



40
YEARS
1985
2025

40th Anniversary of the Full Opening of the Frontier



Gibraltar National Archives

HM Government of Gibraltar

Foreword

by the Hon Dr Joseph Garcia CMG MP, Deputy Chief Minister

The border with Spain has long defined relations with Gibraltar. It marks the physical extent of our territory on land. This is where Spain ends and where Gibraltar starts and that will not change going forward.

In looking at the 40th anniversary of the opening of the border, it is inevitable that this exhibition will look at its closure as well. When the frontier gates slammed shut in 1969 it was a nation forming event for Gibraltar. It marked a before and after.

For hundreds of years after the Treaty of Utrecht was signed Gibraltar has had border disputes with its neighbour. The primary antagonist in 1969 was General Franco the Spanish military dictator who so confidently predicted that Gibraltar would fall like a ripe fruit after those gates were closed. He was completely mistaken. Franco not only damaged Gibraltar-Spain relations but also caused enormous hurt to his own people in the region, many of whom still bear witness to the scars provoked by his regime.

The closure of the frontier happened on a single day, on 9 June 1969. It was, however, the product of a gradual escalation of tensions which had commenced long before then. The Spanish restrictions, or sanctions, against Gibraltar arguably date back to when the Gibraltarians took the first steps towards self-government with the establishment of a Legislative Council in 1950. The visit of HM Queen Elizabeth II in May 1954 sparked further conflict with Spain. In response to that visit, General Franco decreed that there would be no new passes issued to Spanish cross-frontier workers as from April.

This deterioration of relations intensified throughout the 1960s until the final closure of the frontier by Spain in 1969. What remains ironic is that many of the Spanish arguments about Gibraltar made at the United Nations today, still refer to the Spanish red book on the subject first published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under a military dictator in 1965.

The frontier remained totally or partially closed until February 1985. General Franco had passed away ten years earlier, in 1975, which means that the gates were shut for longer by the democratic transition governments of Spain than they had been under the dictatorship.

The full opening of the frontier in 1985 was not an act of charity. It was rather a matter of *realpolitik* which

was spurred on by Madrid's desire to join the European Economic Community (EEC), as it was then, and being faced with the obvious requirement of lifting the restrictions against Gibraltar before that happened.

The border opening was delayed and subjected to several false starts. The reason for this was the demand from Madrid for something in exchange. This caused considerable disquiet and downright anger in Gibraltar when it became clear that part of that price was negotiations on sovereignty.

So, the United Kingdom threatened to veto Spanish entry but, in the end, implicitly under the Lisbon Agreement in 1980 and explicitly under the Brussels Agreement of 1984, put the sovereignty of Gibraltar on the table for the first time.

This was the background which saw the Spanish gates swing open on 5 February 1985.

The exhibition touches on the departure of the United Kingdom and Gibraltar from the European Union as well, which almost serves to bring the frontier issue full circle.

Brexit is a subject with which I have been closely involved, both in terms of concluding our exit from the EU and the negotiation of a future relationship with it. It is relevant to note that the centrepiece of that treaty will precisely be the mobility provisions for persons and goods across the land border between Gibraltar and Spain. The policy of eliminating frontier controls must partly be seen against the background of the history of the border as set out in this exhibition.

I am very grateful to the Government Archivist Gerard Wood, who has curated this exhibition, and to his Archival team for their wonderful work on it. They have sifted through an immense number of sources curating them to deliver the best possible display of interesting and relevant information. I know that they have taken on board the feedback from previous exhibitions and are now synchronising panel content with this booklet in a more user-friendly format.

The exhibition covers a period of time which proved to be a key component in the development of the Gibraltarian identity.

I hope you enjoy it!

Introduction

The panels reproduced in this booklet are from the exhibition 40th Anniversary of the Full Opening of the Frontier, Gibraltar National Archives, John Mackintosh Hall, Main Street, Gibraltar, 15th September – 29th September 2025.

The closure of the frontier by the Franco Government in 1969 was a difficult period for those on both sides of the frontier and the memory of the event still reverberates in many of those who lived through it. The full opening of the frontier between Gibraltar and Spain occurred in 1985 and was an important event in the formation of modern Gibraltar.

A new post-Brexit Treaty for Gibraltar involving the frontier demonstrates how important it is to progress as a society towards a brighter future by avoiding a repetition of the past.

Archivist: Gerard Wood **Archival Assistant:** Marcelino Linares

Graphic Design: By Colorworks courtesy of Pete Baldacchino, James Boyd, Soren Montgomery & Team

Acknowledgements

Adamberry Owen, Armstrong John P., Ben Tahayekt Ahmed, Benady Tito, Benatar Odette, Benyunes Julian, Bossano Joe, Britto Stephen, Bugeja Roseline, Button Alec, Calderon Anton, Canepa Adolfo, Canepa Julie, Canessa Andrew, Cardona Kenneth, Catania Suyenne, Celecia Michael, Clinton Roy, Curtis Brian, Danino Albert, De la Cruz Ayshea, Figueras Dennis, Finlayson Thomas James, Gache Tina, Garcia Joseph, Garcia Richard, Golt Clive, Golt Monica, Gonzales Julie, Lewis John, Martínez del Campo Luis G., Martínez Téllez José, Morillo Tony, Nuñez Mario, Payas Ronnie, Payne Robin, Perera James, Pitaluga Anthony W., Pitaluga Jay, Pizzarello Michael, Pons Yalta, Purswani Veena, Robba John, Sanchez Michael, Setter Rick, Smith Francis J., Suissa Abby, Trinidad Jamie, Weisfogel Naomi, Weston Lindsay

A further thanks is also due to all those whose articles, collections, websites, books and archives we have used (please see below).

Sources

Web

El Confidencial: <https://www.elconfidencial.com>, El Español: <https://www.elespanol.com/>, European Parliament: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/>, Flickr: <https://www.flickr.com/>, Gibnet: <https://www.gibnet.com/>, Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation: <https://www.gbc.gi>, Gibraltar Chronicle: <https://www.chronicle.gi>, Gibraltar Government Statistics: <https://www.gibraltar.gov.gi/statistics>, Gibraltar Parliament: <https://www.parliament.gi/proceedings-of-parliament/hansard>, Gibraltar Stories Podcast: <https://gibraltarstories.com/>, HM Government of Gibraltar Press Releases: <https://www.gibraltar.gov.gi/press/press-releases>, Reach Extra: <https://reachextra.com/>, Statista: <https://www.statista.com>, Sur in English: <https://www.surinenglish.com/>, United Nations: <https://www.un.org>, Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Main_Page, Wikipedia: <https://en.wikipedia.org>, XE Currency Converter: <https://www.xe.com>, Your Gibraltar TV: <https://www.yourgibraltartv.com>

Books

A Mighty Fortress set in the Silver Sea Victorian & Edwardian Photographs of Gibraltar R Garcia, A Stone in Spain's Shoe The Search for a Solution to the Problem of Gibraltar P Gold, A Woman's Place: Memoirs of a Gibraltarian Woman – A "Llanita" M Summerfield, Gibraltar 'A Dagger in the Spine of Spain?' G Stockey, Gibraltar y Su Campo: Una Economía Deprimida J V Fuertes, Gibraltar: The making of a People J Garcia, Informe Sobre Gibraltar A Figueruelo, Negociaciones sobre Gibraltar Documentos Presentados A Las Cortes Españolas por el Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores. Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores, Rock of Contention: A History of Gibraltar. G Hills, The Boundaries of Gibraltar T J Finlayson, The Changing Face of Gibraltar in the 20th Century R Garcia

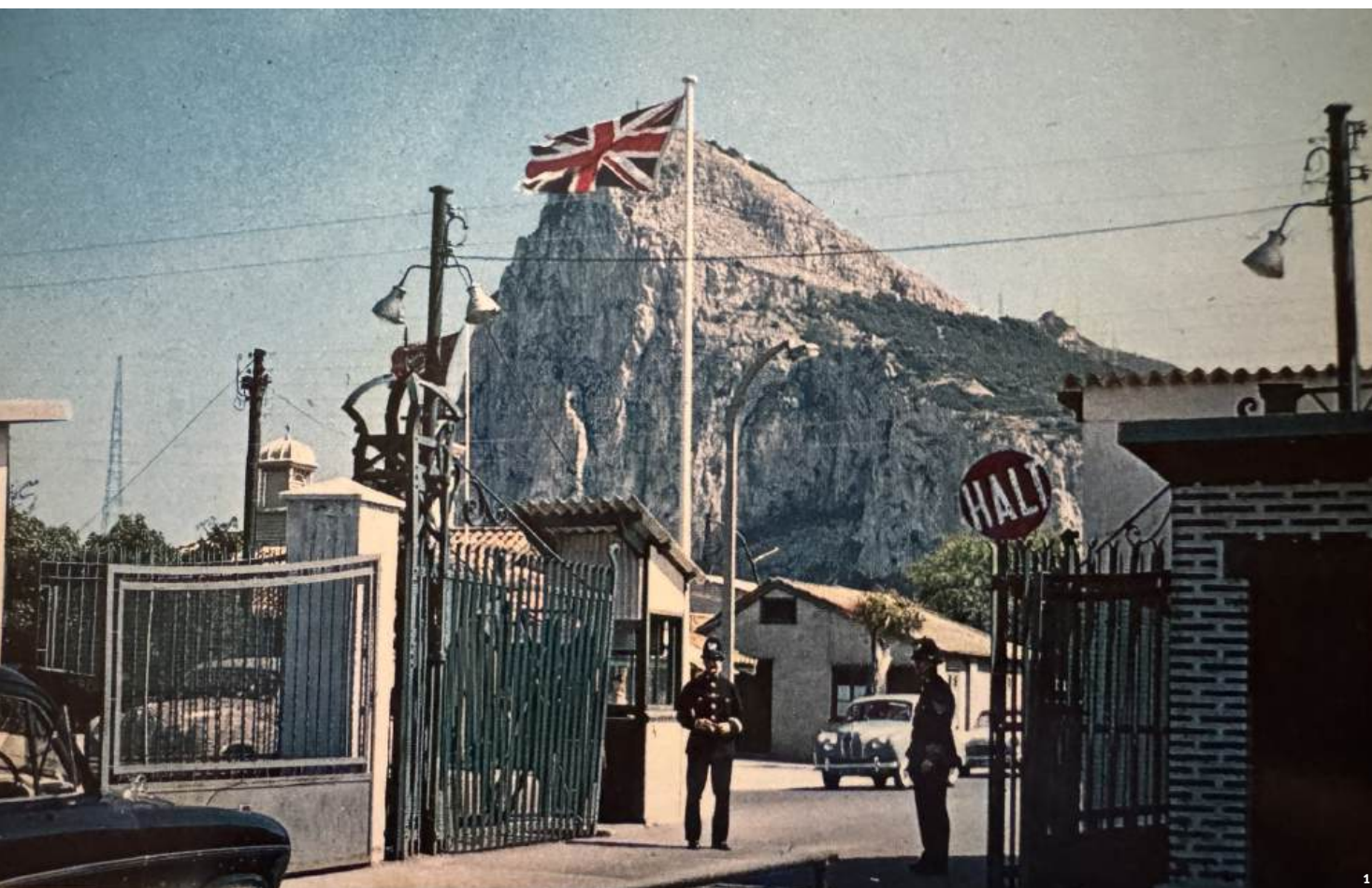
Archives & Collections

Archivo Municipal de la Línea de la Concepción, Gibraltar Heritage Journal, Gibraltar National Archives: <https://www.nationalarchives.gi>, Margaret Thatcher Foundation Archive: <https://www.margarethatcher.org/archive>, The Richard Garcia Collection

Articles

An Economic impact study and analysis of the economies of Gibraltar and the Campo de Gibraltar Update 2015. J Fletcher, K Male & Y Morakabati, Bottom-up Geopolitics and Everyday Brexits at the Gibraltar-Spain Border. F Bono & A Stoffelen, Fantasmas coloniales. La descolonización británica y la ampliación ibérica de la Comunidad Económica Europea, 1981-1986. L G Martínez., Gibraltarians' attitudes towards Brexit and the Gibraltar-Spain frontier. J Dittmer, S Kunz, J Bocking, C Brown, H Cooney, S Datta,...F Zamula, La Iglesia, la falange y el fascismo Un estudio sobre la prensa española de posguerra. A L Diaz, Self-determination and contested peoplehood in Gibraltar: separating the law from the rhetoric. J Trinidad, The economic effects of Brexit in the "Campo de Gibraltar": an econometric approach. L G Bastarrica.

Contents



05 Section One – **The Gibraltar Frontier**

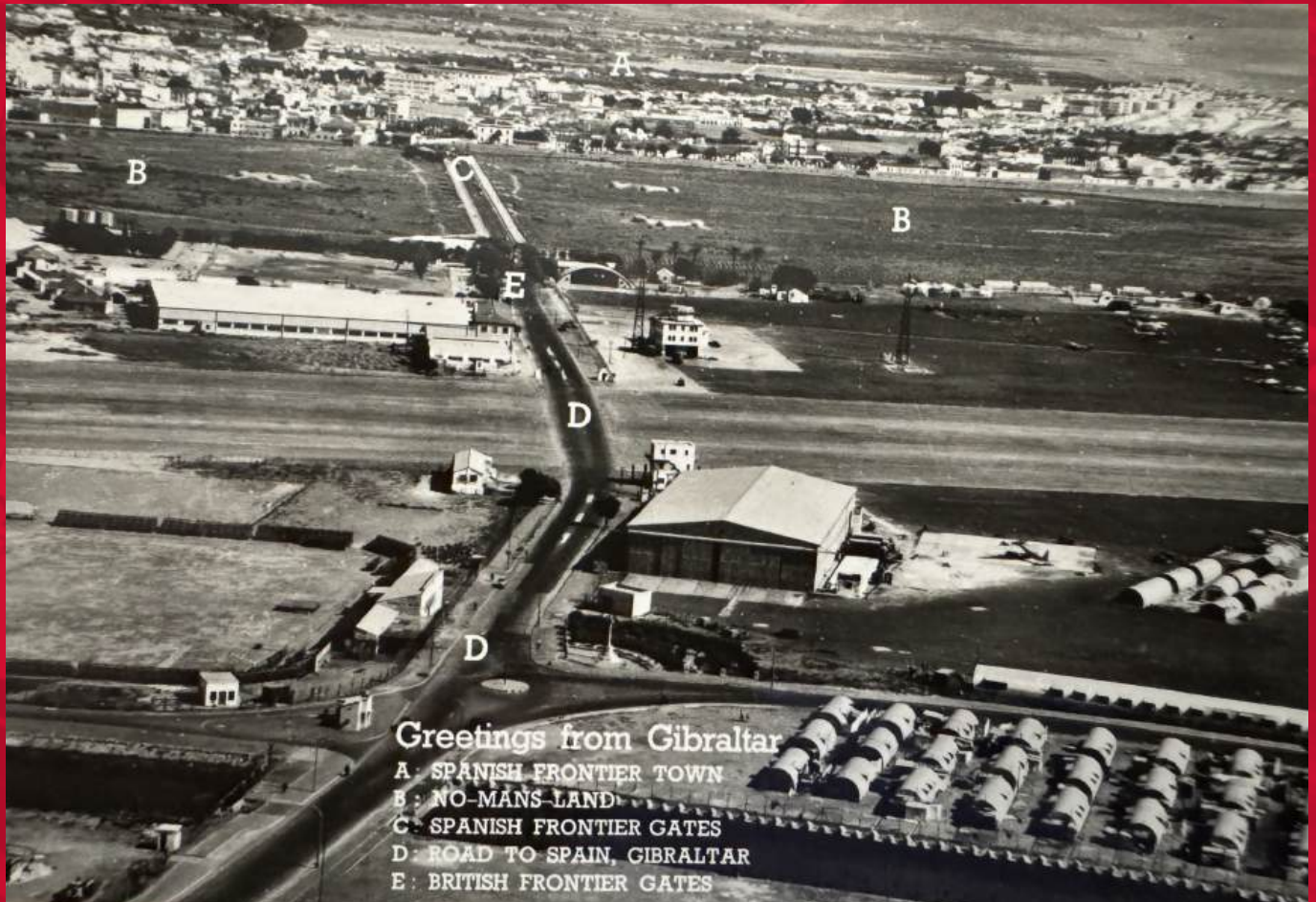
16 Section Two – **The Frontier Closure**

34 Section Three – **The Frontier Opening**

52 Section Four – **The Present Frontier**

62 References

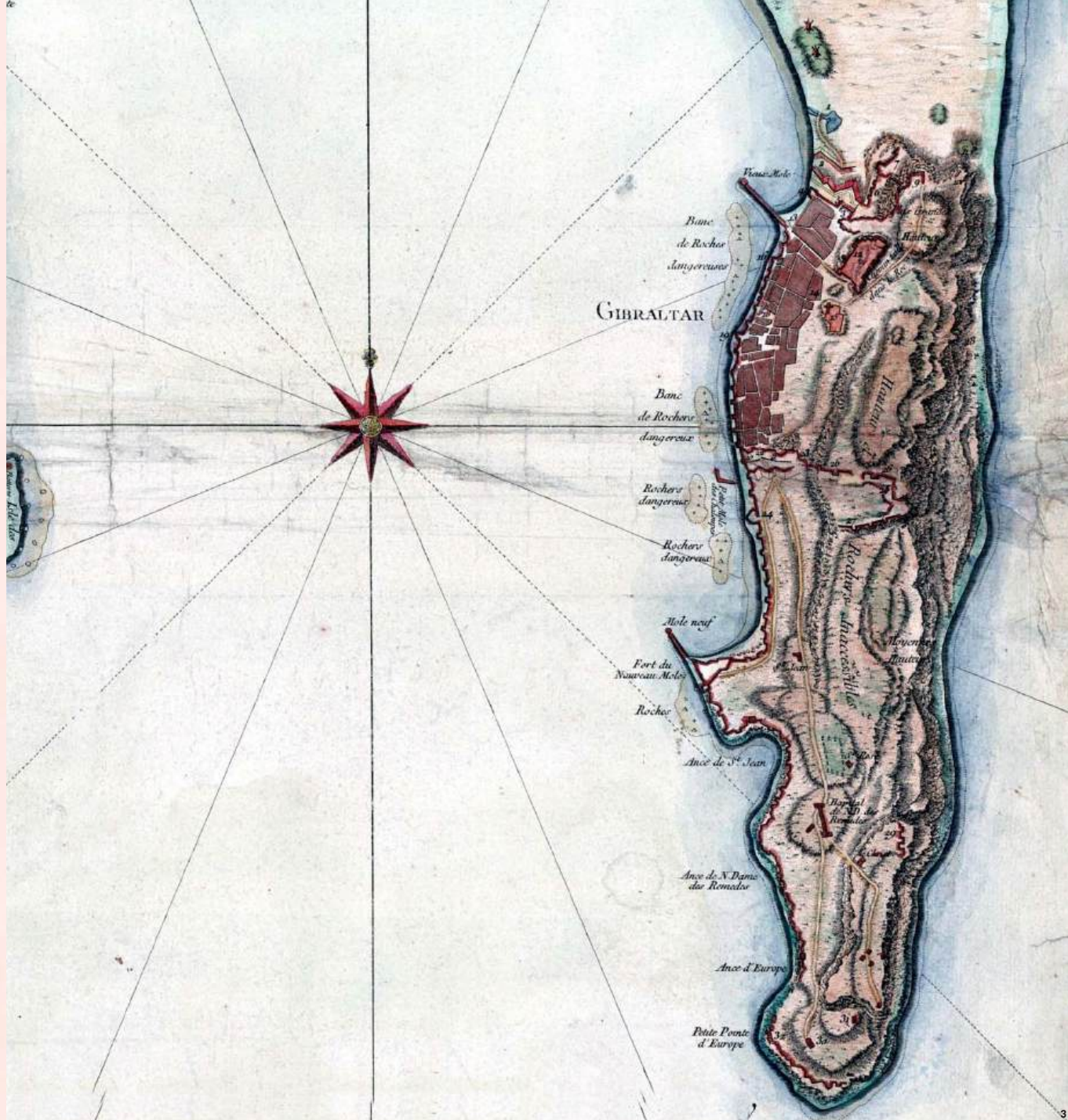
Section One – The Gibraltar Frontier



Welcome to this exhibition to commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the Full Opening of the Frontier between Gibraltar and Spain. The full opening in 1985 occurred after a long period of closure since 1969 during which the Rock was cut off from Spain.

This section will examine:

- British and Spanish views on the location of the frontier.
- The history of the Cross-Frontier worker tradition in Gibraltar.



In 1704, an Anglo-Dutch fleet captured Gibraltar during the war of Spanish Succession in the name of Charles III (House of Hapsburg) pretender to the Spanish throne who was contesting the claim of Philip V (House of Bourbon). Spain later ceded Gibraltar to Britain in perpetuity under the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

Article X of the Treaty of Utrecht states:

*"The Catholic King does hereby, for Himself, His heirs and successors, yield to the Crown of Great Britain the full and intire propriety of the Town and Castle of Gibraltar, together with the port, fortifications, and forts thereunto belonging; and He gives up the said propriety, to be held and enjoyed absolutely with all manner of right for ever, without any exception or impediment whatsoever."*⁴

This wording has led to differing views as to where the frontier between Spain and Gibraltar begins. Spain claims ownership of the area of land between the base of the

Rock of Gibraltar and the Spanish town of La Línea. The Spanish position is rejected by both the United Kingdom and Gibraltar.

"Five months after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, the Lieutenant Governor of Gibraltar Congreve ordered his troops to occupy the Devil's Tower, some 100 yards to the north of the Fortress walls, and the Mill, about 650 yards away on the Bay side of the isthmus."

*When Spain's commander, Don Andrés Pérez, complained this was a violation of the Treaty of Utrecht, [Congreve pointed out that, these distances were within musket range of Gibraltar's batteries (the Mill) and cannon range of the Fortress (Devil's Tower)]"*⁵

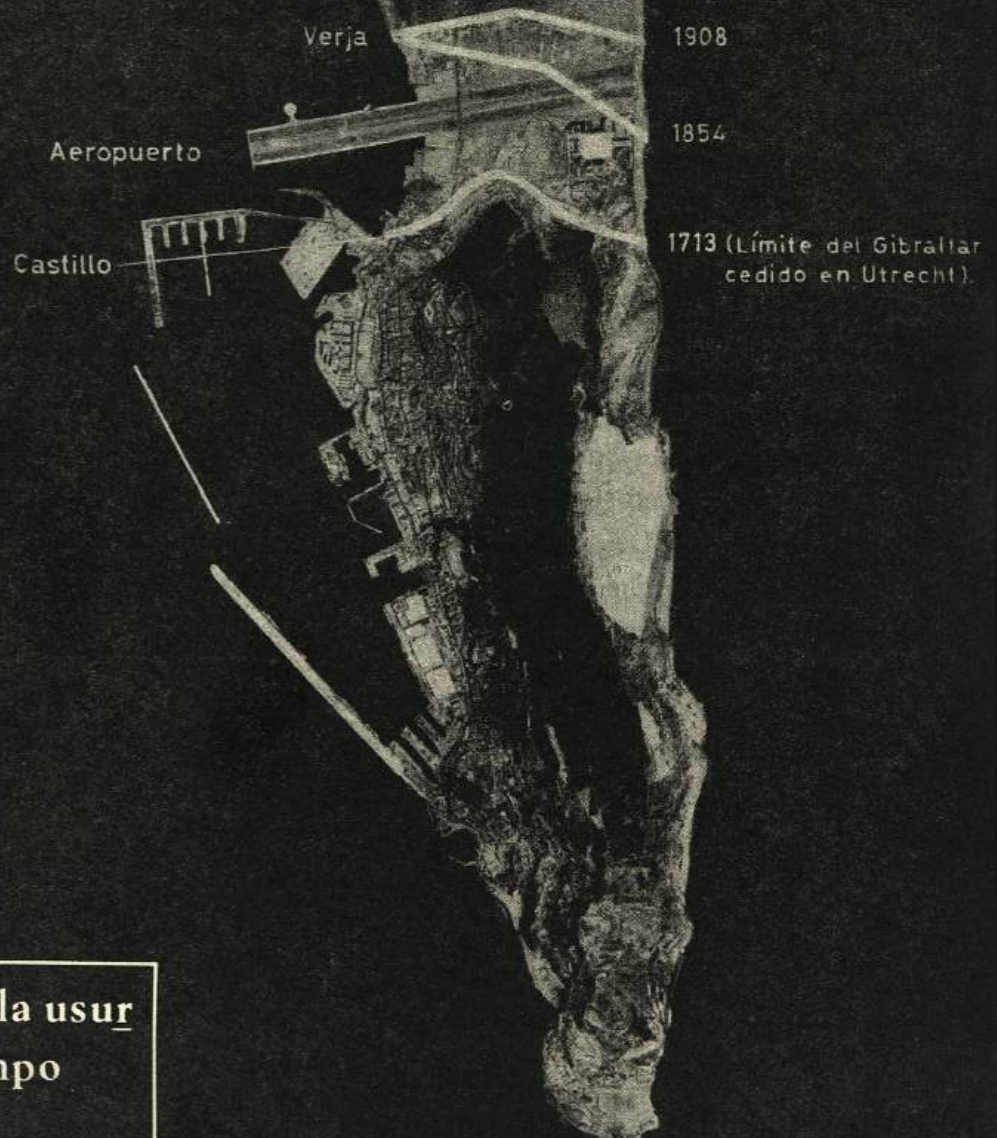
Later correspondence involving the Rt Hon Earl of Kimberley in 1880 indicates that the range of a 24-pounder gun fixed the neutral ground.⁶

The Spanish Red Book published by the Spanish Foreign Office in 1967 sets out Spain's position at a time just before the Frontier closure in 1969. [English translation: 1713 Limit of Gibraltar ceded in Utrecht].⁷

Spain's claim is that an incursion occurred in 1854 when the British, due to an epidemic in Andalusia, built a village of wooden huts "to locate inhabitants and soldiers". However, the British dispute this interpretation claiming, "the British Line had in no way been altered or advanced since Lord Howden's communication of 1851." Lord Howden (British

Ambassador in Madrid) had reiterated the 1845 letter of the Duke of Sotomayor that "the Spanish Government....deems it its duty to demand the removal of the posts fixed on the Neutral Territory in which the Spanish Government for its part refrains from exercising any act of the same or of a similar nature...."

