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British-Maltese Relations in Light of the Bilateral Military Agreement 1971

Abstract

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, the island of Malta has represented one of the most important countries and islands allied to Britain in the Mediterranean basin, after it extended its influence to it, and made it one of the strategic military bases in its expansionist policy and for many centuries, and after World War II and the emergence of the so-called socialist and capitalist camps or It is also expressed in the eastern camp represented by the Warsaw Pact led by the Soviet Union, and the western camp represented by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization led by the United States of America and its ally Britain, and with the increase in the importance of the Middle East region, and the flow of oil in it in commercial quantities, the importance of the island of Malta for Britain has increased, so it sought with all its diplomatic efforts To conclude a set of military agreements, alliances and treaties, and as a result of the importance of these agreements in directing the compass of Britain's foreign policy, we had the desire to discuss the topic (British-Maltese relations in light of the bilateral military agreement 1971).

The subject of the research was divided into an introduction and two sections. In the introduction, we discussed briefly the British control of the important sea lanes, which represented one of its strategic goals, and how it imposed its control over those lanes for many centuries. As for the first topic, it was due to the research necessity of several axes. The first axis was discussed The most important reasons that prompted the Maltese government to sign the bilateral military agreement with Britain, and one of the most prominent of those reasons was the political and social role of the Roman Catholic Church, and then economic factors and their impact on the signing of the agreement, and with regard to the second axis, it was about the signing of the bilateral military agreement in July 1971. The third axis discussed the terms of the agreement, which were in its entirety in the interest of the Maltese government, and the second topic talked about the position of the NATO countries on that agreement, especially the British government and the American administration.

Keywords: Malta, The Bilateral Military Agreement, Britain, The United States of America, Dom Deceased, The Roman Catholic Church.

Introduction

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, the island of Malta has represented one of the most important countries and islands allied to Britain in the Mediterranean basin, after it extended its influence to it, and made it one of the strategic military bases in its expansionist policy and for many centuries, and after World War II and the emergence of the so-called socialist and capitalist camps or It is also

expressed in the eastern camp represented by the Warsaw Pact led by the Soviet Union, and the western camp represented by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization led by the United States of America and its ally Britain, and with the increase in the importance of the Middle East region, and the flow of oil in it in commercial quantities, the importance of the island of Malta for Britain has increased, so it sought with all its

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diplomatic efforts To conclude a set of military agreements, alliances and treaties As a result of the importance of these agreements in directing the compass of Britain's foreign policy, we had the desire to discuss the topic (British-Maltese relations in light of the 1971 bilateral military agreement). The subject of the research was divided into an introduction and two sections. In the introduction, we discussed briefly the British control of the important sea lanes, which represented one of its strategic goals, and how it imposed its control over those lanes for many centuries. The most important reasons that prompted the Maltese government to sign the bilateral military agreement with Britain, One of the most prominent of those reasons was the political and social role of the Roman Catholic Church, as this church often has the decision-making authority (political, economic and social) within the Maltese society, and then the economic factors and their impact on the signing of the agreement, the economic structure in Malta needed financial support The Maltese government found its purpose in imposing this agreement on the British government to achieve a number of material gains that it needed at the time. With regard to the second axis, it was about signing the bilateral military agreement in July 1971. After a period of nearly nine months of negotiations between the two parties, the signing of the agreement was announced. As for the third axis, it discussed the terms of the agreement, which were in its entirety in the interest of the Maltese government. As for the second topic, it talked about the position of the NATO countries on that agreement, especially the British government and the American administration, as well as the French government and the Italian government, and in all of those positions Countries are their desire to expel Soviet influence from that region and then control the most important passages and seas of the world.

Entrance

The concept of British control and sovereignty over the world's seas was not far from the ambitions of Britain's kings and prime ministers, and this policy remained a strategic goal and frameworks for its foreign policy for centuries. It seems that the consolidation of maritime sovereignty depends on the continued British control over some important islands and ports (birth. a. Al-Megrahi,1980.) and from this point of view The island of Malta was not far from the ambitions of the British Crown to be one of the important strategic bases that entered into the military and economic calculations for Britain, and with the beginning of 1962The head of the Maltese Workers' Party (Dom Mintov,2012) and the leader of the opposition in the Maltese

government was calling for further political and civil reforms, but on the condition that it was far from the British umbrella, the Roman Catholic Church in Malta opposed those reforms called for by the Labor Party, She called even more when she declared that it was wrong to vote for the Maltese Workers' Party in the upcoming elections, or to listen to the speeches of the party's leader Dom Montov, or to read the political literature of the party. (John Smith, 1988). By 1964, the British attempts were not successful in maintaining its colonial interests on the island of Malta, because it collided with the desire and determination of the Maltese to build a solid economy that depends largely on securing British interests, loans and financial grants in return for maintaining a kind of relationship with the British government that allows it to maintain its military bases in which (Najah Abdel, 2017) After Malta obtained its formal independence in 1964 from Britain, and the formation of a government that would be responsible to the Queen of Britain (Elizabeth II) headed by (Maurice Henry Dorman,1993.) paved the way for the new Maltese government to establish a constitution for the country to be More appropriate to Malta's international situation after the development of the US-Soviet conflict or the so-called (Cold War, 1997.) However, the constitution-making mechanism was not agreed upon between the political parties, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Queen's representative in Malta, until after Dom Mintov assumed the presidency of Malta in 1971. Hence, the successive British government sought to conclude a set of agreements and treaties that reflect positively that relationship.

