

T.C.
TURKISH- GERMAN UNIVERSTY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS MASTER
PROGRAMME

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO MAJOR EUROPEAN
POWERS OVER GIBRALTAR'S SOVEREIGNTY

MASTER'S THESIS

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(158101112)

ADVISOR
Dr. Enes Bayraklı

Istanbul, 2018

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Thesis Submission Date to Institute: 26.06.2018

Thesis Defence Date: 26.06.2018

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Istanbul, June 2018

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Öğretim Yılı ve Yarıyılı	2018 Bahar Yarıyılı
Tez Başlığı	The Dispute between Two major European Power Over Gibraltar's Sovereignty
Danışmanı	Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Enes BAYRAKLI

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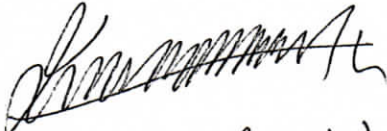
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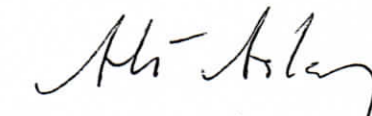
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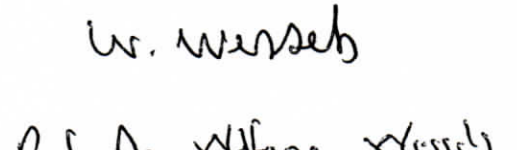
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Ahmet ATILLA

To My Family,

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ÖZET

İKİ BÜYÜK AVRUPA GÜCÜNÜN CEBELİTARİK'IN BAĞIMSIZLIĞI ÜZERİNDEKİ ANLAŞMAZLIĞI

Britanya Cebelitarık'ı İspanya'dan 1704 yılında İspanya Veraset Savaşı sırasında ele geçirmiştir. İspanya Cebelitarık'ı 1713 Barış ve Dostluk Anlaşması ile resmi olarak Britanya'ya vermiştir. Daha sonra ise anlaşmanın yorumlanmasında tarafların anlaşamaması ve İspanya'nın Cebelitarık üzerinde hak iddia etmesiyle Cebelitarık Anlaşmazlığı başlamıştır. Cebelitarık Anlaşmazlığında İspanya ve Birleşik Krallık 1975'e kadar güce dayalı realist politikalar ile bu anlaşmazlığı çözmeye çalışmışlardır. Bu anlamda İspanya, yüzyıllar boyunca kuşatma, ambargo ve savaş gibi araçlar ve güce dayalı politikalar ile Cebelitarık'ı Birleşik Krallıktan geri almaya çalışmıştır. Bu anlaşmazlık General Franco dönemi boyunca da devam etmiştir. İspanya Cebelitarık ile olan sınırını 1969'da tamamen kapattığında anlaşmazlık çıkmaza girmiştir. Fakat bu durum General Franco'nun ölümünün ardından değişmiş ve takiben İspanya'da demokrasiye geçiş süreci başlamıştır. Dahası, İspanya 1977'de üye olmak için Avrupa Topluluğu'na başvuruda bulunmuştur. Bununla birlikte adaylık süreciyle Avrupalılaşma süreci başlamış ve etkisini hem iç hem de dış politikada yaşanan değişimle göstermiştir. Bu bağlamda İspanya, Cebelitarık'a olan tutumunu yumuşatmış, Franco döneminde dondurulan ilişkileri sınırı yeniden açarak düzeltmiştir. Böylece Avrupalılaşma süreci Cebelitarık Anlaşmazlığında dönüştürücü bir rol oynayarak, yüzyıllardır devam eden güce dayalı politikaların terkinin sağlamış, barışçıl yol ve çözümlerin zeminini oluşturmuştur. Bu süreçte Cebelitarıklılar ise belirli ölçüde Birleşik Krallıktan siyasi hak ve özgürlük elde ederek Birleşik Krallık vasıtasıyla Avrupa Birliği ile ekonomiden güvenliğe birçok alanda işbirliği sağlamıştır. Birleşik Krallık Haziran 2016'da Avrupa Birliği üyeliği referandumu yapmıştır. Birleşik Krallık yüzde 52 ile birlikten ayrılma kararı alırken Cebelitarık yüzde 96 ile birlikte kalma yönünde oy kullanmıştır. Referandum sonuçları Birleşik Krallık içinde birçok tartışmayı da beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu karar özellikle son otuz yıldır Avrupa Birliği'nin etkisiyle yumuşamış olan Cebelitarık Anlaşmazlığını İspanya-Birleşik Krallık hattında tekrardan germiştir. Bu tezde ise 300 yılı aşkındır devam eden bu anlaşmazlık ve bu anlaşmazlığa etki eden faktörler anlatılacaktır. Bu tez argüman olarak Avrupalılaşma sürecinin Cebelitarık Anlaşmazlığında her iki ülkenin güç odaklı realist siyasetten diplomatik yollara dayalı barışçıl politikalara geçiş yaptığını kullanmaktadır. Sonuç olarak bu tezde teorik çerçeve olarak klasik realizm ve Avrupalılaşma kavramı bu dönüşümü anlatmak için kullanılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Cebelitarık Anlaşmazlığı, Klasik Realizm, Güç Siyaseti, Avrupalılaşma, Brexit Referandumu

ABSTRACT

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO MAJOR EUROPEAN POWERS OVER GIBRALTAR'S SOVEREIGNTY

Britain seized Gibraltar from Spain in 1704 during the Spanish Succession War. Spain officially handed the sovereignty of Gibraltar to Britain after the Treaty of Peace and Friendship Treaty in 1713. The Gibraltar Dispute began with when the Spain and Britain failed to reach a consensus on interpreting the treaty and the claim's of Spain over Gibraltar. Britain and Spain intended to solve this dispute by power politics until 1975. Spain applied the means of the power politics such as sieges, embargo and the war throughout centuries to take control of Gibraltar from Britain. The Gibraltar Dispute reached a deadlock when Spain closed the border gate in 1969. However, the status quo started to change in 1975 after the death of Franco who had ruled Spain since 1939 by dictatorship. Thus, the death of Franco led to the start of the transition to democracy. Spain applied for EC membership in 1977. Europeanization process began with the application and showed its influence in both domestic and foreign affairs. Because Spain underwent such a transformation, having developed diplomatic relations with the UK. As a result, as Spain's attitude towards Gibraltar changed, the border gate between Spain and Gibraltar, which was closed during the Franco era, was reopened. The Europeanization process played a transformative role in the Gibraltar Dispute and led to abandon of the centuries long power based realist politics. The process provided a basis for peaceful resolutions. Meanwhile, Gibraltarian people gained political rights from the UK and developed cooperation with the EU from economy to security through the membership of the UK. The UK held the EU membership referendum in 2016. While, 52% of British voters voted in favor of leaving the EU, 96% of Gibraltarian voters voted in favor of remaining in the Union. The result of the referendum has consequences for both the UK and Gibraltar. In this study, the Gibraltar Dispute will be studied as well as the factors that have been shaping the conflict since 1704. This study will apply classical realism and the concept of Europeanization as theoretical frameworks to analyze the transformation of Gibraltar Dispute since 1704.

Keywords: Gibraltar Dispute, Classical Realism, Power Politics, Europeanization, Brexit Referendum

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

AACR	: Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights
CFSP	: Common Foreign Security Policy
EC	: European Community
EPC	: European Political Cooperation
ERDF	: European Regional Development Fund
ESDP	: European Security and Defense Policy
ESF	: European Social Fund
EU	: European Union
EURATOM	: European Atomic Energy Community
GSLP	: Gibraltar Socialist Labor Party
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAD	: Overseas Association Decision
PCE	: Communist Party of Spain
PSOE	: Spanish Socialist Workers' Party

TGWU : Transport and General Workers' Union

UK : United Kingdom

UN : United Nations

US : United States

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 PURPOSE OF THESIS

The scholars have asked “*Why does the Gibraltar matter?*” after Brexit referendum. Giving the answer to this question, one should bear in mind that one needs to consider the impacts of a deep historical conflict between Spain and UK. Throughout history of the conflict changes and developments that took place in Spain and UK has affected Gibraltar Dispute. The uncompromising attitude of the two actors towards Gibraltar has turned the disagreement into an frozen conflict zone.. However, the power politics over Gibraltar gave way to detente policy when the two actors adopted the Europeanization process. This study will explain the transformation of Gibraltar Dispute with the theory of classical realism and the concept of Europeanization from its beginning to Brexit. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the factors of the three centuries old Gibraltar Dispute.

During Spanish Succession War, in 1704, Great Britain invaded the Rock of Gibraltar which used to be part of the Spanish Crown. Later, Spain and Great Britain signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship (Utrecht Treaty) to end the war in 1713. According to the treaty, Spanish King ceded Gibraltar to Great Britain. However Spain opposed the takeover of city of Gibraltar by Great Britain together with the fortress on the Rock of Gibraltar. Great Britain asserted that Spain ceded not only the fortress on the Rock but also the city and territorial waters. Despite heavy criticism from Spain to Great Britain to infringe the terms of the Article X of Utrecht Treaty, Great Britain gained the absolute sovereignty right over all Gibraltar including the Rock, the military fortress and territorial waters (Jordine, 2007, p. 5).

The Gibraltar Dispute arose from the differences in the interpretation of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Spain and Great Britain on Gibraltar. Because of this divergence, the tension escalated and Spain boosted the offensive military activities around Gibraltar for the sake of retaking Gibraltar from Great Britain. During the eighteenth century, Spain used the military methods for Gibraltar to defeat the British Army. However, although being defeated by Great Britain several times, Spain did not end the military campaigns. Consequently the Spanish Army laid siege to Gibraltar for fourteen times. By occupying Gibraltar, Great Britain for the first time threatened to Spain's mainland security in the Iberian Peninsula. Also, Spain suffered disadvantages in loss of Gibraltar that put pressure on navigation of Spanish Navy across the Mediterranean Sea and Atlantic Ocean.