Finally, when the British began constructing a frontier fence in 1908 Spanish "objection was not to the fence itself but to its actual positioning, which the Spaniards claimed was in front of the British line of sentries".⁸



Tres etapas de la usurpacion del Campo Neutral.

No. 1
To Captain's Guard

GARRISON OF GIBRALTAR.

ORDERS OF THE NORTH FRONT GUARD.

OBJECT—The defence of this portion of the Frontier Line and prevention of unauthorised persons crossing it.
The charge of all property in the District.

This Guard is commanded by a Captain during the night.

- 1—The Commander of the Guard is responsible that the ground in front of his sentries' post is kept clear for 100 yards, and if any difficulty should arise, will at once proceed himself to the spot with a party. The Captain may dismount at 7 a.m. in summer, and 8.30 a.m. in winter, in ordinary circumstances.
- 2—No person except the Governor, his family and Staff, the Major-General, and those with them, and British Officers in uniform, are to be allowed to cross the frontier line of sentries except by the main road to Spain.
- 3—Armed parties from Spain coming within 100 yards of our Lines, are to be halted and detained until the orders of the Governor are received, a report being immediately sent to his Excellency through the D.A.A. General.
- 4—No person (British officers excepted) or goods are to be landed or embarked on either beach by day or night, except from Men-of-War or Port Department Boats, or under permit from the Port Office. Boats and vessels taking shelter within rifle shot of the beach are to receive protection, any attacking party being warned off. In cases of shipwreck, assistance is to be given and property taken charge of, but crews if landed, are to be detained under quarantine precautions untouched, until directions are received from the Captain of the Port, to whom an immediate report is to be made.
- 5—The Commander will communicate with the Officer Commanding North Front guard should anything unusual occur. He will exact the strictest attention from sentries to their orders, and will frequently visit them by day and night.
- 6—He will send out patrols 20 minutes after 1st evening gun-fire, and again, at least, once before and after midnight, at uncertain hours, directing them to the Waterworks, Cricket Shed and Cemetery, when all unauthorised persons found in the district before morning gun-fire without a permit or unable to give the countersign are to be arrested, and charged with "loitering on the North Front after 1st evening gun-fire without a permit," the hour of arrest to be stated in charge which must be signed by the individual making the arrest. He will then investigate the matter as far as he can, and if he finds the charge well founded, will countersign it, and forward the prisoner or prisoners with the charge, and any property he or they may have in his or their possession, to the North Front guard. If unauthorised persons or others who have escaped from patrols, or sentries are seen loitering or moving about and cannot be arrested, he will at once send information to the Military Police in the Hutments. By day, in case of any difficulty with civilians not involving a serious offence, their names are to be taken and reported together with the circumstances to the Civil Police at the Four Corners. Should any civilian under such circumstances refuse to give his name, or be unable to understand what is required, he may be taken to the Police Station at the Four Corners for the purpose of obtaining his name, and if necessary the Commander of the guard will then exercise his discretion, as to whether they are to be released or made prisoners. In all cases of arrest or detention of civilians, or Spanish soldiers, a full report of the circumstance is to be made to the D.A.A. General.
- 7—He will assist the Military and Civil Police as much as possible, furnishing them with patrols when required, and will allow no loiterers or vagrants to remain in the district.
It is illegal to arrest persons outside the actual line of British sentries; if loitering within the 100 yards limit, day or night, they should be warned off.
- 8—He will allow no animals to graze within our lines except under permit signed by the D.A.A.G. or C.R.E.
- 9—The sentry on No. 4 post is to be withdrawn whilst rifle practice is going on, but is to be re-posted immediately the practice ceases. The Commander of the guard is held responsible that a quantity of earth is thrown into the latrine buckets, sufficient to cover any excrement that may be there, at least, six times during tour of duty.
- 10—He has charge of the hospital bearer, and is responsible that it is only used in case of accident on the ranges, or in the vicinity of the guard. Any damage it may receive from other causes will be charged against the guard in whose charge it may have been when the damage occurred. The Commander will be particular in noting its condition when taking over the guard.
- 11—He will direct parties with "permits to bury animals" to cross the line of sentries at No. 4 post; but if that sentry is withdrawn on account of firing on the ranges, then at No. 1 post. The parties must be accompanied by a Military Policeman, and are only allowed to bury carcasses on the beach at high-water mark.
- 12—He is held responsible that no damage is done to the railings round the gardens attached to the guard; and will certify in his guard report that they were handed over correct to the relieving guard. When the Officer is not present his room will be kept locked, the Sergeant of the guard being responsible for the custody of the key and the contents of the room.
- 13—The reinforcement of 1 Sergeant and 6 men, together with the Sergeant of the guard, will be stationed at the Four Corners half-an-hour before 1st evening gun-fire, and will remain there until all the people have passed into Spain after gun-fire. They will prevent any persons diverging from the main road between the Four Corners and the 100 yards limit, or any person loitering on the road within that limit. The patrol will not extend but remain together. If men are seen leaving the road a file is to be detached to drive them back. After dark the party will patrol on each side of the road and if necessary detach a file as above. The civil police have been instructed to aid this patrol. The reinforcement will afterwards patrol from the Western to the Eastern beach every hour up to 12 midnight, but the patrols will never go in front of the line of sentries unless actually required to assist the sentries by warning off loiterers and others who may be within the 100 yards limit, but not to arrest any person beyond our line of sentries, or use force unless in self defence. Should the patrol observe Spanish soldiers or patrols advancing within the 100 yards limit, it will at once retire to the line of sentries, and report to the Officer of the guard, who will immediately make a report to the D.A.A. General. The patrol will be fully armed, and will patrol at any time of the night should anything unusual occur. The patrol on dismounting in the morning will call at the North Front Guard and escort to the Police Station at the Four Corners any civilian prisoners who may be in confinement under the orders of the Officer Commanding North Front guard. If requested by the Inspector, they will further assist in escorting the prisoners to the Police Station in Town.
- 14—Sentries and patrols if stoned or assaulted, or if threatened with fire-arms by men who are outside the British lines, are justified in firing ball cartridges at their assailants if unable to drive them off with the bayonet. They will however on no account fire at a greater range than fifty yards, or at men who even at that range cannot be recognised as their assailants; care should be taking to aim low. An Officer will accompany a patrol called out for the assistance of sentries. The rifles and ammunition of all men coming off sentry duty are invariably to be examined, and a certificate to that effect inserted in guard report. Every case of firing is to be specially reported. The same rules apply for buckshot cartridges when these are issued instead of ball cartridges.
- 15—Property found abandoned is not to be touched but is to be left lying on the ground.

By order,

Colonel,

A.A. General.

18-11-90

Instructions for a guard at Four Corners in 1890.

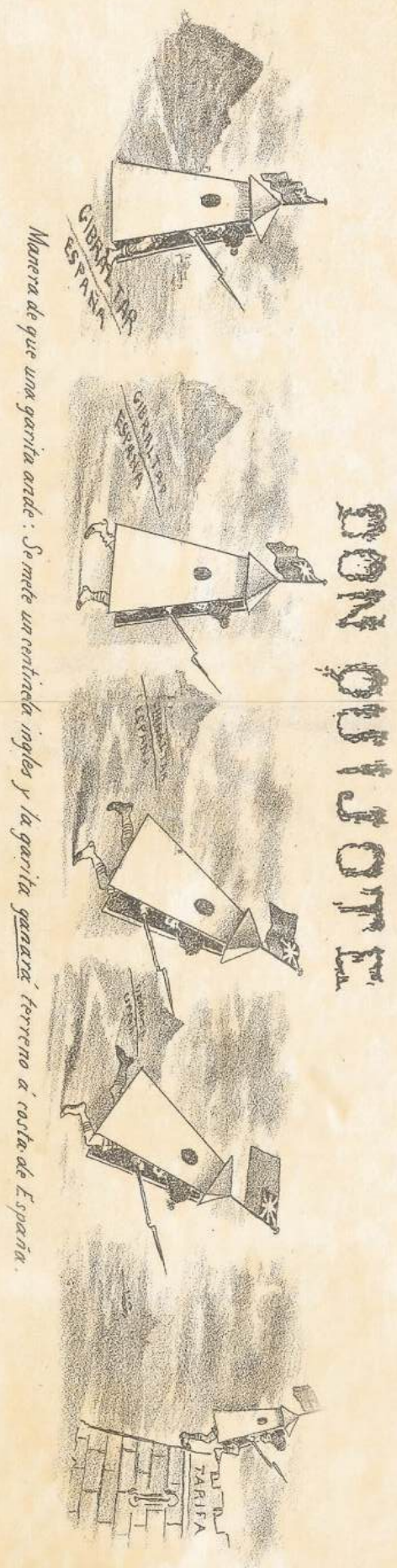


Illustration by Eduardo Sojo "Democritus", published in the Spanish satirical magazine Don Quixote. 22nd May 1892.
 "Way for a sentry box to work: If you put an English sentry in the sentry box he would gain ground at the expense of Spain."

Wire fence across neutral ground



*Typed in duplicate
for S. J. H. H.
22/08*

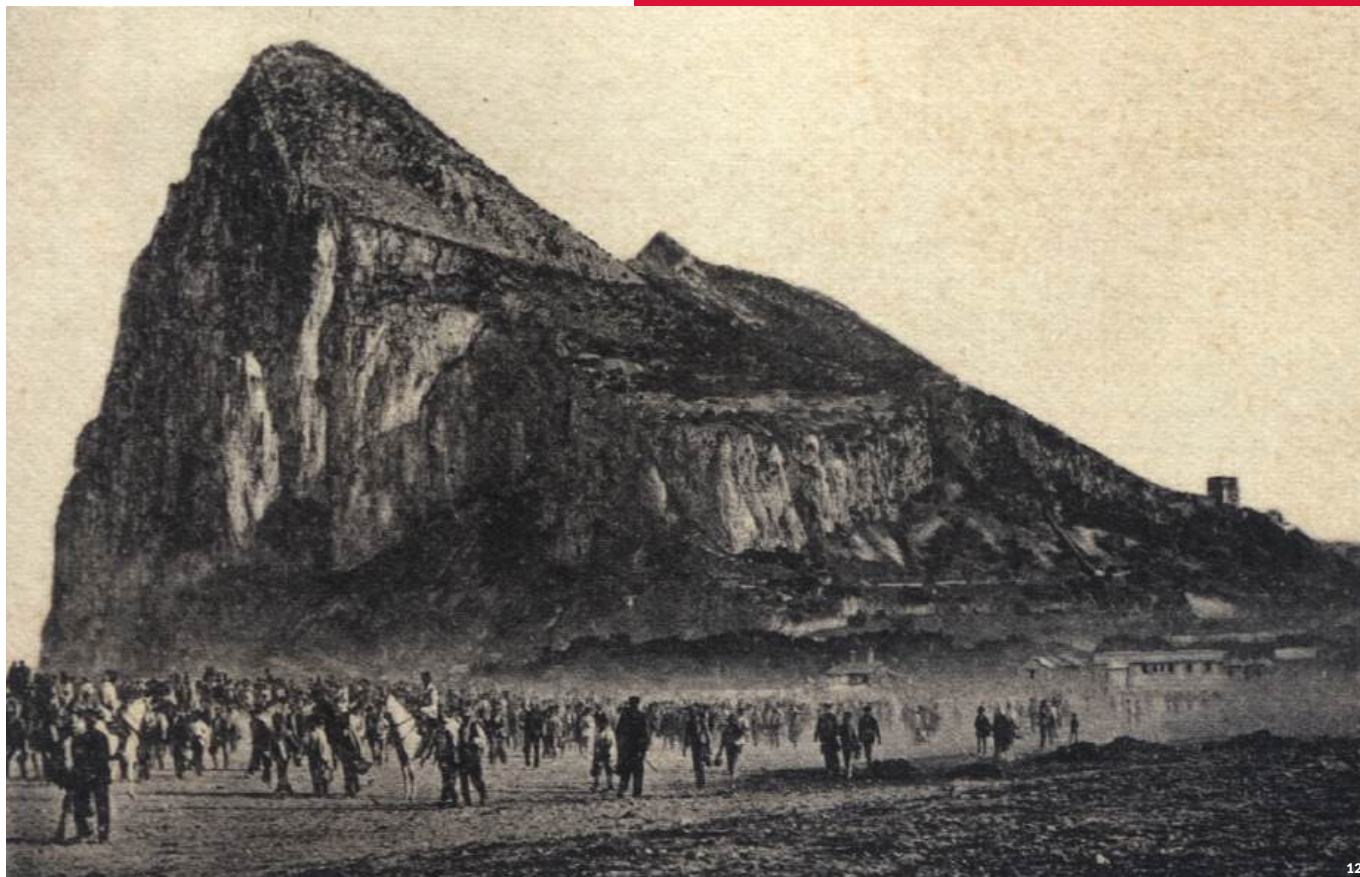
EXTRACT from a Telegram dated 28th. April 1896
from the Governor of Gibraltar to H. M. Ambassador at
Madrid.

"We now endeavour to make persons leaving
"Gibraltar keep to the road but as the British line
"is open and is 1,200 yards in length, I shall be
"prepared to put up a wire fence in order to prevent
"smugglers from breaking through the lines of sen-
"tries as the Spaniards have done on their side."

Telegram about the introduction of
a wire fence to deter smuggling.

The original of the foregoing Extract will be found in
file marked "Commercial Relations with Spain, 1896-97".

J. C. King
Asst. Co. Secretary.
8/8/08



12

This image from the 1900s shows frontier workers crossing from Gibraltar to La Línea.

Two English visitors to Gibraltar documented the daily opening of the frontier with Spain in 1880:

"in stream the most varied crowds you can imagine: tobacco-cutters and cigar-makers (a very large number); butchers, bakers, messengers, charcoal-burners, etc., with their broad-brimmed hats, embroidered vests, and knee-breeches, their faces as dirty as their donkey-trappings; vegetable-carts and barrows; in fact, every article for a large market. These all have to wait outside the gate of the neutral ground until the gun is fired, then you can imagine the stream of three or four thousand, all going in one direction to their different callings".

In the evening gunshots took place to indicate that the fortress gates would soon close and cross-frontier workers as well as Gibraltarians, who could not afford to live in Gibraltar, would leave.¹²

Later upon construction of the frontier fence in 1908, the gates closed at midnight and re-opened in the early morning.¹³



Street Hawkers c1930



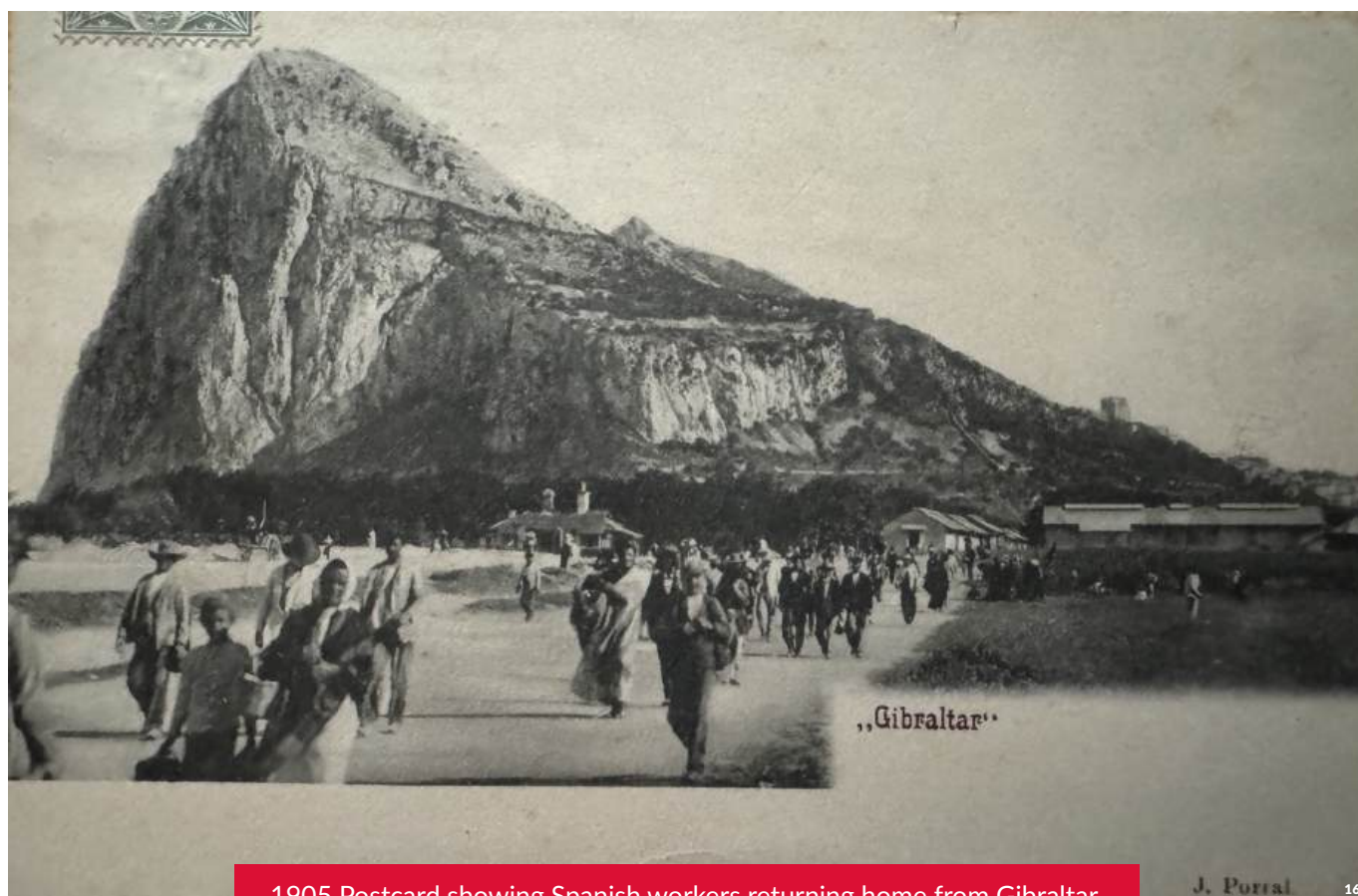
14

and in Irish Town c1925



c. 1903 Postcard of the Spanish frontier fence next to the Spanish Customs House at the northern end of the Neutral Ground.

15



1905 Postcard showing Spanish workers returning home from Gibraltar.

16

List of Lic. Hawkers & others
selling goods etc in & about the
Streets of Gibraltar



| Names | Age | Description of Goods | Nationality | Whether Licensed | Address |
|-----------------------|-----|----------------------|-------------|------------------|----------|
| Jose Machado | 30 | Vegetables | Spaniard | No | La Linea |
| Francisco Gimenez | 45 | -do- | -do- | No. | " |
| Jose Fernandez | 44 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Miguel Perez Cabrera | 18 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Antonio Olze | 29 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Jose Gimenez Tejera | 44 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Jose Pamo | 37 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Pedro Carrera | 27 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Francisco Mena | 32 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Juana Villanueva | 46 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Antonio Dominguez | 58 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Salvador Perez | 21 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Juan Cano | 29 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Juan Clavejo | 15 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Pedro Clavejo | 21 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Alfonso Clavejo | 44 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Jose Burgos Viera | 47 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Jose Lopez | 31 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Jose Rodriguez Medina | 48 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Francisco Ruiz Garcia | 14 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Miguel Ramos | 30 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Jose Mena | 25 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Jose Garcia | 25 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Diego Garcia | 30 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Guillermo Sanchez | 27 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Joaquin Rara | 45 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Antonio Jimenez | 15 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Miguel Hernandez | 14 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Manuel Hernandez | 33 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Manuel Hernandez | 13 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Manuel Espinosa | 29 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Juan Montalavase | 14 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Jose Guirero | 18 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Antonio Rubiales | 23 | -do- | -do- | No | " |
| Miguel Fonci | 24 | -do- | -do- | No | " |

Cross-frontier workers have long been an important part of Gibraltar's economy. At the Gibraltar National Archives, we find records of hawkers dating back to 1925. Most of these hawkers were from La Linea selling their wares in Gibraltar such as Bread, Charcoal, Chocolate Pastries, Eggs, Fish, Fresh Flowers, Fresh Water, Fruit, Haberdashery & Embroidery, Herbs, Milk, Moorish Leather Goods, Olive Oil, Olives, Poultry, Tin Ware, Vegetables and Whip Makers & Vendors.



Frontier c. 1930 vehicle being checked by Gibraltar Police on entry to Gibraltar.

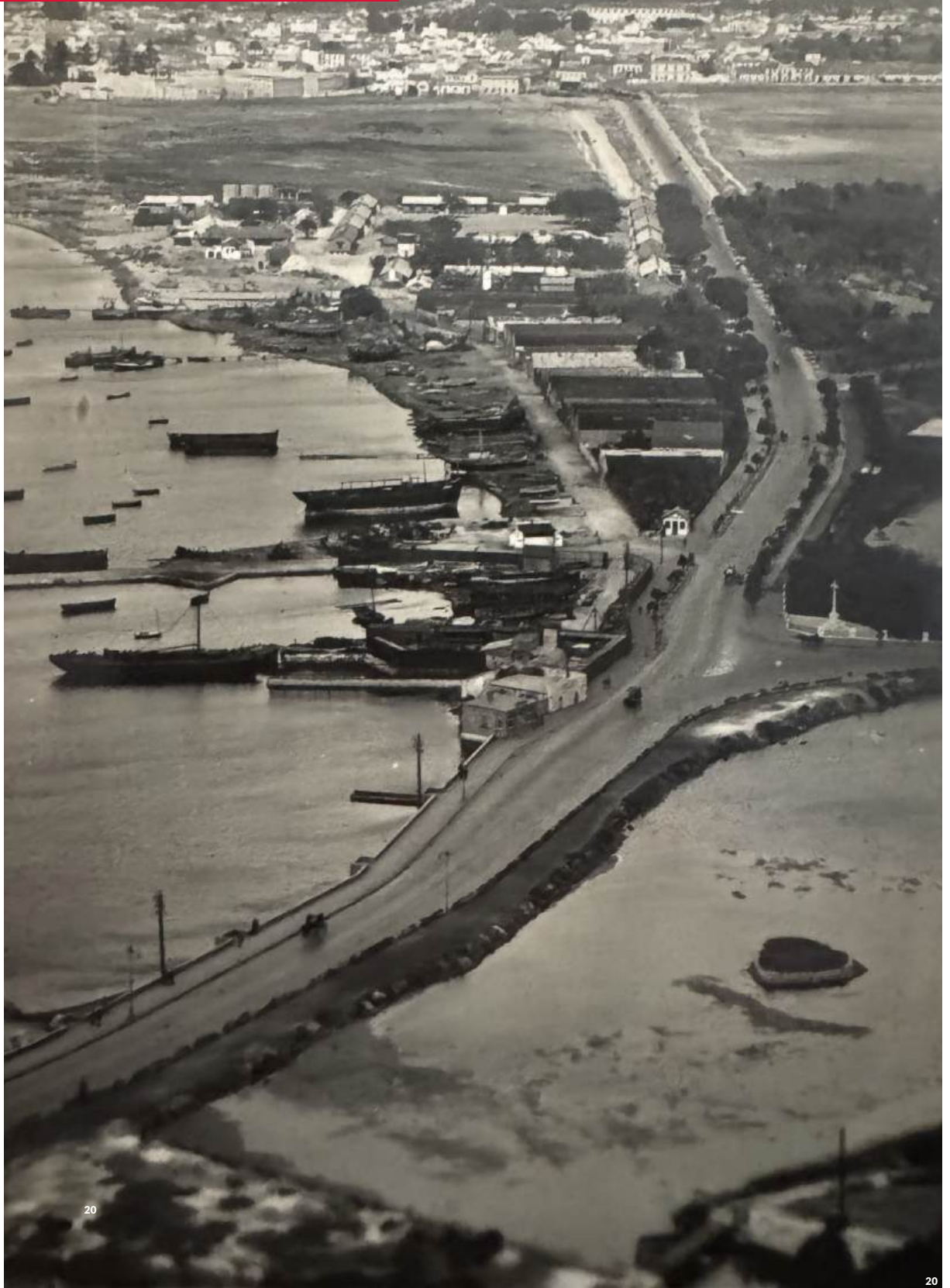
18



The taxi and bus stop outside the La Línea customs house c. 1930. The buses were allowed to run a service from the Customs House at La Línea to the marketplace outside Casemates Gates in Gibraltar.

19

Road going on the causeway past La Laguna (Lake Chad) to the Cross of Sacrifice and then past the Victoria Gardens to the frontier with the Neutral Ground and La Línea beyond. c. 1930s.



