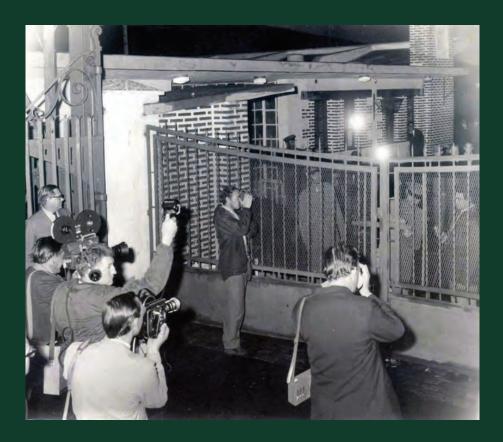


GIBRALTAR

CLOSURE OF THE BORDER 1969 - 2019



"The sixteen years of frontier closure were instrumental in the political, cultural, social and economic development of the Gibraltar that we know today."







Foreword

This is the third of a series of commemorative booklets that the Government has published on important political landmarks in the history of Gibraltar.

In 2015 we marked the 75th anniversary of the wartime evacuation of Gibraltarians. In 2017 we published another on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the 1967 referendum. This time we commemorate fifty years from the closure of the land frontier.

The human dimension of the closed border scarred generations of Gibraltarians and Spaniards.

The cruel separation of families and the economic havoc that was thrust upon the Spanish side by their own Government should serve as an important lesson today.

Franco's objective had been to bring Gibraltar to its knees economically, to force us to concede our sovereignty. But the Gibraltarians of the closed frontier generation would never surrender their birthright.

When the steel gates had been shut in our faces, an iron resolve rose in our hearts.

The people of Gibraltar resisted and overcame the concerted effort to destroy us. We defied the Spanish dictator and stood our ground.

The Spanish restrictions also shaped our identity as Gibraltarians. This separate and distinct identity had continued to evolve ever since those traders and merchants had settled on the Rock after 1704. It was hardened by an on-going campaign for greater self-government and given a sharp boost by the evacuation of the civilian population during the Second World War.

In 1969, Gibraltar's connections with Spain were completely cut off. The bonds which linked us to the United Kingdom were strengthened.

General Franco threw down the gauntlet to the people of Gibraltar. We rose to that challenge.

The closure of the border was one of our building blocks of nationhood. It made us who we are today.

The Hon Fabian Picardo QC MP

Chief Minister

The Hon Dr Joseph Garcia MP **Deputy Chief Minister**





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THE PRELUDE - TIMELINE

1704 - Anglo-Dutch marines take Gibraltar



1713 - Spain ceded Gibraltar to Britain in perpetuity under Treaty of Utrecht



1921-City Council established in Gibraltar



1942 - Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights is formed



1950 - Legislative Council established in Gibraltar

1950 - HRH the Duke of Edinburgh visits Gibraltar

11th May 1954 - Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II visits Gibraltar





1st August 1964 - New Constitution

10th September 1967 - Referendum

23rd May 1969 - New Constitution

8th June 1969 - Spain closes the border







CHAPTER ONE THE UNITED NATIONS BACKGROUND

There were some seventy non-self-governing territories left in the world after the Second World War. Their decolonisation became an important priority for the United Nations in the decades that followed.

SPAIN JOINS THE UN

1956 - Spain became a member of the United Nations.

Every year, the Spanish representative made it a point of re-stating his country's claim to Gibraltar at the Committee of 24 (on Decolonisation).

July 1963 - UN Committee of 24 announced that the time had come for Gibraltar to be decolonised.

Spain declared an interest in the case and was allowed to take part in the proceedings.

September 1963 - The AACR pushed for Constitutional reform and the establishment of a full ministerial system to control local government departments.



The Association for Advancement of Civil Rights in Gibraltar (AACR) was founded in 1942.

Pictured AACR stalwarts Adolfo Canepa, Emilio Alvarez, Sir Joshua Hassan and Albert Risso

THE GIBRALTAR CASE FOR DECOLONISATION AND SELF DETERMINATION

9th September 1963 - Chief Member of the Gibraltar Legislative Council, Joshua Hassan wrote to the British delegates dealing with the Committee of 24.

Hassan declared that Gibraltar wanted to retain its links with Britain as a safeguard of any reforms in Gibraltar.

Hassan made it clear that Gibraltar would fight for self-determination, and that whilst everyone in Gibraltar wanted friendly relations with Spain, there was no desire for political association with it.

Gibraltar's petitioners before the United



19th September 1963 - At the Committee of 24, Hassan asserted that Gibraltarians had their own separate culture and identity, and advocated free association with Britain.

He vigorously appealed to the Committee to reaffirm the principle of self-determination in the case of Gibraltar. He was supported by his long-time political opponent, Peter Isola.

ed Nations Committee of 24 in 1963



WITH BRITAIN

OUR FAITHS
OUR FAITHS
IN BRITAIN HOUS

THE A WELL DOWN WORK

211 A HEAPTHET PRIVERS

AND A HAPPY MORRITISH

ROCK MESSAGES

WE WILL NOT

BRITAIN INCREASES GIBRALTARIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT

January 1964 - The Gibraltar Legislative Council submitted proposals for constitutional reform, which would allow greater internal self-government, to Lord Lansdowne the then British Secretary of State for the Colonies.

5th March 1964 - Britain told Spain that it did not recognise that the Spanish government had any rights over the Rock, since under the Treaty of Utrecht all rights were ceded.

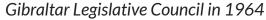
However, Britain did agree that Spain had an 'interest' in the territory and for this reason indicated the new constitutional changes which were planned. But in reality the 1964 constitution went much further than just the tidy administrative arrangement which London described to Madrid.

6th April 1964- Madrid declared its opposition to planned reforms, which it maintained did have serious international significance.

Spain asked Britain to hold them back given that the United Nations was due to continue its scrutiny of the Gibraltar question later that year.

Britain continued with the reforms regardless. Gibraltar was to have complete self-government, with departments to be controlled by a Council of Ministers, led by a Chief Minister.

1st August 1964 - Gibraltar's new constitution came into effect.







Gibraltar's First Chief Minister, Sir Joshua Hassan



Leader of the Opposition, Peter Isola

SPAIN PUSHES AT THE UN

10th September 1964 - For the first time ever, Gibraltarians voted to elect a government. Joshua Hassan became the first Chief Minster. Peter Isola became the Leader of the Opposition

22nd September 1964- UN Committee of 24 continued its debate on the decolonisation of Gibraltar. Three Spanish petitioners based their arguments on the denial of the identity of Gibraltarians as a people. Hassan and Isola defended the distinct Gibraltarian identity and the right of Gibraltarians to self-determination.

16th October 1964 - In its conclusions, the Committee noted the dispute between Spain and the UK over the status of Gibraltar and called on them to find a negotiated solution bearing in mind the interests of the population.

The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Territories and Peoples, after considering the situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territory of Gibraltar and hearing statements by the representative of the administering Power and the representative of Spain and by petitioners from the Territory and from Spain, affirms that the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples are fully applicable to the Territory of Gibraltar.

