**Forum:** General Assembly Fourth Committee

**Issue:** The Question of Gibraltar

**Student Officer:** Charles Tan

**Position:** Head Chair

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**Introduction**

In 1960, the United Nations (UN) adopted General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV), which called for “the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples”. Since the establishment of the UN Special Committee on Decolonization (C24) in 1961, only 17 territories remain colonized to this day, including Gibraltar.

Gibraltar is a British Overseas Territory (BOT) or United Kingdom Overseas Territory (UKOT) that is located at the tip of Spain’s southern Mediterranean coast in the Iberian Peninsula. Gibraltar overlooks the Strait of Gibraltar, which stands between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean; it has a total area of 2.25 square miles and a population of around 34,000. Nicknamed ‘the Rock’, Gibraltar houses several British air and naval bases and is commonly known as a symbol of British naval strength. The strategic location of Gibraltar was reinforced with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and this shipping route is still being used today for trade between the Middle East and Europe. Furthermore, it was also used as a key repair and assembly garrison for Allied vehicles in both World Wars. Today, this dockyard is a key factor of the Gibraltarian economy, receiving more than 60,000 vessels each year, and is also utilized for naval operations between the British military and its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies. Gibraltar is also described as a ‘tax haven’, due to the absence of sales tax (VAT), and a low corporate tax rate of 10%, compared to 25% in Spain.

Gibraltar has been a source of tension between both Spain and the UK since its hand over in 1713. The areas of contention include an 800-meter isthmus that divides Gibraltar and Spain and the latter’s persistent claims towards the restoration of its sovereignty over the land. Spain also cites the Treaty of Utrecht, which did not include the isthmus and surrounding territorial waters. Meanwhile, the UK contends its sovereignty over Gibraltar to be due to the notion that the principle of self-determination of Gibraltarians precedes the principle of territorial integrity, both of which are cited in UN Resolution 1514 (XV). Above all this, there have also been several Spanish incursions in Gibraltar’s “territorial waters”, and issues with smuggling across the border.
Since the reform of Gibraltar’s Constitution in 2006, both the UK and Gibraltar no longer consider Gibraltar to be a “British colony”, and thus, have requested the UN to remove Gibraltar from its list of non-self-governing territories. However, according to the UN, the constitutional status of Gibraltar does not match its criteria for delisting due to the persisting issues regarding sovereignty. Nevertheless, both nations still acknowledge that their relationship is no longer ‘colonial’ and that the UN delisting criteria is now out-of-date. Gibraltar has also reiterated that it does not seek for independence from the UK, and instead, chooses to remain British, citing the results of the 2002 referendum and its right to self-determination under the UN Charter.

**Definition of Key Terms**

**British Overseas Territory (BOT) / United Kingdom Overseas Territory (UKOT)**

A BOT or UKOT is a territory that is not formally a part of the UK, but is under its jurisdiction and sovereignty. Most BOTs such as Gibraltar are internally self-governing in all aspects except for defense and foreign relations. They all share the British Monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, as the head of state.

**Brexit**

Brexit is an abbreviation for ‘British Exit’, which is the withdrawal of the UK from the European Union (EU), following a referendum on June 23, 2016, wherein 51.9% of the participants voted to leave the EU. As a BOT, Gibraltar is also bound to exit the EU along with the UK.

**Decolonization**

Decolonization is the process by which a state withdraws from a former colony by granting it complete political independence. The UN still recognizes Gibraltar as a British colony; however, both parties insist that their relationship is no longer colonial.

**Frontier Worker**

A person who crosses the border between Gibraltar and Spain for work.

**Isthmus**

As defined by the National Geographic Society, an isthmus is a narrow strip of land that connects two larger landmasses and separates two bodies of water.” The 800-meter long isthmus that houses Gibraltar’s airport has been an area of contention between Spain and the UK since the 1960s.
Non-Self-Governing Territory (NSGT)

According to the UN, an NSGT refers to a territory whose people are not yet entitled to self-government. Gibraltar is one of the 17 NSGTs listed by the UN, with the UK as its administering power.

Self-Determination

As defined by Article 1 of the UN Charter, “all peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development.”