Section Two –

The Frontier Closure

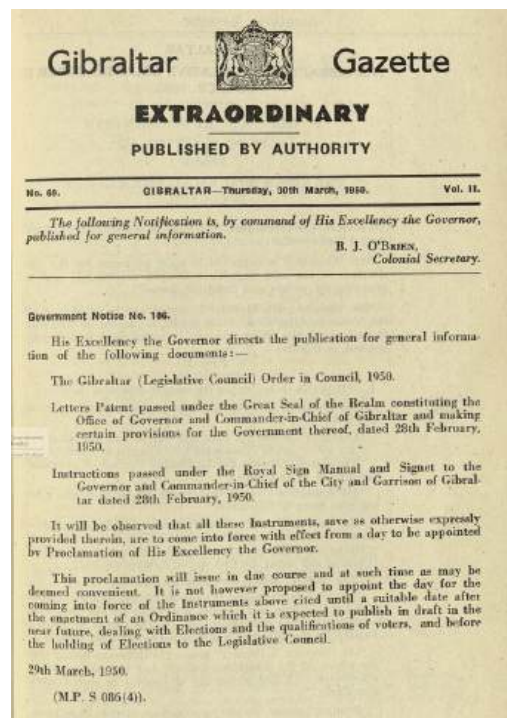


The closure of the frontier was a difficult period for many on both sides of the frontier and has been described as the 15th siege of Gibraltar.²²

This section will examine:

- Events leading up to the frontier closure in 1969.
- The effect that closure had on the local community in Gibraltar and workers across the border in La Línea.

From the late 1720s in Gibraltar, following the treaty of Utrecht, there was a growing realisation of the need for a civic authority to address local issues of refuse collection and paving. Thus, in 1865 the Sanitary Commissioners was established. This would eventually evolve into a partly elected City Council in 1921.²³ Following this trend towards greater self-government in Gibraltar a Legislative Council established in 1950 gave Gibraltarians a greater say in their destiny. However, General Francisco Franco Dictator of Spain at the time had long held an irredentist view of Gibraltar that the true population of Gibraltar resided in San Roque where the population of the fortress still loyal to Philip V had decamped in 1704.^{24 25} Franco began a policy of coercion and restrictions at the frontier after the establishment of the Legislative Council in Gibraltar in 1950.²⁶



←New Constitution: The Gibraltar Legislative Council Order in Council 1950.

"The Duke of Edinburgh's affection for the Rock brought him back on several unofficial visits throughout the 1950s. Indeed, his signature appears as a casual Philip in the 1955 visitor book of the Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club, of which he is the Admiral."- The Hon F Picardo KC MP, Chief Minister, 2017

↓His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh visit seen below with Governor Sir Kenneth Anderson to inaugurate the Gibraltar Legislative Council 23rd November 1950



The British Governor's monopoly of legislative authority ended only in 1950, with the establishment of a legislative council. Bills were passed on the 'advice and consent' of the partially elected Legislative Council, a moderate concession to self-government.



His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh and Governor Sir Kenneth Anderson sit with members of the Legislative Council. 23rd November 1950.

In the years following, the establishment of the Legislative Council, Gibraltar made further steps towards self-governance. The Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights (A.A.C.R.) a political party established in 1942 was particularly instrumental in lobbying for rights for Gibraltarians. Under the leadership of Chief Member of the Legislative Council Joshua Hassan, the A.A.C.R. continued to press for constitutional reform and for a local system of ministerial self-governance in September 1963.²⁹ This was important, as Gibraltar had been on the United Nations list of "Non-Self-Governing Territories" since 1946 following the decolonisation efforts post-World War 2.³⁰ The United Nations Committee of 24 in July 1963 had called for Gibraltar to be decolonised. Spain a United Nations member since 1955 declared an interest and would take part in the proceedings. At the Committee of 24 session, Hassan accompanied by Peter Isola (his political opponent) reasserted Gibraltarian's right to self-determination; Spain on the other hand reiterated its case based on territorial integrity.³¹



Joshua Hassan and Peter Isola address the Committee of 24.

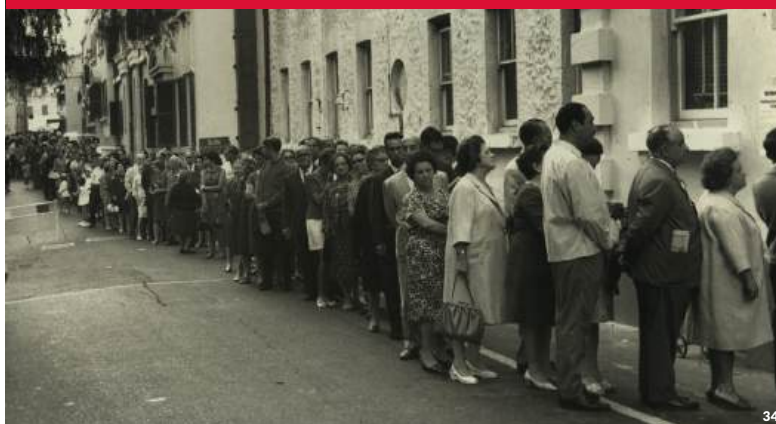
32



Peter Isola and Joshua Hassan on their Triumphant return from the U.N. in 1963.

33

A referendum held in 1967 cemented Gibraltarian's wishes to remain British. Of a 95.8% turnout 12,237 cast their vote, of which 12,138 voted for Britain and only 44 for Spain, with 55 spoiled ballot papers.³⁵



34

Progress towards self-governance continued in Gibraltar despite Spain's protests and in September 1964, Joshua Hassan became the first Chief Minister. Restrictions at the frontier were gradually having an economic effect. "The fall in trade [in Gibraltar] generally during 1965 was estimated at 40 per cent. Britain had to rescue the budget with an outright gift of £100,000 [an approximate value of £1,659,527.91 in 2025] that is £4 [£66 in 2025] per man, woman and child in the place."³⁶ Following this the United Nations issued their verdict Resolution 2353 in 1968 which denied the validity of the referendum of 1967 and as a result Spanish pressure continued to build at the Frontier.³⁷



←In the 1950s Spanish Cross Frontier workers enter Gibraltar to work every day.

"[the Spain-Gibraltar frontier] [is] not [a] normal frontier but merely a police and traffic control post between the city of Gibraltar and [...Campo de Gibraltar]" –Spanish Ministry for Foreign Affairs to US Ambassador in Madrid 23rd Feb 1963.³⁸

↓Driving into Spain a Gibraltar registered car crosses the frontier c1960



"The severity of the economic differences between Gibraltar and the Campo [Campo de Gibraltar: surrounding Gibraltar in Spain] was at all times the principal engine for cross-frontier interaction. In terms of the legitimate economic relationship between the two communities, the frontier marked the dividing line between a relatively

wealthy, urban economy in need of goods and labour for the maintenance of fortress, naval base and colony; and on the other side a relatively poor, rural economy, bereft of employment opportunities.... [This] economic disparity...led to economic interdependence [between the two communities]."⁴⁰

| Gibraltar Workforce | 1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 | 1960 |
|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| British Men | 5051 | 4987 | 4776 | 4745 | 4518 | 4385 | 4274 |
| British Women | 1359 | 1157 | 1228 | 1302 | 1253 | 1238 | 1351 |
| Alien Men | 8290 | 8146 | 8414 | 8116 | 7847 | 7244 | 7692 |
| Alien Women | 4498 | 4132 | 3944 | 3711 | 3549 | 3534 | 3320 |
| Total | 19198 | 18422 | 18362 | 17874 | 17167 | 16401 | 16637 |

41

We can see from the above table that there was a gradual decline in labour particularly amongst Alien (or Spanish) men. As from May 1952, all Spanish workers were required to join the Spanish Syndicate if they wished to have their frontier passes approved.

"Spanish labourers in Gibraltar were notoriously paid less than their Gibraltarian and British-born colleagues [although they earned better money than in the Campo de Gibraltar]. In the Royal Naval Dockyard, there were three sets of toilets – one for the British, one for the Gibraltarians and one for the Spanish workers, each set being substantially inferior to the last".⁴²

Seizing on any form of cross-frontier resentment, strikes by Spanish workers in Gibraltar were encouraged by the Franco regime despite the irony that strikes were illegal in Spain at the time. Furthermore, a Spanish propaganda campaign aired the view that "the civilian population of Gibraltar...[were]...exploitative employers and smugglers."⁴³

EVOLUCION DE LA OCUPACION DE TRABAJADORES ESPAÑOLES EN GIBRALTAR



44

Evolution of the employment of Spanish workers in Gibraltar – Spanish statistics on the decline of workers in Gibraltar. Tensions flared between Gibraltar and Spain when Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II was set to visit Gibraltar on her Royal Tour in May 1954. As from April 1954, Franco decreed that there would be no new passes issued to Spanish cross-frontier workers for Gibraltar. This led to a gradual decrease in the number of cross-frontier workers each year until 1969 when 4,666 men were withdrawn as a consequence of Spain finally closing the frontier on the 9th June, 1969. The demand for labour following the withdrawal of the Spaniards was met, to a considerable extent, by workers who came to Gibraltar for employment and by local labour working longer hours or taking up dual employment. Many United Kingdom citizens who came for the summer season were also helpful, especially during the initial period of readjustment. A major difficulty encountered in accepting numerous offers of work received from Britain and elsewhere was the lack of accommodation.⁴⁵ In the Gibraltar 1969 financial report (below) one of the reasons behind the rise in expenditure was that of accommodating imported labour.

the corresponding main grades.

24. There was an increase of approximately 6% under Departmental Other Charges which was mainly due to the following items: —

- (i) cost of accommodation of imported labour which became necessary on the withdrawal of Spanish labour during the year — £11,243 (Head VII—Subhead 14);

(ii) a slower rate of issue of unallocated stores due to the curtail-

46

SPANISH RESTRICTIONS

October 1964

People from Gibraltar prevented from taking out fruit, vegetables, eggs and meat purchased in Spain.

Visitors from the Costa del Sol shopping in Gibraltar made to pay heavy and arbitrary customs duties on goods purchased in Gibraltar.

Passengers in the B.E.A. buses to the Costa del Sol required to get out of the bus at the Customs Post at San Roque. In some cases female tourists physically searched by female searchers there.

November 1964

All vehicles entering or leaving Spain at La Linea including B.E.A. buses delayed for about 1 hour each in the Customs Bay. Delays in the queue of up to 10 hours and discourtesies virtually brought vehicle traffic to a standstill.

Spaniards closed their side of the frontier at 11.30 p.m. instead of the normal 01.00 hours.

December 1964

All applications for the export of goods from Spain to Gibraltar which were previously dealt with by Regional Office of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce and granted without delay now referred direct to a new special section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Applications submitted for export of sherry, timber and dolls to Gibraltar refused.

Further export permits for export of shoes, leather goods, toys and sacramental wine refused.

Refusal of export permits extended to all goods except fruit, vegetables and fish.

As a result of delays on vehicles and B.E.A. buses Bland Company suspended self-drive car business and B.E.A. services to Costa del Sol.

Interference with vessels bringing supplies to Gibraltar by sea from Tangier started.

January/March 1965

The delays on cars entering Gibraltar increased to two hours. Cars entering Spain still delayed for an hour.

Permits for export of Christmas trees for churches and hospitals in Gibraltar refused.

Spanish authorities informed all persons living in the Campo area using passports to come to Gibraltar to work or on business, that as from 1st February they would no longer be allowed to do so.

Supplies of oxygen to hospitals in Gibraltar refused.

British subjects with permits to reside in the Campo area and coming in daily to Gibraltar on workers passes informed that their workers passes would be cancelled on 7th March. About 1,000

2.

Gibraltarians and others moved into temporary accommodation in Gibraltar.

Gibraltar British subjects who have been issued with U.K. passports by Consulates in Spain marked "issued on behalf of the Government of Gibraltar" were refused passage of frontier on the grounds that Spain no longer recognises the validity of passports issued on behalf of the Government of Gibraltar. Passports issued in Gibraltar by the Governor in exercise of the Royal Prerogative refused by Spaniards if signed by or on behalf of "Permanent Secretary" or "Chief Secretary".

Supplies of sand and building materials finally stopped.

All motorized goods vehicles leaving Spain for Gibraltar were stopped. A number of Gibraltar residents refused entry into Spain.

November 1965

The Spanish labour force working in Gibraltar forbidden to take into Spain merchandise of any kind, including tobacco, cigarettes and groceries.

January 1966

Spanish workers in Gibraltar no longer allowed to cross the frontier on motor cycles or bicycles.

British subjects and foreigners living permanently or temporarily in nearby Spain informed that they would no longer be allowed to take goods purchased in Gibraltar across the La Linea frontier.

July 1966

British Military Aircraft were banned from over-flying through Spanish airspace.

August 1966

Spanish female workers were prohibited from entering Gibraltar.

October 1966

School children coming into Gibraltar via Algeciras were informed that they would not be able to do so on their special school passes but would be able to come on their passports.

Travel agencies in the Costa del Sol have been forbidden to organise tours to Gibraltar.

Spanish authorities have published a bulletin abolishing the present customs post at La Linea and replacing it by a third class Aduana dependent on Algeciras.

April 1967

Spain declared a prohibited air zone designed to interfere with access to Gibraltar by air.

May 1968

Frontier closed to all except Spaniards working in Gibraltar and permanent civilian residents of Gibraltar authorised to cross by the Spanish authorities.

3.

July 1968

Harassment of passengers on the Algeciras ferry.

June 1969

Withdrawal of the Spanish labour force.

Withdrawal of the Algeciras ferry.

October 1969

Severance of all telephone and telegraph links between Gibraltar and Spain.

47

5675
Spanish Gates
/

Q10 a
28.10.66.

At 10.45 p.m. the 24.10.66. a crowd of about 100 persons gathered near the Police and Revenue Building to witness the closing of the Spanish Frontier Gates. This was done as usual by the Spaniards at 11.30 p.m. - the closing was done - the crowd receiving it with songs and slogans. No incidents to report. T.V. and Radio were present at the closing. - C.O.P. D/COP and Police Reserve in attendance. Shortly after midnight crowd began to disperse.

Daybolt

48

This account directly above is taken from an Occurrence Book at the Gibraltar frontier it states:

At 10:45pm on the 24.10.66 a crowd of about 100 persons gathered near the Police and Revenue Building to witness the closing of the Spanish Frontier Gates. This was done as usual by the Spaniards at 11:30pm - the closing was done the crowd- receiving it with singsongs and slogans. No incidents to report. T.V. and Radio were present at the closing. - COP [Commissioner of Police] D/COP [Deputy Commissioner of Police] and Police Reserve in attendance. Shortly after midnight crowd began to disperse.

Following mounting pressure at the frontier "in 1969, the British government started constitutional talks with Gibraltar, after which Gibraltarians were provided with significant self-government"⁴⁹ Prior to the frontier closure on 9th June in 1969 the Gibraltar Constitution was enacted on 30th of May of the same year. In its preamble it stated that the British Government will not alter the status of Gibraltar without the consent of the people of Gibraltar.⁵⁰ This step towards greater self-government for the people of Gibraltar was not well received by the Government of Spain of the time and eventually led to a closed frontier.

*Please note that B.E.A. stands for British European Airways (later merged to form British Airways) operating in Gibraltar

Local Women Push Back

Looking to improve conditions for women locally the Gibraltar Housewives Association (now known as the Gibraltar Women's Association) was founded in 1966 by members Violet Baker, Mrs Ramirez, Angela Smith, Mariola Summerfield, Magda Picardo, Dorothy Scott-Stevenson and Brenda Llambias.⁵¹

Reacting to a background of increasing hostility from Spain the Gibraltar Housewives Association had the idea of organising a petition for HM Queen Elizabeth II "requesting her assurance on the perpetual retention of British Sovereignty over the Rock and its people in Gibraltar". The Association organised a table in the piazza with volunteers on duty from 9am to 7pm to collect signatures from the public. "Within 3 days, 7999 signatures were collected: The whole of the female population of voting age". Despite men being very willing to sign only women's signatures were collected.⁵²

After flying to London on the 19th of March 1966, members Angela Smith and Mariola Summerfield were initially disappointed at their reception for the petition. The Colonial Secretary had demanded that they hand the petition to him personally rather than HM the Queen. Not allowing this to dissuade them they told the Colonial Secretary they would "take [the petition] back to Gibraltar under protest or burn it in Trafalgar Square in the presence of the press". Thanks to their perseverance they were received by Her Majesty's Private Secretary at his private office on the 23rd of March where he relayed a message from HM the Queen of regret at not having been able to receive them in person. Having handed in the petition they returned to Gibraltar where they were greeted with jubilation by locals as well as Chief Minister and Mayor Joshua Hassan. The next day they were received by His Excellency the Governor Sir Gerald Lathbury.⁵³

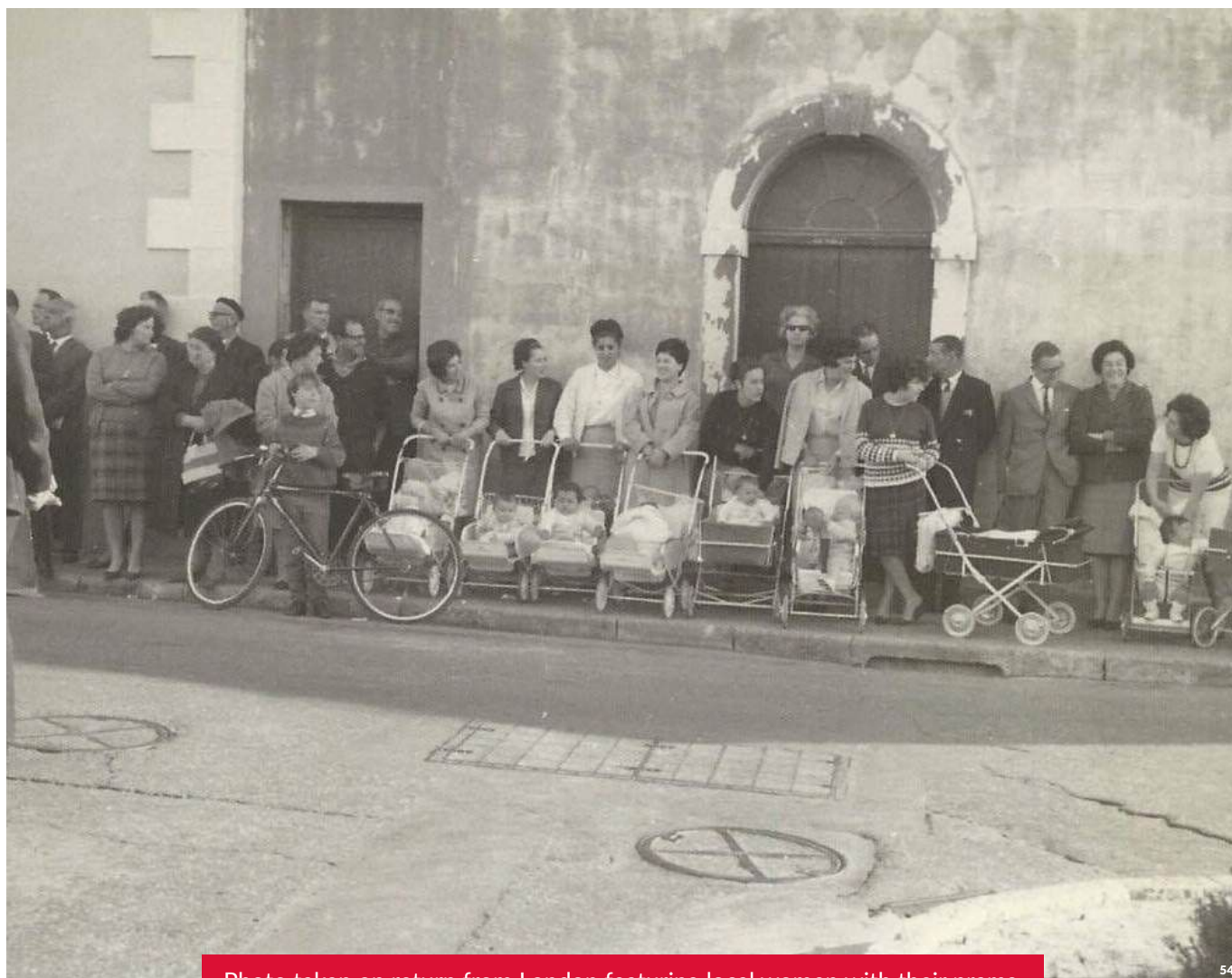


Photo taken on return from London featuring local women with their prams.

54

GIBRALTAR UNDER BLOCKADE FROM TO-DAY 5000 Spanish workers unable to cross frontier

Gibraltar will be under virtual blockade to-morrow as Spain puts into effect the harshest measures yet in her campaign to recover the Rock.

The moves will hit hard at Gibraltar's economy. The first measure was a decree announced last night which completely closes the frontier between the Spanish coastal town of La Linea and Gibraltar, a British fortress for 250 years with a population of 25,000.



Rock "will not be bullied"

Sir Joshua Hassan, Gibraltar's Chief Minister, said yesterday that they were "not prepared to be bullied into being Spanish when we don't want to be."

In an interview on B.B.C. radio, he said the closing of Gibraltar would pick up to the Spanish action of closing the land frontier from today and withdrawing the workers who form a major part of Gibraltar's labour force.

He said Gibraltar would have to do without the Spanish workers. Their withdrawal would not interfere with essential services.

On the same programme Mr. Bernard Baines, Conservative Party spokesman for Commonwealth Affairs and M.P. for South-East Essex, said it would be wrong to make any retaliatory action against Spain.

Tourist ban?

But he said that it might be necessary, although undesirable, to ban British tourists from going to Spain.

Mr. Duncan Santha, M.P. for Stroudham, described the action as "the last straw." The time had come for retaliatory action such as withdrawing work permits from Spanish citizens and official measures to discourage the "tourist flow" of British tourists to Spain.

Company firms are ready for dealing with any retaliation by Spain against Gibraltar's new Constitution, which was adopted a week ago.

The effect of this is to close the 4,000 to 5,000 Spanish workers, who formed a major part of the colony's labour force, from crossing into Gibraltar every day to their jobs.

The frontier was closed in May, 1964, but the workers were still allowed through.

The new area is expected to be a hot one for the day after tomorrow with Spanish part of Algeciras with Gibraltar, informed sources said.

An official of the ferry women in Algeciras, the Europa Point Ferries Company, said today he had received no instructions about the service.

By morning, the Spanish Government will be aware of the situation at Gibraltar's booming tourist trade. Thousands of British tourists in the colony each year and used the ferry to get to Spanish resorts on the coast of Seville.

Spanish workers have already been told they cannot go back to Gibraltar. Yesterday they collected their tools and withdrew their labour from Gibraltar.

That number of Spaniards working in Gibraltar has fallen in recent years, but they still played a key role.

Gibraltar's economy will be the most seriously hit. Most of its main work, employed there, but others were employed and carried out working on hotels, bars, shops, and houses.

The armed forces in Gibraltar have been told to be ready for a contingency, on the rocky promontory, three-and-a-half-square miles, lying three-quarters of a mile wide, will make it difficult to defend them with workers from Morocco or elsewhere.

Spanish officials have promised to pay the Gibraltar workers in the colony they are in the colony—much higher than in Spain—until they find new jobs.

The Spanish Government is pushing ahead with industrial development in the underdeveloped "interior" of Gibraltar, but in the La Linea area, where 80% of the Gibraltar-employed workers live, there are still at least 2,000 unemployed.

Spanish officials are the more to be not alienated against the Gibraltar workers. They argue that Spain was provoked by Britain's unilateral act in producing a new Constitution for Gibraltar last month.

The Monday that Britain will never give the colony air without an Act of Parliament or against "the freely and democratically expressed wishes of the Gibraltar people."

According to Spanish officials, the Constitution is in open defiance of the U.N. General Assembly's recommendation that Britain should give up Gibraltar by October this year.

They also claim that the Constitution violated the 1713 Treaty under which Spain ceded the Rock to Britain after its capture in 1704.

But Britain says that the Constitution, which streamlines internal self-government of the colony, does not change its status as a non-self-governing territory.

Gibraltar
HOMEKIRK AND CURTICE LTD

Daily Telegraph
LONDON
Daily Circulation 1,378,860

- 9 JUN 1969

SERIES OF MEASURES, SAYS SPAIN

By Our Madrid Correspondent

MADRID newspapers yesterday carried the text of a statement put out by the official Press agency, Cofes, on "a series of measures against Gibraltar."

The statement emphasises that the measures "do not restrict the special pass system under which civilian Gibraltar residents can continue to enter Spain." This means the balance of such issues can enter Spain anywhere, except at Algeciras.

Justifying the new measures against Gibraltar, the statement says that "the Spanish Government has been obliged to adopt them in defence of its rights and interests in Gibraltar."

HOMEKIRK AND CURTICE LTD

Liverpool Post
LIVERPOOL
Daily Circulation 97,679

- 9 JUN 1969

Britain to stand firm against Gibraltar blockade

by Leo Murray

BRITAIN will not yield to the Spanish in the row over the future of Gibraltar. I understand that Mr. Michael Stewart, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, will make a statement in the Commons to this effect, probably tomorrow.

Spain suddenly stepped up its cold war on Gibraltar with an announcement on Saturday night withdrawing all Spanish workers from the Rock, and the blockade is expected to be completed today with the cutting of the sea link between Gibraltar and the nearby Spanish port of Algeciras.