In its consideration of these statements, the Special Committee noted that there was a disagreement, or even a dispute, between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Spain, regarding the status and situation of the Territory of Gibraltar. In the circumstances, the Special Committee invites the United Kingdom and Spain to begin talks without

Consensus on Gibraltar by the UN Committee of 24 in 1964

delay, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, in order to reach a negotiated solution in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), giving due account to the opinions expressed by the members of the Committee and bearing in mind the interests of the people of the Territory.

Under its terms of reference laid down in General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), the Special Committee requests the United Kingdom and Spain to inform the Special Committee and the General Assembly of the outcome of their negotiations.

The Spanish tactic had worked and the Committee's conclusions were seen by some as favourable to Spain. Britain immediately expressed its reservations.

This was hardly a surprise. The Committee was made up of a numerically unbeatable majority of Soviet Bloc, Latin American and former colonies eager to humiliate the colonial power *par excellence*.

Gibraltar reacted to the events at the UN by seeking to establish more secure and closer links with Britain.

Spain interpreted the C24's conclusion as carte blanche to intensify its harrassment at the Gibraltar frontier.

In the months that followed, vehicles attempting to cross from Gibraltar to Spain had to wait for up to 10 hours. Spain used smuggling as its excuse but did not search vehicles or pedestrains.



CHAPTER TWO

SPANISH PRESSURE INTENSIFIES 1965

Under the guidance of Foreign Minister Fernando Maria Castiella, Spain used diplomacy and coercion simultaneously to try to psychologically wear down the Gibraltarians and in this way force them to accept a transfer of sovereignty to Spain.

11th January 1965 - Britain sends a note of protest to Spain at the 'deliberate, unnecessary and discourteous delays', noting that Gibraltar had always been willing to co-operate with its neighbour to combat illegal smuggling.



Delays at the Frontier in 1965 were so long that drivers waited outside their vehicles

THE UK REACTS

February 1965 - MPs in the UK House of Commons expressed their concerns at what they saw as an attempt by a ruthless dictatorship to take over Gibraltar by force against the wishes of its people. The government made it clear that British interests in Gibraltar would not be sacrificed.

1st March 1965 - Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart, told the Commons that Britain would not discuss the sovereignty of Gibraltar with Spain. He told MPs that the reason Spain had given for the frontier restrictions was that it objected to Gibraltar's new constitution.

MORE SPANISH RESTRICTIONS

Spain gradually implemented new restrictions at the frontier, and soon only Spaniards were to have workers' passes through the border.

Spain's frontier authorities also refused to recognise British passports issued on behalf of the new 'Government of Gibraltar'. This meant that Gibraltarians living in Spain and working on the Rock had to decide between their jobs and their homes, and about 600 people moved from Spain into Gibraltar.



Vehicles waiting to cross into Spain queued for up to 10 hours

BRITAIN STANDS BY GIBRALTAR

30th March 1965 - Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart summoned the Spanish ambassador in London to express his concern at Spain's refusal to recognise passports issued by the Government of Gibraltar.

He denied Spain's accusation that Britain had changed the status of Gibraltar by granting it internal self-government. Stewart said that Gibraltar was not a sovereign state.

11th May 1965 - Anthony Greenwood, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, aired a TV message to Gibraltar to address the concerns about increasing frontier restrictions. Greenwood said that as British Citizens, Gibraltarians would be given all the help and support that they were entitled to.

'Great Britain has at no time renounced her title to Gibraltar or failed to defend her position there and will not do so now.' Britain had 'no desire to quarrel with Spain,' but would 'stand by the people of Gibraltar in their present difficulties and take whatever measures may be necessary to defend and sustain them.'

- Anthony Greenwood, Secretary of State for the Colonies

THE PRO-INTEGRATION MOVEMENT

The Pro-Integration Movement was formed in 1965 by 50 founder members who saw closer links with Britain as the solution to the problem.

Robert Peliza became its Chairman and Joe Bossano became the movement's secretary. The movement was non-political and its main objective was the constitutional integration of Gibraltar into the United

Kingdom.

It was the product of the troubles with Spain and the concern which existed on the Rock after the debates in New York.

It was born out of the determination by many Gibraltarians to ensure that Gibraltar remained British for as long as they wanted it to, and it sought a guarantee to this effect from London. By June 1965 the Pro-Integration Movement had over 400 members.





Robert Peliza

Joe Bossano

Spanish Authorities refused to recognise Gibraltar issued passports



GIBRALTAR'S RESILIENCE GROWS

June 1965 - UK Prime Minister Harold Wilson told the House of Commons that the UK Government wanted good relations with Spain but it was determined to defend Gibraltar and the legitimate interests of the Gibraltarians.

He reiterated that Spain's restrictions at the frontier were inconsistent with normal international practice.

Whilst the statements by UK politicians were welcome, they had little effect on reality at the frontier. Gibraltarians grew impatient and urged Britain to adopt retaliatory measures against Spain.

2nd July 1965-2000 protesters on the Gibraltar side of the frontier urged Britain to take measures against Franco's regime.

COALITION GOVERNMENT

8th July 1965 - The 11 elected members of Gibraltar's legislature announced that they would put aside their differences and form a coalition government of national unity.

Joshua Hassan remained Chief Minister and Peter Isola became the Deputy Chief Minister.

The coalition symbolised the failure of Franco's government to divide the Gibraltarians or wear them down by economic attrition.

Rather than fall apart over the problem confronting them, the eleven local representatives united to speak with one voice.

21st July 1965 - The UK Government announced that it would support Gibraltar with £1million over three years in the form of Colonial and Development Welfare grants.

Drivers and pedestrians wait on the Gibraltar side to cross into Spain





Protesters on the Gibraltar side of the border

THE GIBRALTAR - UK RELATIONSHIP

5th October 1965- The new coalition Government of Gibraltar laid out what they thought Gibraltar's future relationship with the UK should look like:

- 1 Gibraltarians should have indefinite control over internal affairs.
- 2- Gibraltarians should keep British nationality, whilst also safeguarding their separate Gibraltarian identity.
- 3 Gibraltar should seek even closer and permanent links with Britain via free association (not the integration advocated by Robert Peliza and Joe Bossano).
- 4 The substance of the relationship should reflect the desires of the people of Gibraltar.

1st November 1965 - UK Prime Minister Harold Wilson paid a stop-over visit to the Rock.



Harold Wilson visits the Rock

A UNIQUE GIBRALTARIAN, BRITISH IDENTITY

1st December 1965 - The AACR topped the polls in the City Council elections. Support for the AACR was symptomatic of a much wider unity that bound the Gibraltarians tightly together.

The troubles with Spain had managed to unite bitter rivals like Hassan and Isola under one banner, first before the United Nations and then in a government of national unity.

Once again in times of crisis the Gibraltarians closed ranks as a people, proving not only that Castiella's aggressive policy was counterproductive to say the least, but that it was instrumental, as the wartime evacuation had been, in forming the modern day Gibraltarian.

A thousand miles away from Britain, and separated from Spain by an increasingly insurmountable border, the Gibraltarians came to look upon themselves as a separate entity, distinct from either country.

They were proud to be British, but they insisted they were also Gibraltarians, and that these two identities could and did complement each other.