Single Market

A single market is an intergovernmental agreement that removes most trade barriers for goods and services, and allows for the free movement of factors of production.

State Sovereignty

State sovereignty is a state’s right to maintain complete and exclusive control over the people and property within its territory.

Territorial Integrity

Territorial integrity is generally understood as a principle of international law which discourages secessionist movements, or the use of force to impose border changes between nation states.

Treaty of Utrecht

The Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713 by both Spain and Britain, granting the latter perpetual sovereignty over Gibraltar. However, Spain constantly uses certain aspects of the Treaty, such as the fact that it did not cede the area of the isthmus to Britain, to back its interests over Gibraltar.

Background Information

History

Gibraltar was first discovered and captured in 711 by Muslim commander Tariq ibn Ziyad. This occupation was ended by the Spanish Army in 1462, and Gibraltar was officially annexed to Spain in 1504. However, it was captured by the British in 1704 during the War of the Spanish Succession and
was formally ceded in perpetuity to Britain in 1713, under Article 10 of the Treaty of Utrecht. In addition, Spain attempted but failed to recapture Gibraltar in two occasions – 1727 and 1779. This led to the signing of the Treaty of Seville in 1729, and the Treaty of Paris in 1783, which cemented British sovereignty over Gibraltar.

![Map of Gibraltar](image)

**Figure 1:** A map of Gibraltar, including its position in the Iberian Peninsula, and neighboring Spanish towns.

![Map of the shaded blue zone](image)

**Figure 2:** A map of the shaded blue zone marks the 800-meter long isthmus that was not formally ceded to the UK under the Treaty of Utrecht.
Disputes over Gibraltar (1963 – 1974)

In November 1966, disputes over Gibraltar re-emerged between Spain, under the leadership of dictator General Francisco Franco, and the UK. Spain accused the UK’s claim of sovereignty over an 800-meter long isthmus, where Gibraltar’s airport along with several military airfields are located, as an act of aggression and a violation of Spain’s contiguous airspace with Gibraltar. Spain also reiterated that this patch of land was not ceded to the UK in the Treaty of Utrecht, but instead, was unprecedentedly occupied by the UK in the 19th century in order to build quarantine health camps to contain the spread of various epidemics. These disputes led the Fourth General Assembly to pass a resolution urging Spain and the UK to “continue the present negotiations”, and “to expedite, without hindrance and in consultation with the Government of Spain, the decolonization of Gibraltar.”

Suddenly, in the following year, Spain imposed a total ban on all foreign aircraft in its territory surrounding Gibraltar. Due to this, the UK House of Commons announced that a referendum will be held, wherein Gibraltarians may select between British or Spanish sovereignty. This led to strong objections from Spain, with the support of the UN Special Committee on Decolonization, arguing that the conducting of the referendum did not occur with the consent of Spain, which violated the UN General Assembly’s resolutions. Spain also asserted that the referendum contravened the Treaty of Utrecht. However, the UK and Gibraltar denounced such claims, and proceeded to conduct the referendum. The results indicated that 99% of voters agree to continue associating Gibraltar’s sovereignty with the UK.

Another resolution was passed by the UN General Assembly, favoring the principle of territorial integrity over self-determination, stating that “any colonial situation which partially or completely destroys the national unity and territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations”. This resolution garnered outraged from both the UK and Gibraltar, who described it as “unworthy of the UN and a disgrace to the Fourth Committee” as it favored Spain’s interests of integrating Gibraltar into its mainland territory. Spain also reacted violently to the UK’s deliberate refusal to comply with UN resolution by closing its contiguous land border with Gibraltar for all forms of traffic except for Spanish workers with valid work permits. In response, the UK’s delegation stressed that UN resolutions were merely recommendations and not binding decisions. Furthermore, the promulgation of the Gibraltar Constitution in 1969 guaranteed that the UK will never enter into arrangements regarding the sovereignty of Gibraltar without the approved consent of the locals. Spain responded to this by completely closing off its contiguous border with Gibraltar. The next and final UN resolution regarding Gibraltar was passed 5 years later, as the General Assembly decided that the best solution was for both member states to discuss the issue independently. However, the Special
Committee for Decolonization was still tasked with monitoring progress between negotiations via annual reports from the UK, and reporting these to the UN Fourth Committee.