The aim seems to be a blow at the colony's economy and its booming tourist trade as part of General Franco's Government's campaign to recover the Rock for Spain.

Gibraltar's Chief Minister, Sir Joshua Hassan, said yesterday: "We are not prepared to be bullied into being Spanish when we don't want to be."

He said the Rock's citizens would face up to the closing of the land frontier with Spain and would have to do without the Spanish workers. Those who had no other work would have to seek work elsewhere.

Official sources in London last night said that the Government would stand firm by the decision to refuse a referendum in Gibraltar in September, 1969, which was overruled in favour of retaining the link with Britain.

Britain does not accept the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination. The resolution violates Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

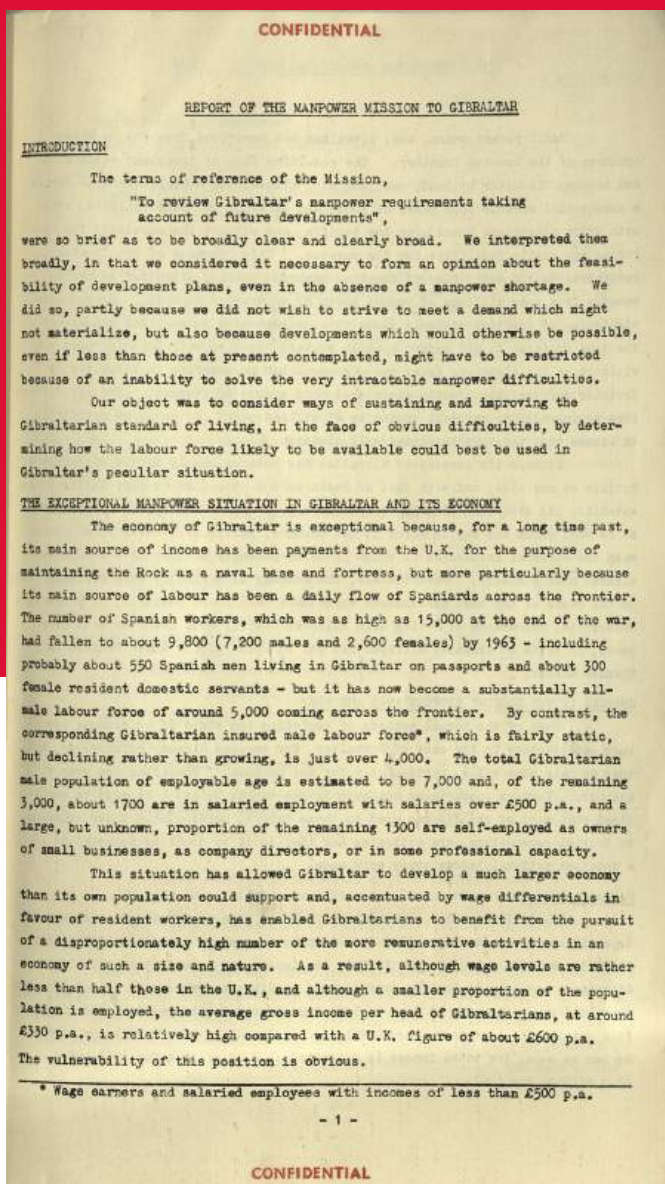
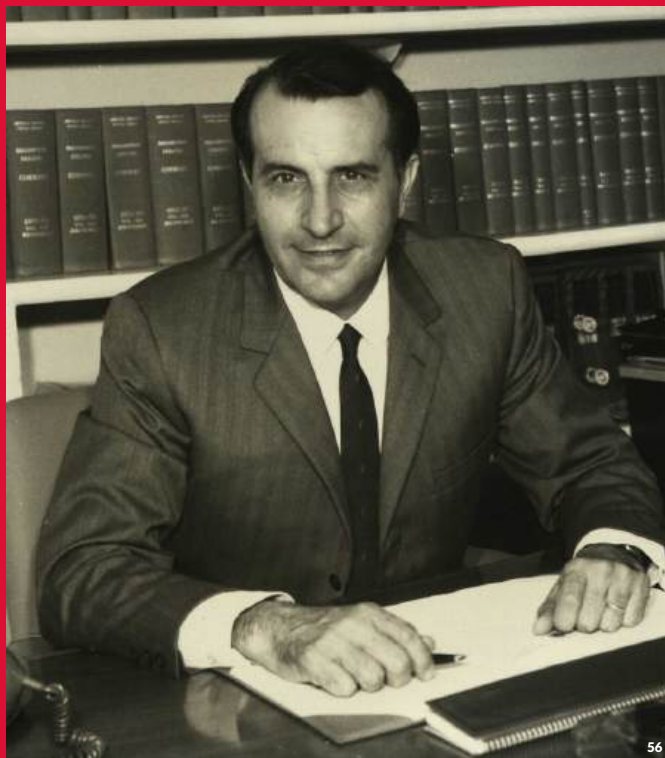
It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.

It is expected that the British Government will state that the United Nations' Assembly resolution asking the United Kingdom to hand over Gibraltar to Spain in the name of auto-determination is in violation of Article 74 of the U.N. Charter, which lays down that the wishes of the inhabitants of a colony must be given priority when determining a final solution.



"The Beeching Report, which we are in the process of studying, appears to run very much in line with our views. It contains a number of guidelines that could be very useful to us, for the gradual reshaping of our society, in order to meet our economic needs and improve the quality of life in Gibraltar. Basically, it is a question of transforming a low wage, low productivity economy to a high wage, high salary, high productivity economy, and to achieve this we may require both financial and technical help from Her Majesty's Government. This is perhaps one of the best and most lasting ways for Her Majesty's Government to support and sustain Gibraltar."

- Hon. Major R. J. Peliza Gibraltar House of Assembly
 Hansard 28th August 1969

←Robert J. Peliza was the founder of the pro-integration movement. The movement was conceived in 1965 as an attempt to further integrate Gibraltar with Britain and thus improve links. Peliza served as Chief Minister from 1969 to 1972.

The Beeching report or Report of the Manpower Mission to Gibraltar was compiled by Lord Beeching and Lord Delacourt-Smith. It was an analysis of what could be done following the devastating labour shortages that had resulted from the Spanish restrictions on cross-frontier workers.

The report notes that the progressive tightening of frontier controls had an impact on revenue. The report offers a unique insight into the different types of labour that were withdrawn.

The Report ends by stating:

"We do not underestimate the magnitude, complexity, or delicacy of the task which confronts the people of Gibraltar in the situation in which circumstances have placed them. However, we could not conclude this report without saying that the impression which was made upon us by the civic consciousness, spirit, and resource of the people of Gibraltar, gave us confidence that, with good leadership and sound policies, this very demanding task can be accomplished."

Table II - Expenditure on Gross National Product

| | 1963 | 1967 |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| | £ million | £ million |
| Private Consumption Expenditure | 11.0 | 10.2 |
| Tourists | 3.75 | 2.4 |
| Ships' Crews | 0.25 | 1.3 |
| Other* | 7.0 | 6.5 |
| Government and City Council Consumption Expenditure | 2.8 | 2.9 |
| U.K. Government Departments Expenditure | 5.5 | 4.8 |
| Fixed Capital Formation | 1.5 | 1.5 |
| Exports (Recorded) | 6.0 | 2.9 |
| Imports | -16.3 | - 9.6 |
| Net factor income from abroad | - 1.8 | - 2.2 |
| Gross National Product at market prices less indirect taxes | 8.7 | 10.5 |
| | - 0.8 | - 0.9 |
| Gross National Product at factor cost | 7.9 | 9.6 |

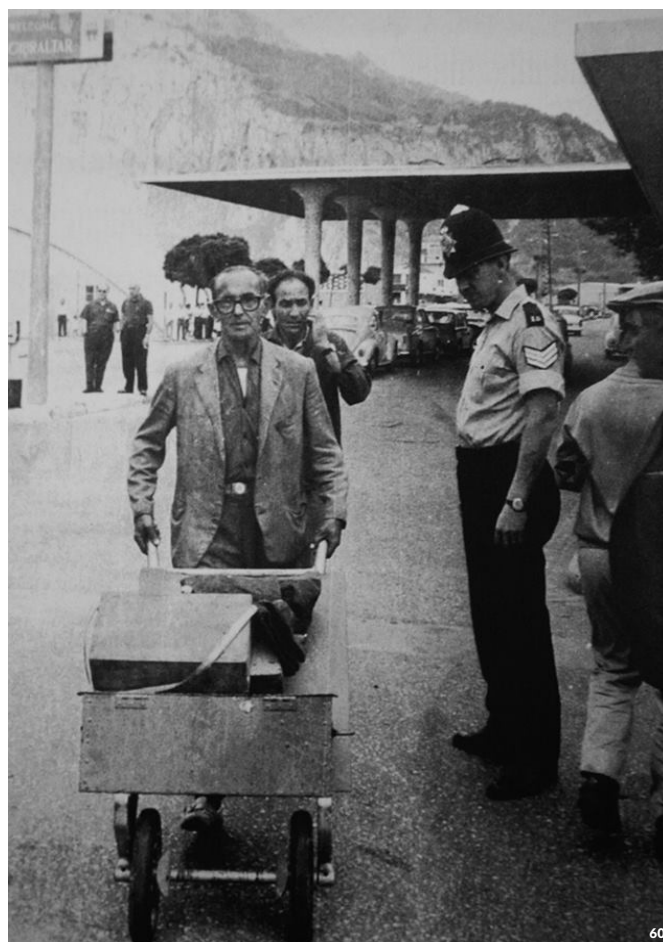
* Includes spending in Gibraltar by U.K. personnel employed by the Service Departments (including the Dockyard) estimated at £0.4 million in 1963 and £0.45 million in 1967, by Spanish workers - £1.0 million in 1963 and £0.1 million in 1967 - and by Moroccan workers, £0.2 million in 1967.



58

"Gibraltar, Desolate" reported in Arriba (the Spanish Newspaper of the Falange)⁵⁹ just after the frontier closure on 9th June 1969

Spanish frontier workers leaving Gibraltar, many had lost their livelihood. The result of the closure on the Spanish side was: "miles de personas emigraron a Cataluña, otras a Bélgica, Suiza, Alemania, Francia o Reino Unido. Para tratar de subsanar el daño, el Gobierno de Franco crea los polos industriales en los municipios vecinos de San Roque, Los Barrios y Algeciras."⁶¹ "Thousands of people migrated to Catalonia, others to Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, France and the United Kingdom. To try to correct the damage the Franco Government created the industrial estates in the local municipalities of San Roque, Los Barrios and Algeciras". Additionally, hundreds of families were separated by the closure with relatives on both sides of the border.⁶²



60

INFORMACION

VICESECRETARIA
NACIONAL DE
ORDENACION

SOCIAL



DEPARTAMENTO DE INFORMACION • MADRID • TELEFONO 2397000-2027

**LOS OBREROS
ESPAÑOLES YA
NO VOLVERAN
A GIBRALTAR**

National Deputy Secretary of Social Planning. Department of Information. Madrid.
The Spanish workers will not return to Gibraltar.

ESTE ES EL CENSO DE PARADOS

Los datos que he obtenido sobre la población trabajadora española de Gibraltar, y que ofrezco a continuación, pueden ayudar a comprender bien la magnitud y características especiales del problema planteado. Es conveniente fijarse, al ver las distintas actividades que cubrían, en el problema de mano de obra con que hoy se han encontrado los habitantes del Peñón.

ACTIVIDADES

Se especifican algunas de ellas, pero no todas.

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Peones | 1.556 |
| Carpinteros | 368 |
| Albañiles | 363 |
| Pintores | 239 |
| Dependientes | 202 |
| Mecánicos | 185 |
| Camareros y barmen | 145 |
| Plomeros | 109 |
| Electricistas | 96 |
| Conductores | 268 |

RESIDENTES

| | |
|--------------------|-------|
| La Línea | 3.895 |
| Algeciras | 501 |
| San Roque | 353 |
| Los Barrios | 29 |

TOTAL **4.778**

ESTADO CIVIL

| | |
|-----------------|-------|
| Casados | 4.462 |
| Solteros | 212 |
| Viudos | 104 |

EDADES

| | |
|------------------------|-------|
| De 20 a 39 años | 837 |
| De 40 a 54 años | 2.576 |
| De 55 a 64 años | 1.107 |
| Más de 64 años | 258 |

The Census of the Unemployed on the Spanish side of the Frontier 16-06-1969.

4462 of the Spanish workers who lost their jobs were married and would have had families to support.

3941 workers were over 40 years old and may have struggled to find new employment.

64

2.500 gibraltareños trabajarán horas extraordinarias

LA LINEA, 11. Sir Joshua Hassan según Radio Gibraltar, presidió ayer una reunión de su Gabinete. Al final, a guisa de comunicado, se hizo la recomendación de que se unan todos los gibraltareños para resolver la crisis. Dice la emisora que dos mil quinientos jóvenes miembros del partido integracionista con Inglaterra, han estampado sus firmas para trabajar horas extraordinarias.

● Para suplir a zapateros y peluqueros

En los periódicos gibraltareños se insertan hoy anuncios curiosos, como el que ofrece suelas de zapatos «que se aplican al calzado sin conocimientos de zapatero», o el que pone a la venta una moderna máquina para arreglar el pelo al precio de cinco chelines —unas cuarenta pesetas—. Asimismo se ha anunciado que, en días sucesivos, se venderán también diversos artículos —sin especificar cuáles— que vendrán a suplir la carencia de mano de obra. (Cifra.)

65

2500 Gibraltarians work extraordinary hours to make up for the labour shortages 03-06-69.

gibraltar evening

post

— BY GIBRALTAR, FOR GIBRALTAR —

Vol. 19 No. 83 Thursday June 12, 1969. 4d.

BUILDERS ARRIVE

By Evening Post Reporter

A three-man team from the MPBW, flown out at short notice to study reorganisation problems following the Spanish labour withdrawal, were of the opinion at a press conference today that the present situation has immediate disadvantages and long term advantages.

Ten MPBW builders have already arrived from the UK and first estimates suggest that under 100 workers will have to be flown over from UK. About 150 Moroccans have been

requested by MPBW.

The problems in the building sector are with skilled tradesmen as opposed to labourers.

OPPORTUNITY

It is not thought that the Spanish workers will be replaced man-for-man and the opportunity will be taken to rationalise methods.

LAST LEGCO

The last meeting of the Legislative Council takes place tomorrow.

At this meeting the Chief Minister will be making a statement on the Tower Blocks.

WORKERS MEETING ON SUNDAY

An extraordinary General meeting has been called by the Transport and General Workers Union to examine the present labour situation brought about by the latest Spanish onslaught against Gibraltar and to provide guidance towards safeguarding our interests as a free and democratic community.

The meeting, at which all workers are being invited, takes place at the Queen's Cinema on Sunday at 11 am.

CITY COUNCIL MEETS

The City Council met this afternoon as usual.

the post says

LET'S GET ON WITH IT

The Beeching Report arrived with the withdrawal of Spanish labour on Monday. What a coincidence! And what a pity.

A pity because the Report sets out precisely how we should tackle the labour problem given the natural wastage of the Spanish workers.

Now we have no Spanish workers. But we have Beechings Report. So let's get on with it.

WE CAN TAKE IT, FRANCO!



Dockyard apprentices happily at work under Mr. Rodriguez supervisor.

Photo: Mednews

The Spanish Information Services have simply been gloating over the difficulties in Gibraltar following the withdrawal of the Spanish labour force. They appear to derive great enjoyment in repeating ad nauseum that Gibraltar is paralysed, is panic-stricken.

What a sharp contrast to Gibraltar and its people who have shown nothing but compassion and understanding at the plight of the 4,730 Spaniards who have been thrown out of secure and well-paid jobs by the action of their own Government.

But even if the situation in Gibraltar were as bad as the Spanish information services make it out to be, our message to General Franco and his Government today would still be the same: WE CAN TAKE IT!

KNEES

This latest move by Spain, so clearly aimed at bringing us down on our knees,

will fail like the rest of the Spanish restrictions over the last four years. Nothing will bring us down on our knees. In Gibraltar today we are all standing up and fighting off, with courage and with cheerfulness, this latest Spanish action to cripple our economy, to lower our living standards and to plunge us into confusion and chaos.

We are all afraid, all worried, they say in Spain. But not in the Campo Area! There is calm there and everyone, as the Mayor of La Linea has

BUSINESS AS USUAL!

Despite the Spanish labour withdrawal, activity at the port

Getting on with the job at No. 4 Dock today — dockyard employees working on the tender 'Mons Abyla'.

A number of apprentices have taken over

said, is enthusiastic about the Spanish closure of the frontier!

How well we know them — and how little do they know us.

In Britain, meanwhile, everyone seems to be in a mood to help the Rock. Over 200 people have rung our little tourist office there offering big help to the stricken Rock. And now everybody is of British stock. A

remains high. As many as five cargo ships were in

from Spanish labour and work is proceeding at a satisfactory pace.

Gibraltar is showing the world that there's no question of a standstill.

SPANIARD WHO HAS BEEN IN BRITAIN SINCE 1937 HAS DECLINED HE WANTS TO HELP US, TOO.

There is news, also, that a labour contractor in Leeds considers that he could replace all the withdrawn Spanish labour force man-by-man.

And there are stories of many other people who have been moved by our courage and determination to stay British in our Gibraltar.

port this morning. It was business as usual, indeed!

LABOUR CRISIS

Under the above heading the National Committee of the Gibraltar Young Christian Workers have today issued the following statement.

The removal by the Spanish Government of Spanish Labour from Gibraltar has created a number of problems affecting the whole of Gibraltar and particularly the Gibraltarian worker. In this context the National Committee feels that some guidance should be given to all the members of the Movement for their reflection and discussion.

1. Solidarity must be shown with the rest of the community in a common effort of generosity to overcome our crisis.

2. We should be, as always, attentive to the danger of exploitation of young people. It is definitely illegal to employ children of school age (under 15).

Some young workers are also now being required to do, for a much lower wage, the same work previously done by Spanish Workers. It is now a matter of urgency for the Government to provide positive legislation for the protection of young people in employment.

3. We must strongly oppose any attempt to import foreign labour into Gibraltar without adequate provisions being made concerning their housing, medical inspection, hygiene, etc. Our enquiries have shown that in the past there has already been great abuse in this respect.

4. Because of the presence of foreign labour in Gibraltar, the Gibraltarian worker has

been in the past the victim of a cheap-labour policy. Attempts may be made now to perpetuate this situation. We fear that the large-scale importation of Moroccan labour may be used for this purpose.

5. We also fear that the new law passed by the Government restricting the employment of workers, even within the private sector, may also be used to maintain the cheap-labour policy. We realise the necessity to maintain essential services running efficiently for the benefit of the community. But we feel that this could have been achieved with a more positive and progressive approach to the problem, e.g. raising the general standards, conditions and salaries of those engaged in the essential services.

6. Since the law has already been passed by the Government, we feel that this restriction should be abandoned as soon as the immediate crisis is over.

Equally important is it for the Director of Labour to administer this negative regulation in a fair, liberal and flexible manner. The Government should moreover, define and make public what it considers to be the essential services."

CALL ON GOVERNOR

Commander E.D.L. Llewellyn, Commanding officer of HMS Diana, called on the Governor today.

Gibraltar anecdótico

PUERTO 19 de junio de 1968

CURIOSAS INICIATIVAS CONTRA ESPAÑA EN LONDRES

UN GRUPO DE TABERNEROS

No vender vino español

UN LECTOR DE «THE GUARDIAN»

¿Por qué no enviar un petro-
lero que manche de grasas
las playas españolas?

LONDRES, 19. (Por cable, de nuestro corresponsal, Felipe Mellizo.) — La St. Pancras Licensed Victuallers Association, organización de propietarios de bares y tabernas de un distrito londinense, decidió ayer, en sesión plenaria, dejar de vender a sus clientes vinos españoles. Según un portavoz del grupo, se pretende con ello contestar al cierre del paso a Gibraltar por la Línea de la Concepción.

Varios asociados han puesto ya en práctica el boicot. Pretenden los promotores de la idea obtener el apoyo de los seis mil establecimientos integrados en la London Central Board of Licensed, que celebrará una reunión próximamente. Según una ley británica, la Restrictive Trade Practices, la iniciativa de estos comerciantes es un delito; no se pueden poner trabas de ninguna índole al tráfico comercial legítimo. Pero es seguro que individualmente muchos taberneros impondrán su boicot particular. La idea es noble. Otra idea noble fué expresada ayer por un lector de «The Guardian», que sugirió, en carta al director, el envío de petroleros a las playas de España para que vertieran en sus cercanías unas cuantas toneladas de aceite. Casi ningún periódico ha dado noticia de la protesta presentada ante la Secretaría de las Naciones Unidas por don Jaime Piniés.

GONZALO ARIAS LLEVA VARIOS DIAS EN AYUNO

PROTESTA ANTE LA FRONTERA DE GIBRALTAR

Gonzalo Arias lleva varios días sentado delante de la verja de la frontera de Gibraltar. Gonzalo ha prometido que estará en ayuno hasta que el cuerpo aguante o hasta que los gobernantes de ambos lados tomen conciencia de la enorme injusticia que supone la frontera gibraltareña.

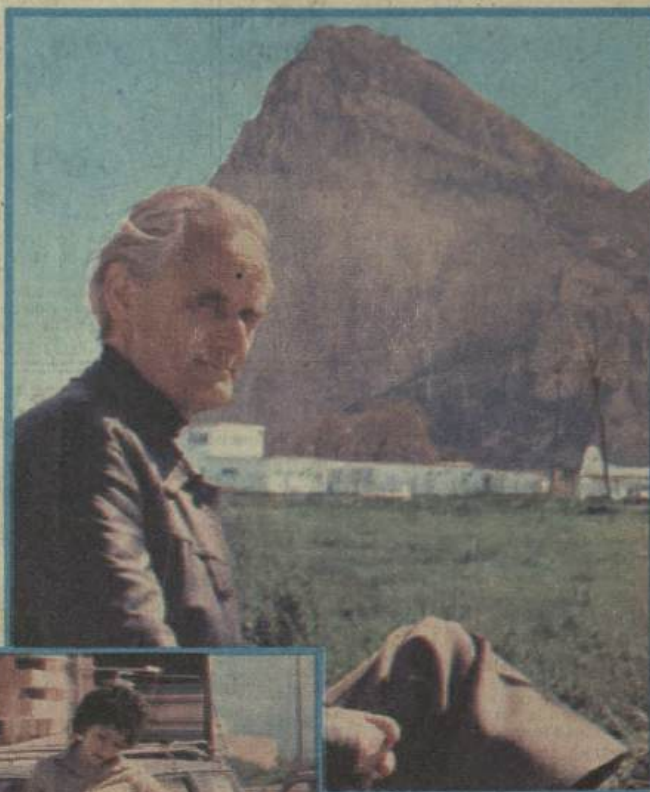
Gonzalo no es la primera vez que intenta conmover a la opinión pública, en otra ocasión saltó la verja y fue detenido pasando una semana en la cárcel. No satisfecho lo intentó en un bote de goma y también fue detenido aunque esta vez fueron menos días. Su anterior intento lo llevó a cabo recogiendo firmas en señal de protesta ante la misma cara de los guardias que tuvieron que volver a detenerle pasando dos días en la cárcel. En esta ocasión nadie va a detener a Gonzalo

que se ha instalado muy cerca de la frontera acompañado de su mujer y dispuesto a ayunar todo lo que haga falta.

Quisimos saber si esta determinación era motivada porque vivía familia suya en Gibraltar.

Pero nos dijo que no, que protestaba de semejante injusticia, sólo como ciudadano.

Así están las cosas y la gente de ambos lados le apoya y recogen firmas para la cau-



Gonzalo lleva varios días de ayuno ante la frontera

sa, piensan conseguir unas cinco mil y mandárselas a los respectivos gobiernos, porque alguien tiene que hacer algo...

HISPANIA PRESS

68

Gonzalo Arias Has Been Fasting for Several Days (Hispania Press - March 1979)

Protest at the Gibraltar Border

Gonzalo Arias has been sitting in front of the Gibraltar border fence for several days. Gonzalo has promised to fast until his body gives out or until the rulers on both sides realize the enormous injustice of the Gibraltar border.

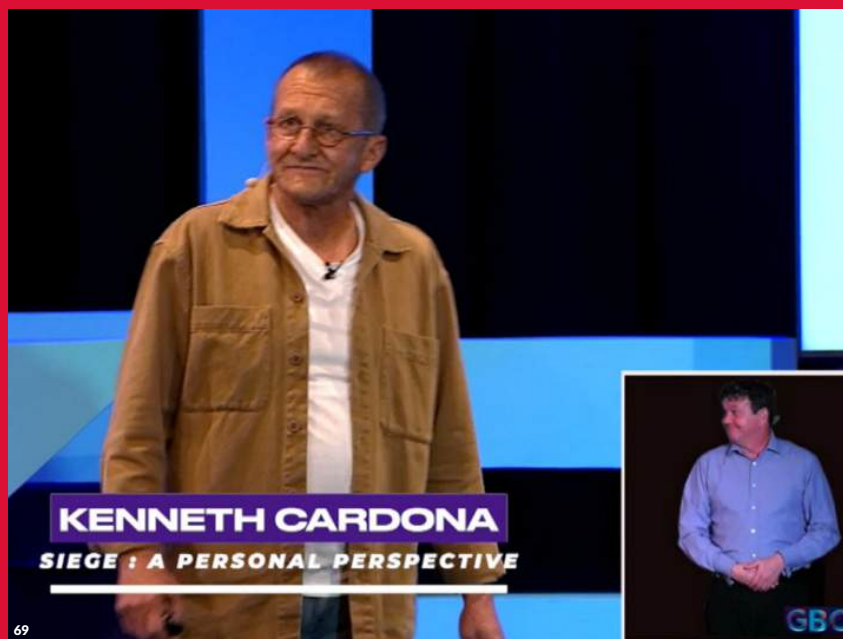
This isn't the first time Gonzalo has tried to stir public opinion. On another occasion, he jumped the fence and was arrested, spending a week in jail. Not satisfied, he tried again in a rubber boat and was also arrested, although this time for fewer days. His previous attempt involved collecting signatures in protest, right in front of the guards who had to arrest him again, spending two

days in jail. This time, no one is going to arrest Gonzalo, who has settled very close to the border, accompanied by his wife, and willing to fast as long as necessary. We wanted to know if this decision was motivated by the fact that his family lived in Gibraltar.