The First Topic: The British-Maltese Military Bilateral Agreement 1971

After the victory of the (Maltese Labor Party) in the parliamentary elections that took place during the period (12/14/June 1971), Dom Mintov became prime minister again, after his party obtained a total of (85,448) votes. Out of (168059) voters, the Maltese National Party won (ten seats) (80753) votes, i.e. a difference of (4695) votes, which qualified it to get (twenty-eight seats in the Maltese Parliament to be announced after that Formation of the Maltese Government (Suhad Al-Sabhan, 2015). His first work focused on amending some paragraphs of the Maltese constitution, the most important of which is the transformation of Malta from a monarchy to a republic, and then the consolidation of the principle of equality in rights and duties for the Maltese people, and thus the new constitutional provisions strengthened human rights and introduced electoral guarantees. And he expanded the participation of the government sector and significantly with

the private sector in the economic aspects, in order to ensure the gradual elimination of the control of capital on the Maltese economy while giving real guarantees in the preservation of private capital (Schuster, 2000), and he also sought to import goods and productive industries and reduce goods. In addition, he established a number of new companies affiliated with the Maltese government, and they were among the circle of his interests are the improvement of the banking and telecommunications sectors, many of which were originally in the hands of British capitalists.

The First Axis: The Reasons that Prompted the Maltese Government to Sign the Agreement

A group of factors that prompted the Maltese government to sign this agreement came from them

1. The nature of the economic and political relations between the two countries.

The Prime Minister of Malta worked actively and vigorously to bring peace to the Mediterranean region, and to keep it away from the international conflict represented by the two poles of the world at the time (the Soviet Union and the United States), but he began to draw up his foreign policy that allows him to draw closer to the countries

Socialism, especially the non-aligned ones, to strongly declare the sovereignty of the Maltese government over all parts of the island, and to achieve this he began negotiating with the British government led by (Edward Heath, 2005) in early March 1971 in order to conclude an agreement allowing his government requesting financial assistance from them, as well as from NATO countries. To eventually allow him to phase out dependence on British military spending and free Malta from foreign military bases. Here, the Western media, especially the British, launched a major campaign against the Prime Minister of Malta Dom Montov. Since he took power in his country, these agencies have resorted to questioning his intentions and underestimating his ability to achieve what the British government requires of him in balancing his foreign policy, and even went further than that. Where it stripped all his demands of its true national image, and concentrated it in the form of (money blackmailer) who aims to push his country to fall into the arms of (communist countries and Arab countries) (Daly Mail, 1972) and this campaign continued even after the signing of the agreement. This hostile campaign found a favorable atmosphere for it inside Malta on the part of the opposition represented by (the Maltese National Party), known for its pro-Britainism. Anything in common, we want an alliance with the democratic countries that we

know are our friends and the whole world knows that we support the Atlantic Alliance and the Western blocs. The presence of the British is not only a matter of money, but it is the basis for ensuring any external aggression. North Atlantic, if necessary. Therefore, the National Party, along with other political forces in Malta, acted as pressure groups to push Prime Minister Dom Montov back into the Western sphere of influence (Daly Mail, 1972).

2. The Roman Catholic Church's Political and Social Role: The Church in Malta, represented by its Archbishop, Reverend Michael Jones (**Michael Jones, 2000**), played an important role in reaching the signing of the defense agreement between the two parties. This figure was the link between Prime Minister Dom Montov On the one hand, and between the British government and NATO on the other On the other hand, it is sufficient to indicate the influence of the Church in the political life of Malta to point out the great failure that faced Dom Montov in the elections that preceded the 1971 elections, which was the result of the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church to his political program announced in those elections, and that the reason for his success and victory in the elections In 1971, the peace treaty was signed between The two parties that took place in June 1969, assuming the position of (Michael Jonesy) the position of Archbishop, was tantamount to resurrecting the absolute power of the Church to influence the elections and the formation of the various ministries It is worth noting that the role of the Church was not limited to the political and religious aspects only, but also extended to the economic aspects, where the value of its properties amounted to approximately (twenty-seven) billion liras, in addition to the continued validity of a law issued in 1823 that authorizes the Church to seize all lands other than exploited, and therefore the government cannot dare to expand the scope of state ownership at the expense of church ownership (**United Kingdom, 1981**).
3. The impact of economic factors on signing the agreement. It is not possible to understand and appreciate the political motives behind the position of Prime Minister (Dom Montov) over his political life in getting rid of British influence and control, without knowing the reality of the economic and social conditions in which the Maltese people were living. The economic factor in achieving political stability, and as a result, Dom Montov's vision in his electoral program was directed towards achieving the demand for integration. The economic level

with Britain if he wins the general elections that were held in 1971, with the aim of raising the economic level in Malta to close to the level in Britain (at least) within a specified period and in light of the financial aid provided by the British government and this is done through Raising the proceeds of leasing military bases that are actually exploited by the British military forces and their allies from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and through this his country will have the ability to establish a group of both production and consumer industries, thus able to absorb the surplus labor in his country and then eliminate the most important The social problems represented by the high number of the unemployed, and here he focused on overcoming the most important problems facing Malta if it wanted to achieve its economic independence, namely: A- The lack of raw materials needed to manufacture even the industries that existed and for which Malta was famous, such as the cotton textile industry, which had disappeared since the beginning of the twentieth century, so his interests were focused on providing machines and equipment, and providing technical expertise capable of promoting those industries again, with Taking into account the self-sufficiency of this industry. The increase in the size of the labor force that mainly depends on providing its services (technical and non-technical), and this rise was a natural result of the Maltese government's dependence in the past on the British presence for many years, in addition to the poor distribution of labor within the various economic sectors. The industrial (productive) sector, especially in the field of construction and other related industries, while we find there is a large surplus of workers in the Maltese employment sector, and this was reflected in the exorbitant rise in housing rent, which is a chronic problem that has faced Malta for many years, even affecting tourism in the country Therefore, one of the most important principles advocated by Dom Montov is the restructuring of the labor sector, while reducing dependence on the abundance of skilled and unskilled labor provided by the British government every year.