As the British Colonial Empire expanded in the nineteenth century, the route passing through the Mediterranean Sea became a vital issue to reach the colonies in Asia and Africa. Thus, having gained a strategic position for Great Britain on the way to the colonies, Gibraltar became a significant station for the British Navy. Between 1704 and 1975 the elements and assumptions of classical realism dominated the course of Gibraltar conflict as Spain and Great Britain strived for increasing their power and influence by rivalry, conflict and war. The ambitious foreign policy of Spain at the time and Great Britain's imperial policies turned the eighteenth century disagreement into a three hundred years long dispute.

It is plausible to assume that Gibraltar brought military superiority to Great Britain due to its strategic location while Spanish Army could not defeat the British forces in Gibraltar. Thus, Spain's attempts were inconclusive to seize Gibraltar by military means. Even after the regime change in 1939, Spain also continued to claim its right of sovereignty over Gibraltar. During the Second World War, despite concrete threats of German ally Spain, Gibraltar provided vital logistic support to Great Britain in the battles which took place in the Mediterranean Sea and North Africa against German forces.

After the Second World War, there was a transition period that the warlike means gave way to the peaceful solutions to solve the dispute. Between 1945 and 1975, the tension between the UK (Great Britain changed its name and became the UK of Great Britain and Ireland in 1927) and Spain arose time to time to struggle for control over Gibraltar. In this period, Spain and the UK implemented both diplomatic negotiations and sanctions in Gibraltar except for military solutions. In Gibraltar Dispute, the significant progress was made in 1950 when the UK recognized certain democratic rights to allow Gibraltar to elect its first legislative council based on proportional representation. This decision was made to prepare Gibraltar to be self-governing entity. Spain, however, opposed this step. After being admitted to the UN in 1955, Spain brought the Gibraltar case into the UN (UN). After the discussion at the UN, in 1963-1964, The UN Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization set up talks about Gibraltar's status. Because of these international efforts, in 1964 UN pushed for Spain and UK to find a solution of the status of Gibraltar. Although Spain looked for an opportunity to find a solution under the framework of the UN, the UK disregarded the solution of the UN, instead pointing out International Court at The Hague to find a solution.

During this period, the international efforts were not conclusive that Spain imposed border restrictions in the border between Spain and Gibraltar. Afterwards, in 1967 UK also elevated the tension when it held a referendum to ask Gibraltarian people to become a part of Spain or remain under British rule. Of the electorate who voted in the referendum, 99 percent supported the British possession. Two years later, in 1969 UK accepted a new constitution that allowed Gibraltar to form a self government under the rule of the UK. As a result, Spain closed the border with Gibraltar and prohibited any cross-border transactions.

The fascist regime in Spain fell when General Franco died in 1975. Afterwards, the transformation process for establishing the democracy and democratic institutions in Spain began. Because of this shift, Spain became a democratic country and adjusted its

foreign policy to be active in the international arena as having applied to international organizations such as NATO and EC. In a decade, Spain underwent the Europeanization process that is to say the influence of the EC on a candidate state's internal political system including the foreign policy. Spain altered its foreign policy towards the Gibraltar Dispute and took significant steps to start bilateral talks and dialogue with the UK. The normalization in Gibraltar Dispute first began after signing the Lisbon Agreement between Spain and UK to reopen the border once closed by Franco. In 1984 Spain and UK signed the Brussels Agreement that agreed to ease the disparities about free travel and civil rights of Spaniards and Gibraltarians.

Between 1986 and 2016, Spain and UK followed more constructive foreign policy in the Gibraltar Dispute. Due to the Europeanization process of Spain and UK, they employed diplomatic ways instead of applying the military options or sanctions in case of a crisis in Gibraltar. During this period because of détente policy there was a growing political demand from Gibraltarian people to take place in Gibraltar Dispute besides strong presence of Spain and UK. In 2004, the Forum of Dialogue was established by proposal of the Spanish Government that Gibraltar also became the third party in negotiations plus to Spain and the UK.

In 2015, the Prime Minister of UK David Cameron announced to hold a referendum about the membership status of the UK in the EU. People voted 52 percent in favor of leaving because of growing criticisms of EU's migration and monetary policy. Because of the Brexit referendum, UK started the process of exiting from the EU. However, the Brexit referendum also had consequences not only for UK but also its overseas territories such as Gibraltar. Being a part of the UK, Gibraltar also had to leave along with the UK. However, 96 percent of Gibraltarian people voted in favor of remaining in the EU. While the negotiations are continuing between the officials of the UK and EU, there are great deals of ambiguities and uncertainties about the future of the UK and Gibraltar.

This study aims to analyze the long-lasting transformation of Gibraltar Dispute that has been influenced by a power struggle between Spain and UK. This transformation will be examined by researching the reasons and motives of Spain and UK towards Gibraltar in the last three hundred years. Spain's transition to democracy and its Europeanization process will be also analyzed. The causes and effects of the Brexit referendum and its consequences for the UK and Gibraltar will be searched through this study. This study will apply classical realism to show the reasons of power politics towards Gibraltar and the concept of Europeanization to show the driving power behind the détente policy as theoretical frameworks to explain the Gibraltar Dispute.

1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE ARGUMENTATION OF THE THESIS

Regarding to analysis of the Gibraltar Dispute, one may claim that the political changes in Spain and the UK has impacted the dispute throughout the centuries. The power politics between them shaped the features and characteristics of the dispute. Two world wars in the twentieth century boosted the power politics and Gibraltar also was affected by them. The power politics was the main attitude of them towards Gibraltar until 1975. They were approaching to the dispute by applying realist power politics instead of solving the conflict through diplomacy. And they did not change their attitudes when they encounter opportunities or problems such as world wars, sieges or isolation. These problems did not result in changing the attitudes towards Gibraltar. As a result, the dispute has continued for centuries because Spain and the UK did not change their stance over Gibraltar.

The main argumentation is that the Europeanization process was the main driving force behind, Spain's and UK's abandonment of the power politics over Gibraltar when Spain applied to the EU membership in 1977. The period of transition to democracy in Spain transformed the bilateral relations with the UK. As a result, Gibraltar Dispute has been going through a fundamental transformation process since Spain applied to the EU membership. Besides the EU membership application, there are other factors that have had influence on the process. First, the fascist regime in Spain ended with the death of Franco that started the transition to democracy in Spain. Second, the European Commission accepted the application of Spain to the EC in 1977 and the Europeanization process started in Spain. The Europeanization process led to profound transformations in Spain for instance in foreign policy Spain joined to NATO in 1982. Third, the Europeanization process provided a stable environment for the bilateral talks. The process started the ongoing negotiations such as Lisbon and Brussels Agreements regarding to Gibraltar Dispute. As a result, these factors have transformed Spanish politics and Gibraltar Dispute.

Since 1704, Spanish authorities were convinced that Gibraltar could only be returned to mainland Spain by use of force. Thus, they supported a strong military existence, and they applied military solutions in the Gibraltar Dispute. However, the Spanish leaders including Franco failed to take Gibraltar back to Spain by power politics. This was a lose-lose case for both countries. For instance, the Anglo-Spanish relations were damaged because of the Gibraltar Dispute. The dispute impeded the development of the Anglo-Spanish relations. However the shift in the dispute between Spain and the UK benefited both actors. From the Spain's perspective, Spain broke its isolation and took part in international organizations such as NATO and the EC (EU). From the UK's perspective, establishing a strong relation with Spain contributed to UK's and Gibraltar's security.

Gibraltar has become a prominent topic for last three decades because of the Europeanization process of Spain. Gibraltar used to suffer from the isolationist policies of the Franco era. However, with the effect of the Europeanization process, Gibraltar also had opportunities for developing its relations with the EC. However Brexit referendum will affect the Gibraltar Dispute but one must consider the vote of Gibraltarian people in favor of remaining in the EU. The Gibraltar Dispute is a long-term conflict due to the political changes in Spain and the UK, which effect the Gibraltar Dispute. It is also obvious that there is a transformation that has taken place in Gibraltar. In this study, the dispute and transformation will be argued based on the factors that have influenced the Gibraltar Dispute.

1.3 THE STRUCTURE AND METHODOLOGY OF THE THESIS

In this part, the structure and methodology of the thesis will be presented. This study will depend on the secondary literature and the discourse analysis of the books, articles and official documents about Gibraltar Dispute.

To understand the Gibraltar Dispute this study will apply both classical realism and the concept of Europeanization, since they offer useful tool to analyze the dispute. First, the classical realism will be applied to explain the power politics between Great Britain and Spain over Gibraltar from 1704 to 1975. As Wohlforth noted that “*for simplicity, scholars often lump together all realists thought from Thucydides to the middle years of the Cold War as classical realism*” (Smith, Hadfield, & Dunne, 2016, p. 38). Theory of classical realism has three core assumptions which are groupism, egoism and power-centrism to explain how the international politics works (Smith et al., 2016, p. 36). Classical realism prioritizes the state and highlights its actorness in international politics that state is the highest authority in the international arena. Unlike the hierarchical order in domestic politics, owing to lack of hierarchical order in international politics, classical realism considers the international arena is anarchic. Thus, state should seek for increasing its power to survive in an anarchic environment. Classical realism claims that the state must pursue the power to achieve it despite of any obstacles. As a result, it is plausible to say that the assumptions of classical realism are compatible with analyzing the Gibraltar Dispute.

Second, the concept of Europeanization also will be applied to analyze the Gibraltar Dispute from 1975 to 2016. After the death of General Franco, who had ruled Spain under a fascist regime since 1939, Spain moved towards democracy in 1975 and established its democratic institutions. Afterwards, Spain underwent tremendous transformation due to its EU accession process. The Europeanization process affected Spain’s both domestic and foreign affairs. Europeanization process means adaptation of a great variety of policies of a candidate state in the way of accession to the EU. During

this process, the candidate state internalizes EU norms and values into its domestic and foreign affairs. As a result, the more Spain complied with the European policies, the less tension took place in the Gibraltar Dispute.