But he told us no, that he was protesting such injustice only as a citizen. That's how things are, and people on both sides are supporting him and collecting signatures for the cause. They plan to gather around 5,000 and send them to their respective governments, because someone has to do something...

Did you know?

Local knowledge during the Closed Frontier years



"The Scalextric" -

the leisure activity of going for a drive round the rock in the car was ubiquitous in the years after the frontier closed.

"Los Filipinos" -

North Gorge residence of the Filipino migrant labourers initially involved in the construction of Westside School.

"La Medialuna" -

on the site of present rubble mound between Eastern Beach and Catalan Bay

"The Smokey Joe" -

Spanish Warship that patrolled the Bay of Gibraltar with lots of smoke coming out of its funnel.

"Mons Calpe (Motor Vessel M.V.)" -

Ferry for the transportation of cars, goods and passengers to and from Tangier. It transported many essential goods such as oxygen for the hospital and fresh fruit and vegetable to Gibraltar from Morocco. It was constructed in 1954 in Scotland. It was initially owned by the H. M. Bland & Co. Line Ltd., Gibraltar. The carrying capacity was 581 passengers and 78 cars. See image (c. 1960) →



"Ir de Palomeo" -

Visiting Spain from Gibraltar in Llanito (Gibraltar's vernacular).

"Focona (Four corners)" -

the name given to an area by the frontier with La Línea in Llanito.



Various views of the closed frontier in the 1970s

71

Section Three –

The Frontier Opening



Diplomatic efforts led to a full opening of the frontier in 1985.

This section will examine:

- The concerns about the opening of the frontier after it had been closed so long.
- How the opening of the frontier was initially received with mixed feelings due to deteriorated relations between Gibraltar and Spain.



73

General Francisco Franco the dictator of Spain (photo on left) died on November 20th, 1975. This event led to a gradual transition towards democracy in Spain with a parliamentary system and new constitution established by 1978. As the Government of General Franco had been responsible for closing the Gibraltar-Spain frontier in 1969 there was now hope that the frontier might be re-opened. A new opportunity arose when Spain wanted to gain access to the European Economic Community (E.E.C predecessor to the European Union E.U.) having applied to join on July 26th, 1977, under the government of Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez. The United Kingdom already being a member state of the E.E.C. since January 1st, 1973, had a strong negotiating position vis a vis the Spanish application. Negotiations for Spain's accession began in February 1979 and would continue until they joined the E.E.C. on January 1st, 1986. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher negotiating for Britain stated in the House of Commons on July 1st, 1982, that: "there can be no possible change in the status or sovereignty of Gibraltar...Spain cannot enter the Common Market [E.E.C] as long as her side of the border with Gibraltar remains closed."



74

The Valle de los Caídos (Valley of the Fallen) located in the municipality of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Spain (near Madrid), is both a memorial and basilica conceived by Franco, who was buried within the mountain until October 2019.

GIBRALTAR CHRONICLE

THE PAPER WITH NO POLITICAL BIAS.

FIRST PUBLISHED 1801.

Vol. CCLXIII.—No. 40,070.

FRIDAY, APRIL 11, 1980.

PRICE 12p.

Enjoy
**GILBEY'S
GIN**

It's just the beginning...

Imported and distributed by Lewis Stagg Limited Tel. 4666

End to restrictions —June 1st deadline

'WE NEGOTIATE' SAY BRITAIN AND SPAIN

THE FRONTIER IS EXPECTED TO BE OPENED, WITH RESTRICTIONS "SUSPENDED" BY SPAIN, BY JUNE 1st.

THE NEWS CAME AFTER AGREEMENT WAS REACHED IN LISBON BY BRITAIN AND SPAIN TO RESOLVE THE GIBRALTAR PROBLEM — IN ACCORDANCE WITH UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS, WITH SPAIN SAYING SHE WILL SAFEGUARD THE INTERESTS OF THE GIBRALTARIANS, AND BRITAIN SAYING SHE WILL "FULLY MAINTAIN ITS COMMITMENT TO HONOUR

THE FREELY AND DEMOCRATICALLY EXPRESSED WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF GIBRALTAR..."

The joint British and Spanish statement issued in Lisbon after the meeting between British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, and Spanish Foreign Minister Señor Marcelino Oreja read —

"The British and Spanish Governments desiring to strengthen their bilateral relations and thus to contribute to Western solidarity, intend, in accordance with the relevant United Nations Resolutions, to resolve, in a spirit of friendship, the Gibraltar problem.

Both Governments have therefore agreed to start negotiations aimed at overcoming all the differences between them on Gibraltar.

Both Governments have reached agreement on the re-establishment of direct communications in the region. The Spanish Government has decided to suspend the application of the measures at present in force. Both Governments have agreed that future co-operation should be on the basis of reciprocity and full equality of rights. They look forward to the further steps which will be taken on both sides which they believe will open the way to closer understanding between those directly concerned in the area.

To this end both Governments will be prepared to consider any proposals which the other may wish to make, recognising the need to develop practical co-operation on a mutually beneficial basis.

(Continued on page five)



British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington.



Spanish Foreign Minister Señor Marcelino Oreja.



As the British and Spanish statesmen held their talks on Gibraltar in Lisbon, this was the scene of an almost deserted road — on both sides — leading to the closed frontier. What will be the scene this summer?

The NEW HONDA CIVIC



- 3 DOOR BASIC — £2,365
- 3 DOOR STANDARD — £2,595
- 5 DOOR STANDARD — £2,695
- ESTATE — £2,795

Prices include • AM/FM Radio • Tape Cassette Player • Tinted Glass • Rear Wiper & Washer • with many more extras • also Road Tax • Number Plates and Undersealing

A. Bassadone (1904) Ltd • 37 Line Wall Road.

Tel. 2171-2

The Lisbon Declaration signed on the 10th April 1980 was the first of a series of agreements between the British and Spanish governments intended to resolve their differences concerning Gibraltar.

THE GIBRALTAR NEWSWEEKLY

PANORAMA

236 - 14 JULY 1980

the No.1
weekly
15p



Distributors:
SACCONE & SPEED Ltd

Canon
312XL-S
514XL-S
CANOSOUND

THE IMAGES, COLOUR,
SOUND- NATURAL,
THE SIZE,
NATURALLY SMALLER
THE MOVIES,
NATURALLY
GREAT



Distributors:
KAYCEE 29 Main St

THE FRONTIER

exclusive



Hassan Questioned by 'Panorama'

VISIT THE

BENHARD FURNITURE CENTRE

A PERMANENT EXHIBITION OF FINE FURNITURE OVER THREE FLOORS.

27-29 CITY MILL LANE

The Hon Joshua Hassan (the Chief Minister) is interviewed by
the Panorama about the frontier on the 14th of July 1980.

The possibility of re-opening the frontier gave rise to certain concerns:

- Elliotts Column

Gibraltar Evening Post Saturday 28 June 1980 Page 5

IT WAS SPAIN WHICH CLOSED THE GATES

To an interested and sometimes puzzled onlooker it might seem as if we in Gibraltar, and by the same token the Foreign Office, are leaning over backwards, well beyond the point of normal human equilibrium, in order to accommodate, humour or placate the Spaniards. The repeated sallies into Spanish territory by such a glittering plethora of high officials do certainly tend to give that impression, one must admit; particularly when such a conspiracy of silence is maintained as to what goes on in those obscure meetings. One might wonder whether all that kowtowing is really necessary, and whether, if the meetings are so vital to the resumption of cross-border relations, they have to be held always in Spain. There should at least be a little of that reciprocity they talk so much about, and meetings of such ostensibly practical importance should perhaps be held on a home and away basis.

After all, it was them who closed their gates eleven years ago, and it was them who agreed last April, moved by heaven knows what sinister machinations of the corridors of power, to re-open them. So, the ball is in their court now, where it has lain, unheeded, for all that time; why should we have to jump the net to get it into play again? And anyway, if Spain is so keen

to re-adopt good manners and resume normal relations, the least they could have done, with good grace, was to have opened the tiny little gate at Four Corners, to let our "delegation" through, and provide a car for them to the nearest airport. That would have shown good will, courtesy and good manners; and if they did not manifest any spontaneous readiness to do that, it should have been put forward by our side, and by that one means, I suppose, the Foreign Office, as a precondition of the meeting.

One often gets a feeling of weariness over all the palaver, engendered by a combination of Spanish stalling and shilly-shallying, and Gibraltarian brokering over the whole boring and contemptible issue, and one fears that readers may begin to get fed up with the same topic over and over again. People may even get impression, I wonder why, that some of us hate the Spaniards. We would not be human if we did not remember what we have been called, collectively, in the past, by Spanish radio, television and newspapers, and we cannot help being aware, having lived next to them, and having had them in our midst, what kind of "quidotes" they are. It has been

brought to my notice recently that a local newspaper, which has come to life again after being in suspended animation for some time, has in one of its more light-hearted features, bracketed me with Mr Joe Bossano, as the two most rabid hispanophobes in Gibraltar, and mentioned that we will die of vexation the day the frontier reopens. I do not share many of that honourable gentleman's political opinions, but I am with him all the way in his stand on the Spanish question. However, I do not hate them, and neither, I imagine, does he. Perhaps we both share a deep-rooted mistrust of them, as do many of our fellow citizens, and a dislike of their modus operandi.

EUROPE'S LARGEST
MANUFACTURER OF
DOMESTIC APPLIANCES

ALL MODELS OF

ZANUSSI

REFRIGERATORS FREEZERS
ELECTRIC & GAS COOKERS

WASHING MACHINES
NOW AVAILABLE AT

The Red House

66-70 MAIN ST. Tel: 4513
FULLY GUARANTEED
LOW PRICES - EASY PAYMENTS

81

"Gibraltar greets frontier news with mixed feelings" proclaims the headline of the Chronicle in 1980.

"..opinion by the man in the street was divided as to the desirability of the frontier being opened...[concerns related to] 'negotiations' in connection with lifting of the restrictions should not be allowed to weaken the present links we have with Britain" ⁷⁸

In the Chronicle of 1981, Francis Cantos wrote:

"As things stand the granting of EEC rights to Spanish nationals-either before or after the frontier is re-opened-could literally mean that each and every unemployed Spaniard could compete for jobs with Gibraltarians" ⁷⁹

The Police Commissioner Michael Rowling, in an interview with the Chronicle of 1981 stated that:

"If Frontier re-opens more Police needed...[he warned that]... any further reduction in their strength would lead not only to a reduction in the level of daily service, but would also reduce to unsafe levels the pool of policemen available to deal with any serious situation that may arise" ⁸⁰

A telegram in June 1982 from the UK Embassy in Madrid to the Foreign & Commonwealth Office reads that:

"The worst aspect...[of the Spanish stalling on the Lisbon agreement and frontier opening]...would probably be the considerable boost to elements in Gibraltar who had never trusted the Spanish Government and preferred splendid isolation" ⁸²

The Gibraltar Hansard in June 1982 states that 25 police officers, 11 police reservists, 21 customs assistant officers and 15 clerical assistants were employed by the Gibraltar Government following the proposed re-opening of the frontier. ⁸³

SUBJECT
"MASTER
OPS"



file ccfc

DSG

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

17 June 1983

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. 789/83

Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 13 June.

As you know, we have consistently given our full support to Spanish membership of the Community and pressed for early progress in the accession negotiations. I can assure you that we shall continue to do so, though we have also made it clear that before accession can come about the restrictions on Gibraltar will have to be lifted.

In particular, we want to see the long drawn out internal negotiations on the Mediterranean agricultural regimes brought quickly to a conclusion so that progress can be made on the agricultural aspects of the negotiations. I well understand how important this is for you, and I shall be pressing for this at Stuttgart.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

Sr. Don Felipe Gonzalez Marquez.

1. Today's edition of ABC contains an article about Gibraltar under the headline "The Spanish Government Seems Disposed to Open the Gibraltar Frontier Little by Little".

2. The article refers to the recent relaxation of frontier restrictions for compassionate cases and says that permission is being given to allow the border gate to be opened on humanitarian grounds. The article says that the Spanish authorities have denied that any negotiations are taking place with Britain about the half opened frontier: and are saying that the frontier will remain officially closed until there is a reciprocal gesture by Britain or the British show themselves ready to begin talks "on all their differences".

3. The article quotes reliable sources as saying that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are relying on the principle of gradualism to normalise the situation: and that the opening on compassionate grounds could be a trial balloon, which would be followed by other initiatives to serve to re-launch the negotiations or at least neutralise British accusations that the closed frontier constitutes a grave violation of human rights. The source is quoted as saying that the intention is to safeguard human rights, while preventing the frontier between Gibraltar and La Linea from being converted into an important commercial or social crossing point.

4. The article goes on to argue that the application of this humanitarian principle in effect contradicts the content of Article 10 of the Treaty of Utrecht, in that, that article prohibits land communication between two countries. The article says that the suspension of Article 10 in this unilateral way is of primordial importance from the juridical and diplomatic point of view and could form an important precedent.⁸⁵

A UK diplomatic cable (above in italics) observes a Spanish press article that incorrectly interprets article 10 of the Treaty of Utrecht as prohibiting land communication between Gibraltar and Spain despite a partial opening of the frontier in 1982. What was prohibited was any smuggling across the frontier to the detriment of the King of Spain.

3. *The King said that he agreed very much with a gradual approach. He accepted that the opinions of the population must be respected. Gibraltar was an emotional issue and we must be sensitive towards public opinion and to the demands of national interests. But at the same time we should try to manage practical problems, such as naval visits, in a manner calculated to avoid difficulties. With a burst of his usual frankness, the King added in any case it was not to the advantage of Spain to recover Gibraltar in the near future. If she did so, King Hassan would immediately reactivate the Moroccan claim to Ceuta and Melilla.*⁸⁶

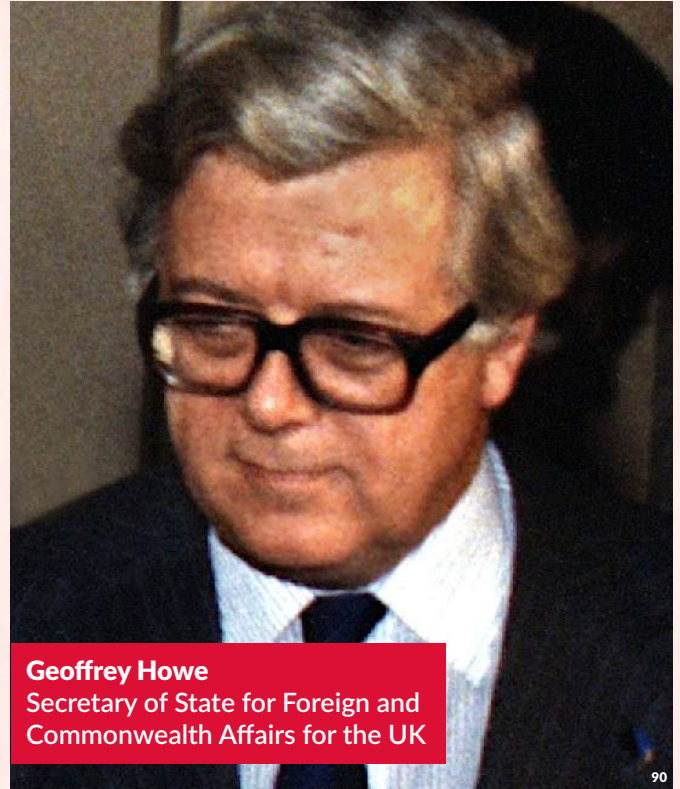
Another UK diplomatic cable (above in italics) (1983) relating to the UK embassy in Madrid lays out the political perspective of the King of Spain Juan Carlos I on Gibraltar. It demonstrates the complicated issue of reclaiming Gibraltar whilst retaining Ceuta and Melilla (Spanish territory attached to Morocco). The King is preoccupied that should Gibraltar be handed back that Morocco may reassert their claim to the two Spanish territories in question.

The Lisbon Agreement...

The Lisbon Agreement (or declaration), signed on April 10, 1980, between the UK and Spain, aimed to resolve differences regarding Gibraltar. It focused on establishing direct communications, lifting Spanish restrictions on Gibraltar, and initiating negotiations to address the core issues between the two countries. In 1982 following the Lisbon agreement the Spanish Government opened the Frontier with Gibraltar to pedestrians. "The [opening was] originally on a discriminatory basis, allowing only Spaniards and Gibraltarians to cross"⁸⁷ Reactions upon the opening were mixed. Marcelino Oreja the former Spanish Foreign Affairs Minister (who had signed the Lisbon declaration) stated that the decision had been a mistake and that: "Spain has given away a bargaining card for nothing in return".⁸⁸



Fernando Morán
Minister of Foreign Affairs for Spain



Geoffrey Howe
Secretary of State for Foreign and
Commonwealth Affairs for the UK

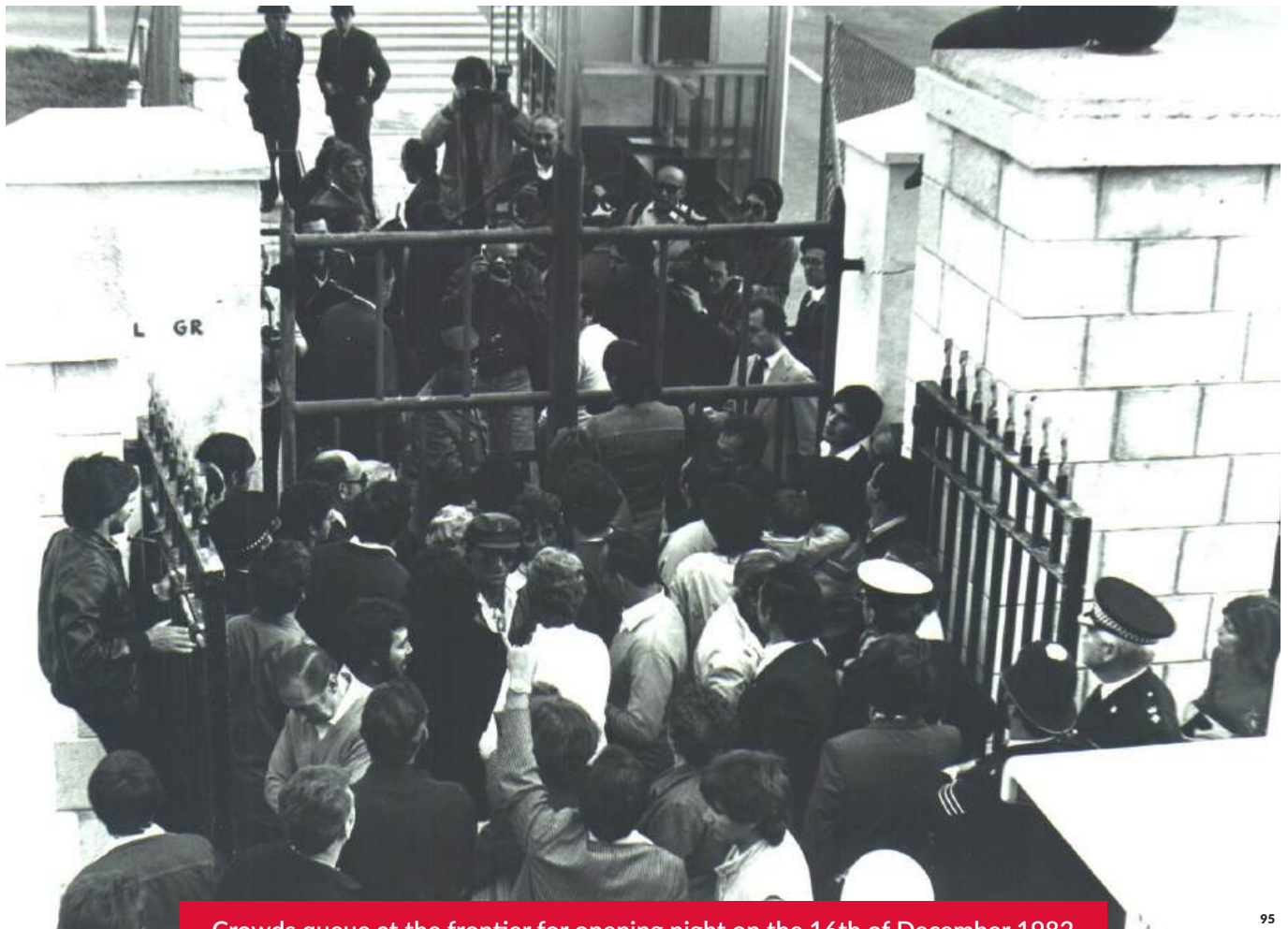
"In April 1984, [Geoffrey] Howe [Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs for the UK] and [Fernando] Morán [Minister of Foreign Affairs for Spain] met in Luxembourg and finally reached an agreement in principle, which also received the approval of the Gibraltarians through Joshua Hassan [Chief Minister of Gibraltar]. Spain agreed to end border restrictions in exchange for "a negotiation process" in which practical issues, but also the question of sovereignty would be discussed. The agreement materialised in November of that year with the signing of the Brussels Declaration, which replaced the Lisbon Declaration. Under this commitment, Spain fully reopened the border fence [on the 5th] February 1985, allowing the "free movement of people, vehicles, and goods."⁹¹

"The complete reopening of the border was accepted as necessary by Felipe González [Prime Minister of Spain], who prioritised Spain's entry into the EEC over the Gibraltar dispute. The United Kingdom had benefited from the González government's needs, but he had also managed to secure the rights of Spanish workers in the British colony and leave the door open to claiming sovereignty over the Rock in a new context: the EEC."⁹²

Fernando Morán who was interviewed on GBC (Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation)⁹³ was of the belief that using diplomacy Spain would reclaim Gibraltar through osmosis (a process by which the molecules of a solvent pass from a solution of low concentration to a solution of high concentration through a semi-permeable membrane) this meant a gradual process of reclaiming Gibraltar.

A Gibraltarian politician the Hon Peter Cumming speaking out on Morán's thoughts on osmosis in 1994 stated:

"I am not a chemist, but I understand osmosis as a gentle process"⁹⁴



Crowds queue at the frontier for opening night on the 16th of December 1982

95



Gibraltar Customs entrance with movement across the frontier now well established. c. 1985-1990.

96

EL PAÍS

DIRECTOR: JUAN LUIS CEBRIAN

DIARIO INDEPENDIENTE DE LA MAÑANA

MADRID, MIÉRCOLES 15 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1982

Redacción, Administración y Talleres: Miguel Yuste, 40 / Madrid-17 / 954 38 00 / Precio: 35 pesetas / Año VII. Número 2.091

Tres frentes de la política exterior del Gobierno socialista

Gibraltar, las relaciones Madrid-Washington y Marruecos constituyen tres puntos destacados de la actualidad política. Después de trece años de aislamiento decretado por el general Franco, pasada la medianoche de ayer la verja de Gibraltar fue abierta para el tránsito peatonal, en cumplimiento

del acuerdo adoptado en el primer Consejo de Ministros del Gabinete socialista. Alrededor del mediodía de hoy llega a Madrid el secretario de Estado norteamericano, George Shultz, quien se entrevistará, entre otras personalidades, con el presidente del Gobierno, Felipe González, lo que

constituye el primer contacto de alto nivel de la Administración Reagan con la nueva situación española. Finalmente, el ministro de Asuntos Exteriores de Marruecos, Mohamed Bucetta, afirma que hoy hay ningún cambio de actitud en el contencioso de Ceuta y Melilla.

Londres impone a la colonia la apertura durante 24 horas

La verja de Gibraltar se abrió de madrugada tras 13 años de bloqueo

Pasadas las campanadas de la medianoche, a las cero horas de hoy, se abrió la verja de Gibraltar, después de trece años de interrupción de comunicaciones con la colonia británica desde el lado español. En el momento de la apertura, esperado con ansiedad por los habitantes de la vecina ciudad de La Línea, unas quinientas personas se hallaban concentradas en los alrededores de la frontera, deseosas de saludar a sus familiares o amigos al otro lado de la verja. A primera hora de la noche, la medida decretada días antes por el Gobierno de la colonia británica de cerrar la frontera de una a seis de la madrugada fue cancelada por presiones de las autoridades de Londres.

La apertura de la verja se produjo entre la emoción de las personas concentradas y de las primeras que atravesaron la frontera. Francisco Romo Martín, un linense de 52 años, fue el primero en pasar desde el Peñón, adelantándose en el último momento a Carmen Worb, mientras se descorchaban botellas de champaña y una tuna amenizaba el histórico acontecimiento.