4. The closure of the Suez Canal led to Malta losing a large source of national income after the decrease in the number of ships that dock in its port and dry docks, and here was the great desire by the Prime Minister (Dom Montov) to find alternatives that help and contribute to raising the national

income. This was compensated by British aid to the Maltese government.

5. The confidence of Maltese investors and industrial capital owners in domestic investment was not sufficient to establish huge industries that secure savings capable of strengthening the Maltese economic structure. Savers in the national economy and thus contribute to public projects.
6. The high level of education in Malta has led to an increase in the desire of the Maltese society to improve their living and economic standard, which has resulted in a convergence in social levels, and this has resulted in a diminishing marginal propensity to save with an increase in the marginal propensity to consume, in addition to what economic development requires of increased import Production materials, and here lies the desire of the Prime Minister to seek to make Malta a producing country rather than a consuming country (United Kingdom, 1983). In light of these combined factors, the problem of the balance of payments in Malta emerged, which suffered from a chronic deficit during the period (1966-1970), as shown in Table No. (1). Malta suffered from unfavorable balance of payments trends in its relations with most countries in the world with the exception of Libya, where it achieved a surplus in the corresponding years, amounting to (852-677-739) thousand pounds Therefore, the first step taken by Dom Montov, after reaching an agreement with Britain, was to travel to China, Libya and Brussels to obtain economic aid from the three sources that would help him achieve economic stability in his country (Muhammad Salem Al-Assiouty, 1997).

Table 1.

Shows trends in the Maltese balance of payments during the years (1966-1970) and in thousands of pounds (Maltese Government Archive, 1977)

Balance of Payments	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
exports	90890	10751	14145	3381	4459
imports	38870	40509	1399	13899	4408
net deficit	28980	29758	37254	10518	1986

From the above table, we note that the years represented in the above table tend to decrease exports compared to imports, and this formed a deficit in itself. The reason for this is the closure of the Suez Canal to international navigation, which negatively affected the ports and navigation stations on the island of Malta.

The Second Axis: The Signing of the Bilateral Military Agreement in July 1971

After nine months of stalled negotiations between the conservative government of Edward Heath and the Maltese government, and five days before the expiry of the deadline for the withdrawal of the last British soldier from the military bases in Malta, which took place on the twenty-first of July 1971, the military defense agreement was signed between the two countries on the twenty-seventh of July. From the same year, which formulated the relations between the two countries in a new framework, and put an end to confrontations that mixed in their events with strategic, political and international considerations and the territorial sovereignty of a third world country that seeks to achieve its economic independence, without which political independence loses its meaning (Finchley Press, 1974).

The Third Axis

The Terms of the Agreement. As for the most Important Provisions and Clauses included in that Agreement, they are:

1. NATO countries pay an amount estimated at (fourteen) million pounds sterling for the annual rent of the military bases on the island. The British government pays from this amount the amount of (five million two hundred and fifty thousand) pounds, and the rest is borne by the rest of the NATO members.
 2. The government of Malta shall obtain an amount of (two and a half million) pounds sterling, and within a period of no less than one year, to pay this amount within the so-called economic aid provided by the Italian government, in addition to the amount of (seven) million pounds in the form of aid Bilateral between Malta and NATO countries during the term of the agreement.
 3. Excluding any military forces belonging to the Warsaw Pact countries from the island of Malta, as well as preventing and prohibiting them from using any part of their military formations located in Malta under any title or treaty that the alliance countries had concluded with the Maltese government, noting that This prohibition does not apply to friendly visits by non-military ships.
 4. The Maltese government has the right to reduce the size of the British forces stationed on the island from (3,500) soldiers to (3000) soldiers, and in their various military formations, especially air and naval ones, with reference to reducing the number of Maltese forces operating in the military base from (4850) soldiers to (3,600 soldiers,
- provided that the command of the military bases is joint in terms of leadership and direction between the Maltese military leaders and the British military leaders.
5. The British Air Force has the right to manage air traffic on the island, in coordination and work with the Maltese Air Defense Command.
- There is a final clause in this agreement that was imposed by the Prime Minister (Dom Montov), which is that the military bases in Malta should not be used by any member state of NATO in Malta to attack any Arab country, while it did not include any previous British-Maltese agreements such as This principle aroused a lot of British public opinion (Edward Sicleri Dimatrov, 2007). It is worth noting that Britain had signed an agreement with Malta in 1964, and the Maltese Prime Minister had stated some of its provisions when he was hosted in front of the Maltese Parliament in The twenty-ninth of July 1971, which showed the points of difference between the two agreements according to the following points.
1. The value of the current annual rent is three times the previous rent, which amounted to (fifteen) million pounds sterling, if bilateral economic aid is taken into consideration, compared to (four and a half) million pounds sterling, which was received by the government of the former Prime Minister of Malta (Olivier). At that time, this agreement also included a clause that stipulated the payment of rent for a period of (six) months in advance, while the British government was not linked to this provision in the previous agreement.
 2. The British government was not bound by the previous agreement with any obligation towards the Maltese workers in the military base, but according to the agreement they have the same rights and working conditions enjoyed by the British working in the air force, in addition to the British military forces stationed in the military bases to train soldiers and experts The Maltese are responsible for managing Lucca Airport, so we can take charge of our affairs if the need arises.
 3. The agreement included a reference to the arrangements for Britain's obligations towards granting Malta the freedom to dispose and work in the docks without restriction by the British government, while giving the Maltese government the right to use the cable for the telegram and the telephone whose ownership entrusts to the NATO countries whenever it wants.
 4. In the event that British citizens commit violations or crimes in violation of the laws and regulations within the Maltese territory, they are subject to the Maltese judiciary and

courts and are tried in accordance with Maltese law without giving the British government the right to interfere in that.