This study consists of six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction part where the purpose of the thesis, the literature review, and the argumentation of the thesis, the structure and methodology of the thesis will be presented. The second chapter is the theoretical framework that consists of the International Relations Theory of Classical Realism and the concept of Europeanization. The third chapter of this study aims at focusing how the assumptions of classical realism dominated the relation between Spain and Great Britain over the Gibraltar Dispute from 1704 to 1975. The fourth chapter studies the concept of Europeanization as a theoretical framework to explain the effect of transformation of Spain on the Gibraltar Dispute. In the fifth chapter, the causes and effects of Brexit will be discussed. This chapter analyzes the reasons for the UK's decision to leave from the union. Besides, even though Gibraltarian people voted to remain in the EU, Gibraltar has to leave along with the UK after Brexit. As a result, this chapter also will study the reasons and the consequences for Gibraltar after Brexit.

The main argumentation of this thesis is that the Gibraltar Dispute underwent a transformation process which began with the Europeanization process in Spain. An analysis of Gibraltar Dispute therefore will be analyzed in two periods. The first period is the period from signature of the Treaty of Utrecht to the death of General Franco from 1713 to 1975. Therefore, in the third chapter the driving forces behind this bilateral dispute which are based on the assumptions of Classical Realism will be analyzed. Concerning this, in this chapter these factors will be analyzed: the sieges by the Spanish Army, the alliances that formed to decrease the British power in the Mediterranean Sea, the role Gibraltar during in two world wars and the sanctions imposed by Spain.

In the fourth chapter, the effect of Europeanization process of Spain will be studied. After the death of Franco in 1975, Spain established its democracy and took significant decisions to consolidate its democracy and institutions. This transformation reflected on Gibraltar Dispute and changed the course of the dispute. Spain became more democratic country as applied for EU candidacy and started the Europeanization process. Spain applied for diplomatic means to solve the dispute and negotiated with the UK about Gibraltar Dispute. In addition, Spain also broadened its presence in the international arena.. Spain applied for NATO membership to take a role in international politics. British government gave more voice to Gibraltarian people in the negotiations and involved them in the negotiations about the dispute.

In the fifth chapter, this study will analyse the Brexit and its consequences for Gibraltarian people. Under the EU framework Gibraltarian people gained a place in negotiations regarding the Gibraltar Dispute. Also, Gibraltar achieved certain economic prosperity. However, Gibraltarian people might lose these privileges after the Brexit negotiations. In this chapter, this study will also shed light on the contemporary issues for Gibraltar. The sixth chapter is the conclusion part of this study. In this chapter the outcomes of this study will be explained. At the end, the policy advises will be made about Gibraltar Dispute.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will analyze the classical realism in international relations theory and the concept of Europeanization. In the first place, the classical realism will be explained to demonstrate the reasons and motives of Gibraltar Dispute which have taken place between Spain and UK for over three centuries. Second, the concept of Europeanization will be studied to explain the influence of EU on Spain and the Gibraltar Dispute.

2.1 CLASSICAL REALISM

2.1.1 The Definition of Classical Realism

Political realism has its origins in Ancient Greece that has been formed by many authors over centuries. Thus, it has various definitions. Because political realism has several branches it is hard to define. As Wohlforth (2008) states that political realism “*refers to three distinct things: realism (a large and complex tradition of statecraft and scholarship); subschools within realism such as neorealism (complex schools of thought fitting within the realist tradition); and specific realist theories like the balance of power, the security dilemma, or the offense–defense balance (propositions about patterns of relations among states or pressures facing a particular state)*” (Reus-Smit & Snidal, 2008, p. 131).

One can trace back the realist tradition to the works of ancient and medieval scholars such as Thucydides, Niccolò Machiavelli, and Thomas Hobbes. These scholars pointed out the assumptions of power, interest and anarchy. The political realism existed as a tradition in analyzing the behaviors of states in the international arena until the 1920s. According to Mearsheimer (2005), the classical realism emerged from E. H.

Carr's criticisms of the utopian idealism during interwar period (Mearsheimer, 2005, p. 140). In addition, Hans Morgenthau analysed the principles of the realism. Owing to these studies, the tradition turned into a scientific approach that the realism was no longer a tradition, instead becoming a scientific field of study. Because, Carr and Morgenthau claimed that the idealist policies which deal with utopian ideas did no longer explain the international affairs, the classical realism emerged as a reaction against the idealist/utopian way of comprehending the international politics.

According to Taliaferro (2001), in the historical process, the political realism has developed in three stages which are classical realism, neorealism and neoclassical realism(Taliaferro, 2001, p. 156). In this study the classical realism will be studied in terms of time and period. As Wohlforth (2016) states that *"for simplicity, scholars often lump together all realists thought from Thucydides to the middle years of the Cold War as classical realism"*(Smith et al., 2016, p. 38). Thus, the main assumptions of the classical realism will shed light on the dispute between Spain and Great Britain. In this part, the realist tradition, classical realism, and their assumptions will be studied to bring an explanation to the Gibraltar Dispute.

There are four assumptions to define the realist tradition. First, groupism can be said in a hasty manner that people constitute the groups, then these groups form the state. In realist tradition states are the primary actors and being sovereign entities of the international politics. Second, egoism means that the individuals and groups act based on their self-interest, which derives from human nature in politics. Third, unlike domestic politics, states are sovereign in international politics thus there is not any international government above the states. Therefore, the nature of international politics is anarchic. In this system, the self-help system is vital for states to survive such an anarchic environment. The fourth assumption is power politics, which is a combination of these three assumptions (Reus-Smit & Snidal, 2008, p. 133).

The transition from the realist tradition to classical realism begins with the criticisms of E. H. Carr to the idealists. In his book of *Twenty Years Crisis 1919-1939*, he criticizes the idealist of thought. He analyzed the existing structures of international politics instead of utopic assumptions. The classical realism emerged from the academic works of Hans Morgenthau. In his book of *Politics among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace*, he laid down the principles of the classical realism. According to Donnelly (2004), Morgenthau was inspired by the views of Thomas Hobbes on the human nature which is selfish and egocentric. The view of Thomas Hobbes on human nature is pessimistic and the individuals are in a state of nature. Thus, like individuals, states are in conflict with other states to maintain their interest in international politics. Unlike domestic politics, the lack of an international government cause the anarchy in international politics (Donnelly, 2004, p. 34).

Morgenthau introduces six principles of the classical realism. First, the objective laws which derive from human nature rule the politics. Second, the concept of interest of classical realism is described by power. Third, power and interest are changeable regards to time and space. Both fourth and fifth principles exempted the state from universal moral principles. According to the sixth principle, the political sphere must gain more autonomy to keep its sphere different from other disciplines (Devetak, Burke, & George, 2012, p. 40; Donnelly, 2004, p. 16). According to Morgenthau the core assumptions of classical realism are power, interest and anarchy. Morgenthau also considers the state as a primary actor in international politics. Based on the concept of groupism of the realist tradition, states are constituted from human beings. States also behave and act in international politics according to their national interests. States, the primary actors, must pursue for more power to survive in such an anarchic environment. States can only defend their national interest by increasing their power capabilities in anarchy, where the military plays a significant role in defending and preserving national interest.

In this study, it is plausible to apply the realist tradition and the classical realism to Gibraltar Dispute in terms of their assumptions and the period of time. The assumptions of both realist tradition and classical realism define well the Gibraltar Dispute. In addition, the time period that took place from 1704 to 1975 coincides with the development of the realist tradition and the classical realism. In the first place, the realist tradition and its assumptions will analyze the time period from 1704 to 1948. Afterwards, the classical realism and its assumptions will be studied to understand the Gibraltar Dispute from 1948 to 1975. In fact, to make a choice a time period is specific for the turning points for the Gibraltar Dispute because Gibraltar Dispute is a dependent variable affected by changes in Spain. Gibraltar used to be a part of Spain until 1704 and still be part of the Iberian Peninsula that cannot be immune to the political development of Spain. In 1975, Spain had a turning point when General Franco died. Spain then moved to democracy and redesigned its foreign policy choices based on democratic and peaceful principles. It can be said that Spain's application to EC in 1977 gave way to the Europeanization process. Therefore, Spain left power politics over Gibraltar against the UK. Hence, this study selects the realist tradition and classical realism to define the Gibraltar Dispute which took place from 1704 to 1975.

In the period between 1704 and 1975, Spain applied realist policies to gain Gibraltar from Great Britain. Since the beginning of the dispute, Spain looked for increasing its power to overcome Great Britain in Gibraltar. Throughout 18th and 19th centuries, Gibraltar was being the issue of power politics between Spain and Great Britain. Both countries put effort into maximizing their interest over Gibraltar. In an anarchic environment, the power struggle between Spain and Great Britain resulted in sieges and conflicts. As a result, Gibraltar faced with severe difficulties. Also in the 20th century, Spain was trying to seize Gibraltar during two world wars. However, Spain's power was not sufficient enough to overcome the British power, thus UK succeeded to defend and protect Gibraltar.

After the Second World War, General Franco vowed to take control of Gibraltar. However, Franco's pledge to seize Gibraltar did not take place. The efforts of the UK to decolonize Gibraltar resulted in severe border restrictions. Franco ordered to shut down the border between Spain and Gibraltar. In fact, Gibraltar is such an example of power politics. Both Spain and UK attempted to increase their interest over Gibraltar and used the power against each other. They left the realist policies when General Franco died in 1975. They softened their relation over Gibraltar. This attitude was derived from Spain's Europeanization process. Therefore, this study will adopt the assumptions of realist tradition and classic realism to bring an analysis to Gibraltar Dispute from 1704 to 1975.