Throughout the 1970s, bipartite discussion between Spain and the UK continued without intervention from the UN, despite the death of General Franco and Spain's transition to a democratic government. In 1980, both parties signed the Lisbon Agreement with the intention to resolve the Gibraltar problem. This was due to Spain's successful application to join the European Economic Community (EEC), presently known as the European Union, which the UK and Gibraltar are both members of. Both nations needed to discuss the free movement across internal EC borders, particularly the shared border between Spain and Gibraltar. Indeed, the border was eventually opened to all pedestrians in 1982. This was followed by the Brussels Declaration, which eventually resulted in the full reopening of the border in the following year.

At the dawn of the 21st century, the UK began talks on the future of Gibraltar with Spain. The negotiations were undertaken under four pillars", namely: respect for Gibraltar's way of life, greater cooperation between Spain and the UK, extended self-government of Gibraltar, and joint sovereignty over the land. Gibraltar also held another referendum asking whether Gibraltarians approved of a co-sovereignty between Britain and Spain. The results portrayed a defiant 'no' from 99% of voters. Both Britain and Spain reacted by insisting that dialogue must ensue in order to secure a better future for Gibraltar. Hence, in 2004, a tripartite Forum of Dialogue was established between Gibraltar, Spain, and the UK, marking the first time in which Gibraltar is directly involved in decisions regarding its future.

In 2006, a reformed Gibraltar Constitution Order was given effect, officially redefining Gibraltar’s relationship with the UK to no longer be colonial, while still maintaining British sovereignty over the territory. Spain remained neutral towards the reformed constitution, as it did not implement any changes to the issue of sovereignty. However, as mentioned earlier, Spain still acknowledged Gibraltar as a British colony by reminding the UN Special Committee that Britain still continues to “exercise power as an administering authority” through the Governor. Gibraltar, on the other hand, argued that the Governor act on behalf of the Queen of Gibraltar, and not on behalf of the Queen of the United Kingdom, or on behalf of the British Government. Nonetheless, the UN still labels Gibraltar as an NSGT, or a British colony.

**Conflicts within Gibraltar (2006 – Present)**

Despite numerous agreements made to promote cooperation between the two parties, Spanish/Gibraltarian relations have been inconsistent in the past 15 years, particularly due to numerous Spanish incursions in Gibraltar’s waters. Spain maintains that Gibraltar does not have a right to claim
territorial waters, as these were not ceded to Britain in the Treaty of Utrecht. In May 8 2009, Gibraltar’s Navy chased off a Spanish corvette that seemed to enter its territorial waters without authorization. The chief minister of Gibraltar described this act to be a “challenge to British sovereignty, jurisdiction, and control over Gibraltar’s territorial sea.” Another sea-related issue surfaced in August 2012, when Gibraltar announced a ban on fishing nets within 3 miles of the renowned Rock of Gibraltar due to an environmental report on depleted fish stocks. Spain’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs protested this decision by writing a letter to the British Ambassador in Madrid to express its “disappointment and surprise” at the “obstructionist attitude” of Gibraltarian government.

Perhaps the most significant spike in tensions between Gibraltar and Spain occurred in August 2013, when the government of Gibraltar constructed an artificial reef to prevent overfishing by disposing 70 concrete blocks into the sea. The Spanish government claimed that this restricted access to Spanish fishing vessels, and subsequently tightened controls at the border, resulting in major delays of up to 7 hours for both vehicles and pedestrians attempting to cross. Spain also threatened to impose a €50 fee at the border to compensate for the lost revenue from fishing. This intervened by the European Commission, an executive agency of the EU, which reminded Spain that such fees will be a violation of the “free movement of people and goods”, which is enshrined under the EU law.

Upon further inspection, the European Commission ruled that there is no evidence to prove that the increased border checks infringes EU laws, despite Gibraltar’s accusations towards the “excessive” and “politically motivated” nature of these controls. Spain maintains that these checks were not implemented as a form of retaliation towards the construction of the artificial reef, but as a way to improve measures against tobacco smuggling from the British enclave.