5. Britain had the right to use the base in return for any international obligations that it considers appropriate, but according to the current agreement, the use of the base is available only in the case of defense of Britain and the allied countries, in addition to the guarantees of not using the base against any Arab country, especially Libya, which it links With her special relations (Black Peter Donald, 2008).
6. Britain has the right to exclude only the Warsaw Pact countries from using the rule, while in the past this right was restricted by the text of Article V of the 1964 convention. 7- In addition, the NATO countries enjoy the privileges of using the base, and an agreement on this is done through bilateral negotiations between any NATO country and Malta. Under certain arrangements made between the Maltese and British governments, the stationing of other forces is not permitted Other than the forces of the two countries, they are not allowed to use the port, the airfield or other communication facilities (Sami Abu Raya Al-Ibrashi, 1999). On the thirtieth of July 1971, after the signing of the agreement, (Peter Alexander Robert, 1988), the British Minister of Defense, expressed his opinion on concluding this agreement by saying: "I am satisfied that the agreement protected the position of Britain and the position of its allies in the Mediterranean region." The Prime Minister of Malta Dom Montov has stated: "This agreement covers a period of seven years during which the economic and political independence of Malta has been achieved, and therefore there will be no reason to provide military facilities in exchange for the money of foreign soldiers and sailors, but that their provision will depend on the free will of Malta and it remains for considerations more ideological than economic". The previous paragraph clarifies the general framework of the defense agreement. Britain sees it as saving the influence of the West in the region in the face of the increasing Soviet influence, and Dom Montov sees it as a stage during which the preparation for real political and economic independence will take place, and there Malta got what it wanted in seven years, which is the time needed to become an independent country, after which it will not be There are rules for foreigners, meaning that the long-term goal is to achieve independence in all its forms by achieving the short-term goal, which is to build a balanced economy that can meet

the pressing social and economic requirements, whose effects are reflected on the political life on the island.

The Second Topic: The Position of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on the Signing of the Agreement

The signing of the agreement was not far from being within the framework of what was known as the Cold War between the two western camps led by the US administration and its most prominent allies Britain, and the eastern camp led by the Soviet Union, especially after the events in the Middle East between 1967-1972, (Mahfoud Aziz Al-Khaffaf, 2003). Therefore, both camps sought to have a more foothold than the previous one in the waters of the Mediterranean, especially in the islands of Cyprus and Malta, which at that stage constituted the lifeblood of many countries of the world hence the signing of the agreement by the Maltese government It is a restructuring and evaluation of its political, military and strategic influence On the island of Malta, and its increasing role in the process of restoring the balance of power between East and West, the NATO countries have expressed their growing concern over the possibility of ending the British presence on the island, especially after the victory of the Maltese Labor Party in the elections in 1971, and this gives an opportunity to the presence of NATO forces And they sailed more in the waters of the Mediterranean, and indeed the region witnessed the increasing presence of the Soviet navy The reason for this is that oil in the Middle East played an important role in Moscow's move and in determining its final positions towards the West. The Soviet Union's policy towards Arab oil In addition to its increasing need for Arab oil, it fell within the framework of the policy of confrontation with the United States to share influence in the Middle East region, and for the Soviets oil constituted a target in the strategy of the conflict whose importance was summed up in weakening the influence of the West militarily, politically and economically by limiting its supervision over oil wells. In addition to the main sea lanes necessary to transport its supplies with the aim of creating more difficulties in the face of the economies of the capitalist countries. As a result, the governments of West Germany, Italy and the United States of America hastened to provide financial support to the Maltese government, which amounted to (fourteen) million pounds sterling, In order to end or limit the Soviet presence in it, at a time when the US administration rushed to hold official talks with the Greek government on the twenty-ninth of May 1972 to discuss the possibility of establishing military bases in the Greek port of Piraeus, and the desire of the US administration