2.2 EUROPEANIZATION

2.2.1 Definition of Europeanization

In the second part of this chapter, the concept of Europeanization will be analyzed. In the first part, it is studied that the realist assumptions were dominant at the foreign policies of Spain and UK over three centuries. They were applying power politics to achieve their interests. However, when General Franco died in 1975, a dramatic shift in Spain began and the country moved to democracy. As a result of this shift and the establishment of democracy in the country, Spain applied to the membership of the EC in 1977 in that the Europeanization process started. Also, this transformation has positive impacts on the long-lasting Gibraltar Dispute that the sides declined to use of force and refrained from confronting.

The concept of Europeanization refers to the interaction between member/candidate state and the EU. In this process the political, economic and sociocultural structures of both member and candidate state are reformed based on the European norms and values. The number of studies on Europeanization has increased in association with the increasing interest of those researchers who take aim at defining this interaction. According to Featherstone (2003) the concept of Europeanization has gained steady momentum among scholars since 1990s (Featherstone & Radaelli, 2003, p. 5). The concept of Europeanization does not have a sole lexical description besides it has been generated by several studies which are made by several scholars. Among those definitions, the concept of Europeanization is used to refer to the significant transformation of national level actors and institutions within that candidate state during its accession process and after the accession to the EU. The broadest definition of the Europeanization is the transformation of the European continent by the EU and its institutions. The concept of Europeanization explains the reciprocal interaction between the institutions and actors in the process of structural changes in that candidate member state (Featherstone & Radaelli, 2003, p. 3).

According to Börzel (1999) Europeanization is a process that national policy areas become a subject of European level policy-making process (Börzel, 1999, p. 576). Besides, Bulmer and Burch (1998) define the concept of Europeanization as reorganizing the different level of governance which are political, economic and socio-cultural structures based on the European level norms and values (Bulmer & Burch, 1998, p. 606). Also, they add that Europeanization is a process in which member states are under influence of EU norms, policies, rules and values in both policy-making and policy implementation (Bulmer & Burch, 1998, p. 602).

According to Featherstone (2003), Robert Ladrech gives one of the earliest definition of Europeanization as a concept which is “ *‘Europeanization’ as ‘a process reorienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making’*” (Featherstone & Radaelli, 2003, p. 12). Thus, the concept of Europeanization emerges as a research area that focusing on the effects of European integration at the national level structures, policies and actors. The Europeanization means the process of national policy-making with the contribution of the European principles, norms and values as well as tangible laws. Europeanization is a harmonization process in which European principles, norms and values become part of national policy-making process. Europeanization based on developments, which brought by the integration process, is harmonizing the interests and behaviors of the national actors and institutions to meet with the membership requirements of the European policies.

The concept of Europeanization has been developed by the studies of the scholars. The concept of Europeanization will be analyzed through the contributions of those scholars. First, Featherstone defines the concept of Europeanization “*as an historical process; as a matter of cultural diffusion; as a process of institutional adaptation; and as the adaptation of policy and policy processes’*” (Featherstone & Radaelli, 2003, p. 5). Featherstone claims that the concept of Europeanization “*as an*

historical process” is described to define spreading the European norms and values which derive from the European colonial past. In addition, Europeanization “*as matter of cultural diffusion*” refers to transnationalism which is used to point out the transformation of the political culture. Europeanization “*as a process of institutional adaptation*” is mostly used to indicate the adaptation of policies by member or candidate state from the EU. Finally, Europeanization “*as the adaptation of policy and policy processes*” by which relates with the transformation of member or candidate state (Featherstone & Radaelli, 2003, pp. 5–10).

According to Johan Olsen, there are five uses of Europeanization which are “*changes in external boundaries, developing institutions at the European level, central penetration of national systems of governance, exporting forms of political organization, a political unification project*” (Olsen, 2002, pp. 923–924). First, the Europeanization spread across to other countries by enlargement process owing to extend in the boundaries of the EU. Second, the European level institutions are essential to provide coherency and make decisions at European level. Third, the Europeanization means the effect of the EU over national level governance. Fourth, the Europeanization also could be spread across to the beyond of European borders where Europe can develop better relations with the non-EU countries. The Europeanization process takes aim at creating a unified Europe.

In this context e needs to consider the effect of Europeanization process on Spain’s transition to democracy. Owing to Europeanization process, Spain underwent a transformation in terms of domestic and foreign affairs. During this process, Spain transferred the policies of the EC into its domestic politics and these changes in domestic politics also reflect on the foreign affairs with the UK over Gibraltar.

Just as the member states, the Europeanization process also may be put into practice for the candidate states. Despite the strong position of the member states, the candidate states are weaker and have a lesser presence in European level institutions. In

the Europeanization process there are two deficiencies for candidate states which are power asymmetry and the principle of conditionality (Featherstone & Radaelli, 2003, p. 318; Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier, 2008, p. 89). In the first place, according to Grabbe (2003) the power asymmetry derives from the relation between the candidate states and the EU. In the beginning of the accession process, the candidate states are eager to access to EU and ready to follow the instructions which are compelled from the EU. However, during this process the candidate states do not take part in the decision-making processes in the European level institutions thus candidate states cannot influence these institutions. Therefore, the power asymmetry takes place because of the disparity between candidate states and the EU (Grabbe, 2003, p. 313). Second, the candidate states face with difficulties in terms of the EU accession process. The uncertainties regarding to the accession process influence the determination of the candidate states. Hence the candidate states tend to ease these uncertainties by according with the conditionality principal to access to the EU (Grabbe, 2003, p. 318).

The accession process for candidate states is complicated when taking in consideration of deficiencies such as power asymmetry and conditionality. As stated above, the EU and its institutions determine the course of the accession process and set the rules for the candidate states. It is pointed out earlier that the process of Europeanization consists of two dimensions which are bottom-up and top-down. However, owing to provided information about the accession process of the candidate states, it is not likely to say that the candidate states do not have a bottom-up dimension.

In the Spanish case, the policy change in national level took place in two ways which are policy convergence and policy transfer during the Europeanization process. Accordingly, this process refers not only to the process of assessing the EU's influence on the candidate or member state, but also it refers to the process in which the candidate or member state also has effects at the EU level. In the first place, the member state receives the EU level institutional and legislative arrangements, while the candidate state transfer them according to the conditionality principle (Schimmelfennig &

Sedelmeier, 2008, p. 89). According to Torreblanca, still there are policy areas that are not affected by Europeanization process. The member and candidate states maintain their preferences in foreign policy because of the weak institutionalization and strong intergovernmental character of European Political Cooperation and Common Foreign and Security Policy (EPC/CSFP) (José I Torreblanca, 2001, p. 3).

As Spain was affected by EU during its Europeanization process, also Spain influenced the foreign affairs of the EU. The process of Europeanization started in Spain before its accession to EU in 1986. Before becoming a full member, Spain, in 1982, took part in the EPC mechanism which facilitated the Europeanization of Spain's foreign policy. Spain took part in several operations to converge with the European policies which are “*disarmament, non-proliferation, multilateral trade and investment, international financial cooperation, human rights and democratization, peace-keeping or global warming within this mechanism*” (José I Torreblanca, 2001, p. 12). Because of these transformations and convergence with European policies, Spain gained membership status to EU in 1986.

Spain transferred its foreign policy agenda to EU foreign policy agenda. After the accession, Spain put the politics of Mediterranean and Latin America on the EU agenda. Before the Spain's accession, the EU did not have a comprehensive foreign policy towards Latin America and Mediterranean countries. On the other side, it is plausible to say that the EU consolidates its foreign policy towards these regions after the accession of Spain. According to Torreblanca, owing to a colonial past, Spain took advantage of EU to advance Spain's international presence especially in the Spanish-speaking world. Spain also utilized the EU in the relations with Mediterranean countries especially with Morocco (José I Torreblanca, 2001, p. 12). However, the member states also transfer problems into the European foreign policy agenda. Spain has got sovereignty disputes over islands in Northern Morocco and disagreement on fishery zones with Morocco. Later, Spain carried these conflicts into the European foreign

policy agenda. Spain and Morocco overcame these conflicts by effective EU level diplomacy (José I Torreblanca, 2001, p. 17).

The Europeanization of Spanish foreign policy comprises three dimensions which are identity reconstruction, adaptation to EU policies and the projection of national concerns on the European agenda (Barbé, 2011, p. 131). According to Barbé, first, it is significant to note that elite socialization and bureaucratic reorganization played an essential role in the Europeanization of Spanish foreign policy. During this process, not only the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Spain was redesigned but also the decision-makers and actors such as diplomats were reappointed. The diplomats adapted themselves into the new Spanish foreign policy preferences in order to socialize themselves. Diplomats and high rank foreign ministry bureaucrats also figured out how to do diplomacy at European level in Brussels. As a result, the identity of the actors of the Spanish foreign policy who are diplomats and bureaucrats were reconstructed (Barbé, 2011, p. 133). Second, the Spain's accession to EU went along with the last period of the Cold War when also EU introduced the CFSP. Spain as a member state took part into the creation of CFSP. Barbé claims that Spain took aim at being a middle range power anchored in Europe (Barbé, 2011, p. 134). Spain was adapting the European level policies by taking an active role both in CFSP framework and ESDP operations in the Balkans and Congo. Spain aimed at breaking its Franco era isolationism in its foreign policy. Finally Spain projected its national concerns as forming the EU policies for Mediterranean and Latin America (Barbé, 2011, pp. 143–144).

The Europeanization of Spain also affected the character and course of the Gibraltar Dispute. After adapting European norms, rules and values into its national political system, Spain changed its attitude towards the UK in the Gibraltar Dispute. Unlike previous remedies and reactions, Spain applied more Europeanized foreign policy towards Gibraltar. Just as Spain transferred its policies at European level, Spain also projected the Gibraltar Dispute like other regional policies. Therefore, this study

will adopt the concept of Europeanization to accomplish a comprehensive analysis that led to the transformation of the Spain and its effect on the Gibraltar Dispute in the past four decades.