CHAPTER THREE

BRITAIN AND SPAIN NEGOTIATE 1966

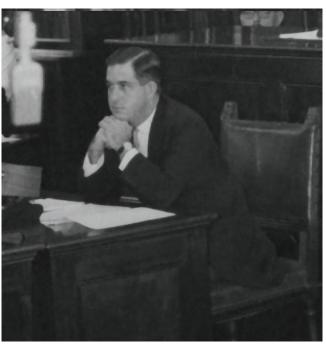
The UN had urged the UK and Spain to talk in order to resolve their differences over Gibraltar. The British Government refused to do so. This position was backed by the Gibraltarians. However, soon everything changed.

17th January 1966 - Spain told Britain it wanted to begin negotiations on Gibraltar in accordance with the UN General Assembly resolution of December 1964.

This left the UK Government with the dilemma of not wanting to talk under duress, whilst also not wanting to refuse to talk because that would make them appear weak internationally.

February 1966 - Prime Minister Wilson told the House of Commons that he had informed the Spanish Government that Britain was also ready to negotiate.

The Gibraltar Council was given assurances that the Rock would remain British and that the interests of the Gibraltarians would be safeguarded. The Gibraltar Council told the UK Government that in their eyes, negotiating with Spain was unjustifiable for as long as the abnormal restrictions continued at the frontier.



Joe Pitaluga, Assistant Secretary

In his advice to Chief Minister Hassan, the Assistant Secretary Joe Pitaluga wrote:

'The people of Gibraltar have supported Britain's policy that no talks should be held under duress, a policy which was considered not only honourable in principle but also essential from a practical point of view.

When this policy was changed by HMG the great majority of the people of Gibraltar objected. To ask the people of Gibraltar now whether they will make concessions in order to achieve normal frontier relations is worse than to talk under duress - it is asking them to act under duress.

People will be against this both in principle and in practice. The word principle is not used loosely here. The mood of the people generally, as a result of the continuous harassment by the Spaniards, is one of anger and obstinacy.

From a practical point of view there is the obvious danger that to make concessions under duress will give the Spaniards good grounds for believing that the next time they want more concessions (and they will) all they have to do is tighten the screws again.'

Life in Gibraltar in the 1960s





SPAIN'S PROPOSALS

18th May 1966- UK Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart and Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Maria Castiella met in London for the first round of discussions.

The Spanish Government proposed that:

- 1- Gibraltar should be returned to Spain.
- 2 A UK-Spanish agreement would cover the continued use of Gibraltar as a British military base.
- 3 The rights, culture, social and economic interests of the Gibraltarians would be protected under international guarantee.
- 4- Gibraltar would be allowed to retain an elected town council, which would collect and administer its own taxes.
- 5 Freedom of speech, religion and assembly would continue to be observed in Gibraltar.
- 6 Gibraltarians would retain their British passports and nationality.

Spain did not realise that these proposals represented a huge step backwards in Gibraltar's internal self-government.

More importantly, for Gibraltarians the territory and the people were inseparable, and there was no way that they would consider becoming foreigners in their own homeland.



Spanish Foreign Minister - Fernando Maria Castiella

BRITAIN'S COUNTER OFFER

June 1966 - Britain's counter-proposals were also totally unacceptable to Gibraltar.

In exchange for an end to the frontier restrictions, Britain offered;

- 1 To remove the frontier fence which divided the Rock from Spain.
- 2 To allow the appointment of a Spanish Commissioner in Gibraltar, although they would not be allowed to interfere in internal matters.
- 3 To modify Gibraltar's political institutions to make it more like the pre-1950 municipality and less like the quasi-independent territory of 1966.
- 4 Joint use of Gibraltar's airport, port and territorial waters.

Spain rejected these proposals outright.



Prime Minister - Harold Wilson

NEGOTIATIONS AT AN IMPASSE

September 1966 - Spain complained to Britain about violations of its airspace by British military aircraft.

4th October 1966 - The pressure at the border intensified as Spain announced that it was downgrading the frontier at La Linea.

This meant that no goods or vehicles would be allowed to cross the border. Gibraltar was cut off from important supplies, including medicine and food.

Britain protested strongly. To solve the dispute, the UK Government suggested that the matter, including the question of sovereignty, should be decided at the International Court of Justice.

This meant that the differences would be settled purely on a legal basis, and the political bias that influenced the arguments at the United Nations would not be a factor in the final outcome.

This was rejected by Spain.

Over the next few months, large numbers of British politicians visited the Rock to express their support for the Gibraltarians.





CHAPTER FOUR THE SOVEREIGNTY REFERENDUM 1967

Throughout 1967, relations between Britain and Spain deteriorated further.

March 1967 - Spain announced an air ban on Gibraltar, forbidding the overflying of Spanish airspace, with the aim of stopping all flights in and out of Gibraltar airport.

14th June 1967 - Minister of State at the UK Commonwealth Office Judith Hart announced that a referendum would be held in Gibraltar at which the Gibraltarians would decide their own future.

Judith Hart, UK Minister of State at the Commonwealth Office 1967 Government's firm belief that decolonisation cannot consist in the transfer of one population, however small, to the rule of another country, without regard to their own opinions and interests.

'We therefore think that the next step in pursuance of the United Nations Resolution should be to give the people of Gibraltar an opportunity to express their views, by a formal and deliberate act, on what would best serve their interests.'

- Judith <u>Hart</u>

The British announcement was the first acknowledgement that their sovereignty over Gibraltar was based not only on the 250 year old Treaty of Utrecht but also on the living wishes of the twenty thousand people whose ancestors had inhabited the Rock since 1704.

The choice for the Gibraltarians was clearcut: Spain or Britain. 22nd August 1967 - At the UN Committee of 24 in New York, the British representative announced that the referendum would be held on 10th September and invited the UN to send observers.

1st September 1967 - The Committee of 24 declared that the referendum violated UN Resolutions on Gibraltar, refused to send observers and called for talks between Britain and Spain to resume. The vast majority of countries in the Committee once again came out in Spain's favour.





BRITISH WE STAY

10th September 1967 - 99% of Gibraltarian voters chose to remain British. It confirmed Britain's arguments at the UN that the people of Gibraltar were British by choice.

Overnight, the Gibraltarians were in the public view transformed from a loose and eclectic society with diverse backgrounds into a coherent and demonstrable nation of people who knew how they wanted their political future to look like.

Hassan now had a strong democratic backing for his version of decolonisation through self-determination. His challenge now was to convince the United Nations, which refused to recognise the legitimacy of the referendum or its results, to change their own line.

Spain took umbrage at the referendum result and this further aggravated the tension. A week later, Britain sent military reinforcements to Gibraltar.



Chief Minster, Sir Joshua Hassan addresses jubilant crowds following the announcement of the Referendum results

19th December 1967 - The referendum had also widened the rift with the United Nations. The General Assembly declared that the referendum had violated the UN's previous resolutions on the matter and endorsed the Committee of 24's previous conclusions on the decolonisation of Gibraltar.

It was a huge let-down for the Gibraltarians, as the UN had ignored their democratically expressed wishes.

One extremely important consequence of the referendum, however, was the Constitutional reforms that Britain had promised to Hassan if the vote went in Britain's favour.

Indeed, the wording of the referendum ballot had been carefully drafted to ensure that the UK Government would be held to honour their pledge.



CHAPTER FIVE THE DOVES AND NEW CONSTITUTION 1968 - 1969

The concept of integration with Britain posed a challenge to the coalition Government of Gibraltar. This was to play out in the Constitutional Talks that opened in 1968.