headed by (Richard Nixon, 1994) supplied it with American weapons, especially the Phantom combat aircraft and from this it wanted to strengthen its military presence in the Mediterranean region, because it is linked to two main tracks in the American strategy, such as the first track, continuous monitoring operations of vital sea lanes near the Mediterranean. The Middle East region, and the second track represented in strengthening its military capabilities, whether offensive or defensive, which gives it the ability. The great deal of maneuvering in the event that the Warsaw Pact countries launch any surprise attack may not be taken into account by the US administration (Walid Mahmoud Ahmed, 2009). This is what the US foreign policy sought, which is based on the principle of the so-called (flexible response strategy) or the policy of (incremental or incremental response), a policy that became known as the (counter-force strategy) that has been applied since the era of the democratic administration. (John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 1963). The focus became on the types of All weapons, including strategic bombers and missiles with nuclear warheads, outperformed by three or four to one the corresponding Soviet capabilities (Arshad Hamza Hassan, 1990). As for the British government, the reaction within the official British circles was a strong welcome for that agreement, especially since Britain did not pay more money, and therefore did not burden the British taxpayers with additional burdens to meet the demands of the Maltese government, and on the other hand, he congratulated (Dennis Healy). Denis Winston Healey) Labor Spokesperson for Foreign Affairs and Former British Minister of Defense August 2, 1971. The British government concluded this agreement, saying: "I congratulate the Prime Minister of Malta, Mr. Dom Mintof, because he was able to obtain three times the amount that his country was receiving in the past, at a time when the British government did not increase its contributions to this amount" and in contrast to Therefore, the British media had a strict stance on some of the provisions of the agreement, especially with regard to the visits of the ships of the NATO countries to the island, and the assurances obtained by the Maltese Prime Minister Dom Motov not to use the base against the Arab countries. The British magazine, *The Economist*, issued on October 1, 1971, strongly attacked the signing of the agreement on two main points. The first point was that "the British government's pledge not to use Malta as a base for operations against any Arab country (in light of the Arab-Israeli conflict), is unclear. The written agreement did not include anything of the kind, but Dom Mentouf claimed in the press conference he held on August 14, 1971. In London, and again in the Maltese Parliament on

the evening of Monday the eighteenth of the same month, (Britain pledges after using the Maltese rules to respond to any attack by an Arab country), and it became clear that this pledge was assurances made by Lord (Carrington) According to Mintov during the last stages of the negotiations, Mintov's use of the word pledge is nothing more than a wrong personal pledge to appease his new friends in Libya On the other hand, the NATO countries in Brussels expressed their satisfaction and welcome the signing of this agreement, and although the military experts of the alliance went to the furthest extent in underestimating the strategic importance of Malta during the e-month period that the negotiations took, but at the same time they could not hide Their deep concern about the possibility of Soviet ships using the military facilities granted by the Maltese government before the signing of the agreement, and this was the requirement The main thing for NATO countries is the exclusion of the Soviet military units, as well as the military units of the North Warsaw Pact, and when the Maltese government announced the 31st of December 1971 as a deadline for accepting its demands, or the final withdrawal of British forces, NATO countries quickly submitted their offer to the government Maltese from (nine) million pounds to (fourteen) million pounds, to which West Germany and the United States of America contributed, in addition to symbolic contributions by Belgium, while Italy provided an amount of (one and a half million) pounds to meet the urgent needs of the Maltese economy In addition, an amount of (seven) million pounds is added within the framework of bilateral cooperation between Malta and the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Gino Berendelli, 2008). These contributions were a clear expression of the importance of the Mediterranean region and Malta to the alliance countries in particular, and for Western strategy in general, and one of the generals of the NATO countries, Admiral commander of the southern wing of NATO, focused on these contributions. The importance, in a press statement to the London-based *Al-Dalali Milli* newspaper, by saying: "The Mediterranean is the key to all the strategic and military plans of Western countries, especially the United States of America and Britain, and it cannot be dispensed with under Any circumstance, in light of the desire of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries to head to the heart of the European continent, and to conclude more alliances and agreements with countries that are allies if they are not part of NATO. He reviewed what he called Soviet interests in the region and also said: "Russia is like Britain, which was able to maintain its presence in the Indian subcontinent in the past, and its environs, as long as it could control the

eastern Mediterranean, and for this reason, more logistical, military and even financial assistance must be provided if it was possible to visit Greece and Turkey for their important strategic location and to strengthen the Malta military base in order to remove the specter of Soviet control in the future. As for the French government's interest in the island of Malta, it stemmed from its interest in the Mediterranean region and its work to reduce tension and spread peace and stability. Therefore, Jan de Lipowsky, French Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, visited Malta at the invitation of Prime Minister Dom Mintov in The twenty-fourth of February 1972, in which they discussed the desire of the Maltese government to establish a balanced and independent economy, and dealt with the assistance that France will provide in this regard. The field, while Le Monde newspaper, which was issued on March 2, 1972, commented by saying: "The stubbornness of the Prime Minister of Malta, as well as his statements, clashed with British extremism, but in the end all the difficulties faced by the two parties were humiliated, and the agreement was signed with their consent."