3. A CLASSICAL REALIST ANALYSIS OF GIBRALTAR DISPUTE

One needs to apply the assumptions of the classical realism to understand the Gibraltar Dispute. The power politics, which defined the relation between Spain and UK over Gibraltar, dominated the Gibraltar Dispute until the mid-20th century. As stated in the second chapter, Wohlforth (2016) states *“for simplicity, scholars often lump together all realists thought from Thucydides to the middle years of the Cold War as classical realism”*(Smith et al., 2016, p. 38). Therefore, in this part the period of the Gibraltar Dispute, which lasted from 1704 to 1975, will be analyzed based on the assumptions of the classical realism.

Because Gibraltar is of great strategic importance from a military point of view, its strategic importance has been obvious since the ancient times. Gibraltar is an overseas territory of the UK which is located at the crossroads between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. Gibraltar also consists of the rock, the town and the isthmus. The Rock is 420 meters in height; the town has a population of 34,577 and covers around 6.8 square kilometers. In addition, the 800 meters isthmus forms the border between Gibraltar and Spain. In fact, the name of Gibraltar originates in “Djabal Tarik” which means the mountain of Tarik. Thus, Gibraltar got its name from the commander named Tarik bin Ziyad. Gibraltar has been subject to conflict since the 7th century. First, the Visigoths had ruled Gibraltar until 8th century. Second, Tarik bin Ziyad and its army conquered Gibraltar in 711. Later on, Spanish forces defeated the Moorish troops in 1462 and retook the control of Gibraltar. Fourth, the British forces took the control of Gibraltar during the War of the Spanish Succession after over two hundred years of Spanish rule. Since then, Gibraltar has been ruled under the British authority. In this study, the period between 1704 and 1975 will be analyzed by the assumptions of the classical realism. The dispute emerged from the power politics

between Spain and UK. Both states asserted their power to pursue their own interests on Gibraltar. Because they saw international politics is an anarchic environment, they were seeking to increase their power against each other to survive and maximize their interests.

In the next chapter, the Gibraltar Dispute will be examined in three main phases. First, emergence of Gibraltar Dispute will be studied. The reasons behind the dispute will be indicated. Second, the dispute will be examined based on the assumptions of the classical realism. The second part will be divided into four parts which are first, the power politics and the sieges for gaining Gibraltar; second, the British Gibraltar during the 18th and 19th century; third, Gibraltar during World War I and II; fourth, a secluded Gibraltar from the Second World War until the death of Franco. Finally, the dominance of classical realist assumptions and its elements in Gibraltar Dispute will be analyzed in the conclusion part.

3.1 THE EMERGENCE OF GIBRALTAR DISPUTE

Gibraltar was part of the Spanish Empire between 1462 and 1704. British Empire took the control of Gibraltar during the War of Spanish Succession. The war erupted because of the inheritance conflict after Charles II, who was a last Habsburg Spanish Empire, had passed away in 1700. Because Charles II did not have children, there was no heir to come to the Spanish throne. On the other side, the king of France married the sister of Spanish king Charles II Maria Theresa in 1659. According to the last will of Charles II, Philip V, who is the grandson of the king of France, Louis XIV, became the King of Spain, but also Charles II willed that the thrones of Spain and France will never merge. Philip V had to renounce his claims to the French throne to become the Spanish King after Charles II. Also, the king of France, Louis XIV had to remove his grandson Philip V from the throne list to comply with the will of Charles II (Jordine, 2007, p. 32).

Louis XIV of France did not remove Philip V from the throne list because he was planning to unify the thrones of Spain and France. He took aim at increasing France's power. On the other side, the other European states considered the move of the king of France as a threat, so they agreed to form a coalition to balance the power deficiency. Thus, England, Netherlands and Holy Roman Empire agreed to form a coalition against the expansion of France. Later on, Prussia, Hanover and Portugal joined this coalition. The War of Succession of Spain broke out in 1701 and lasted thirteen years until 1714. The Spanish Empire was a great empire and ruled a vast territory stretching from Netherlands to Latin America. The War of Succession of Spain had significant and long-term consequences either for the European politics or for Spain (Jordine, 2007, p. 32).

At the end of the War of Spanish Succession, the coalition forces won the war against France and took the control of much of Spanish territories. The coalition forces took Gibraltar, which was one of those territories, during the war. In 1704, British and

Dutch armies landed their forces in Gibraltar. General Rooke, who was the commander of grand fleet, knew the advantages of seizing Gibraltar that controlling such a significant location brought advantages to the Grand Fleet (Jordine, 2007, p. 31). Thus, he ordered to attack Gibraltar. The Spanish forces could not defend Gibraltar because of lack of resources. As a result of the attack, the British forces defeated the Spanish forces, and they fled to mainland Spain with residents of Gibraltar. Hence, British forces kept Gibraltar until the end of the War of Spanish Succession. General Rooke was also promoted, and he became the governor of Gibraltar (Jordine, 2007, p. 35).

General Rooke ordered to fortify the defense of Gibraltar. During the war, although Spanish and French troops attacked Gibraltar to repel the British forces, they failed to retake Gibraltar. Both sides of the war knew of the strategic importance of Gibraltar. The unexpected seize of Gibraltar sparked off a debate in England whether to turn Gibraltar back to Spain. The British diplomats intended to enter negotiations with Spanish diplomats. As a result, this division will reflect later on establishing the proper border between Gibraltar and Spain. On the other side, because British diplomats knew that Gibraltar has a key importance both for Spain and Great Britain, they did not favor turning Spain into hostile against Great Britain (Jordine, 2007, p. 45).

The Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713 to end the Spanish Succession War. According to the Article X of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship, Spain formally ceded Gibraltar to Great Britain. Spain afterwards opposed the takeover of city of Gibraltar by Great Britain together with the fortress on the Rock of Gibraltar. However, Great Britain asserted that not only the fortress on the Rock but also the city and the territorial waters were ceded by Spain. Despite heavy criticism from Spain to Great Britain to infringe the terms of the Article X of Utrecht Treaty, Great Britain gained the absolute sovereignty right over all Gibraltar including the Rock, the military fortress and territorial waters (Jordine, 2007, p. 46).

As a result, the British forces took advantage of weakness of Spanish forces in Gibraltar and they took the control of Gibraltar. They also defended Gibraltar during the War of the Spanish Succession against the attacks of Spanish forces. The Great Britain gained Gibraltar by the Treaty of Peace and Friendship. The Gibraltar Dispute emerged as a border and land conflict in the beginning of the eighteenth century and has affected the bilateral relations between Spain and Great Britain over three centuries.

3.2 APPLYING ASSUMPTIONS OF CLASSICAL REALISM INTO GIBRALTAR DISPUTE

It is plausible to use the assumptions of the classical realism to explain the Gibraltar Dispute from 1704 to 1975. As stated above, it is obvious to see how the sides became belligerent to gain more interest by gaining such a strategic land. The power politics shaped the course of Gibraltar. There have been sieges, blockades and border restrictions during three hundred years. According to Morgenthau, the assumptions of realist tradition and classical realism are power, interest and anarchy (Donnelly, 2004, p. 16). The Gibraltar Dispute holds these assumptions. In this part of the study, the Gibraltar Dispute from 1704 to 1975 will be analyzed based on the assumptions of classical realism.

3.2.1 The Power Politics and the Sieges for Acquiring Gibraltar during 18th Century

Great Britain emerged as a victorious power after the War of Spanish Succession. Great Britain destroyed the navies of Spain and France. As a result, the British Navy became the most powerful navy in the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. Great Britain enhanced its trading network so the British economy was growing. Great Britain increased its power in terms of economy and military. It is important to note that the War of Spanish Succession was a significant example of coalition warfare. As the alliance led by Great Britain won the war, the other side lost its territories and the status of political superiority both in Europe and in the world. The Grand Alliance prevented the expansion of France and the Spanish Empire which extended from Netherlands to Latin America. Gibraltar was among these lands. Spanish diplomats considered Gibraltar a key to Spain. Therefore, after Spain had begun intense military preparations to deal with defeating British troops, the Spanish Army laid sieges to Gibraltar during the eighteenth century.

The British rule in Gibraltar started in 1713 after Spain had ceded to Great Britain. Therefore, the Great Britain constructed its military garrison, establishing artillery units in Gibraltar. Spain did not give up its bid for Gibraltar. Thereby, the Spanish Army laid siege to Gibraltar for 123 days in 1727 (Jordine, 2007, p. 51). However, the siege was unsuccessful and the Spanish Army retreated to the mainland. Hence, Great Britain turned Gibraltar into a military base to secure both Gibraltar and its trade network. Spain laid another siege to Gibraltar in 1779. According to historians, it was called the Great Siege which lasted for four years. However, the Great Siege was also unsuccessful. Because, British forces had had careful preparation for such a threat of siege from Spain in 1776, the Great Siege also resulted in failure. As seen in the sieges, Spain tried to assert its power against the British Empire to pursue its national interests. However, the power of Spain was insufficient in terms of military capability to repel the British forces out of Gibraltar (Jordine, 2007, p. 12).

3.2.2 British Gibraltar during 19th Century

At the end of the eighteenth century, although Spain laid siege to Gibraltar and launched a military attack, Spain was unsuccessful to repel the British forces from Gibraltar. Much as the relation between Spain and Great Britain over Gibraltar was unsteady, the relation between them changed. Gibraltar became a significant part of the British Empire during the nineteenth century. In this time period, the British Empire expanded its colonial power through the Mediterranean Sea and East Asia so Gibraltar gained an importance in the British Colonial Empire. Gibraltar became significant in the defense of the British Empire. Gibraltar became a security post for the British Navy and British trade network.

The British presence increased in the Mediterranean Sea when Great Britain invaded Malta in 1802. As Napoleon Wars broke out in Europe, the French armies spread across European countries whether Italy or Spain. During the Napoleonic War, Great Britain defended its interests in Europe. Great Britain sent support to Spain from its base which was located in Gibraltar. The Napoleonic War ended in 1815. After the war, the city of Gibraltar developed because of increasing business activities and the city attracted more people than ever before. The British government changed the status of Gibraltar from the garrison to the Crown Colony. Therefore, the Colonial Office governed the city. Great Britain enjoyed either defending its interests in Gibraltar or making up for increasing revenue by the economic activities. Either way provided more power to Great Britain to expand its colonial empire (Gold, 2005, p. 8).