January 1968 - The Integration with Britain Party advocated strongly for the quick settlement of the constitutional question.

The UK Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs Lord Shepherd visited the Rock and made thinly veiled attacks on the integrationists, revealing the British Government's reluctance to tie Gibraltar to the UK inextricably, forever.

10 February 1968 – The Spanish Government sent a note of protest to London, demanding that the UK negotiate with Spain in accordance with the UN resolution and restore Spain's territorial integrity.

Spain also warned that it would not recognise or approve any outcomes of the constitutional conference on Gibraltar that was due at the end of the year.

Britain responded that it was willing to talk, but not under the terms and conditions set out by the UN. The interests of the Gibraltarians had to be the primary concern.

THE DOVES

1 April 1968 – Six Gibraltarians, who called themselves 'the Doves' published a letter which stressed that Gibraltarians were the only ones who could decide the future of Gibraltar and which accused Britain of being too defensive and passive in dealing with Spain. They denounced the emotiveness of the referendum and called for a negotiated settlement with Spain.

Hassan's coalition government doubted that the Doves could propose anything that would be acceptable to both Britain and Spain, and attacked the Doves' idea of a settlement that would involve a transfer of sovereignty.



A bus is overturned by an angry crowd during the anti-Dove riots

5 April 1968 - The Doves' proposals were publicly rejected by both the Gibraltar Government and by the IWBP.

6 April 1968 - Hundreds of Gibraltarians protested the Doves' proposals and violently attacked their property, overturning their vehicles and burning a yacht in the marina.

When the police were unable to cope, Governor Lathbury called out the military to restore order.

The riots were symptomatic of the hostility towards Spain that had built up over many years. The Doves' proposals became a catalyst for its outlet.

GIBRALTAR VIEW FOR CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS

- 4 May 1968 The Government and IWBP announced that they had agreed on a 5 point programme for the constitutional talks:
- 1- A commitment to achieving an unbreakable link between Gibraltar and the United Kingdom.
- 2- There should be a restatement of Britain's permanent and exclusive sovereignty over the Rock.
- 3- The 1962 Immigration Act should not apply to Gibraltarians, thereby exempting them from UK immigration control and treating them as British citizens.
- 4- Gibraltar's affairs should be taken over by the Home Office, rather than the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.
- 5- The new constitution should guarantee that there would never be a transfer of sovereignty away from Britain without the consent of the Gibraltarians.

SPAIN PARTIALLY CLOSES THE FRONTIER

Knowing that Gibraltar's constitutional talks were coming up in July, Spain further intensified its pressure on the frontier.

From then on, Spain closed the frontier to everyone except Spaniards who worked in Gibraltar, and Gibraltarians who carried a special permit.



UK AND GIBRALTAR DISCUSS THE CONSTITUTION

16 July 1968 – The talks between the UK and Gibraltar governments on the new constitution began. Chief Minister Hassan rejected the UK Government's suggestion that it should have a say in the daily administration of Gibraltar's internal affairs, and laid out the 5 point programme (which had been agreed by all of the main political parties) as the Gibraltar position.

18 July 1968 – It became clear that the UK only wanted to discuss Gibraltar's internal affairs and did not want to talk about Gibraltar's relationship with Britain for fear of upsetting Spain. The Gibraltar Government emphasised the importance of a new relationship with Britain. The

negotiations on a new constitution almost broke down on this point.

IMPORTANT GUARANTEES ARE MADE

19 July 1968 – Eventually the UK Government agreed to include important guarantees on a new relationship between Britain and Gibraltar in the preamble of the new constitution:

Under the terms of the new constitution, Gibraltar's elected government took firm control over Gibraltar's internal affairs, and the territory was renamed the City of Gibraltar. Gibraltarians, who retained their British Citizenship, breathed a sigh of relief that the talks had ended with a positive outcome.

The Constitutional (



'Gibraltar will remain part of Her Majesty's dominions unless and until an Act of Parliament otherwise provides, and furthermore that Her Majesty's Government will never enter into arrangements under which the people of Gibraltar would pass under the sovereignty of another state against their freely and democratically expressed wishes.'

BRITAIN AND GIBRALTAR DEFY THE UN

18 December 1968 - The United Nations General Assembly did not recognise Gibraltar's political developments or its relationship with Britain. Instead, the world's most important international institution declared that sovereignty talks with Spain should commence within nine months.

Britain reassured Gibraltar that this would not happen and that Gibraltar would never be turned over to another state against its wishes.

23 May 1969 - The new Gibraltar Constitution was published.







THE GIBRALTAR CONSTITUTION ORDER 1969

At the Court at Holyroodhouse THE 23rd DAY OF MAY 1969

PRESENT.

THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL

Whereas Gibraltar is part of Her Majesty's dominions and Her Majesty's Government have given assurances to the people of Gibraltar that Gibraltar will remain part of Her Majesty's dominions unless and until an Act of Parliament otherwise provides, and furthermore that Her Majesty's Government will never enter into arrangements under which the people of Gibraltar would pass under the sovereignty of another state against their freely and democratically expressed wishes:

And whereas Her Majesty is pleased to make provision for a new Constitution for Gibraltar:

Now, therefore, Her Majesty, by virtue and in exercise of all the powers enabling Her in that behalf, is pleased, by and with the advice of Her Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, as follows:—

- 1.—(1) This Order may be cited as the Gibraltar Constitution Order Citation, comments
- (2) This Order shall be published in the Gazette and shall come into operation on the day on which it is so published.
 - (3) In this Order-
 - "the appointed day" means such day (being later than the day prescribed for polling at the general election of Elected Members of the Assembly next following the commencement of this Order) as may be prescribed by the Governor;
 - "the Constitution" means the Constitution set out in Annex 1 to this Order;
 - "the existing Order" means the Gibraltar (Constitution) Order 1964(a).
- (4) The provisions of sections 79 and 86 of the Constitution shall apply for the purposes of interpreting this section, the next following section and Annex 2 to this Order and otherwise in relation thereto as they apply for the purpose of interpreting and in relation to the Constitution.

(a) 1964 II, p. 3143.



Vol. 19 No. 75

Saturday May 31, 1969.

THE HASSAN DIVORCE

Highlights from ves terday's LegCo speeches.

Mr. Crispin Q.C.: If you pass this Bill, you will be setting a dan-gerous precedent. I have not heard the Tapes. Mr. Vaughan heard them.

Mr. Jackson Q.C.: In sense, we can do a sense, we can do without a Legislative Council, but we cannot do without the news-

papers.
Privilege: Is it a
privilege to have one's
affairs dragged out in
public?

No-one will ever know No-one will ever know what Lady Hassan's religion is, was or will be. At any time it is what suits her best.

A Jewish woman who goes to Mass, and rejects the advice of both priest and rabbi is some conventum.

onundrum.

conundrum.

Hon. Mr. Isola: I am against the principle of this Bill. I would be against any other private Bill. We should face the issue squarely and have a general Bill, although I would vote

although I would vote against it. Hon. Mr. Montegriffo: Only recently we had a private Bill – the Suarez Pension Ordinance. Hon. Mr. Seruya; As I have said all along, the answer is a general

the answer is a general Divorce Bill. I am sure 99 per cent of the Ca-tholic population would be in favour.

the post says

Yesterday was "C"-pay. The new constitution was publish and everyone on the Rock is elated. on the

Emotional outbursts, satisfaction and com-placency is however not enough to survive.