In 2016, the United Kingdom European Union membership or “Brexit” referendum was implemented in Gibraltar. Prior to the referendum, Gibraltar Chief Minister Fabian Picardo warned the UK and the public on the impending dangers posed by Spain on Gibraltar’s sovereignty if it were to leave the EU. Additionally, an advocacy group, Gibraltar Stronger in Europe, was created and supported by all three political parties in Gibraltar. It is an official partner of the Britain Stronger in Europe campaign in the UK, which aims to persuade the public to vote to remain in the EU. The results of the referendum revealed that 96% of Gibraltarian voters opted to Remain in the EU; however, in the overall popular vote of the UK, 52% of British voters opted to leave the union, forcing Gibraltar to follow suit.

Brexit has several implications towards Gibraltar’s economy. More than 10,000 (40%) of 26,000 jobs in Gibraltar are filled by frontier workers. Furthermore, these workers are heavily concentrated in certain sectors such as the hotel and restaurants sector (75%), the online-gaming sector (60%), and the tourism sector. Gibraltar’s exit from the EU may allow Spain to impose even stricter border controls and
fees, which can negatively impact firms in the aforementioned industries, and thus, the economy of Gibraltar as a whole.

**Major Countries and Organizations Involved**

**European Union (EU)**

Gibraltar is the only BOT in the European Union; thus, it has the right to vote in EU elections and referenda. However, given this fact, Gibraltar's membership in the EU along with its privileges such as access to the single market in Europe, will also cease upon the UK’s exit from the Union. The EU is involved as an impartial arbiter whenever tensions rise between Gibraltar and Spain, especially with regards to the contiguous border and territorial waters shared by both nations. However, following Gibraltar’s exit, the Union may be compelled to support Spain in future disputes, which may be a major disadvantage to Gibraltar in many aspects. Recently, the EU has organized several negotiations with the UK and Gibraltar regarding their exit and subsequent relationships with its 27 other members.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**

Gibraltar has a strategic position that overlooks the Strait of Gibraltar, which connects the Atlantic Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea. This makes it a prime location for NATO air and naval bases, which are regularly and freely accessed for operations in the Mediterranean, North Africa, and the Middle East.

**Spain**

Spain has always claimed sovereignty over Gibraltar, and it maintains that Gibraltar’s decision to associate with British sovereignty in the 1967 referendum is a violation of the Treaty of Utrecht. In the past, Spain has made numerous attempts to establish its power over Gibraltar, including the repeated proposition of a joint sovereignty with Britain, despite Gibraltar’s nearly unanimous rejection of this idea in the 2002 referendum. However, with Gibraltar’s exit from the EU, the delegation of Spain may assert that a co-sovereignty with Britain would allow the continued access to the EU single market, and the continued free movement of people and goods with the EU, preventing a disruption in Gibraltar’s economy. They may also cite the results of the 2016 Brexit referendum, in which 96% of Gibraltarians opted to remain in the EU.

**United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland**

The UK claims that its sovereignty over Gibraltar is based on the Gibraltarians’ right to self-determination. It cites the results of the 1967 and 2002 referendum as concrete evidence of Gibraltar’s free choice to remain under the sovereignty of Britain. Despite recent developments such as Brexit, it is
clear that the UK still wishes to maintain control over Gibraltar. Furthermore, the preamble of the Gibraltar Constitution Order of 1969 reassures that the UK will “never enter into arrangements under which the people of Gibraltar would pass under the sovereignty of another state against their freely and democratically expressed wishes.”

United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization

This Special Committee is an entity of the UN under the Fourth General Assembly that is solely dedicated to decolonization. Established on November 27, 1961, this committee holds annual sessions wherein it reviews its list of NSGTs and makes recommendations on possible ways to implement independence in these territories through dissemination of information to the public. It also visits these NSGTs, hears statements from various NSGT representatives, and hosts seminars regarding their political, economic, and social situation.

United States of America

The United States is a longstanding ally of the UK; thus it asserts that Gibraltar must remain solely under British sovereignty. It also argues that Spain must respect the Gibraltarians’ right to self-determination. The US’ relationship with Gibraltar is mainly militaristic. Both parties have had a long history of military relations dating back to 1801, which the US claims would not have been possible if Gibraltar had been under Spanish rule. Today, the Port of Gibraltar serves as a secure docking and resupplying station for the US Navy’s nuclear-powered submarines.