Margins

1. Birth. a. Al-Megrahi, A Brief History of Modern and Contemporary Europe, Libyan Jamahiriya Press, Benghazi, 1998, p. 102.
2. Dom Mintov (1916-2012): He was born in the province of Burmila in the north of Malta. He led the Maltese Labor Party during the period (1948-1949), and the Prime Minister of Malta for the first two terms between (1955-1958) (when Malta was still a British colony). And the second term after independence between (1971-1984), and during his second presidential term, Malta withdrew from the military cooperation program with NATO, and in 1974 his government announced the severance of all institutional ties with Britain, and on March 31, 1979 announced the withdrawal of British forces in Malta. Internationally, Malta enjoys close relations with Libya, in addition to rapprochement in relations with the Soviet Union. He was also known for his opposition to Malta's joining the European Union. He died in 2012. For more details see: website.discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk
3. John Smith Edward, Britain: A History of European Treaties and Agreements, Edison Publishing Corporation, 1988, p. 231.
4. Najah Abdel Aziz Al Bakri, British Diplomacy in the New World Order, Madbouly Press, Cairo, Helwan University, 2017.
5. Queen Elizabeth: (1926--) Elizabeth Alexandra Mary, daughter of the Duke of York (1852-1952), who was crowned king in 1936, under the name George VI, married in 1947 to Prince Philip Mountbatten, son of Prince Andrew of Greece, who became Duke of Edinburgh. Elizabeth was crowned Queen of Britain and Northern Ireland in 1953, after her father's death in 1952, and the Queen succeeded in imposing her respect on her. The political theater and in presenting itself a symbol of Britain's unity and the proper functioning of their constitutional and democratic institutions, although it owns and does not rule, either her family consists of four children (Prince Charles, the Crown Prince, Prince of Wales, Princess Anne, Prince Andrews, and Prince Edward) and the Queen's official residence in Buckingham Palace. Abdul-Wahhab Al-Kayali and others, previous source, vol. 1, 4th edition, p. 278.
6. Maurice Henry Dorman (1912 - 1993): He was born in the English city of Stafford, and educated at Sedbergh School and then joined the University of Cambridge. He became a representative of Queen Elizabeth II in a number of countries. The Commonwealth of Tanganyika, Trinidad and Tobago, Sierra Leone and Malta, which he ruled from September 1964 until July 1971, when a national Maltese government was formed headed by Dom Mintov. For more details see:
7. The Cold War: The development of rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union and their allies after World War II led to the emergence of a long international conflict, with multi-sided developments between them, but it did not amount to a direct military clash. The fronts of that conflict were the political and economic fields and what was also known as the propaganda war based on the use of media and the arms race. The term cold war first appeared in the debates of the US Congress in 1947. The Cold War escalated after the United States announced The Marshall Plan 1947-1948. The Cold War witnessed over several years, including the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization led by the United States in 1949, and then the formation of the Warsaw Pact in 1955 by the Soviet Union. For more details, see: Abdel Azim Ramadan, History of Europe and the Modern World from the Emergence of the Bourgeoisie Europe to

- the Cold War, Part 3, Cairo, Public Authority for the Book Press, 1997, p. 287.
8. Najah Abd al-Aziz al-Bakri, previous source, p. 391.
 9. The Maltese Workers Party: Founded in 1920 by a small group of trade union workers, the party consisted of the General Conference, the National Executive, the Party Congress, the Party Administration, and the Parliamentary Group. Ideologically, the party believed in democratic socialism. The prominent member Paul Bova, the position of the first prime minister of the Labor Party between (1947 and 1950) when the party won those elections, and on the other hand he formed relations with independent and socialist movements in the Third World to put him on a collision course with the Maltese Catholic Church, which the party considered pro-British. This prevented the party leadership from 1961 to 1964.
- From running for general elections, at a time when the Church considered reading, advertising and distributing party newspapers a great sin, Labor participated in the 1963 independence talks but disagreed with the rest of the negotiators in Malta over the mechanism for granting independence from Britain, the party made strong gains in the elections In 1966, which was not enough to form a government, the party split in 1969 when a group called themselves (the Maltese Communist Party) split from it. This split occurred as a result of the armistice between the Malta Labor Party and the local Catholic authorities. For more details see: Carmen Sammut. Media and Maltese Society. Lexington Books, 2007, p. 56.
10. After World War I, a political alliance was formed that included the Union of Maltese Party (UPM) and the Democratic Party (PD), and the two parties competed in the first legislative elections in 1921, but they were in Separate constituencies so as not to harm each other's chances, after the elections, the Maltese Union Party, which emerged as the largest party in the Legislative Assembly, chose the Maltese Workers' Party as its partner in the united political coalition, the two parties again ran in the 1924 elections separately although they This time they formed a coalition, eventually merging in 1926 as the National Democratic Party. For more details see:
Jon P. Mitchell Ambivalent Europeans: Ritual, Memory and the Public Sphere in Malta, 2002, p. 156.
 11. Suhad Al-Sabhan, A Study in the Political and Economic History of the Mediterranean Countries, Canaan Model Press, Najaf Al-Ashraf, 2015, p.
 12. Schuster, Philip Gabriel, Regulations and Constitutions in the Mediterranean Countries - A Legal Study, Athens, 2000, p. 632.
 13. Ibid, p. 633.
 14. Edward Heath (1916-2005): He was born in Broadsetters, Kent, and his father worked as a carpenter. He was the eldest son of his family. He was educated at Chatham House Government School, and graduated from Oxford University. In 1939, and during World War II, he served in the Royal Artillery, and participated in military operations that took place in France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany, and rose through the ranks until he reached the rank of lieutenant colonel, then worked in the Ministry of Civil Aviation from 1946 to 1947, and in 1950 he was elected as a member In the British House of Commons representing the Conservative Party, and in October 1959 he held the position of Minister of Labour, and in October 1963 he was appointed Minister of State for Industry, Trade and Regional Development .
And Chairman of the Trade Committee, and in July 1965 he became a leader of the Conservative Party, and in June 1970 he became Prime Minister, he died on July 17, 2005. 1985, p. 221.
 15. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization: It is a political and military alliance between European and American countries that have concluded a mutual defense agreement between them, called NATO for short. The alliance was established in 1949 between the allied countries in World War II under the North Atlantic Treaty and the irony is that the agreement was against another member of the anti-Nazi coalition in World War II, and those countries pledged after the war to jointly defend each other against any possible attack from the Soviet Union. 12 countries signed the North Atlantic Treaty on April 4, 1949 in Washington, District of Columbia, for more details see: Maha Naji Hussein, Algerian-Soviet relations, a historical study in the development of political and economic relations (1962 - 1978), unpublished doctoral thesis, College of Education for Girls, University of Baghdad, 2007, p. 39
 16. Schuster, Philip Gabriel, Op Cit, p, 639.
 17. Daly Mail, 31 January, 1972.
 18. The Sun, 9 July, 1971.
 19. Daly Mail, 31 January, 1972
 20. Michael Jones (1923 - 2000): He was born in the Maltese capital Valletta, entered its primary and secondary schools, then completed the study of theology in the