The new constitution is a challenge to each and everyone of us. It should encourage us to

work harder to aspire at loftier ends. Let's then take up the challenge and prove worthy of a constitu-tion we have all strug-gled so much and so hard to obtain.

Mr. Seruya has no right to speak for the Catholic population — for that we have our own Bishop. If I wished to know how the Jewish community felt, I would go to the Rabbi, not to Mr. Seruya.

Hon. Mr. Serfaty: If
I knew that the majority

did not want a general Divorce Bill, I would vote against it.

Hon. Mr. Baldorino: If Mr. Seruya wants a general revision, why did he not propose it as an amendment First Reading.

AIR CONFERENCE

Leaving for London today, is Gibraltar's Director of Tourism, Rodney Scrase. ring his 10-day stay in the United Kingdom Mr. Scrase will the attending meetings of the Commonwealth Air Trans-Council as Gibraltar's representati-

Following Police got the wind up and started on a marijuana trail which eventually took them the RAF camp where a member of the RAF was found in possession of marijuana.

The person appeared in Court this morning and was fined £25. Before passing sentence the Magis-trate referred to a paragraph of the new Constitution, which came into force yesterday, and which states that the Courts must take into account any punishment previously imposed by the Services before passing sentence or

The Commonwealth Air Transport Counwhich cil, which was es-tablished in 1946 to review keep under progress and development of Common-wealth civil air communications munications and to advise on civil avia-tion matters, meets every two/three years to discuss progress in the field of aviation. Among items of special interest on the Agenda for the current meeting are Airfield problems arising from the introduction of new-type aircraft: Future requirements and developments of civil transport, and Operational constitutions rational experience and economics of the Hovercraft.

The Gibraltar branch of the T&GWU in an appeal to the Executive Committee of the CPA says among other things that "the people of Gibraltar aspire to live within a democratic framework partnership with Britain, and in this Britain, cannot connection, cannot that their right to choose their own way of living should be interfered with by the adoption policies, by of ome of the member tes, which cor u te a complete tion of the principles passing sentence or of the United Nations any military personnel. Charter."

NEW PROVOCATION BY BRITAIN

-Says SPAIN

SPANISH REACT EXPERTED SI

react to the new Constitution within the next few days. It is not known what form this reaction will take but there is almost certain to be a diplomatic protest.

It remains to be any new threats or seen whether the whether in fact they Spaniards will make will announce any new

HARDENING

The tone of Spanish comment is definitely hardening. Phrases like "unfriendly act" and "great provoca-

tion" have been used by the Spaniards.

The La Linea newspaper 'Area' today carries a front page editorial headed; "New Provocation."

It starts by saying that Britain, in publishing the Constitution, has acted as though she had special interest worsening even further relations with

IGNORANCE

Showing complete of demoignorance cratic procedure, the paper goes, on to say that Gibraltarians had not been told about "the text of this document" until 8 days 'after the Queen had signed it.

They repeat the same old Spanish stories which have never had any influenwhatever on Gibraltar and its democratic people, and add that they are almost certain that the new Constitution will bring Gibraltarians more hardship than benefits. "Time will tell," they add.

The paper seems to be under the impression that Spain has always imposed restrictions some provocation from this side!



Gibraltar has welcomed the new Constitu-

tion, of this there is no doubt.

Almost as soon as the news came out

Commodore T.N. Catlow, the Commodore Superintendent Contract Built Ships be paying a day visit to Gibraltar on 9th June 1969)

Themain purpose of his visit will be to

look round HMS HAR-DY on completion of her recent refit here.

During his stay he will be the guest of the Flag Officer, Gibraltar at Mount.

ring questions on the new Constitution. CONCERT

The band of the 2nd Battalion the Royal Irish Rangers today gave a concert at the Piazza and were loudly applauded.



Photo: Mednews

Spain

step has been taken either in London or Madrid to provide the Spanish Government with a copy of new Gibraltar C slitution," said spokesman of a copy of the Conthe Foreign and Common-wealth Office here. The spokesman added that the ques-

tion of the Constituonly concerns Britain and Gibraltar.





CHAPTER SIX

SPAIN CLOSES THE FRONTIER

Gibraltar's new Constitution was promulgated on 23rd May 1969. Sixteen days later Spain closed the frontier. This was the culmination of the restrictions that had commenced in 1950 and that had intensified with each passing year. General Franco predicted that Gibraltar would fall like a ripe fruit. He was proved to be mistaken.

8 June 1969 – Spain closed the land frontier completely.

15th June 1969 - Gibraltarians and their supporters marched through London to 10 Downing Street in protest at the closure.

27 June 1969 – The ferry linking Gibraltar with Algeciras made its last journey across the bay. Gibraltar was now totally isolated by land and by sea.

Britain immediately complained that Spain was breaking internationally accepted standards of behaviour by closing the border and stopping the ferry service.

The Foreign Office protested:

'The Spanish Government cannot seriously believe that any British Government could hand over the people of Gibraltar to a government which has done them so much harm already and which demonstrates unrelentingly that its immediate object is to disrupt the daily life of Gibraltar and destroy the people's livelihood.'



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MONDAY JUNE 9, 1969.

GIBRALTAR CHRONICL

THE PAPER WITH NO POLITICAL BIAS.

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"Business as usual" is the watchword Governor gives to Rock WHAT SPAIN HAD TO SAY

BUSINESS as usual is the watchword the Governor, Admiral Sir Varyl Begg, has given Gibraltar to rise with this morning. His Excellence confident after a meeting with the Gibraltar Council on Saturday which His Excellency is followed today by a get together of the Council of Ministers. There should be no dislocation of essential services and no need for redirection of labour as a result of the sudden withdrawal of the four thousand six hundred Spanish

labour force

FRONTIER GROWD

A crowd of some 700 gathered A crowd of some 700 gathered at the frontier last night for the 11.30 closing of the gate, singing, shouting slogans and giving the victory sign. The final closing of the gate brought a great chorus of boos and shouts of "criminals" immediately followed by a hearty charus of God Save The Queen which the crowd had already been repeatedly singing—after an initial start of "We all live in a yellow submarine".

At the centre of the crowd was an outsize Union Jack carried by Michael Yome, Jerome Ignacio and Anthony Amatto. Soon after the gate was closed there was an attempt to rush the flag from the crash barriers to the frontier gates which was very nearly success. Il—but for an effective rugby tackle. The crowd dispersed quietly before midnight.

There were television and press teams on both sides of the fronter and a crowd of civil guards and police stayed on the Spanish side near the gates until after the closing.

TUC STRIKES TALKS TODAY

LONDON, Sunday The Prime Minister's Inner Cabinet is meeting in London to examine in detail the Trades Union Congress's plan for dea-ling with strikes. They will discuss the stand Mr Wilson and his Minister for Employment and Productivity, Mrs Barbara Castle, will take at tomorrow's talks with TUC

This should be helped if the request put out by the Branch Executive of the Transport and General Workers Union is followed out. This is that all members and workers in general should render maximum cooperation to employers and the authorities to cope with the situation.