Timeline of Events

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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description of event</th>
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<tr>
<td>1501</td>
<td>Gibraltar is annexed to Spain by Isabella I.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1704</td>
<td>The British military, under the leadership of Sir George Rooke, seizes control of Gibraltar from Spain during the War of Spanish Succession.</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 11, 1713</td>
<td>Spain and Britain sign the Treaty of Utrecht, which formally cedes “the full and entire propriety of the town and castle of Gibraltar, together with the</td>
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port, fortifications, and forts... forever, without any exception or impediment whatsoever.

December 14, 1960

The UN adopts Resolution 1514 (XV), which called for “the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.”

November 1966

Spain accuses Britain’s occupation of the 800-meter long isthmus in Gibraltar as an “act of aggression” and a violation of Spanish airspace.

April 12, 1967

Spain imposes a ban on all foreign aircraft from entering its territory surrounding Gibraltar.

September 10, 1967

The UK holds a referendum in which Gibraltarians select between British or Spanish sovereignty. The UK wins with achieving an overwhelming 99% of the vote.

May 30, 1969

The Gibraltar Constitution Order of 1969 is enacted, introducing a separate legislature, executive, and judicature that is independent of London.

June 8, 1969

Spain, under the leadership of General Franco, closes its contiguous border with Gibraltar, in response to the Gibraltar Constitution Order.

1973

The UK and Gibraltar join the European Economic Community (EEC), the predecessor of the EU.

February 5, 1985

Spain fully reopens its contiguous border with Gibraltar.

1986

Spain becomes an official member of the EEC.

November 7, 2002

Gibraltar Chief Minister Peter Caruana holds a referendum, asking Gibraltarians if they will...
accept a joint sovereignty between Spain and Britain. 99% of participants voted against this proposition.

October 2004  The Forum of Dialogue between Britain, Spain, and Gibraltar was established, giving Gibraltar a voice on its own matters.

December 14, 2006  The reformed Gibraltar Constitution Order is given effect, marking the end of Britain and Gibraltar’s “colonial relationship”.

December 2006  Commercial flights resume between Gibraltar and Spain after a ban of nearly 40 years.

June 23, 2016  The Brexit referendum results showed that 96% of Gibraltarians voted to remain in the EU; however, the popular vote showed that 52% of all British nationals wish to leave the union.

November 22, 2018  Spain threatens to “veto” the Brexit agreement, unless reassured that it will have a say in any future post-Brexit deal between the EU and Gibraltar.

**Relevant UN Treaties and Events**

- Treaty of Utrecht, 11 April 1713
- Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 14 December 1960 *(A/RES/1514)*
- General Assembly Resolution defining the three options for self-determination, 15 December 1960 *(A/RES/1541)*
- Question of Gibraltar, 16 December 1965 *(A/RES/2070)*
- Question of Gibraltar, 20 December 1966 *(A/RES/2231)*
- Question of Gibraltar, 19 December 1967 *(A/RES/2353)*
● Gibraltar sovereignty referendum, 10 September 1967
● Question of Gibraltar, 18 December 1968 (A/RES/2429)
● Question of Gibraltar, 13 December 1974 (A/RES/3286)
● Lisbon Statement, 10 April 1980
● Convention on the Law of the Sea, 10 December 1982
● Brussels Process, 27 November 1984
● Cordoba Agreement, 18 September 2006
● Gibraltar sovereignty referendum, 7 November 2002
● “Brexit” referendum, 23 June 2016

Previous Attempts to Solve the Issue

UN Resolutions and Gibraltarian Legislation

The issue of decolonization has been brought up in several UN resolutions in the past. Both Gibraltar and the UK have attempted to resolve this issue through the Constitution Order of 1969, which granted Gibraltar a great degree of self-governance through an independent legislature, judicature, and executive. Furthermore, both parties claim that the Constitution Order of 2002 officially removes Gibraltar’s colonial status with Britain as the latter does not have any administering power over the former; however, the UN still claims that Gibraltar still does not fulfill its criteria for delisting due to existing issues with sovereignty.