- Anglican Church in 1941, then went to study Talmudic Judaism, and in 1952 became a leader of the Roman Catholic Church, led He played a major role in directing Malta's internal and external policy, especially in the blinding of its independence from Britain in 1974. He died in 2000. For more details, see: Website: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/>
21. Sayed Hassanein Al-Beblawi, Religion, the State, and Concepts of Human Rights in Eastern European Countries, Dar Al-Ilm Millions Press, Beirut, 1977, p. 89.
 22. Sayed Hassanein Al-Beblawi, previous source, p. 91.
 23. United Kingdom, Prime Minster, Ministry of Exterior in British, Ministry of Exterior s office report that belong to Falkland Islands in 4 Dec, 1981.p. 287.
 24. Ibid, p. 288.
 25. Suhad Al-Sabhan, previous source, p. 30.
 26. Najah Abd al-Aziz al-Bakri, the previous source, p. 390.
 27. It is the eighth closure, following the June 5, 1967 war, which caused the Suez Canal to stop and ships to pass through it for a period of (eight) years, starting from June 5, 1967 to June 4, 1975, a period in which the world incurred It had heavy losses due to its closure, forcing ships to resort to the Cape of Good Hope and pass around Africa, until Egyptian President Anwar Sadat inaugurated it on June 5, 1975, after signing the second disengagement agreement between Egypt and Israel. For more details see:
 28. United Kingdom Secretary of State for Defense, The Folklands Campaign; The Lessons, CMND. 8758 London; Her Majesty's Stationary Office, December 1983, p. 541.
 29. Muhammad Salem Al-Assiouty, Economic and Developmental Trends in Eastern European Countries, PhD Thesis, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University, 1997, p.
 30. Maltese Government Archive, Ministry of Statistics and Audit, National Income for the years 1960/1975, Malta, 1977, p. 234.
 31. Finchley Press, 1 February, 1974.
 32. Warsaw Pact: This alliance was formed on May 14, 1955, led by the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. The Warsaw Pact gave the Soviets a legitimate cover to keep their forces in Eastern European countries, knowing that the formation of the alliance came in response to West Germany's formal accession to the Pact. North Atlantic in October 1954, as this step by West Germany constituted a turning point in the Western security system, and in turn, this step deepened contradictions and sowed additional suspicions between the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries on the one hand. And the United States and the West on the other hand, and the Warsaw Pact proved that, after the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact, the East and West became entrenched in ideological, economic and security fortresses. For more details, see: A group of democratic German authors, Lights on the German Democratic Republic, 1, 1969, p. 32
 33. Edward Sicleri Dimatrov, Malta Politics and Sovereignty in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century, MA Thesis, Faculty of Politics and Law, University of Rome, 2007, p. 431.
 34. Black Peter Donald, Military Judiciary of Some Contemporary Regimes in the World, Human Rights Organization, Paris, 2008, p. 209.
- It should be noted that the Libyan and Maltese relations have witnessed a great development before and after the arrival of the Maltese Workers Party to power in 1971. At a time when most European countries failed to provide this assistance, and the Libyan government supported the Maltese economic sector through trade exchange, which reached the volume of trade exchange with all European countries: The Continental Shelf, International Policy Journal, Issue (65th), 1981, p. 95.
35. Article V of the 1964 Convention provided that no forces, other than the Maltese and the Royal Military Forces of the United Kingdom, would be stationed in Malta, or be permitted to use Malta's ports, yards, airports, facility or communications facilities, unless the so required for necessary use, provided that this Article does not apply to the forces of any Party to NATO, to whom the Government of Malta may grant any rights or facilities which do not impede the exercise of the rights or the use of facilities granted to the Government of the United Kingdom under this Agreement. For more details see: Agreement between the government of Malta and the government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on mutual defense and assistance, Valletta, September 21, 1964.
 36. Sami Abu Raya Al-Ibrashi, European Conventions and Treaties Under the New Globalization System, Al-Ahram Center for Studies and Research, Cairo, 1999, p. 320.
 37. Peter Alexander Robert (1919-1988): Born in the industrial city of Yorkshire, he served in the British Army during the Second Scientific War, and was promoted

to second lieutenant in the beginning of 1941 and then was promoted to captain in March 1945, he served as Minister of Defense in the government Edward Heath during the period 1970-1974, and served as Minister of Defense during the period 1979-1982, and also served as the Secretary-General of NATO during the period 1984-1988. He died on July 1, 1988, for more details see:

David Rockefeller, *Memoirs*. Random House, London, 2002, p. 412.

38. Sami Abu Rayya Al-Ibrashi, previous source, pg. 320.

39. Al-Sadr himself, p. 323.

40. One of the first events that took place in 1967 was the Zionist aggression against Egypt. At ten o'clock on the night of June 4-5, 1967, Moshe Dayan, the "Zionist Minister of Defense," issued an order to the Zionist army to prepare to start the attack, and to destroy the Egyptian army in Sinai And the occupation of the Sinai Peninsula, and at eight and forty-five minutes on the fifth of June, the air raids began on the Egyptian airports. See: Ali Mahfoud Aziz Al-Khaffaf, *Egypt's position on the Palestinian issue 1967 - 1970*, Master's thesis, College of Education, University of Mosul, 2003, pg. 60 (41) Black Peter Donald, *Op Cit*, p. 210.