Marruecos mantiene inalterable su reivindicación de Ceuta y Melilla, asegura Bucetta

"No veo que exista ningún elemento nuevo que permita que se diga que ha cambiado la posición de Marruecos en torno a Ceuta y Melilla", ha manifestado a EL PAÍS el ministro de Asuntos Exteriores marroquí, Mohamed Bucetta. El ministro ha precisado, sin embargo, que el tema de Ceuta y Melilla "ha sido siempre para nosotros un problema de fondo porque esos territorios son, han sido y para nosotros serán siempre de soberanía marroquí".

Bucetta señala que Marruecos desea seguir la vía de la negociación para resolver el caso de Ceuta y Melilla. "Esperamos", dice en sus declaraciones, "que cuando llegue el momento de discutir, se haga en el marco de amistad y buen entendimiento, y mediante negociaciones, salvaguardando naturalmente los intereses primeros de los unos y los otros, pero siempre sobre ese fondo de claridad de que Ceuta y Melilla, para los marroquíes, son territorios de su soberanía".

El ministro marroquí, después de expresar su propósito de que las relaciones entre su país y el nuevo Gobierno español sean buenas, resalta la importancia de conseguir un gran acuerdo pesquero entre España y Marruecos.

Página 14



Carmen Worb fue la segunda persona en atravesar la verja. Se le adelantó el linense Fernando Romo Martín.

Shultz llega esta mañana a Madrid

Felipe González recibe al jefe de la diplomacia norteamericana

El secretario de Estado norteamericano, George Shultz, llega esta mañana a Madrid, procedente de París, en una visita incluida dentro de su gira por las principales capitales europeas. El jefe de la diplomacia de Washington mantendrá

entrevistas con el ministro español de Asuntos Exteriores, Fernando Morán, esta misma mañana, y con el presidente del Gobierno, Felipe González, a última hora de la tarde, así como con el líder de la oposición, Manuel Fraga. Mañana será recibido por el Rey y girará una visita a la Conferencia de Seguridad y Cooperación en Europa, antes de abandonar Madrid con destino a Londres.

Felipe González ha estado preparando durante el pasado fin de semana este encuentro que, pese a situarse en el marco multilateral de la gira europea del jefe de la diplomacia norteamericana, estará muy condicionado por cuestiones bilaterales. El convenio de amistad y cooperación, pendiente de ratificación por las Cortes Generales, estará en el centro de las conversaciones. Los socialistas desearían retocar los artículos vinculados a la adhesión de España a la OTAN y algún otro aspecto concreto como la actual ubicación de la base aérea de Torrejón.

Página 15
Editorial en la página 10

El Gabinete estudia hoy la reducción de la jornada laboral y la extensión de las vacaciones

El Consejo de Ministros estudiará hoy un proyecto de ley sobre la reducción de la jornada laboral a cuarenta horas y la extensión de las vacaciones a treinta días, y presentará la semana próxima el proyecto a las Cortes para su aprobación, según informó ayer Nicolás Redondo, secretario general de UGT, después de celebrar una entrevista con el ministro de Trabajo, Joaquín Almunia, quien se reunió a continuación con el secretario general de CC OO, Marcelino Camacho.

Joaquín Almunia precisó que durante 1983 se efectuará la reforma de la ley Básica de Empleo y se elaborarán las leyes de previsión de pensiones y de jubilación a los 64 años, y otras legislaciones laborales especiales.

La reunión con el ministro fue calificada como "tremendamente positiva" por Redondo, y de "positiva" por Camacho, quienes expusieron los puntos de vista de sus sindicatos.

Página 51

HOY, EN EL PAÍS

Reagan logra un compromiso del Senado sobre los misiles MX

El presidente norteamericano, Ronald Reagan, alcanzó ayer un compromiso con los miembros del Senado para fabricar los misiles MX. / Página 5.

Polonia restringe sus intercambios con EE UU

Varsovia anunció ayer la suspensión de sus intercambios culturales y científicos con Estados Unidos, a cuya Administración acusa de hacer una "política antipolaca". / Página 3.

AP aplaude a Barriónuevo en el Congreso

Los diputados de AP aplaudieron ayer las explicaciones del ministro del Interior, José Barriónuevo, sobre la muerte del grupo Martín Luna, mientras los socialistas permanecían en silencio. / Página 16.

El Barça quiere saldar cuanto antes el fichaje de Maradona

Página 47

| | | | |
|---------------|----|---------------|----|
| Internacional | 2 | Especialmente | 35 |
| Opinión | 10 | Cartelera | 41 |
| España | 13 | Deportes | 47 |
| Mundo | 25 | Corresponsal | 51 |
| Sociedad | 27 | Bolsa | 56 |
| Cultura | 33 | Programas TV | 58 |

ESPECIAL DE 180 PAGINAS TODO EL 82

- SUPER EXCLUSIVA:** Habla el hombre de la maleta del 23-F. LOCALIZAMOS AL CAPITAN SANCHEZ VALIENTE EN MIAMI.
- NICOLAS REDONDO:** "Voy a tener divergencias con este Gobierno".
- EDEN PASTORA, DE "COMANDANTE CERDO" A TRAIADOR.** Confesiones de un ex agente de la CIA.
- UN CORAZON A MEDIDA.** Las mejores fotos de la primera implantación de un órgano artificial.
- LOLA MERINO.** Trece años, estrella del 8: "Los mayores me miran mucho".
- EL SECRETO DE LA MOMIA.** Especialistas frañeses curaron a Ramsés II.
- FAMOSAS A TODA PIEL.**

Nº 344, del 15 al 21 de diciembre de 1982

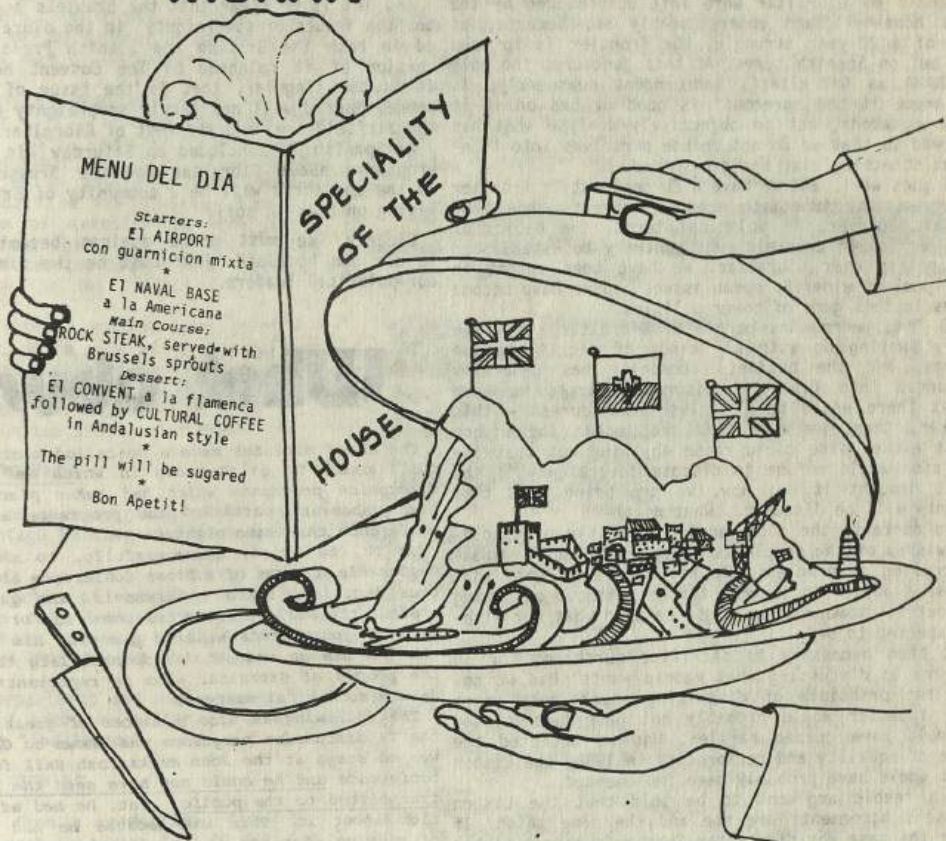
STAR'S
LARGEST
SELLING
WEEKLY
957
3
Dec
1984
20p

the Gibraltar Newsweekly

PANORAMA

Le BRUSSELS SPROUT Restaurant

MORAN



HOWE DO YOU WANT IT SERVED, SEÑOR?

now is the time to see our range of...

LIVING ROOM
DINING ROOM
BEDROOM &
KITCHEN

FURNITURE

THE BEST VALUE • THE BEST SELECTION • THE BEST SERVICE

Benhar
Furniture

City Mill Lane

98

The Brussels Declaration signed on November 27th, 1984.



The Brussels Agreement

The Brussels agreement (or declaration) had various benefits for both Spain and Gibraltar, although there were many in Gibraltar who believed that too much had been given away.

For Spain a major benefit was that talks on the Sovereignty of Gibraltar with Britain would be held, this was viewed by the Spanish as a step towards realising the Spanish claim to Gibraltar. Another advantage for Spain was the early implementation of reciprocal rights. Reciprocal rights meant that the right for Spaniards to live and work in Gibraltar would be brought forward before Spanish entry to the E.E.C (European Economic Community).

For Gibraltar a major benefit was the re-opening of the border allowing free passage between Gibraltar and Spain for the first time in many years. The other concession to Gibraltar was that it restated Britain's guarantee on sovereignty and this was the same guarantee that was stated in the preamble to the 1969 Constitution.

The Brussels process envisaged setting up joint working groups to discuss ways in which Spain and Gibraltar could begin to cooperate. Among these groups would be committees on Economic Development, Tourism and Aviation.

It was generally hoped that this carefully planned agreement would satisfy both Spain and the people of Gibraltar especially as Chief Minister Sir Joshua Hassan had given the agreement his personal support, however this was not unanimously the case.

Joe Bossano (in the above image) leader of the Gibraltar's opposition Socialist party viewed the Brussels agreement as giving rise to a possible betrayal of Gibraltar by Britain to Spain. The fear articulated by Juan Carlos Perez (a Socialist party politician) was that the Brussels agreement would create a dependence on Spain due to an increasing Spanish workforce that did not exist at the time. Bossano's position was explained in an interview with him for UK television (Weekend World):

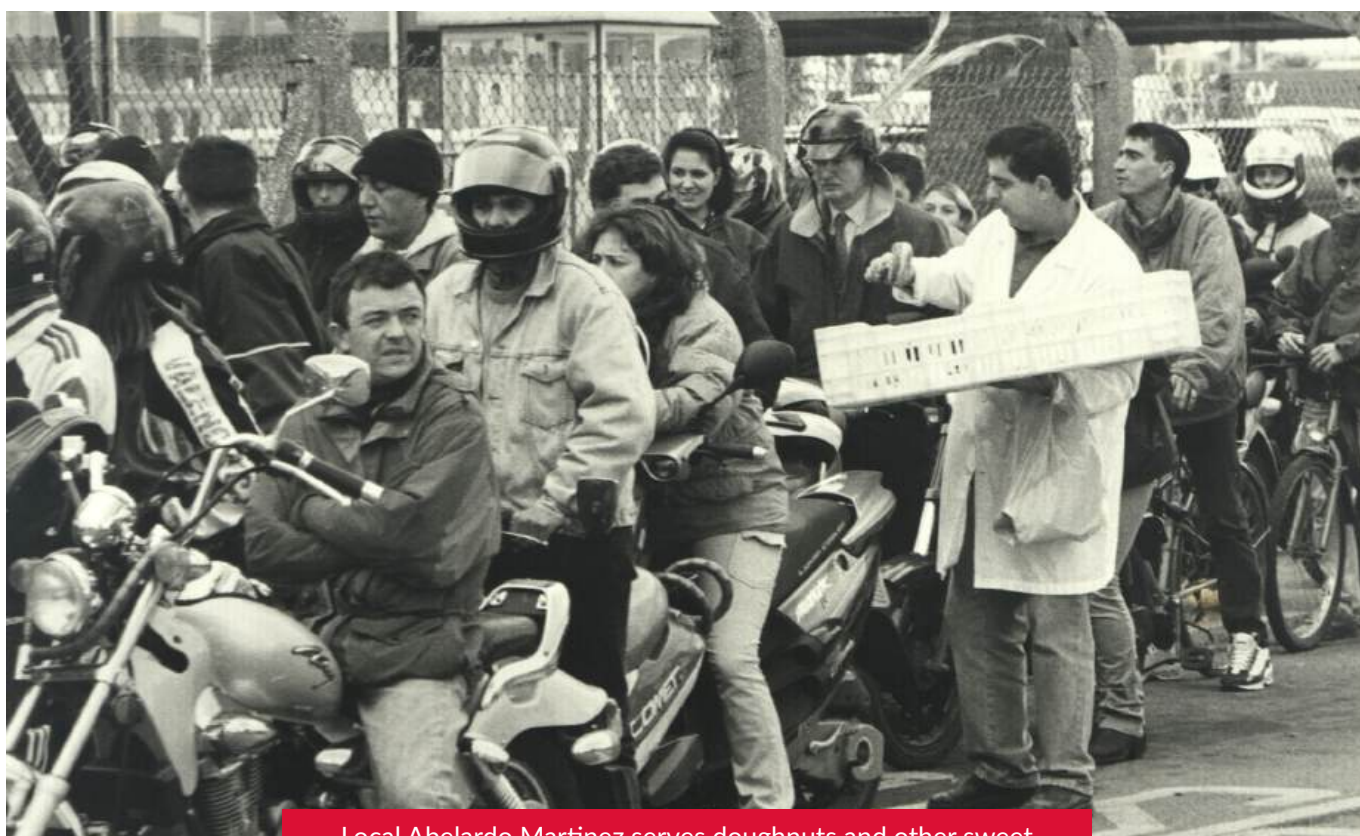
"If we ask, where do we go from here the answer must be that if we are living in a changing world where we ourselves are changing and Britain has no longer any use for Gibraltar. Then I think the 20 years of isolation have also served to make us strong within ourselves and in that context the feeling of being Gibraltarian and of a Gibraltarian Gibraltar is gathering momentum every day. I think it would be a mistake for other people to write off the possibility of independence for Gibraltar simply because it may not suit others it will certainly suit many Gibraltarians".

An opinion poll carried out by the Gibraltar Panorama for UK television (Weekend World) asked a sample of Gibraltarians:

"Should sovereignty be negotiated with Spain?" No: 94%
Yes: 4% Don't Know: 2% ⁹⁹



Scenes from the Frontier post-opening (c. 1985-1989)
the queue in this photo indicates a long waiting time.



Local Abelardo Martinez serves doughnuts and other sweet
pastries to those waiting in the frontier queue (c. 1985-1996).

100

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|-------------------------|----------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Beginning Of Frontier Closure | 1967 | Frontier Pedestrians | Vehicles | Spanish Flights | Spanish Telecoms | Spanish Ferries |
| | 1968 | | | | | |
| | 1969 | | | | | |
| | 1970 | | | | | |
| | 1971 | | | | | |
| | 1972 | | | | | |
| | 1973 | | | | | |
| No Traffic Across The Border | 1974 | | | | | |
| | 1975 | | | | | |
| | 1976 | | | | | |
| | 1977 | | | | | |
| | 1978 | | | | | |
| | 1979 | | | | | |
| | 1980 | | | | | |
| | 1981 | | | | | |
| | 1982 | | | | | |
| Frontier Opening For Pedestrians | 1983 | | | | | |
| | 1984 | | | | | |
| | 1985 | | | | | |
| | 1986 | | | | | |
| | 1987 | | | | | |
| | 1988 | | | | | |
| | 1989 | | | | | |
| | 1990 | | | | | |
| | 1991 | | | | | |
| | 1992 | | | | | |
| | 1993 | | | | | |
| Frontier Open To Vehicular Traffic | 1994 | | | | | |
| | 1995 | | | | | |
| | 1996 | | | | | |
| | 1997 | | | | | |
| | 1998 | | | | | |
| | 1999 | | | | | |
| | 2000 | | | | | |
| | 2001 | | | | | |
| | 2002 | | | | | |
| | 2003 | | | | | |
| | 2004 | | | | | |
| | 2005 | | | | | |
| | 2006 | | | | | |
| Lifting Of Restrictions On Spanish Flights Telecoms & Ferries | 2007 | | | | | |
| | 2008 | | | | | |
| | 2009 | | | | | |
| | 2010 | | | | | |
| | 2011 | | | | | |

The most significant feature of the latest frontier statistics is that the number of coaches coming to Gibraltar is sharply down.

After climbing to the 700-mark, where monthly numbers stabilised, there has been a drop to 556 in June.

Given that predictions pointed to a spectacular increase as summer progressed, the downturn is causing consternation in travel - oriented circles.

There are certain arguments: (1) That the novelty of Gibraltar has worn off and (2) that coach trips decrease in summer.

HAS BONUS PUBLICITY FROM FRONTIER SUBSIDISED?

There is some evidence to support the contention that the bonus publicity flowing from the frontier opening has subsidised.

Not only are coaches down, but the number of visitors is also going down, the decline here is not as pronounced as with the coaches.

The number of visitors in April exceeded the 200,000-mark becoming the highest ever so far. Easter had a positive influence in that month, but since then, figures are down to about 182,000 for both May and June despite the expected increased influx as summer sets in.

Only the frontier novelty can explain that in March more people visited the Rock than in the last two months.

It is to be expected that July and August will see a substantial upturn given that most people go on holiday then. Will the Rock retain its magnetic influence on the Spanish traveller or have most people now forgotten that the frontier is fully open?

FOREIGN CARS ON AN UPHILL TASK

What is important is that the number of foreign cars continue to go upwards, but it's an uphill task. About 1,000 cars came in last month compared with May which experienced only a modest increase over the preceding month.

Yet, from nearly 11,000 in February, the car queue increased to over 17,500 in March and to over 21,600 in April. When Easter must have played its part, is there already solid argument to conclude that the novelty factor has worn off?

July, and particularly August, should provide a dramatic upswing due to the

COACH ARRIVALS
-Week by Week

Coming
and
goings

FOREIGN CARS
-Week by Week

FOREIGN VISITORS
-Week by Week

by JOE
GARCIA



holiday
one will
be rise is
fates, from

already mentioned, but what the average numbers year as a whole. has been a spectacular number of commercial vehicles, and the like, coming in numbers increased nearly

three-fold from May to June when as many as 1,284 came in. And throughout, there has been a steady rise. However, the June figures may be inflated by the filling in of the Viaduct area which has brought in lorry-loads of debris from Spain. Be that as it may, the increasing number of commercial vehicles is a clear reflection of the increasing commercial links with the mainland.

MORE GIB CARS TO SPAIN, THAN FROM SPAIN TO GIB

And what about outgoing traffic to Spain? Well, Gibraltar wins hands down when it comes to cars. There are about 12,000 more crossings by local cars to Spain than foreign cars to Gibraltar. In fact, apart from the first month of frontier opening, when the edge was slightly on incoming cars, the balance has been reversed in a decided fashion. Last month 34,643 Gibraltar car crossings took place compared with 23,958 from Spain.

Police figures put the number of Rock residents crossing the frontier at 133,000, which is slightly above the figures for the previous three months with the exception of February when it was about half. It means that about 50,000 more people came this way than we do that way.

In general terms, the figures tend to show that spending on either side must be about equal, given the well-known propensity of Rock dwellers to empty their pockets on the other side.

The real eye-opener so far has been the decrease in coach trips to the Rock. Such trips had come to be regarded as the most visible sign of an upturn in our financial fortunes following the opening of the frontier.

From a daily average exceeding 30 coaches, down to some 18 last month, head-aches have become painfully obvious in those who depended on such traffic, such as restaurants who had worked out deals with the tour operators.

They should not despair! There should be a more positive out-turn if more cars come in with, hopefully, longer-stay visitors. More foreign cars are staying in Gibraltar for longer periods than before, so that's a good sign.

Overall, the post-frontier situation is certainly providing greater economic activity than in closed frontier days despite the ups and downs that are already becoming manifest.

Statistics from the Panorama of the 1st of April 1986 provide insights into the crossings at the frontier.¹⁰³

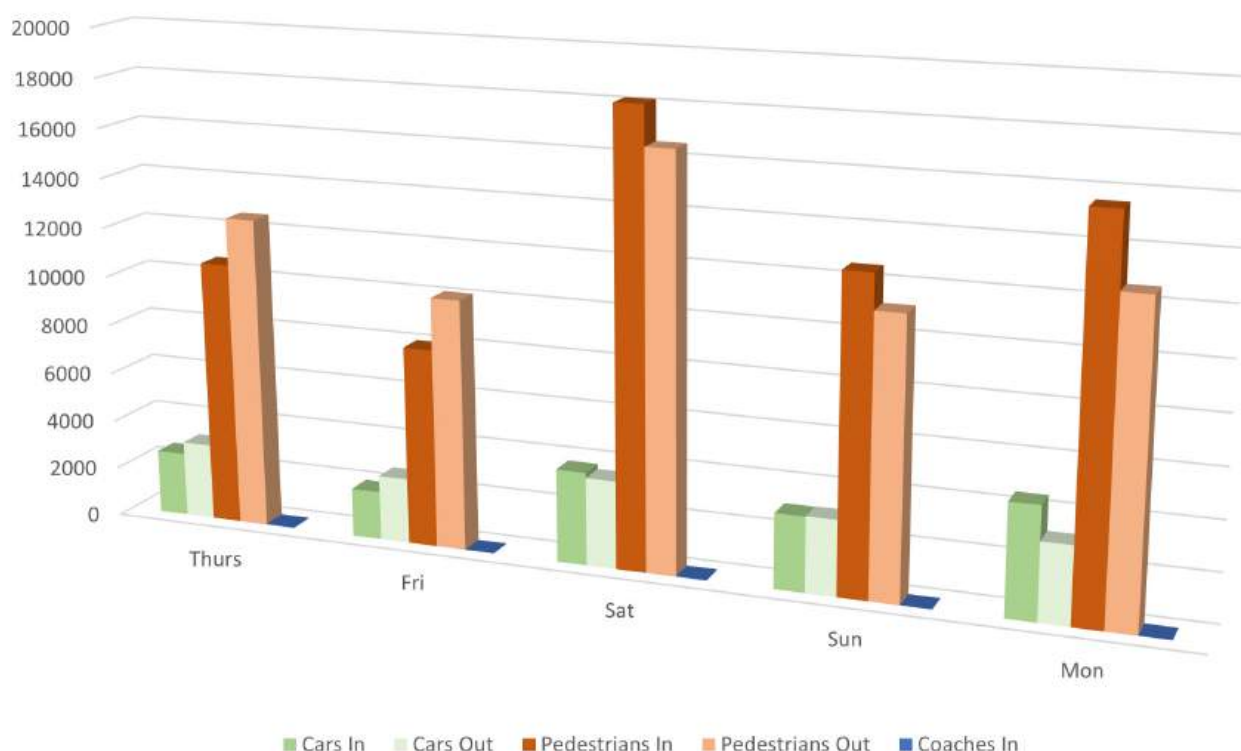
This contrasts with the 2014 frontier where about 35,000 persons cross every day with 10,000 vehicles crossing.¹⁰⁴

EASTER FRONTIER CROSSINGS

Over 15,000 cars crossed the frontier, either way, during the Easter period, Thursday to Monday. The number of pedestrian crossings exceeded 63,000, either way. 107 coaches came to Gibraltar during the period.

| | Cars IN | Cars OUT | Pede- strians IN | Pede- strians OUT | Coaches IN |
|---------|------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| Thurs - | 2,587 | 3081 | 10,661 | 12,576 | 35 |
| Fri - | 1,961 | 2,632 | 8,013 | 10,097 | 5 |
| Sat - | 3,748 | 3,538 | 18,145 | 16,570 | 34 |
| Sun - | 3,025 | 3044 | 12,559 | 11,153 | 12 |
| Mon - | 4,509 | 3137 | 15,545 | 12,609 | 21 |
| | 15,830 | 15,432 | 64,923 | 63005 | 107 |

5 Day Cross Frontier Traffic in 1986



Below is a table of the average daily traffic during the period:

| Cars In | Cars Out | Pedestrians In | Pedestrians Out | Coaches In |
|--------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| 3,166 | 3,086 | 12,985 | 12,601 | 21 |

The Gibraltar Newsview only

PANORAMA

The removal of the frontier guards, and the prospect of the frontier gates going the same way, are reduced to comparative insignificance when it is recalled that, 20 years ago, Britain offered to demolish the entire frontier fence.

This was at the first Gibraltar meetings with Franco Spain in the summer of 1966.

At the time, there were mounting restrictions at the frontier and the late Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Castiella had put forward formal proposals to cancel the Treaty of Utrecht and take over the Rock.

PROPOSAL

The British counter-proposals went like this: If the Spanish Government were to establish and maintain a regime at La Linea similar to that existing on Spain's international frontiers elsewhere, "HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT FOR THEIR PART WILL CAUSE THE GIBRALTAR FRONTIER FENCE TO BE DEMOLISHED."

In those days, Spain was neither

regime at La Linea similar to that existing on Spain's international frontiers elsewhere.

(b) Her Majesty's Government for their part will cause the Gibraltar frontier fence to be demolished.

3. This proposal is made without prejudice.

From the official British proposal in 1966.