The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 and connected the Mediterranean Sea with the Gulf of Suez and the Red Sea. The Suez Canal served to ships sailed between Europe and the Indian Ocean. Thanks to developments in the naval technology, the steamships were introduced after the second half of the nineteenth century. These ships were working with coal and they required a port with coal station. Due to the opening of the Suez Canal, the importance of Gibraltar increased because Great Britain

had to defend the route towards its colonies so they need Gibraltar as a reliable coal station. Hence, Gibraltar also became a coal station (Gold, 2005, p. 9).

On the other side, unlike the previous century, Spain did not follow an aggressive foreign policy against Great Britain because of several reasons. According to Harvey, Spain had domestic problems such as Carlist civil wars, rising Catalan and Basque nationalism and military coups. Spain was not stable that Spain did not have the power to put pressure on Gibraltar (Harvey, 1996, p. 119). Because of the domestic turmoil in Spain, the relation between Spain and British Empire was stable. Spain remained weak in terms of power thus Spain could not defend its national interest in this issue. If Spain had secured its domestic stability Spain might have protected its interests in Gibraltar. The concept of power is an essential element of a state in an anarchic international politics. According to classical realism, a state must pursue its national interest, but Spain lacked power because of its domestic problems and failed to pursue its national interests. Thus, during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, on the contrary to Spain, the British Empire increased its power and extended its territory. They succeeded to defend their national interest. They expanded their colonial empire. It can be said that Gibraltar became a British colony throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Gibraltar served as a naval post to provide power to the British Empire.

3.2.3 Gibraltar during First and Second World War

Important strategic locations such as straits and port increased during the war times. These places carry strategic importance in terms of defense and mobility. During the First and Second World War, Gibraltar became a major port for the British defense. In this context, Gibraltar contributed significantly to British power. This part aims to describe the Gibraltar's position and its role during the First and Second World War.

The First World War broke out in 1914. The war was fought between the Central Powers (Austria-Hungary, Germany, and the Ottoman Empire) and the Allied Powers (Britain, France, Russia, Italy and the United States). The two camps were mainly fought in Europe. In the First World War, Spain remained neutral and did not take place in the war. Spain maintained its neutrality until the end of the war. On the other side, Gibraltar's security was depended on Spain's attitude during the war. Unlike the weapons of previous centuries, the range of weapons was increased. Therefore, Gibraltar was vulnerable to long range artillery fire and the attacks from sea. Thanks to advancements in military technology, the German submarines posed a threat to Gibraltar (Jordine, 2007, p. 82).

The First World War, for the British Empire, took place in the Eastern Mediterranean. Gibraltar provided logistical support to the British forces during the war. Gibraltar was a naval shipyard to repair damaged ships also. Furthermore, Gibraltar was an assembly point for hospital ships which carried the injured soldiers from the front of Gallipoli. Gibraltar provided considerable advantage and power to British Army during the war. When the German submarines tried to infiltrate to the Mediterranean Sea by passing through the Strait of Gibraltar in 1915 and 1917, British forces hit these German submarines from its base which located in Gibraltar. Beside these two incidents, Gibraltar was not under attack (Jordine, 2007, p. 78). Gibraltar did not suffer the severe effects of war because Spain remained neutral in the First World War.

On the other side, unlike Great Britain, because Spain remained neutral, Spain did not involve into the First World War. Because Spain failed to put its domestic politics in order, Spain entered the twentieth century weak compare to Great Britain. While the British Empire was expanding its territories and influence across the globe, Spain lost its overseas territories during the nineteenth century. Spain was also dealing with its domestic political turmoil in the short period from the turn of the century until the First World War. The lack of order and domestic conflict paved the way for Spanish Civil War (Gold, 2005, p. 11).

After the First World War, the economic activities increased because of touristic tours via passenger lines and cruise ships. In addition, Gibraltar gained more local political power when the Executive Council and City Council were established in 1921 (Gold, 2005, p. 10). The establishment of these institutions brought local representation and developed municipal affairs. In interwar years, Gibraltar enjoyed the economic prosperity. However, the Spanish Civil War broke out in 1936. The Spanish Civil War lasted three years. The right-wing nationalist led by General Franco and the left-wing Republicans fought in the Spanish Civil War. After three years of the civil war, General Franco won the war so the fascist regime was established in Spain in 1939.

There were consequences for Gibraltar when General Franco came to power. He was a fascist leader and used populist sentiments. Although General Franco was sided with fascist leaders of Europe who were Hitler of Germany and Mussolini of Italy in that time, Franco put aside Spain out of the Second World War. The nationalists who led by General Franco received tremendous aid and support from these fascist leaders during the civil war. Even though Gibraltar is a part of Iberian Peninsula, it was affected little by the civil war. The civil war strengthened not only the Gibraltarian identity but also the commitment to the British Empire (Gold, 2005, p. 11). General Franco was interested in retaking Gibraltar even by military means. He vowed to retake Gibraltar. In addition, he was ready to consider any chance to annex Gibraltar.

When the Second World War broke out in 1939, Spain did not go to war and remained neutral. But, Franco's allies, who were Hitler and Mussolini, were eager to go to war. Thus, the war started in 1939 and Germany attacked to Great Britain. Because Hitler was interested in increasing its power in the Mediterranean Sea, Gibraltar became a target of Germany. Much as Spain had close relations with Germany, the people, who lived in Spanish territories around Gibraltar, saw the Great Britain as a reliable source in terms of their jobs in Gibraltar. On the other side, Hitler considered launching an attack to Gibraltar. He thought that Gibraltar is a strategic location to increase its military power in the Mediterranean Sea.

Great Britain, on the other side, upgraded its security measures in Gibraltar. Great Britain built a fence in the border before the First World War in 1909. Spain opposed to building a fence in a neutral zone. Thirty years later, Great Britain turned this area into an airfield in order to install its air defense base (Gold, 2005, p. 12). In 1940, Winston Churchill, who was the prime minister of Great Britain, concentrated on the route that goes through the Mediterranean Sea. Great Britain could only use this route to reach Malta, Egypt and Middle East. These colonies were required to defend against the German aggression and troops. Otherwise, Great Britain could lose its power and authority. Great Britain aimed to interrupt the German supply lines in the Mediterranean region. Thus, the British and American Armies launched the Operation Torch in 1942. The main aim was to extirpate the German forces in North Africa. In this operation, Gibraltar played a prominent role to provide logistical support to British and American troops. Gibraltar harbored around 400 aircraft, 160 warships and 200 vessels (Gold, 2005, p. 12). As a result, Gibraltar contributed to the victory against German troops in Northern Africa. The war was over for Gibraltar around 1944 when the German forces were expelled from North Africa. Just as the Spanish Civil War strengthened the solidarity and the Gibraltarian identity, the Second World War also bolstered the Gibraltarian identity among Gibraltarian people. So that, Gibraltar played a significant role in defense of Great Britain during two world wars. The naval and air

bases in Gibraltar contributed power to the British Army. Great Britain won battles against its enemies by this power to pursue its national interests.

3.2.4 A Secluded Gibraltar

After the Second World War, the danger of war diminished and the normalization process started in Gibraltar. Since the Ally powers defeated the Nazi Germany, the Cold War started between US led Western countries and the Soviet Union. Thus, the polarization between two camps accelerated after Germany had been divided into two camps. The surveillance activities increased. Gibraltar also became a surveillance point for the Western camps war on communism (Gold, 2005, p. 13). This part aims to describe the acceleration of tension between Spain and Great Britain from the post-war era to the death of General Franco.

First, the constitutional change, which took place in 1944, could be perceived as a reward for Gibraltar by Great Britain in terms of Gibraltar's significant contribution during the Second World War. As stated above, since introducing the Executive Council and City Council in 1921, the politics of Gibraltar has been developed. In addition, after the war, the political life flourished when the Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights (AACR) was formed as a political party in 1945. The AACR succeeded gained power. Thus, the AACR achieved success and fostered its power within the Gibraltar politics. The AACR gained the seven seats on the City Council of Gibraltar in 1945. Their main objectives were to form self- government and to found the Legislative Council of Gibraltar for next five years. They became successful to fulfill their objectives when the Legislative Council of Gibraltar was introduced. A member of the AACR, who is Joshua Hassan, became the Chairman of City Council and the first Chief Minister of Gibraltar (Gold, 2005, p. 13).

On the other side, Spain was struggling with the problems of post-war era. Spain was in the middle of severe economic recession. Spain was isolated because of the dictatorship regime in the country and close relations with the Axis Powers during the Second World War. The membership application of Spain to the UN was renounced. Thus, Spain was left out by the international community. The international community

considered in excluding Spain would lead to the collapse of Franco regime in Spain. However, isolating Spain ended when the Cold War started. As the threat of the expansion of communism in Europe grew, USA and Spain came closer to prevent the Communist threat. The isolation of Spain ended and Spain became a part of international community when the Korean War broke out in 1950. So, the Franco regime was recognized by the Western countries whether United States of America, Great Britain or France (Jordine, 2007, p. 101).

General Franco always called for returning Gibraltar back to Spain. He was only a representative of the long-lasting tradition of Spanish politics that have advocated returning of Gibraltar to Spain since 1704. General Franco only spoke out the claims of Spain and the national interests of his country. Gibraltar has always been called the key of Spain according to many Spanish people including Franco since the sign of the Treaty of Utrecht. According to Spain, Gibraltar has been an under occupation for centuries that they have considered Gibraltar's occupation as a violation of rights of Spain. General Franco opposed the British existence in Gibraltar. He was also opposed to any political movement that took place in Gibraltar in favor of self-governance or sovereignty.

