER

When one is always busy roaming about, poking his nose in other people's affairs or trotting all over the globe to give lectures to astonished spellbound audiences, how can one still find time to write world solving research papers? By burning the midnight oil or reposing on fraternal love.

MUSIC

If music be the food of love play on;

Give me excess of it, that, surfeiting,

The appetite may sicken, and so die.

Amor

the Government, care and devotion to the students. Malta is indeed fortunate in having such a competent gentleman to help it in launching the worker-student scheme.

When the worker-student scheme was announced it was hoped that the Old University would try to "find its place in a world which is vastly changed from the times to which its old structure responds". But due to its inherent contumely it proved refractory and opposed the new order. In doing so it has committed self-destruction and now merits to be buried without further ceremony. By its obdurate attitude the Old University has manifested its refusal to merge with the New University. What remains to be done now is to assimilate those few worthwhile elements into the New University and thus avoid redundancy to those innocent few who were willing to help and join but were held back by the superior but sinister forces.

What initiative has been taken by the Old University towards the — forthcoming union? None whatsoever. It has behaved like the proverbial ostrich with its narrow head buried in academic sand, complacently oblivious to the winds of change that are ruffling its erstwhile royal feathers.

As usual instead of trying to simplify matters the Old University is always complicating them. Quite recently a long list of staff members whose appointment was about to lapse came up for

Who are the experts?

THE MOVEMENT of United Teachers has recently stated that the discontinuation of the B.A. and B.Sc. courses went contrary to the advice tendered by experts. Could we please have a full list of these so called experts?

The union also showed unnecessary apprehension about the future livelihood of the staff employed at the Old University. This is all uncalled for. The Government has repeatedly stated that notwithstanding the reforms in tertiary education there will be no discharges. This assurance was given both in Parliament, and by Ministers when addressing staffs at appointed meetings. On the other hand the staff at the Old University should not expect to stay twiddling their thumbs at empty benches but to accept secondment to teach at the New University as some of their colleagues have done already.

PEOPLE IN GLASS HOUSES

In his newsletter of the 8 July, Campusino infers inter alia that the MA degree is "usually a qualification for an Assistant Lecturership at the Old University". If an MA is the usual qualification for an Assistant Lecturer then the minimum requirement for a Lecturer at the Old University should be a Ph.D. and that for a Professor a Ph.D or higher plus published recognised research

(see also Campusino 29 April, 1979). How is it then that M R. Vella Bonavita, Lecturer in History, was appointed lecturer when he had only a B.A. degree (he obtained his M.A. later) and is still a lecturer, perhaps the only one in art, without a Ph.D.; and how many professors had or have this blessed Ph.D.? These facts are given for the simple reason that Campusino should know better before trying to disparage others. The whole sordid history of appointments, promotions and qualifications at the Old University merits a full length article, and this will be forthcoming in future.

SUMMER REVELS

The Extension Studies Board (whose secretary is R. Vella Bonavita) in association with the International Ocean Institute (whose secretary is R. Vella Bonavita) is currently holding an International Summer Course in Mediterranean Studies for a small number of students at the Old University. According to Campusino (newsletter 15 April) there will be among many renowned scho-

lars, the lecturers Peter O'Brien (Madrid), Charles Camilleri (London) and Peter Serracino Ingloft (Milan).

Mr O'Brien has been listed in various newspapers as an examiner in Economics; can the Old University let us know what are his qualifications, his experience in teaching and what post he holds and in which university? Mrs. C. Camilleri is well known as a frequent guest lecturer at the Old University which is a great patron of music; we hope his stay in London has improved his spoken English, otherwise his musical talents are above reproach. Rev. P. Serracino Ingloft is renowned as a brilliant ex-professor of Philosophy and a multitude of unconnected extra curricular disciplines and needs no further introduction.

His many published books are a credit to his former university! We wish all three cronies a happy reunion and hope that the Old University will not be found niggardly in hospitality. Two questions: By how much is the International Ocean Institute financing the course? Has the new University been invited to participate?