The Executive continues:

Gibraltar's immediate reaction was one of complete sympathy for these employees and fellow workers who have earned their living for twenty, thirty, forty and sometimes fifty years on the Rock. As they crossed the frontier for the last time with the tools of their trade and tea mugs, most with tears in their eyes, many with tears actually falling, it was a hard man who could not pity these men and their 20,000 odd dependants who are thrown by the action of the Madrid Go. vernment onto the already swol. len Campo area unemployment market.

As when the female labour was withdrawn some two years ago they have been given promises of the equivalent of wages. Even if the promise was kept it could never replace the dignity and self respect which goes with a job.

Dockvard

The dockyard loses about a thousand workers, but with the run down of the Royal Navy with defence cuts it has not been working at full capacity and can take time to make adjustments. The Ministry of Public Building and Works will be without about half their force having lost 800. Minister John Silkin who had the bad luck to say twenty-four hours too early that he did not think the Spaniards would withdraw the labour had this to say before leaving yesterday:

"I count myself very fortunate"

ment and Productivity, Mrs
Barbara Castle, will take at
tomorrow's talks with TUC
leaders.

Correspondents say the meeting
may be the last chance of averting a head-on clash although the
final decision of how the Government's Industrial Relations Bill
will deal with unofficial strikes,
will not be taken until a full Cabinet meeting is held later in the
week.

Mr Wilson has said that the
TUC plan, which will permit it
to intervene in unconstitutional
strikes and intervunion disputes.

What will be maintained.

But the essential services apart
from buses may be slowed but
not dislocated. Our tourist industry being fairly young was not a
large employer of Spanish labour

As on previous occasions we are confident that all Gibraltarians will give their best in order to thwart the Spanish plans to destroy Gibraltar.

Gibraltar's immediate reaction except in the bars and restaurants. Both Worlds which officially opens this week is completely Spaniardless. Other hotels will feel some pinch in the kitchens and services but should not be disrupted to the inconvenience of clients. clients

The Bland companies — agents for BEA and BUA, sea and air services to Tangier, and the Cablecar — are running as normal and travel agents have no reason to interfere with their booking schedules.

schedules.

Shops should be able to make up staff from family and that still comparatively unexploited housewife labour force which has been growing over the last few years. The Housewives Association after an emergency meeting yesterday announced that they are recruiting a labour force, and those interested should contact Mrs Llambias, Telephone 2800 or any committee member.

To bein smooth running the Gi.

any committee member.

To help smooth running the Gibraltar Chamber of Commerce requests Members, and Traders generally, to confirm to the Chamber their minimum essential labour requirements immediately. At the same time, the Chamber requests all those men and women, who can offer their services to trade generally to do so at its office at 40, Main Street, Telephone 4367.

Contractors hit

Contractors hit

But there are those who have been hit including in particular some of the contractors. The Chronicle spoke yesterday to Manuel Linares who has only a handful of what was his labour force who are not Spanish. He had about 120 spread around the town on new projects and maintenance work. Overnight he finds that his business built up over the last thirty years has been paralysed.

For twelve years he has been anxious to get other than Spanish labour to prepare for what has now happened. But requests to Government to provide accommodation have been unfruifful.

But basically it will be a matter of tackling problems as they arise. The Beeching report which might have helped is finally likely to see the light of day on Tuesday. Meanwhile Duncan Sandyexpressed the view in England that Spanish workers in England (Continued on back page)

(Continued on back page)

A Saturday midnight bulletin from Radio Nacional in Ma-

A Saturday midnight bulletin drid, had this to say:
"Among the measures adopted in connection with the Gibraltar problem. is the closure of all land communications between Spain and the British colony. With effect from Monday, an order from the Government Praesidium decrees that the Frontier Police Control Post will be closed to all persons, whatever their nationality and whatever their passports, without exception.
"With effect from Monday, in "With effect from Monday, in

nationality and whatever their passports, without exception.

"With effect from Monday, in addition, an order by the Ministerio de Haclenda will also close on a permanent basis the third-class customs house which, in La Linea de la Concepcion, had until now been controlled from Algeciras. As these new decrees will not make it possible for Spanish workers to go to Gibraltar, the Government will adopt certain adequate emergency measures so that such workers will not suffer in the least any economic hard-ship as a consequence.

"In this connection, official sources affirm that the same wages they have been receiving in the British colony will be guaranteed until such time as they are found work in Spain.

"The new measures will, how.

"The new measures will, however, not alter in any way the Special Pass concessions establishment of civilian residents in Gibraltar. Such persons may continue to enter Spain through any normal official frontier, and may freely travel through Spanish territory.

through Spanish territory.

"The measures which the Spanish Government has been obligion to take are in defence of her rights and interests in Gibraltar and are only aimed at safeguarding such interests. They contain, in no way, the slightest animosity towards the civilian population on the Rock and it is recalled, in this respect, that Spain has made continuous generous proposals to Great Britain for the protection of the interests of the inhabitants of that colony.

"But, It is evident that Spain (CLUIDCL) and testing the habit was being established by many to take the fine as a deterrent. The habit was being established by many to take the fine as a almost an equivalent of buying oneself out of the reserve training.

Now offenders are liable in the first instance to a fine of £25, the second and subsequent £50 or imprisonment for three months or imprisonment for three months

of that colony.

"But, it is evident that Spain could not passively accept the unilateral British decision to promulgate a New Constitution for Gibraltar. This is a flagrant defiance of the resolutions bassed in the United Nations; a major violation of the Treaty of Utrecht and one more proof of Britain's decision not to negotiate with Spain the decolonisation of the Rock.

have been ignored or arbitrarily infringed, and the Spanish Government has found itself in the unavoidable necessity of defending herself in an efficient and unequivocal manner.

"In order to avoid negative reaction which might affect Spanish workers who served on the Rock, a Ministry of Labour Commission has gone to the Campo de Gibraltar, and the Vice-President of the Department of National Social Order, Sr. David Perez Puga has held a meeting with the Sindicato de Trabajadores, where he has explained the res, where he has explained the measures adopted by the Govern-

More expensive default.ng

ONE of the last Bills for consideration by LegCo will have the effect of making de-faulters from the Gibraltar Regiment reserve training sub-ject to heavier fines than previously operated.

previously operated.

The Magistrate not long ago found himself in the position of realising that the £10 fine he was permitted to impose was inadequate as a deterrent. The habit was being established by many to take the fine as almost an equivalent of buying oneself out of the reserve training.

Now offenders are liable in the first instance to a fine of £25, and second and subsequent £50 or imprisonment for three months or both.

CHURCH LEADERS CONDEMN SMITH **PROPOSALS**

SALISBURY, Sunday—Church leaders of almost all denoleaders of almost all deno-minations in Rhodesia have joined in condemning Mr Ian Smith's constitutional propo-sals which will be put to a referendum later this month.

Spain the decolonisation of the Rock.

"This constitution radically afters the status of the Gibraltarian colony to the exclusive benefit of British military interests, which subordinate and sacrifice the specific interests of the inabitants of the Rock.