The political movements in Gibraltar accelerated towards to the self-governance. According to Prince Philip as a high ranking British official clarified that the long-term goal of Great Britain is to turn Gibraltar as a self-governing entity. On the other side, Franco called for the return of Gibraltar back to Spain based upon the rights which derived from the Article X of Treaty of Peace and Friendship. The Article X stated that "*Britain had to first offer Gibraltar to Spain if it decided "to grant, sell or by any means to alienate therefrom the propriety of the said town of Gibraltar"*". In opposition to the claims of Spain, Great Britain supported the decolonization process of Gibraltar and made sure Gibraltar to recognize its self-governance. It can be considered that before Great Britain had granted the self-governance to Gibraltar, rather Great Britain ought to turn Gibraltar back to Spain (Jordine, 2007, p. 101).

The statement of Prince Philip about the future of Gibraltar raised the tension between Spain and Great Britain. Queen Elizabeth II visited Gibraltar in 1954. The Spanish authorities did not welcome this visit. Thus, they imposed a travel ban on Spanish citizens to Gibraltar except for the citizens who had justifiable reasons (Jordine, 2007, p. 104). The Spanish authorities shut down the Spanish Embassy. As a result, the diplomatic channels to solve the dispute were blocked. However, because Western countries waged war on communism, these countries engaged with Franco to involve Spain in the West camp against the Soviet Bloc.

Spain was admitted into the UN in 1955. Spain broke its international isolation. The Spanish government gave priority to the economic matters instead of bringing Gibraltar Dispute into the UN agenda. The UN established a special committee which is called UN Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization, to deal with the decolonization process of colonial territories in 1962. It became an international issue when Spain put Gibraltar on the agenda of the UN in 1963. Spain applied to the UN Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization to discuss Gibraltar's situation (Gold, 2005, p. 16). However, the committee did not come to any conclusion. In addition, the next session was held in 1964. Spain addressed British government to put into action the UN Resolution 1514 to end colonialism. In the second session, the UN Special Committee of 24 noticed that there is an ongoing dispute about Gibraltar's status between Spain and UK. The UN Special Committee of 24 asked both sides to discuss Gibraltar Dispute to reach an agreement. UK objected and did not agree with the decision of UN Special Committee of 24 on Gibraltar (Müller, 2004, p. 50).

The British government after all came up with the constitutional changes for Gibraltar in 1964. The government transferred more autonomy to Gibraltar by giving the right of self-government. In addition, the British government recognizes the right of holding an election for the Legislative Council of Gibraltar. However, Spanish government limited the movement of people and goods between Spain and Gibraltar as a response to these British actions. The relation between Spain and UK worsened when

Spain closed the border in 1966. As a consequence of rising tension, the UN's Resolution 2231 asked Spain and UK to resume their meetings about status of Gibraltar. The UN asked UK to accelerate and facilitate the decolonization process of Gibraltar (Lincoln, 1994, p. 296). In 1967, the House of Commons of UK declared that there will be a referendum for which Gibraltarian people vote for staying under British rule or coming under the Spanish rule. Spain opposed to the decision of referendum which made by the House of Commons. In addition, the UN also backed the Spanish opposition to the referendum (Lincoln, 1994, p. 297). The UN also asked both sides to continue the negotiation. The referendum was held in 1967 and the result was in favor of staying under the British authority. The UN General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee decided that the referendum violates of the 1966 Assembly Resolution. Despite the call of Spain for negotiating the Gibraltar Dispute with UK, the efforts of Spain remained futile (Gold, 2005, p. 18).

The new constitution of Gibraltar was introduced in 1969. The Spanish government opposed the announcement of the constitution. According to the government, Great Britain neglected the UN Resolutions and contravened the Article X of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship. Thus, all the diplomatic relations also were fruitless so Spain closed the border in 1969. The dispute was not solved. From the British perspective, UK has always been free to decide about Gibraltar. Also, UK must act according to its interests. The identity of Gibraltarian people shaped by British identity over centuries and it was normal to side with UK. On the other side, Spain asserted the claims based on the Article X of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship. Spain considered Gibraltar neither an independent nation nor British community. According to Spain, Gibraltar has been a Spanish territory. Spain accused UK for violating the Treaty of Utrecht. The border closed for sixteen years until 1985. The death of Franco had a profound impact on the relations between Spain and UK but the dispute continued until the accession of Spain to EU. The new era started when Spain became a member of EU in 1986. The sides left behind the traditional means in the dispute such as military

confrontation, sanction, border restrictions and economic sanctions thanks to the Europeanization process.

3.3 CONCLUSION: THE DOMINANCE OF CLASSICAL REALIST ASSUMPTIONS AND ELEMENTS

As discussed in the theoretical framework Wohlforth states that *“for simplicity, scholars often lump together all realists thought from Thucydides to the middle years of the Cold War as classical realism”*(Smith et al., 2016, p. 38). Because of the time period of Gibraltar Dispute, the assumptions of realist tradition and classical realism bring an understanding about the Gibraltar Dispute. In this chapter of study, the Gibraltar Dispute is analyzed with the assumptions of classical realism.

State is the primary actor in international politics according to political realism. The analyze level of classical realism in international politics is the state. So that, in this study, the states plays the main role in dispute from 1704 to 1975. Both Spain and UK were the main players in the dispute. They both like human being acted according to their interests. In case of crisis and confrontations, the apparatus of state such as military and diplomacy took in action. Spain and UK looked for increasing their powers in the international arena. Gibraltar offered several advantages in terms of defense. On the other side, UK defended Gibraltar for almost three centuries because Gibraltar is in such a unique place. Throughout eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century, as stated above, Gibraltar provided logistical support and security for both its military and trade network. Thus, UK defended Gibraltar and in returns expanded its colonial empire.

Considered in this context one may argue that the Gibraltar Dispute from 1704 to 1975 was mainly shaped by classical realist’s anarchy and interest. Unlike the domestic politics, there is a lack of hierarchy in international politics. Power is the key factor to be strong in international arena. The main aim of state is to survive in such an anarchic environment that Gibraltar was taken by a coalition formed against France and Spain by smaller states. Thus, the grand coalition won the War of the Spanish Succession. The idea was proven also during First and Second World War. The states

formed alliances to become stronger to survive in an international arena. For example, Spain did not join the war and could not to retake Gibraltar for three centuries.

The states are driven by their national interests. Spain has claimed that Gibraltar is a Spanish territory. Spain has rejected any development of Gibraltar beyond self-governance or independence because it threatens the territorial integrity of Spain. On the other side, UK defended Gibraltar to protect its national interests for three centuries. As UK has been safeguarded its interests in Gibraltar, still Gibraltar is an overseas territory of UK.

In this context one may argue that Gibraltar Dispute from 1704 to 1975 can be analyzed by classical realism. The assumptions of classical realism dominated the Gibraltar Dispute until 1975 when General Franco died and the country moved to democracy. In era between 1975 and 1986, there are several internal and external factors that facilitate the transformation of Spain because of Europeanization process. The transformation paved way for the course change in Gibraltar Dispute. The reasons and causes of the Europeanization process of Spain and its effects on Gibraltar Dispute will be discussed in the next chapter.

4. AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF THE EUROPEANIZATION OF SPAIN ON GIBRALTAR DISPUTE

The transition to democracy in Spain began with the death of Dictator Franco in 1975. After the fascist regime had collapsed, the process of democratic transition in Spain started. Spain applied to the EC membership in 1977. The Europeanization process began with the application that accelerated the process of transition to democracy. The transformation was undergone by the Europeanization process which guided Spanish politicians to establish Spain's democratic institutions at European level. Thus, they also made Spain's foreign policy based on the European norms and values which having strong diplomatic relations with other countries. Because the foreign policy of Franco was isolated and aggressive, it was changed with the Europeanization process. As mentioned before Gibraltar was a sensitive topic for the Franco era foreign policy. Franco continued the long-lasting Spanish attitude, which was based on power politics, towards Gibraltar and the UK. However, the relation between Spain and the UK was restored. Spain left the power politics behind on Gibraltar Dispute due to the Europeanization process. In this chapter, the impact of Europeanization process on the Gibraltar Dispute will be studied by analysis of several factors which can be summarized as follows:

- Democratization and Europeanization process
- The Lisbon Agreement
- Spain's accession to NATO
- The Brussels Agreement

- Spain's accession to the EC
- The emergence of Gibraltarian identity

All these factors made significant contributions to the overall transformation of Gibraltar Dispute. Since Spain gained a foreign policy based on European norms and values, Gibraltar was no more dominant topic related to the relations with the UK. Therefore, it can be argued that the democratization and the Europeanization processes of Spain altered Spain's attitude on the Gibraltar Dispute. Another significant factor is Spain's accession to NATO in 1982. Spain's long lasted isolation ended because NATO provided not only a military framework but also available political framework for both Spain and UK regards to the Gibraltar Dispute. Another factor is Spain's accession to the EC (the EU) in 1986 because of Europeanization process. The accession had positive consequences for both Spain and Gibraltar. Since 1986, the ties between Spain and Gibraltar have developed. One can argue that the Europeanization process avoided Spain and the UK from further disputes. Gibraltar benefited from the normalization with Spain both economically and politically.

There are other factors that had substantial effects on the Gibraltar Dispute. These factors are the result of the successful process that produced significant outcomes for either Spain or Gibraltar. First, the Lisbon Agreement was signed between Spain and Great Britain in 1980. Both governments agreed to overcome the differences on Gibraltar Dispute and they agreed to ease the tension over Gibraltar. The second factor is the Brussels Agreement. This agreement represented another step on the normalization of the relations between Spain and Great Britain over Gibraltar. This agreement also eases the limitations which early imposed on Gibraltarian people by Franco. The third is the emerging identity of Gibraltarian people. Because Gibraltarian people lived under harsh war conditions throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries besides the isolation from Spain, these events led to formation of a Gibraltarian identity. The emergence of Gibraltarian identity in politics began at the

beginning of the eighties. Gibraltarian people reflected their thoughts on the independence of Gibraltar into the politics. Thus, the number of the member of the independent movement increased considerably. Gibraltar achieved a certain level of representation in the negotiations between Spain and Great Britain in 2004.