41. *Ibid*, p. 219.

42. Maha Naji Hussein, the previous source, p. 207.

43. Richard Nixon (1913-1994): He was born in California, graduated from Winter High School in 1934, then from Duke University School of Law in 1937. He was twice elected President of the United States during the period 1969-1974, and twice as Vice President of the United States. Resigned from office, due to the Watergate scandal, died in 1994. For more details, see: Sinan Sadiq Hussein al-Zaidi, *US policy towards Iraq 1958-1963*, unpublished doctoral thesis, College of Education - Ibn Rushd - University of Baghdad, 2005, p. 51.

44. Sami Abu Rayya Al-Ibrashi, previous source, p. 325.

45. Walid Mahmoud Ahmed, *Cyprus in the American Strategy*, Center for Regional Studies, *Journal of Regional Studies*, Volume (sixth), Issue (fifth), 2009, p.234.

46. (John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1917-1963): born in the US state of Massachusetts and of Irish descent, an American politician, born in 1917. He is the thirty-fifth president of the United States of America. He participated in the Second World War and was known for his great courage. He became a representative of the state of

Massachusetts in the House of Representatives. The American for the period 1947-1960, was elected president of his country on November 27, 1960, in the most powerful presidential elections that took place in the United States of America, during his reign dramatic events occurred during the Cold War, including the implementation of the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, the construction of the Berlin Wall, the invasion of space and the escalation of space The pace of the Vietnamese war, he was assassinated in 1963. For more details see:

Jerry Kroth, *Conspiracy in Camilot: The Camilote of the Assassination of John Fitzgerald Kennedy* Algora publishing, New York, 2003, PP. 320-321.

47. John. F. Kennedy, *Commencement Address at American University*, June 10, 1963, cited in: <http://www.jfk library.org>

48. Dennis Healy (1917-2010): He was born in London, received his primary and secondary education in its schools, then joined Balliol College at Oxford University to study political science. In 1936 he became a member of the British Communist Party, and at the beginning of the fifties he joined the British Labor Party In 1964, he served as Secretary of State for Defense Affairs in the government of Harold Wilson, and remained in this position until 1970, and in the second election cycle in which the Labor Party, led by James Callahan, won in 1974, he served as Secretary of the Treasury and remained in this position until 1979. He died in 2010, for more details see: Arshad Hamza Hassan, *Britain, a reading of its social and economic conditions during the conservative government 1979-1990*, Al-Afaq Press, Najaf Al-Ashraf, 2020, p. 110.

49. Suhad Al-Sabhan, the previous source, p.

50. The same source, p. 37.

51. M. Artis and Jones, M, *Twentieth Century British History, Social Democracy in Hard Times*, magazine *The Economist*, Volume 3, Issue 1, Jan 1992., p. 290.

52. *Ibid*, p. 292.

53. Gino Berendelli (1911 - 2008) was born in the city of Pescia in central Italy. He completed his primary and secondary studies there. In 1925 he was accepted into the Italian Naval Academy, and graduated in 1930 to become an officer in the Italian Navy, after which he was appointed to the Corps of Italian submariners after obtaining a degree in civil engineering from the University of Pisa in 1937, then became a trainer of frogmen commandos and human

torpedoes in 1939, after World War II appointed commander of the Italian Marines, promoted to admiral in 1959, and admiral in 1962, Fleet Admiral in 1966. In 1967, he was head of the Italian Navy Fleet, and in 1970 Head of the Mediterranean Command of the NATO Fleet in Malta He died in 2008 For more details see

54.M. Artis and Jones, Op Cit, p.p. 294-295.

55.Daly Mail, 31 January, 1972.

56.The Le Monde newspaper, 29, March, 1972.

Conclusion

The British government led by Edward Heath realized in 1971 that it was necessary to re-evaluate its political and military relations with Malta, with the arrival of the Maltese Labor Party led by Dom Mintov to power completely rejecting that Malta be part of the British colonies or to be subject to a partial type of conditional independence from Before the British crown, especially since the world and since the end of the sixties of the last century has been living in a state of chaos marred by conflicts and crises And military conflicts were represented by the Arab-Israeli war in 1967, so the British government, which is an active member of NATO, decided to conclude a bilateral military agreement with Malta so that it would not lose its position in the Mediterranean region, and in fact this agreement was signed on the twenty-seventh of July 1971 The British government faced strong pressure from the public opinion, represented by the local press and the British House of Commons, over the possibility of adopting a strategic policy based on owning military bases through which Britain, the United States and NATO countries would be able to confront the Soviet Union if the latter launched a surprise attack on those interests. Countries in different parts of the world, the French government was not far from the echoes left by the signing of the agreement, it supported and welcomed that agreement, and this desire was evident in the official and local atmosphere alike. On the other hand, the signing of the agreement may be disappointing for many countries that had hoped for Malta to exit the circle of Western influence once and for all, but a realistic view of the most important contents of the new agreement and getting to know the reality of the problems that Malta was suffering from may reduce this feeling, and if we take in view of the assurances made by Dom Mintov, Prime Minister of Malta following the signing of the agreement, which he reiterated in the Maltese Parliament About not using Malta to attack any Arab country, and that any breach of this commitment on the part of Britain means

that the agreement has lost its legitimacy. Concluding this agreement, which will cut the way for the Soviet influence in the Mediterranean region, and it will enhance the influence of NATO in that region.

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