WHEN BRITAIN WANTED TO KNOCK DOWN THE ENTIRE FRONTIER FENCE

by JOE GARCIA

Who has been particularly active writing about Gibraltar internationally. A week ago, he reported for "The Sunday Times" on the implications of the removal of the guard, followed on Wednesday by a half-page report (in Spanish)

an EEC member nor a NATO ally - the pretext now put forward

in Spain's leading daily "El Pais" and a news analysis yesterday in the paper's Sunday supplement. And in this month's issue of "Investment International" he writes about Anglo-Spanish relations.

for the removal of the guard ...

It exposes to what extent the Foreign Office are simply finding excuses to do what they want to do, and adds fuel to suspicions that recent events signal the beginning of the end of other British symbols and traditions.

The public outcry that has greeted the removal of the guard should force the Foreign Office to put the brakes on their ideas to remove the gates as well. They have already said that they will not proceed with it for the time being, and the ice might now take longer to melt.

JUST FANCY THAT...

Now that summer is on the way out, the Tourist Office has started to advertise in Spanish papers even in La Linea, as if they didn't know there that Gibraltar can be visited!

But, clearly, it is their aim to remove the gates, and sooner or later, Gibraltar will wake up one morning and find the gates gone.

Given the 1966 proposal, it could well be that the guard and gates represent the beginning of a policy to knock down the entire frontier fence. It would seem to fit perfectly in Foreign Office designs.

If Foreign Office pundits have been checking on past proposals to determine future policy, it might be appropriate to recall other aspects of the formal proposals of 1966.

SHADES OF BRUSSELS

The British delegation said on 12th July 1966 that, in order to facilitate progress towards a lasting settlement of the differences between Her Majesty's Government and the Spanish Government regarding Gibraltar (shades of Brussels!), Her Majesty's Government are disposed to lay the foundations for future understanding by, among other things, proposing the appointment of a Spanish Commissioner in Gibraltar "who would take precedence before all other foreign representatives in Gibraltar" and agreeing "that Gibraltar political institutions should be revised to give them a municipal image". Drop your guard at your peril, the writing is on the fence!

GIBRALTAR TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

Now is the time to advertise in the next edition of the Gibraltar Telephone Directory. Your Company, your goods and services... it will be your shop-window in every home and in every business with a phone, for 365 days a year. For details, contact MedSUN Publishing, 93 Irish Town, Tel 79797.

MedSUN
PUBLISHING

The Gibraltar Newsview only

PANORAMA

INDEPENDENT AND FREE

VIEWPOINT

SPENDING MORE THAN EVER ON RUBBISH

Once upon a time the arrival of a cruise liner was greeted with trumpet playing, obviously because it was the only thing coming in. Now, because one single liner stays away, there is a furore as if the entire economy depended on it. Is it a question of the more you have, the more you want - or is it that the frontier opening has not been the goose that was expected to lay the golden eggs?

The truth of the matter is that, in spite of the frontier opening, Gibraltar gives the impression of being an unhappy society. Not only that, it is a filthy society. Wherever you look there is dirt and decay. Gone are the days when Gibraltar got nothing but praise for being so radiantly clean. We now seem to be a decadent society.

There was a time when everything was blamed on the closed frontier. Yet even in those difficult days you would see our streets being flushed.

Today, it is costing us more than ever to clean the place up and yet it is dirtier than ever; the streets are full of pot-holes and are unkempt; there is greasy dirt in every corner and general decay everywhere. When are we going to put this right? And if it was possible in the past, why not now?

Today, we are spending more than ever on rubbish. It makes you think

Section Four –

The Present Frontier



106

Many years after the opening of the frontier in 1985 the relationship between Britain and the European Union (E.U.) changed due to Britain leaving the E.U. in 2020 commonly known as “Brexit” (a portmanteau of Britain and Exit).

This section will examine:

- The current situation at the frontier post-Brexit.
- The present relationship between Gibraltar and Spain

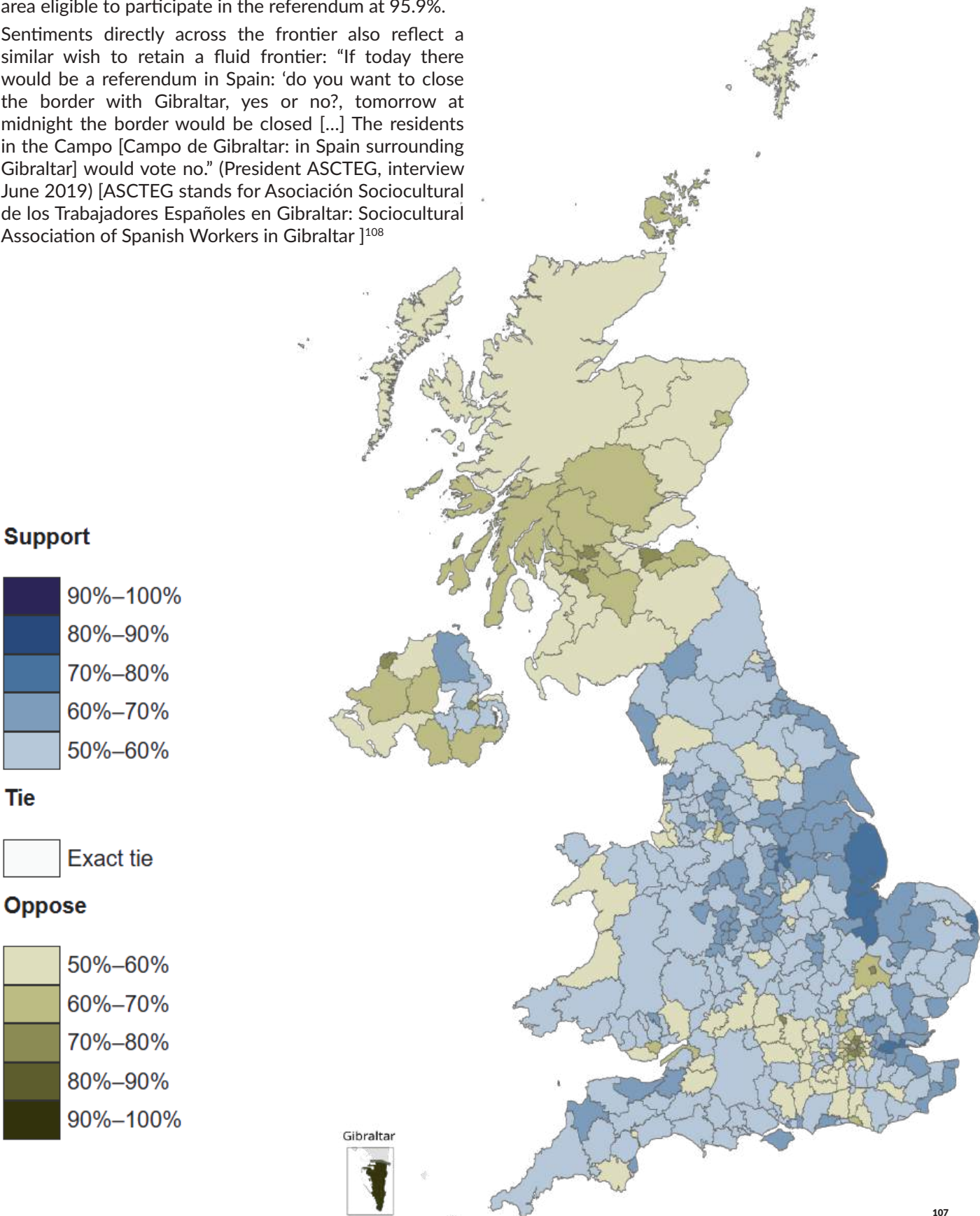
In 2016 due to mounting political tension Prime Minister David Cameron offered the British public a referendum on whether to retain membership of the European Union (E.U.).

The above chart maps the vote by support or opposition to E.U. membership by U.K. region.

Gibraltar had by far the strongest vote for 'remain' of any area eligible to participate in the referendum at 95.9%.

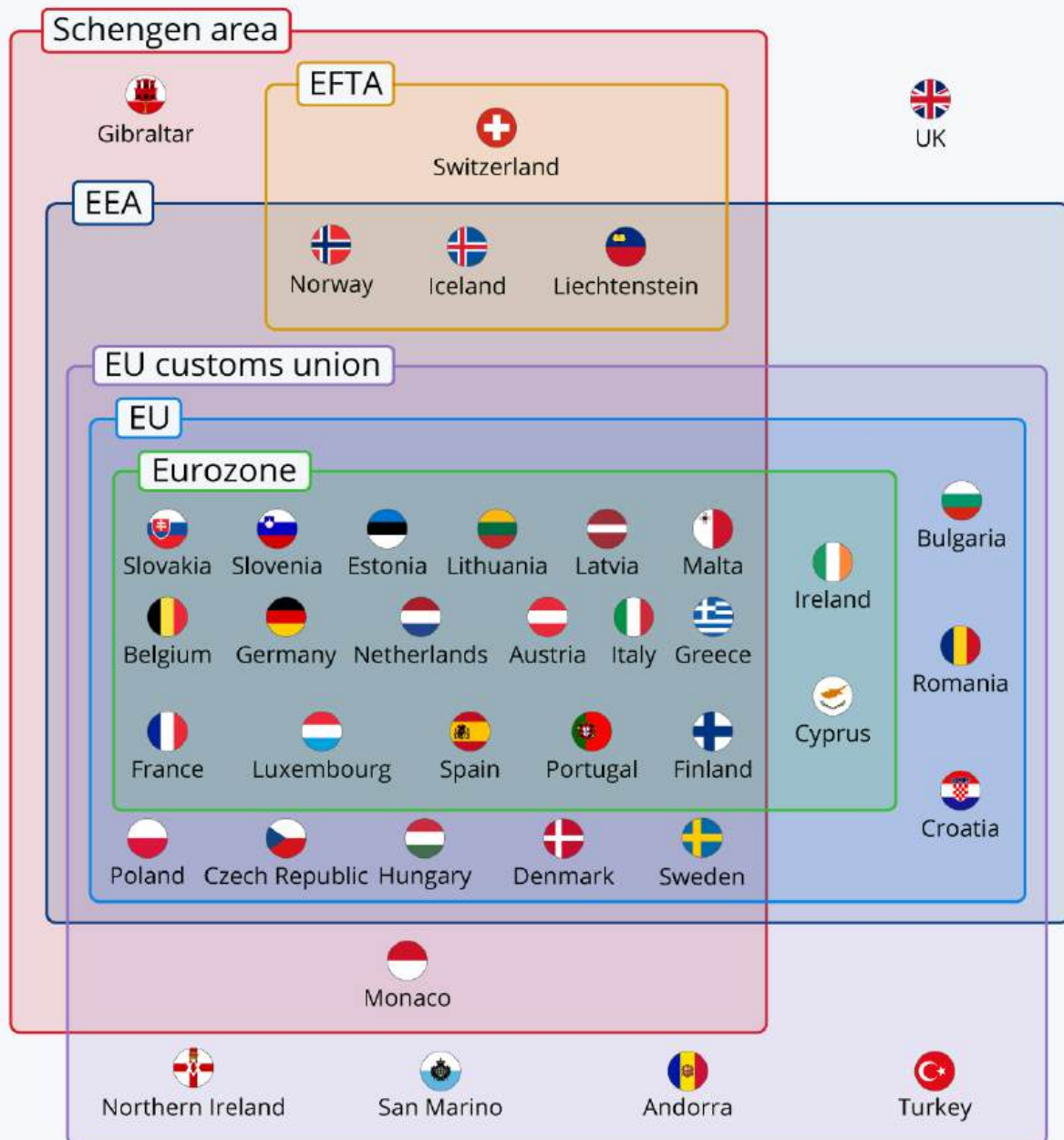
Sentiments directly across the frontier also reflect a similar wish to retain a fluid frontier: "If today there would be a referendum in Spain: 'do you want to close the border with Gibraltar, yes or no?', tomorrow at midnight the border would be closed [...] The residents in the Campo [Campo de Gibraltar: in Spain surrounding Gibraltar] would vote no." (President ASCTEG, interview June 2019) [ASCTEG stands for Asociación Sociocultural de los Trabajadores Españoles en Gibraltar: Sociocultural Association of Spanish Workers in Gibraltar]¹⁰⁸

The consequences of Brexit are far ranging however they particularly impact upon Gibraltar due to its proximity to Spain which has maintained its position in the European Union. A new treaty between the E.U. with Spain and Britain with Gibraltar is now on the horizon and was announced on the 12th of June 2025.



The Consequences of The UK's Brexit Strategy

UK's status in European economic, trade and travel agreements



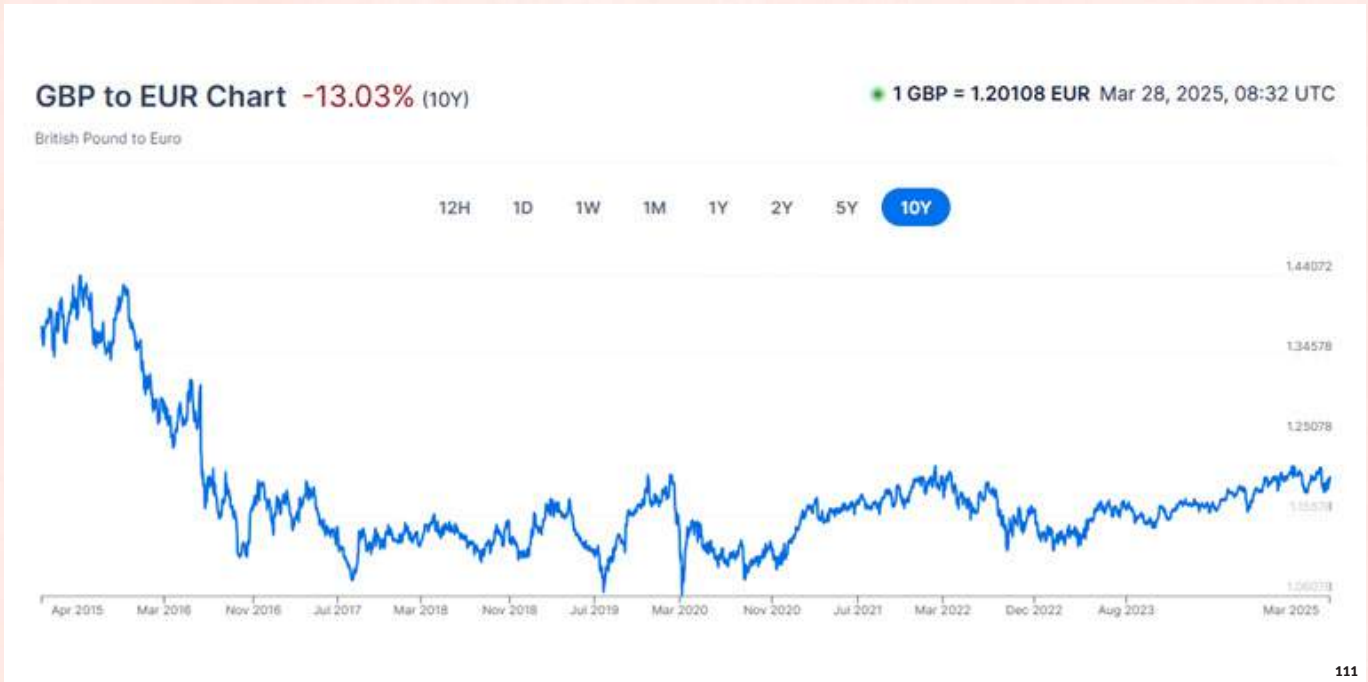
Source: Statista research



statista

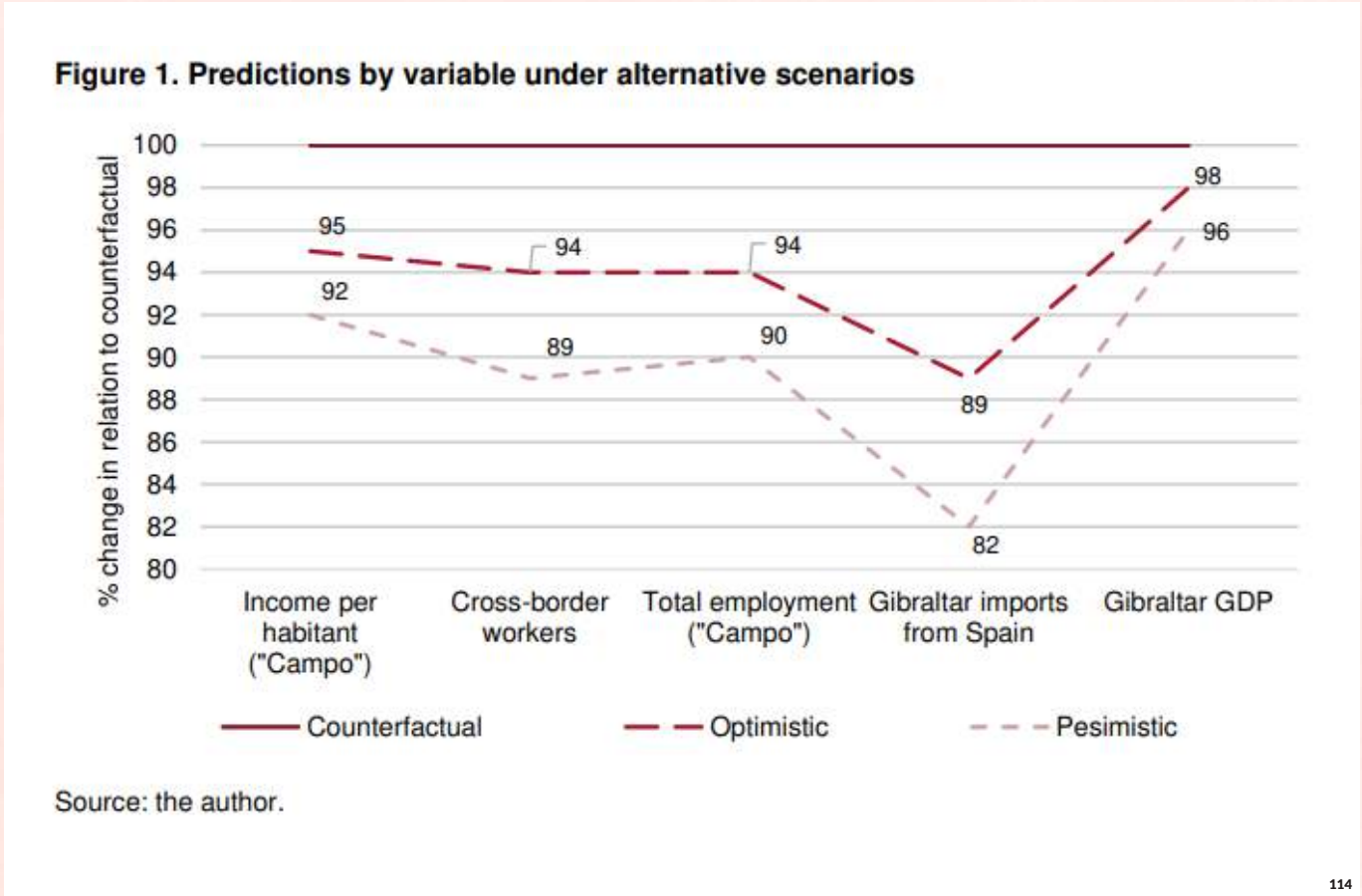
109

The main objective of the future Agreement is to secure the future prosperity of the whole region. This will be done by removing all physical barriers, checks and controls on persons and goods circulating between Spain and Gibraltar, while preserving the Schengen area, the EU Single Market and Customs Union.¹¹⁰



When [...] Brexit was voted, the British Pound plummeted, immediately impacting not only Gibraltar but also the more than 10,000 border workers residing in La Línea, as well as the local businesses in Spain depending on them.¹¹²



































According to a 2017 Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) report this devaluing removed €15 million from circulation in La Línea, especially in the areas of hospitality and commerce.¹¹³









The above chart posits a Counterfactual should the UK have remained in the EU against two post-Brexit projections an optimistic scenario in which a “Soft Brexit” agreement between the EU/UK is reached and a pessimistic scenario in which no agreement is reached and the U.K./E.U. resort to World Trade Organisation (WTO) positions.



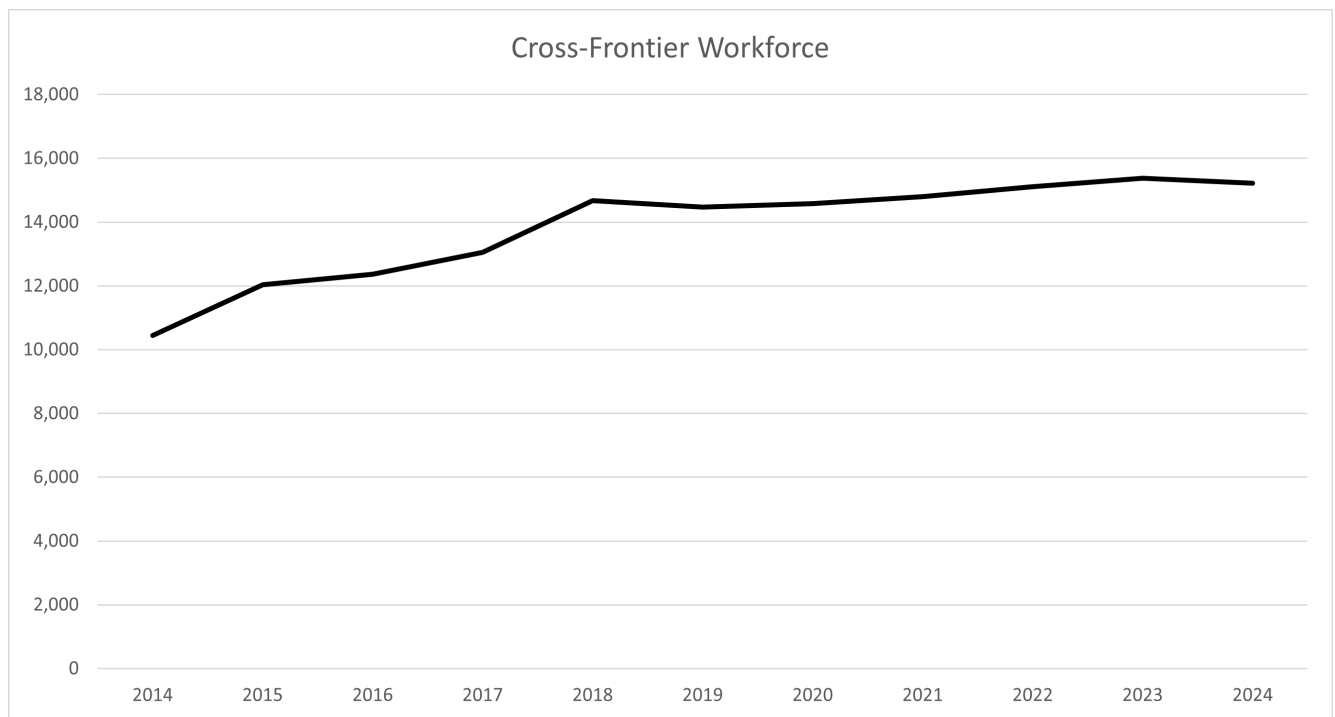
115

| Nationality | Total | Percent | Flag |
|-------------------|-------|---------|---|
| Spain | 10493 | 68.92% |  |
| British-Other | 1719 | 11.29% |  |
| Portugal | 908 | 5.96% |  |
| Romania | 454 | 2.98% |  |
| Italy | 262 | 1.72% |  |
| Hungary | 161 | 1.06% |  |
| Poland | 158 | 1.04% |  |
| British-Gibraltar | 141 | 0.93% |  |
| Ireland | 139 | 0.91% |  |
| Germany | 94 | 0.62% |  |
| Bulgaria | 80 | 0.53% |  |
| France | 71 | 0.47% |  |
| Netherlands | 54 | 0.35% |  |
| Slovakia | 53 | 0.35% |  |
| Latvia | 44 | 0.29% |  |
| Lithuania | 37 | 0.24% |  |
| Czech Republic | 36 | 0.24% |  |
| Greece | 34 | 0.22% |  |
| Morocco | 33 | 0.22% |  |
| Sweden | 25 | 0.16% |  |
| Belgium | 21 | 0.14% |  |
| Denmark | 21 | 0.14% |  |
| Estonia | 20 | 0.13% |  |
| Croatia | 18 | 0.12% |  |
| Ukraine | 17 | 0.11% |  |
| China | 16 | 0.11% |  |
| Finland | 12 | 0.08% |  |
| Brazil | 10 | 0.07% |  |
| USA | 7 | 0.05% |  |
| Slovenia | 7 | 0.05% |  |
| Austria | 6 | 0.04% |  |
| Philippines | 6 | 0.04% |  |
| Russia | 6 | 0.04% |  |
| Canada | 5 | 0.03% |  |

| Nationality | Total | Percentage | Flag |
|--------------|-------|------------|---|
| Indian | 5 | 0.03% |  |
| Maltese | 5 | 0.03% |  |
| Mexican | 5 | 0.03% |  |
| Norwegian | 4 | 0.03% |  |
| Ghanaian | 3 | 0.02% |  |
| Swiss | 3 | 0.02% |  |
| Argentinian | 2 | 0.01% |  |
| Cuban | 2 | 0.01% |  |
| Cypriot | 2 | 0.01% |  |
| Pakistani | 2 | 0.01% |  |
| Senegalese | 2 | 0.01% |  |
| Armenian | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Australian | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Bolivian | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Chilean | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Colombia | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Congo | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Costa Rica | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Hong Kong | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Israel | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Kazakh | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Lebanon | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Luxembourg | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Macedonia | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Montenegro | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Mozambique | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| New Zealand | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Nicaragua | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Paraguay | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Peru | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| South Africa | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Taiwan | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Thailand | 1 | 0.01% |  |
| Venezuela | 1 | 0.01% |  |

116

The above chart documents the nationalities of the cross-frontier workforce. This is a more diverse group than the workforce of the 1960s due in part to the significant growth of the Gaming industry in Gibraltar where 2/3rds of workers are cross frontier.¹¹⁷



Gibraltar's Cross-Frontier workforce has grown by **45.86%** in the past 10 years.