Referendums

Spain has always asserted its interest in reclaiming its sovereignty over the territory; this interest has been showcased through the two Gibraltarian referendums issued in 1967 and 2002, the results of which rejected such proposition. However, with Gibraltar’s impending exit from the EU, Spain’s proposition of a joint sovereignty or complete takeover may have greater appeal to Gibraltar’s economy, as it provides an opportunity to remain in the single market, and ensures the continued free movement of people and goods across the contiguous border.

EU Arbitration
Speaking of which, the shared borders between Gibraltar and Spain have often been the cause of spikes in tensions between the two parties, due to alleged over-zealous inspection procedures, and incursions in territorial waters. On many occasions, the EU has been involved in these disputes via inspectors who assess the disputes from a neutral standpoint, which has evidently subdued Spain’s aggressive maneuvers in recent years. However, with Brexit impending, Gibraltar may lose the EU as a layer of protection from such Spanish aggression. Likewise, Spain may turn up the dial by implementing even harsher controls with minor consequences.

**Possible Solutions**

**Establishing a co-sovereignty between Britain and Spain**

Though officials repeatedly express their wishes to maintain Gibraltar’s current political status, citing the results of the 2002 referendum, it is possible that Gibraltar’s impending departure from the EU might have caused the public opinion to change. Perhaps another referendum regarding sovereignty may be held to obtain the general public’s opinion on this matter; it must also be noted again that 96% of Gibraltarian voters opted to Remain in the EU, which can only be made possible through a joint sovereignty with Spain. This will allow Gibraltar to maintain access to the single market, while remaining British and retaining close ties with Britain. However, a co-sovereignty with Spain may compel Gibraltar to pattern its taxation schemes after those of Spain’s in order to reduce inequalities with other Spanish regions. This will cause Gibraltar to lose its ‘tax-haven’ status, making it less attractive to foreign investors, ultimately leading to increased unemployment and an economic recession within the territory.

**Granting Independence to Gibraltar**

Another solution that may be taken is for the UK to consider granting Gibraltar’s its independence, thus ceding it entirely to Spain due to the reversionary clause in the Treaty Of Utrecht. Britain is obliged by the Gibraltar Constitution Order to never engage in negotiations regarding Gibraltar’s sovereignty without the approved consent of its people. Thus, it is likely that Gibraltar will highly disapprove of such arrangements from ever occurring, based on the results of the 1967 referendum and the views held by its government officials. However, given the recent circumstances and the looming uncertainty of the future under British sovereignty, this proposition may appear to be reasonable after all towards the Gibraltarian public. Though drastic and controversial, this course of action may actually resolve all three issues of decolonization, sovereignty, and border disputes.

**Granting Work passes to Frontier Workers**
Perhaps the most viable solution would be to address the economic implications of border issues and further restrictions that may arise following Brexit. Delegates may consider proposing free and convenient work passes that may be granted to frontier workers who cross the border on a daily basis. This may ensure a stable economy and employment for both Gibraltar and its neighboring Spanish regions.

Bibliography


**Appendices**

**Appendix I:**

A useful report on the implications of Brexit on Gibraltar.

https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7963
Appendix II:

An update on the situation of Brexit and its implications on Gibraltar.

https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CPB-8278

Appendix III:

A useful link for all UN Resolutions on the Question of Gibraltar.

https://www.refworld.org/country...,RESOLUTION,GIB...,0.html

Appendix IV:

An article on some of Gibraltar’s views against Spanish sovereignty.


Appendix V:

An article which compares Britain’s claims over Gibraltar with those of Spain’s.


Appendix VI:

A useful link for all UN Resolutions regarding decolonization.


Appendix VII:

An overview of Gibraltar’s involvement in Brexit.


Appendix VIII:

A summary of the issues revolving around Gibraltar and Brexit.

https://www.theweek.co.uk/brexit/92166/gibraltar-and-brexit-what-are-the-main-issues

Appendix IX:
A useful link for the Cordoba Agreement of 2006 which an accompanying summary and analysis.


**Appendix X:**

A useful link for the Lisbon and Brussels Agreement.

https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199899/cmselect/cmfaff/366/36604.htm

**Appendix XI:**

A useful link of Article X in the Treaty of Utrecht.

http://www.gibnet.com/texts/utrecht.htm