"It is also recalled that this international status had been condemned by the United Nations, who had foreseen its disappearance by October 1st of this year. In addition, such status contrasted from the Treaty of Utrecht which of a purely bilateral nature, continued in existence and which contained clauses which protected other rights and interests of Spain "These rights and interests" in the Rioucesia in the

VOX

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FLOATING AMBUL ANCE



The Ocean going Survey Ship "Hecla" converted into a Hospital Ship here sailed for the Falkland Islands on Tuesday afternoon.

The "Hecla", with her Wasp Helicopter seen in the picture on deck astern will be used as a Floating Ambulance for the Hospital Ship "Uganda".

OUTSTANDING RESULTS

Charles Conroy, a Sergeant in the Gibraltar Police, returned to Gibraltar last week after having obtained outstanding results in the Ju-Jitsu courses he undertook in England.

With him Charles has brought back Gibraltar's first Black Belt. He also successfully passed the Ju-Jitsu advanced Instructors Course. Such were his results that he was presented with a Medallion by Professor Clarke author of numerous books on Martial Art and Director and Co-ordinator for the World Ju-Jitsu Federation, for outstanding work during the course for his Instructors Award.

Hard training sessions and ling had Charles at work from 10 am to 2 pm. and from 4.30pm to 8.30 pm. and visiting Bolton, Lea, Warrington, Conolton, Wiveram, Rochdale, and Liverpool, the British Ju-Jitsu Association Headquarters of the World Ju-Jitsu Association.

His Instructors on the courses were Thomas Fletcher 4th Dan, Regional Coach Terry Humber, 3rd Dan the English International Free Style Champion, and John Tattersal 2nd Dan; also Dave Hudgson, International Coach and England's National Coach who presented Charles Conroy with his Black Belt.

At Rochdale, training at the same time that Charles was there was a stunt man learning the "falls" for a James Bond 007 film being made.

The Ju-Jitsu World Federation that now with Gibraltar consists of 43 countries will hold a World Congress in Liverpool in October when Black Belt Charles Conroy hopes to take a team over from Gibraltar.

NO "OPEN SESAME"



The 20 April came and inspite of what Spanish President Calvo Sotelo had said the frontier remained closed because of a Spanish "Change of Heart".

The day here went by unnoticed - it can hardly be expected that after 14 years experience the people here could be thrilled with anticipation, or feel disappointment.

ment, at anything promised by the Spanish Government.

On the other side of the Garlic Wall, however, things were very different. The people there believed, and counted on, the fulfilment of the word given by their President, consequently their disappointment at one more let-down was understandable.

The Communist Party of Andalucia had organised a demonstration to their side of the frontier on 20 April as a protest at the volta face by their Government.

The Demo turned out to be a micro one for only about 50 people turned up and those were quickly dispersed by a few National Police guards out of the two coaches full that were at the ready but found not to be needed.

XMAS GREETINGS IN APRIL

A letter posted in England at the beginning of December last reached the addressee in Gibraltar on the 16 April, 1982 - four months later!



The letter, addressed to our Editor, came from Gib's good friend Ron Williams, former Commissioner of Police here.

Ron and his charming wife Pam are now well settled in their huge and magnificent estate in Doncaster, Yorkshire.

It is because of the disgraceful mail service we suffer in spite of what we pay for postage that we now pass on the very belated Christmas greetings and best wishes from Ron and Pam to their many friends here.

Ron, who receives VOX regularly, was very pleased with the success Gibraltar had with the Nationality issue. He writes: "The Nationality issue was excellent and you had a lot of people 'putting in a good word' - from all sorts of places!

Ron and Pam have a very special spot in their hearts for Gibraltar and miss it as much as their many friends here miss them.

Visiting them in their estate is subjecting oneself to a "third degree" about The Rock. The hospitality extended is typical of Ron and Pam and the visit becomes memorably deep-rooted,

BEAUTY STILL CAME

Resutiful and elegant Ita Edge, nee Aguis, the Gibraltarian girl elec-British ted by as their Airways Personality Girl out of 2,500 contestants is holidaying for a few days in Gibraltar visiting her family.

Ita was scheduled to come to Gibraltar with senior executives of British Airways on



a ten-day promotion trip which included an eight day stay in Malaga - when the frontier opened. That trip has now, of course, been postponed until the new date given by Spain for the opening of the gates, 25th June.

GARAGE GIFT

1 Fortress STRE have built a garage for the Senior Citizens Home, Mount Alvernia to house the car supplied to the Home and thus preserve it from deterioration due to the weather.

VOX PIXS

Copies of photographs appearing in VOX, size 7" x 9½" may be purchased by ordering them at VOX, Cloister House Cloister Ramp.

including a "sight-seeing" trip in a huge tractor where sitting in the cabin makes you feel you are watching things from a window on the first floor of a house!





Press Reports of the demonstration in London





CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CLOSED YEARS: TESTIMONIALS

Throughout the next 16 years, Gibraltar was a city under siege. For most people, their links with the outside world were air travel to London and a short ferry journey to Morocco. The closed frontier years strengthened the ties between Britain and Gibraltar in almost every way.

The people of Gibraltar continued to develop their own unique identity. The sixteen years of frontier closure were instrumental in the political, cultural, social and economic development of the Gibraltar that we know today.

For almost two decades, the people of Gibraltar stood strongly by their beliefs and never gave up on their free and democratic wish to remain British Gibraltarians.

They showed the world that their birthright and their right to self-determination was not for sale.

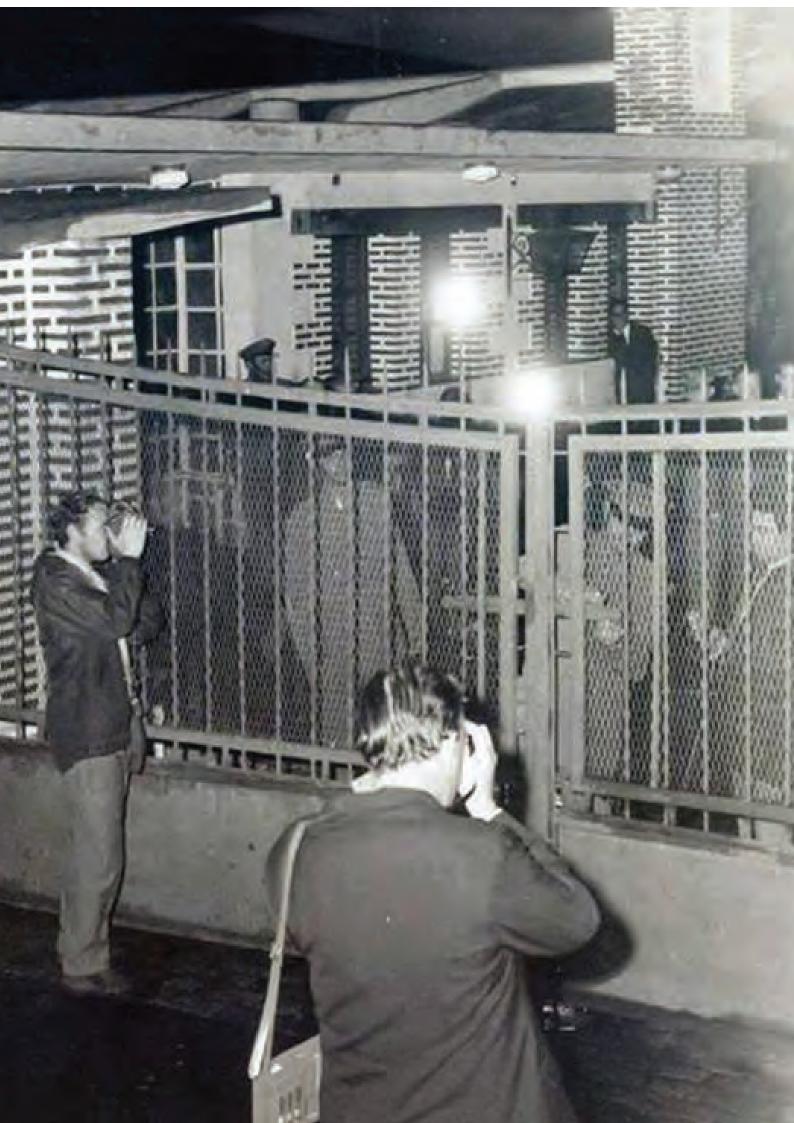
It is this steadfast commitment that we remember and celebrate fifty years on.