In 2013, Cross-Frontier workers earned approximately **£207,250,000**.

In 2015, the Net Output effect of Gibraltar in the Campo de Gibraltar area (in Spain surrounding Gibraltar) was approximately **£426,564,000**.

The Cross-Frontier workers work mainly in Construction (**13.3%**), Distributive Trade (**21%**), Hotels and Restaurants (**9.5%**) with services such as online gaming, business services, and financial intermediation making up the rest of the Cross-Frontier workforce (**41%**).¹¹⁸

In 2018, **50%** of Gibraltar's workforce was Cross-Frontier labour.¹¹⁹

A survey taken the same year documented that, **70.5%** of Gibraltarians reported having friends or family in Spain.¹²⁰

The unemployment rate for La Linea in 2020 was **35%** compared to **1%** in Gibraltar.¹²¹

ROB OF GIBRALTAR

Spain plans £43 border fee and airspace ban

A ROCKY HISTORY

● Gibraltar became British in 1713. The Spanish failed to recapture it in 1727 and 1779.
● Gibraltarians voted in 1967 and 2002 to stay part of the UK.
● The opening scene of The Living Daylights was an aerial view of the rock. John Lennon and Yoko married there in 1969.



THE row over Gibraltar deepened yesterday as Spain threatened to charge motorists £43 every time they cross the border.

Spanish foreign minister José Manuel García-Margallo also warned airspace to the British territory could be closed as he declared: "The party is over."

The tough measures aim to hit back at the Gibraltar government for building an artificial reef around the Rock.

Mr García-Margallo claimed it had led to the "destruction of fishing grounds" and said money raised from a 50-euro border fee will help Spanish fishermen.

Around 30,000 people, including British ex-

No way... José

By EMILY ASHTON

pats and European holidaymakers, cross the border every day. Mr García-Margallo also said airspace may be closed to planes flying to Gibraltar airport.

Around 6,000 people who own homes on the Rock and in Spain, could also face tax probes. And online gaming firms based in Gibraltar will have tax rules changed to raise more revenue for Madrid.

Target

The minister's warnings came after Spain ramped up border checks on Friday, forcing drivers to wait for hours.

Spanish ambassador Federico Trillo was summoned to Whitehall to give assurances it would not happen again.

But in a Spanish newspaper interview, Mr García-Margallo hinted diplomatic relations would plummet further unless Gibraltar removed the reef.

Last night a Foreign Office

spokesman said: "We will be seeking an explanation from Spain following reports the government might target Gibraltar with further measures."

He added: "The Prime Minister has made clear the UK government will meet its constitutional commitments to the people of Gibraltar and will not compromise on sovereignty."

"Our differences will be resolved by political means through our relationship as EU partners, not through disproportionate measures such as the border delays we have seen over the past week."

Tensions first surfaced in February last year, when Spanish fishermen said they were targeted by Gibraltar cops in British territorial waters.

In November the Royal Navy's HMS Scimitar was scrambled to intercept a Spanish warship. And last month Gibraltar-based Dale Cherry, 32, claimed cops shot at him while he was jet-skiing with a friend. e.ashton@the-sun.co.uk

An El Español 2021 interview with former Partido Popular politician (Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation from 2011-2016) José Manuel García-Margallo entitled: *El plan secreto de Margallo para recuperar Gibraltar que Rajoy desechó porque era "un lío"* (Margallo's secret plan to recapture Gibraltar, which Rajoy dismissed as "a mess")¹²³

- ¿Estaba usted más cómodo con el cierre de la verja que decretó Franco y que luego mantuvieron los primeros gobiernos democráticos?
- Franco la cerró y así lo mantuvieron Adolfo Suárez y Felipe González. La verja se abrió porque los británicos son muy duros negociando. Cuando teníamos que entrar en la Comunidad Económica Europea, Thatcher gritó: "O abríis o jamás entráis". Me lo contó alguien que estuvo allí.
- Were you more comfortable with the closure of the fence decreed by Franco and then maintained by the first democratic governments?
- Franco closed it, and Adolfo Suárez and Felipe González maintained it. The fence was opened because the British are very tough negotiators. When we were about to enter the European Economic Community, Thatcher shouted: "Either you open it or you never get in." Someone who was there told me that.

A 18th of July 2014 article on YourGibraltarTV notes that "Dr. Garcia, Deputy Chief Minister [of Gibraltar] commented [...] that [...] new data shows that the flow rate of cars crossing into Spain is deliberately reduced by the Spanish border authorities. [He stated that] the brunt of this hardship is borne by EU nationals, thousands of whom are Spanish, who live in Spain and work in Gibraltar. Needless to say, residents of Gibraltar and tourists are also being affected"¹²⁵





THE GIBRALTAR CABINET

Meeting to be held: Wednesday 11th June 2025 at 8am
No6 Convent Place
Gibraltar

In attendance:

Chief Minister

The Hon Fabian Picardo KC MP

Deputy Chief Minister

The Hon Dr Josep Garcia CMG MP

Minister for Inward Investment and the Savings Bank

The Hon Sir Joe Bossano KCMG MP

Minister for Justice, Trade and Industry

The Hon Nigel Feetham KC MP

Minister for Health, Care and Business

The Hon Gemma Arias Vasquez MP

Minister for Equality, Employment, Culture, Tourism and Civil and Commercial Aviation

The Hon Christian Santos MP

Minister for Education, the Environment and Climate Change, Transport and TSD

The Hon Professor John Cortes MBE MP

Minister for Housing and The University of Gibraltar

The Hon Pat Orfila MP

Minister for Industrial Relations, Civil Contingencies and Sport & Leisure

The Hon Leslie Bruzon MP

David Lammy

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Ots and Americas

The Rt Hon David Lammy MP

Stephen Doughty

Minister of State for Europe

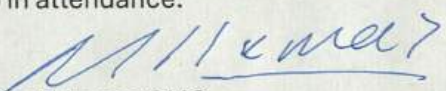
Stephen Doughty MP



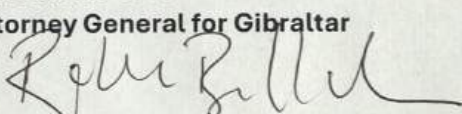
THE GIBRALTAR CABINET

Meeting to be held: Wednesday 11th June 2025 at 8am
No6 Convent Place
Gibraltar

Also in attendance:


Michael Llamas CMG

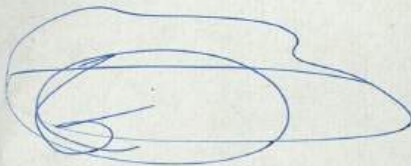
HM Attorney General for Gibraltar


Robbie Bulloch

Head of the FCDO's Gibraltar Negotiations Team

AGENDA

1. The Chief Minister: welcomes the Secretary of State.
2. The Secretary of state and the Chief Minister: Merits of an Agreement between the UK and EU in respect of Gibraltar.
3. All members: Conclusion and next steps.



GORDON MARSHALL

CHIEF SECRETARY

GIBRALTAR CHRONICLE



THURSDAY 12TH JUNE, 2025

The Independent Daily - first Published 1801

PRICE £1

Political deal 'a moment of progress, clarity and optimism', but all await details



Photo by Fabian Picardo/X

by Brian Reyes in Brussels

A historic political agreement was reached on Wednesday for a treaty on Gibraltar's post-Brexit relations with the EU.

The agreement comes after nearly four years of prolonged and intense negotiation and seeks to guarantee fluidity across the border for both people

and goods, laying a foundation for cross-border prosperity.

Chief Minister Fabian Picardo said it represented "a moment of progress, clarity and optimism" for Gibraltar and its people.

The political agreement between the UK and the EU, which has yet to be turned into a final treaty text, was finalised in Brussels during a high-level

meeting between UK Foreign Secretary David Lammy, European trade commissioner Maros Sefcovic, Spain's Minister for Foreign Affairs Jose Manuel Albares and Chief Minister Fabian Picardo.

A clause agreed by all sides makes "explicitly clear" that the final treaty is without prejudice to the respective legal positions

of the UK and Spain in respect of sovereignty and jurisdiction.

"The main objective of the future agreement is to secure the future prosperity of the whole region," the four negotiating par-

ties said in a joint statement.

"This will be done by removing all physical barriers, checks and controls on persons and goods circulating between Spain (Continued on page 2)

Lammy and Picardo insist Schengen immigration arrangements mirror 2020 agreement, despite concerns

by Brian Reyes

See page 17

Getting you back on track after a cyber attack.

masbro

Masbro Insurance is authorised and regulated by the Gibraltar Financial Commission (GFC000000)

non-motor@masbro.gi
+350 200 76434



Hassan Centenary Terraces

Make Hassan Centenary Terraces your home and you could

WIN your first year of interest paid up to £10,000

PLUS receive a £1,250 cash back housewarming gift on us too!

This mortgage product offers lending up to 120% of the purchase price of the property in a single facility. The first 120% of the loan amount will be secured against the property. Any amount above 100% up to a total of 120%, will be an unsecured loan.

Gibraltar
INTERNATIONAL BANK

Ask in branch for more details or email hct@gibintbank.gi

128

A historic achievement: precisely 40 years after the full frontier opening of 1985 a post-Brexit Treaty in 2025 is announced.

"The agreement represents a balanced, pragmatic and mutually respectful solution laying the foundations for freedom of movement of goods as well as people, and thereby for a future zone of shared prosperity that will benefit both Gibraltar and the surrounding region."¹²⁹

Section 1 - References

- 1 The Richard Garcia Collection. Frontier in the early 1960s.
- 2 The Richard Garcia Collection. Gibraltar frontier 1950s.
- 3 https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Gibraltar_and_Bay_map_1750.jpg Map of Gibraltar c1750 Guillaume Dheulland Public Domain
- 4 Peter Gold. 1994. A Stone in Spain's Shoe The Search for a Solution to the Problem of Gibraltar. UK: Liverpool University Press. 213-214
- 5 Thomas James Finlayson. 2018. The Boundaries of Gibraltar. Gibraltar: Charles G Trico (Printers) Ltd. 1-2
- 6 Gibraltar National Archives /North Front Collection/North Front Neutral Ground Correspondence/Minutes Diplomatic incident between British army officer/Town Major and Spanish Sentry 1/12/1880-26/1/1881
- 7 Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores. 1967. Negociaciones sobre Gibraltar Documentos Presentados A Las Cortes Españolas por el Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores. Madrid: Imprenta del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. 15
- 8 Thomas James Finlayson. 2018. The Boundaries of Gibraltar. Gibraltar: Charles G Trico (Printers) Ltd. 22-76
- 9 Gibraltar National Archives/North Front Collection/North Front The Frontier Fence 1850-1939
- 10 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Don_Quijote,_22_de_mayo_de_1892.jpg Illustration by Eduardo Sojo "Democritus", published in the Spanish satirical magazine Don Quixote. 22nd May 1892. Public Domain
- 11 Gibraltar National Archives/North Front Collection/North Front The Frontier Fence 1850-1939
- 12 Richard J.M. Garcia. 2014. A Mighty Fortress set in the Silver Sea Victorian & Edwardian Photographs of Gibraltar. Gibraltar: FotoGrafiks Books. 55
- 13 Richard Garcia. 2017. The Changing Face of Gibraltar in the 20th Century. Gibraltar: FotoGrafics Design. 147
- 14 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/Centenary of the City Council Exhibition 2021
- 15 The Richard Garcia Collection.
- 16 The Richard Garcia Collection.
- 17 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/Centenary of the City Council Exhibition 2021
- 18 The Richard Garcia Collection.
- 19 The Richard Garcia Collection.
- 20 The Richard Garcia Collection.

Section 2 - References

- 21 <https://www.flickr.com/photos/71144572@N00/437334679/> (Frontier 1977) CC BY-SA 2.0 Elmar Reich
- 22 Peter Gold. 1994. A Stone in Spain's Shoe The Search for a Solution to the Problem of Gibraltar. UK: Liverpool University Press. Chapter 2.
- 23 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/Centenary of the City Council Exhibition 2021

- 24 Trinidad, J. (2021). Self-determination and contested peoplehood in Gibraltar: separating the law from the rhetoric. *The Round Table*, 110(3), 347–356. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2021.1933086>

- 25 <https://www.surinenglish.com/andalucia/costa-luz/san-roque-well-beloved-town-loyal-king-20240426115645-nt.html>

- 26 HM Government of Gibraltar: Press Release: 40 Years of the Opening of the Border 1985 - 2025 - 67/2025

- 27 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/Legislative Council Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/ HRH Duke of Edinburgh visit to Gibraltar 1950 for Inauguration of New Constitution

- 28 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/ HRH Duke of Edinburgh visit to Gibraltar 1950 for Inauguration of New Constitution

- 29 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/50th Anniversary of the closing of the Spanish Frontier with Gibraltar 1969-2019

- 30 <https://www.un.org/dppa/decolonization/en/nsgt/gibraltar>

- 31 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/Gibraltar at the United Nations 60th Anniversary

- 32 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/Gibraltar at the United Nations 60th Anniversary

- 33 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/Gibraltar at the United Nations 60th Anniversary

- 34 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/Referendum1967

- 35 Joseph Garcia. Gibraltar: The making of a People. Gibraltar: Panorama Publishing. 149

- 36 George Hills. 1974. Rock of Contention: A History of Gibraltar. UK: Robert Hale & Company. 455

- 37 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/50th Anniversary of the closing of the Spanish Frontier with Gibraltar 1969-2019

- 38 Thomas James Finlayson. 2018. The Boundaries of Gibraltar. Gibraltar: Charles G Trico (Printers) Ltd. 128

- 39 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/50th Anniversary of the closing of the Spanish Frontier with Gibraltar 1969-2019

- 40 Gareth Stockey. 2009. Gibraltar 'A Dagger in the Spine of Spain?'. UK: Sussex Academic Press. 225

- 41 Gibraltar National Archives/Gibraltar Annual Report 1960. 8

- 42 Gareth Stockey. 2009. Gibraltar 'A Dagger in the Spine of Spain?'. UK: Sussex Academic Press. 217

- 43 Gareth Stockey. 2009. Gibraltar 'A Dagger in the Spine of Spain?'. UK: Sussex Academic Press. 218

- 44 Archivo Municipal de la Línea de la Concepción/Organizacion Sindical. Estructura Y Posibilidad De Desarrollo Del Campo De Gibraltar. Consejo Economico Sindical Del Campo De Gibraltar

- 45 Gibraltar National Archives/Gibraltar Annual Report 1969. 11

- 46 Gibraltar National Archives/Gibraltar Financial Report For The Year 1969.

- 47 Gibraltar National Archives/Frontier & Territorial Waters Crisis 2013

- 48 Gibraltar National Archives/Occurrence Book, North Front, April 1966-May 1967.
-
- 49 Bono, F., & Stoffelen, A. (2020). Bottom-up Geopolitics and Everyday Brexits at the Gibraltar-Spain Border. *Geopolitics*, 27(5), 1528–1551. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2020.1860941>
-
- 50 <https://www.margareththatcher.org/document/107572>
-
- 51 Mariola Summerfield. 2007. A Woman's Place: Memoirs of a Gibraltarian Woman – A "Llanita". Gibraltar: M Summerfield. 76-78
-
- 52 Mariola Summerfield. 2007. A Woman's Place: Memoirs of a Gibraltarian Woman – A "Llanita". Gibraltar: M Summerfield. 90-91
-
- 53 Mariola Summerfield. 2007. A Woman's Place: Memoirs of a Gibraltarian Woman – A "Llanita". Gibraltar: M Summerfield. 98
-
- 54 Gibraltar National Archive/Digital Assets/from Housewives - Julie Gonzalez
-
- 55 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/50th Anniversary of the closing of the Spanish Frontier with Gibraltar 1969-2019
-
- 56 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/Robert Peliza
-
- 57 Gibraltar National Archives/Beeching report
-
- 58 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/50th Anniversary of the closing of the Spanish Frontier with Gibraltar 1969-2019
-
- 59 Alfonso Lazo Diaz. 1999. La Iglesia, la falange y el fascismo Un estudio sobre la prensa española de posguerra. Spain: University of Seville. 147
-
- 60 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/50th Anniversary of the closing of the Spanish Frontier with Gibraltar 1969-2019
-
- 61 https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/andalucia/2020-12-31/herida-eterna-laline-verjazo-franco-abandono-gobiernos_2891560/
-
- 62 <https://reachextra.com/covers-to-forget-headlines-the-day-the-frontier-closed/>
-
- 63 Archivo Municipal de la Línea de la Concepción/Vicesecretaría Nacional De Ordenación Social. Departamento De Información. Madrid. Los Obreros Españoles Ya No Volverán A Gibraltar
-
- 64 Archivo Municipal de la Línea de la Concepción/Vicesecretaría Nacional De Ordenación Social. Departamento De Información. Madrid. Este Es El Censo De Parados
-
- 65 Archivo Municipal de la Línea de la Concepción/Vicesecretaría Nacional De Ordenación Social. Departamento De Información. Madrid. 2500 Gibraltareño trabajaron horas extraordinarias
-
- 66 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/50th Anniversary of the closing of the Spanish Frontier with Gibraltar 1969-2019
-
- 67 Archivo Municipal de la Línea de la Concepción/Vicesecretaría Nacional De Ordenación Social. Departamento De Información. Madrid Gibraltar Anecdótico. Curiosas Iniciativas Contra España
-

| | |
|----|---|
| 68 | Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/50th Anniversary of the closing of the Spanish Frontier with Gibraltar 1969-2019 |
| 69 | https://www.gbc.gi/tv/programmes/gibtalks-2024-1313/episode/kenneth-cardona GBC Gibtalks |
| 70 | Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/Mons Calpe |
| 71 | The Richard Garcia Collection |
| # | Section 3 - References |
| 72 | Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/50th Anniversary of the closing of the Spanish Frontier with Gibraltar 1969-2019. Gibraltar Frontier opening night 16th December 1982. |
| 73 | Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/50th Anniversary of the closing of the Spanish Frontier with Gibraltar 1969-2019 |
| 74 | https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:SPA-2014-San_Lorenzo_de_El_Escorial-Valley_of_the_Fallen_%28Valle_de_los_Ca%C3%ADdos%29.jpg Godot13 CC BY-SA 4.0 |
| 75 | Gibraltar National Archives/Chronicle Collection |
| 76 | Gibraltar National Archives/Panorama Collection |
| 77 | Gibraltar National Archives/Panorama Collection |
| 78 | Gibraltar National Archives/Gibraltar Chronicle 12th of April 1980 Front page |
| 79 | Gibraltar National Archives/Gibraltar Chronicle 20th of January 1981 Front page by Francis Cantos |
| 80 | Gibraltar National Archives/Gibraltar Chronicle 2nd of April 1981 Front page |
| 81 | Gibraltar National Archives/Gibraltar Evening Post 28th June 1980 Page 5 |
| 82 | https://www.margareththatcher.org/document/137938 |
| 83 | Gibraltar House of Assembly Hansard/Consolidated Questions & Answers 1982 |
| 84 | https://www.margareththatcher.org/document/236364 |
| 85 | https://www.margareththatcher.org/document/137931 |
| 86 | https://www.margareththatcher.org/document/225950 |
| 87 | Richard Garcia. 2017. The Changing Face of Gibraltar in the 20th Century. Gibraltar: FotoGrafics Design. 134 |
| 88 | https://www.margareththatcher.org/document/212058 |
| 89 | https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fernando_Mor%C3%A1n_en_la_recepci%C3%B3n_al_ministro_de_Asuntos_Exteriores_de_Marruecos.jpg Ministry of the Presidency. Government of Spain |
| 90 | https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Geoffrey_Howe_(1985).jpg Robert J. Dole Institute of Politics. Public Domain |

- 91 Martínez del Campo, L. G. (2022). Fantasma colonial. La descolonización británica y la ampliación ibérica de la Comunidad Económica Europea, 1981-1986. *Historia Del Presente*, (40), 121–138. <https://doi.org/10.5944/hdp.40.2022.39042>
- 92 Martínez del Campo, L. G. (2022). Fantasma colonial. La descolonización británica y la ampliación ibérica de la Comunidad Económica Europea, 1981-1986. *Historia Del Presente*, (40), 121–138. <https://doi.org/10.5944/hdp.40.2022.39042>
- 93 <https://www.gbc.gi/tv/programmes/60-years-of-news-1638/episode/episode-7-spaniard-in-the-works-13442>
- 94 Gibraltar House of Assembly Hansard/ 26th April 1994 (adj 17th May 1994 28th June 1994)
- 95 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/50th Anniversary of the closing of the Spanish Frontier with Gibraltar 1969-2019
- 96 Gibraltar National Archives/Photographic Collection/Spanish Police & Frontier Delays
- 97 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/50th Anniversary of the closing of the Spanish Frontier with Gibraltar 1969-2019
- 98 Gibraltar National Archives/Panorama Collection
- 99 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/50th Anniversary of the closing of the Spanish Frontier with Gibraltar 1969-2019/Video/Full Opening of the Frontier 1985
- 100 Gibraltar National Archives/Photographic Collection/Spanish Police & Frontier Delays
- 101 https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e2/Cierre_de_gibraltar.PNG CC BY 3.0 Nerika
- 102 Gibraltar National Archives/Panorama Collection
- 103 Gibraltar National Archives/Panorama Collection
- 104 https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-7-2014-000358_EN.html Monitoring of border crossings at the Gibraltarian/Spanish frontier - Question for written answer E-000358-14 to the Commission Rule 117 Ashley Fox (ECR) , Julie Girling (ECR) , Giles Chichester (ECR) – European Parliament 2014
- 105 Gibraltar National Archives/Panorama Collection

Section 4 - References

- 106 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Border_crossing_at_Gibraltar,_Gibraltar_side_2005.jpg (Frontier 2005) CC BY-SA 3.0 Konstantin. Gibraltar-Spain border crossing, photo taken from the Spanish side towards Gibraltar 2005.
- 107 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:United_Kingdom_EU_membership_referendum_2016_map.svg CC BY-SA 3.0 Mirrorme22 Brythones Nilfanion: English and Scottish council areas TUBS: Welsh council areas Sting: Gibraltar
- 108 Bono, F., & Stoffelen, A. (2020). Bottom-up Geopolitics and Everyday Brexits at the Gibraltar-Spain Border. *Geopolitics*, 27(5), 1528–1551 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2020.1860941>
- 109 <https://www.statista.com/chart/24212/uk-status-in-european-agreements/>

- 110 <https://www.gibraltar.gov.gi/press-releases/joint-statement-on-the-negotiations-for-an-eu-uk-agreement-in-respect-of-gibraltar-4332025-10960>
- 111 <https://www.xe.com/currencycharts/>
- 112 Bono, F., & Stoffelen, A. (2020). Bottom-up Geopolitics and Everyday Brexits at the Gibraltar-Spain Border. *Geopolitics*, 27(5), 1528–1551. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2020.1860941>
- 113 <https://www.gbc.gi/news/la-linea-affected-drop-pound-following-brexite-34171>
- 114 Bastarrica L G. (2019) The economic effects of Brexit in the “Campo de Gibraltar”: an econometric approach. University of Seville.
- 115 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_L%C3%ADnea_de_la_Concepci%C3%B3n CC BY 3.0 tiger rus
- 116 <https://www.gibraltar.gov.gi/statistics> Employment Survey 2024
- 117 <https://www.chronicle.gi/eu-deal-vital-to-protect-gibraltar-jobs-and-economy-feetham-tells-gambling-sector/>
- 118 An Economic impact study and analysis of the economies of Gibraltar and the Campo de Gibraltar Update 2015. A report commissioned by The Gibraltar Chamber of Commerce. By John Fletcher Yeganeh Morakabati Ken Male
- 119 <https://www.chronicle.gi/border-fluidity-crucial-to-gibraltars-european-union-of-frontier-workers-garcia-says/>
- 120 Dittmer, J., Kunz, S., Bocking, J., Brown, C., Cooney, H., Datta, S., ... Zamula, F. (2019). Gibraltarians’ attitudes towards Brexit and the Gibraltar-Spain frontier. *Space and Polity*, 23(3), 283–298. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13562576.2019.1670054>
- 121 https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/andalucia/2020-12-31/herida-eterna-lalinea-verjazo-franco-abandono-gobiernos_2891560/
- 122 Gibraltar National Archives/Frontier & Territorial Waters Crisis 2013
- 123 https://www.lespanol.com/espana/politica/20210110/plan-secreto-margallo-recuperar-gibraltar-rajoy-desecho/549696330_0.html
- 124 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/British Forces HQ – Command Photographer
- 125 <https://www.yourgibraltartv.com/politics/7094-jul-18-garcia-insists-frontier-queues-are-deliberate>
- 126 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/Treaty 2025
- 127 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/Treaty 2025
- 128 Gibraltar National Archives/Digital Assets/Treaty 2025
- 129 <https://www.gibraltar.gov.gi/press-releases/uk-eu-gibraltar-trade-and-mobility-agreement-4342025-10961>



HM Government of Gibraltar

Gibraltar National Archives

www.nationalarchives.gi