The closure of the frontier affected the people of Gibraltar, and their families, friends and colleagues who were caught on the other side, in many different ways. It is important that these individual accounts are documented for future generations.

In a valuable Oral History project, the Gibraltar National Archives undertook a series of interviews with Gibraltarians who were willing to share their memories of life with a closed frontier.

They told Archivist Anthony Pitaluga of their personal experiences the day the frontier was closed, how it affected their daily lives for 16 years, and how they explained the situation to their children.

These are their stories.





Juan Carlos Teuma

Anthony: Juan Carlos, do you have recollections of that period?

Juan Carlos: Well, at the time I was working for GBC and I do of course recall the closing of the frontier. One thing I do recall is that as they were closing the frontier, of course, there was a lot of noise on both sides and I was very close to the gate.

Anthony: So, you were actually... Where were you on that night?

Juan Carlos: I was right next to the gate which was about to be closed and padlocked. The gate was still open and I got so close that I saw a Spanish policeman 'Brigadilla' that they called them, tell a uniformed policeman 'if he steps over that line grab him.'

Anthony: What you are describing is the picture you submitted when we did the appeal?

Juan Carlos: That's right, yes. I was in the back and George Valarino is carrying the, or I am carrying this news bag which we used.

Anthony: George who later became General Manager of GBC.

Juan Carlos: That's right. At the time he was the Head of Photography. I was his assistant or the photographer in GBC and so that sort of scared me. Later on when it reopened, I was lucky enough to come and do pictures of the re-opening of the frontier.



Above: Photo submitted by JC Teuma of the closure of the frontier gate. Below: Families torn apart by a closed frontier catch a glimpse of each other at the gate.





Robin Payne

On the day that the frontier closed, Robin was working on a site at Both Worlds. He never expected that his Spanish co-workers would not be able to return to work the next day.

I went to work or worked on the Both Worlds at Sandy Bay, which was pretty hectic.

My recollection of the actual closing of the frontier was the day before it closed because there were quite a lot of Spanish workers at Both Worlds - is the people who were living in Gibraltar giving them [Spanish workers] lifts down to the frontier with their tools etc and then on the Monday morning everybody saying 'Well, where have my tools disappeared?'



Clive Golt

Anthony: General Franco and the Spanish regime went whole hog and to strangle the economy including withdrawing medicinal oxygen supplies from the hospital and hospital supplies.

Clive: And they went as far and some people forget as cutting the telephone lines, which meant that you could ring anywhere in the world from Gibraltar other than Spain and from Spain you could ring anywhere you like other than Gibraltar.

This caused and was another very horrific sight and was very sad. This caused huge human problems because there were relatives on both sides of the border and people couldn't get to talk to each other than by letter, which took ages, and going down to

the border and shouting at each other. That was really horrific. It was very sad and a bad thing to watch. It was unbelievable that it was happening.

Anthony: You as a citizen of Gibraltar, did you notice the months after the closure any drop in supplies any difficulties purchasing?

Clive: No. We took care of that very quickly because we started bringing in goods from Morocco and from the United Kingdom. It was more expensive but again a lot of jobs had gone so the women played a huge role. A lot of women didn't work at the time.

So, they took up a lot of jobs and the men took up part time jobs, which meant that we replaced the holes in the economy and that meant that we kept going.



GIBRALTAR'S WOMEN ROSE TO THE CHALLENGE

The loss of the Spanish workforce created a hole in Gibraltar's economy. Without the intervention of women in plugging this gap and taking up jobs, the economy could well have collapsed. The role of women was crucial in ensuring Gibraltar's social and economic resilience throughout the closed border years.





Aileen Gordon

Aileen: We had been to Spain a couple of times and I remember that my daughter was about 6 at the time and we went up the Rock for a picnic.

We were at [Princess] Caroline's Battery looking across at the frontier and she said 'What's that?'

I said 'That's Spain over there' and she said 'What's that road?'

I said 'That is the road leading to Spain.'

She said 'Mum why did we have to take those 2 ships to get to Spain?' 'We could have just walked across'

Anthony: Because you are talking about you went via Tangiers and Algeciras...

Aileen: Of course, that's the only way to get across.



Louis Avellano

At midnight each night, the Gibraltarian authorities closed their border gate. They returned to open it every morning as usual. Louis Avellano recalls this gesture, which symbolised that Gibraltar never wanted a closed frontier with Spain.

One thing that I remember was that Gibraltar used to go every day and close the frontier [gates].

So, every evening or every night whether it was midnight we went and closed our side of the frontier and then reopened it for the workers.

Obviously nobody could come because they closed their side of the border.

I remember that bit. I remember families having to go to the gates to shout over to their families in La Linea.

I had friends coming from England at times and they wanted to go over to Spain to see, obviously, they wanted to experience.

The worst bit was that I had to take them from here again to Tangiers, Tangiers and Algeciras, Algeciras – La Linea and I remember once we went to the Fair in La Linea and what normally would have taken 10 minutes to get across took 24 hours.



Patrick Franco

In conversation, Anthony and Patrick discuss the effect of the closed years on the forging of the Gibraltarian identity.

Anthony: Franco's intention was to stranglehold the Gibraltar economy and in actual fact it turned out to be the other way around because not only did Gibraltarians have 2 and 3 jobs but then they couldn't spend their money any where else other than Gibraltar.

It was the same money going around and people were better off.

Patrick: It did and I think that bond as a Gibraltarian, as an identity grew very strong.

Anthony: So, the thirteen years of closure made Gibraltarians have to adapt and this adaptation you think contributed to the forging of the Gibraltar identity?

Patrick: I think so. It made us. Another thing that we had with the border closed, another thing is I used to take my children and play

at today what is the loop, where you get the queues of cars.

There was no danger of the children being run over. There was very little traffic, no traffic at all.

But then, unconsciously, we didn't see what we were doing with our children because we didn't see because we were taking them there to play. But they were seeing families on each side of the border, shouting, crying ...

Anthony: Segregated...

Patrick: That's right. Showing babies, holding babies, good news and bad news. So, I didn't see these but my son would stop with his bicycle and look and he used to ask me 'Dad, whats going on?' There were people crying because relatives had died on the other side. Spanish girls married to locals and vice versa.