This chapter of study will study the period from 1975 to 2016 Brexit referendum. This chapter also will analyze the factors, causes and the results of the Europeanization of Spanish foreign policy. As stated in the second chapter, this study will adopt the concept of Europeanization to understand the factors affecting the Gibraltar Dispute. In the conclusion, the Europeanization of Spain and its effect on Gibraltar Dispute will be discussed.

4.1 ESTABLISHING DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN AFTER FRANCO ERA

Based on the Tusell's division, "*the period, between 1975 and 1982, is called 'the transition to democracy' and furthermore, the period, from 1982 to 1996, is called 'consolidating democracy' "* (Tusell, 2007). This part of chapter will focus on the period of establishing democracy in Spain after Franco era. Establishing democracy in Spain paved way to the Europeanization process. The political developments taken place in Spain also triggered the normalization process taken place in Gibraltar.

Spain's transition to democracy began with the death of General Franco in 1975. The transition was peaceful and did not lead to another civil war in Spain. After the fascist regime had collapsed, the constitutional monarchy was established in Spain. According to the succession law, King Don Juan Carlos I became the head of state. The several reforms were introduced to establish the democratic regime in Spain. The transition to democracy in Spain started when Adolfo Suárez became a prime minister in 1976. Spain held its first free election in 1977. In 1978 Spain adopted the new constitution (Tusell, 2007, p. 297).

The process of Europeanization commenced when Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez applied to become a member of the EC (later will become EU) in 1977. The European Commission approved Spain's application in 1978, Spain and the EC started the negotiations in 1979. As a result, Spain transformed its policies to keep up with the European norms and values. During the accession process, Spain was a receiver of the European legislative. Spain was internalizing the *acquis communautaire* of the EC. Spain had the period so called the policy convergence (Barbé, 2011, p. 147). However, the foreign policy was not changed as rapidly as the domestic policy. The Spanish foreign policy still followed the foreign policy preferences of the Franco era. First, Spain still did not establish diplomatic relation with Israel. Second, Spain followed the Franco's friendly foreign policy towards Arab countries. Third, Spain continued having a special relationship with Latin America countries including Cuba. Finally, Spain's relationship with the USA based on the Franco's war on communism. As a result, Spanish government continued the Franco's foreign policy with other countries. They did not go for a radical change like domestic policies. The Spanish foreign policy evolved until the accession to the EC (Barbé, 2011, p. 138).

On the other side, Spain's transition to democracy had a positive impact on the Gibraltar Dispute. But the change did not take place just after the death of Franco. Spanish government indicated that the stance of Spain about Gibraltar is clear and Spain demanded the return of Gibraltar from Great Britain. Even though Spain resumed claiming sovereignty rights over Gibraltar, Spain softened its attitude towards Gibraltar two years after the death of Franco. The Spanish government despite opening the border, the normalization began with the restoration of the telephone links in 1977 (Morris & Haigh, 2002, p. 78). The British government welcomed the efforts of the Spanish government so it also supported Spain's accession to EC due to its positive effect on the Gibraltar Dispute.

In this part, the transition to democracy and the Gibraltar Dispute were studied. The transition to democracy was a delicate but significant political development for

Spain. The years, from 1975 to 1982, was the period of establishing democracy in Spain. Unlike domestic politics, the foreign policy required more time and effort to be transformed by policy-makers. Spain continued to follow Franco era foreign policy. Spain also continued the Franco era's policy towards Gibraltar. However, in this era the normalization took place because of the accession process to the EC; thus, the new era for Gibraltar began in 1980. In the next part, the Lisbon Agreement will be studied to indicate the impact of Europeanization of Spanish foreign policy on Gibraltar Dispute.

4.2 THE LISBON AGREEMENT

The Lisbon Agreement was a significant point to overcome disagreements for both Spain and Gibraltar since 1975. The transition to the democracy of Spain also reflected on the permanent problems of Spain and its foreign policy options. Because Spain was in the accession process to EC, the Spanish foreign policy underwent a transformation regards to Gibraltar. In 1980, both Spanish and British foreign ministers met in Lisbon to discuss the future of Gibraltar. They signed the Lisbon Agreement.

The developments with regard to ease the restrictions on Gibraltar took place after the Lisbon Treaty. According to the Lisbon Treaty, the terms are

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

Both Governments have 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 measures at present in force. Both Governments have agreed that full 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, recognizing the need to develop practical co-operation on a mutually beneficial basis.

The Spanish Government, in reaffirming its position on the re-establishment of the territorial integrity of Spain, restated its intention that in the coming negotiations the interests of the Gibraltarians should be fully safeguarded. For its part the British Government will fully maintain its commitment to honor the

freely and democratically expressed wishes of the people of Gibraltar as set out in the preamble to the (1969) Gibraltar Constitution.

Officials of both sides will meet as soon as possible to prepare the necessary practical steps which will permit the implementation of the proposals agreed to above. It is envisaged that these preparations will be completed no later than 1 June ” (Jordine, 2007, p. 119).

Both governments’ strengthened bilateral ties according to the terms of the Lisbon Agreement. Both governments showed their will to solve the Gibraltar Dispute. In fact, they took concrete steps such as restoring the communication line between Gibraltar and Spain. This agreement supported Spain’s accession process to the EC. As a result of the transition to democracy, Spain proved to complete the transition period.

According to the agreement, both governments expressed their interests over Gibraltar. However, the UK stated that the British government will support the will of the Gibraltarian people. On the other side, Spanish government reserved its rights over Gibraltar to turn it back to Spain. Besides, Spanish and British politicians, Gibraltarian politicians involved into the Gibraltar Dispute as opposing to the terms of the Lisbon Agreement. The members of GSLP reacted against the text of the agreement because there were no reference to Gibraltarian people in the agreement (Jordine, 2007, p. 118). This was the one indicator of the emergence of the Gibraltarian identity.

Owing to the transition to democracy and the Europeanization of Spain, there was a detente between Spain and the UK. This agreement was a significant process for the normalization between Spain and UK. Spain transformed its isolated foreign policy into more peaceful and open foreign policy because of the Europeanization process. In the following years, Spain will become an important power and take significant roles in international politics. Spain’s NATO membership was also another significant step to the democratization of the country. Thus, Spain’s transition to democracy and Europeanization process provided Spain to get peaceful policies regards to Gibraltar.

4.3 SPAIN'S ACCESSION TO NATO

Spain became a NATO member in 1982. The NATO membership of Spain was a milestone for Spain's transition to democracy. According to Torreblanca (2001), the NATO membership was a concrete positive result for Spain's transition to democracy. Because Spain and UK became an ally under NATO framework, the option of military confrontation would be lifted (José I Torreblanca, 2001, p. 6). In this part, the NATO membership of Spain and its impact on Gibraltar Dispute will be studied.

Because of the Cold War, Spain became a player in the Western defense system after the Second World War. Once Spain was considered as an Axis ally, but Franco remained in power and Spain became a member of UN. Moreover, in the late period of the Franco regime, the Spanish government attempted to be a member of NATO. However, the North Atlantic Council declined Spain's request because the Council considered Spain as a non-democratic country. After the death of Franco, in 1976, the prime minister Carlos Arias Navarro stated in his speech to the parliament that the NATO membership would be significant for Spain's defense (Luelmo, 2016, p. 2). The NATO membership was in the agenda of the newly elected Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez when he came to the power. However, the political application of this decision was threatened by the strong opposition by political groups and public opinion. Thus, the country was divided in two camps about the NATO membership. The first camp led by Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez supported the NATO membership with the support of People's Alliance and the nationalist Basque and Catalan parties. On the other side, the PCE and the PSOE opposed the NATO membership (Luelmo, 2016, p. 2).

In 1982, Spain became a member of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Becoming a member of NATO was not an easy process for Spain. In the beginning of 1981, Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez resigned from his office. Because of lack of authority in a short period of time in Spain, a group of army member staged a coup which is called 23-F in 1981. However, the coup was foiled. This failed coup was

the first biggest threat to established democracy of Spain. After Adolfo Suárez had resigned, Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo became a Prime Minister of Spain. As soon as he came to the power, Calvo-Sotelo increased the efforts to become a member of NATO due to democratize the army. The last coup attempt proved that the Spanish Army did not undergo democratic transformation as the other institutions of Spain. Beside the aim of democratize the Spanish Army, there were also other reasons to be part of NATO. According to the Spanish government, the reason behind the NATO membership was geopolitical. The government took aim at securing the Spanish territories from the hostile acts of North African countries. Spanish politicians considered that the NATO membership also would contribute to the membership process of the EC (Luelmo, 2016, p. 3).

Spain's membership to NATO had profound implications for the Gibraltar Dispute. In fact, NATO membership was a milestone for Spanish foreign policy. Spanish diplomats and politicians found ground to express Spain's interests in the international arena. That's why NATO membership gave way Spain to carry the Gibraltar case into the international organization. The NATO membership also supported the Anglo-Spanish relations. The ongoing negotiations between Spain and UK had positive outcomes and improvements for the Gibraltar Dispute. These negotiations led to another agreement to regulate the border activities between Spain and Gibraltar. It can be said that Spain's accession to NATO provided an opportunity for both sides to lift the restrictions and normalize the relations over Gibraltar. Whereas establishing democracy in Spain led to the Lisbon Agreement, Spain's NATO membership brought about the Brussels Agreement, which will be studied in the next part.

4.4 BRUSSELS AGREEMENT

The Europeanization process provided considerable benefits for Spain in international politics. Spain became a NATO member because of this process. In addition, because two members of NATO solved their problems by talking, there were efforts to ease the tension in Gibraltar Dispute. To develop the diplomatic channels, the Brussels Agreement was the second significant step after the Lisbon Agreement during Spain's Europeanization process. By declaring this agreement, Spain and the UK marked their gains, praised the diplomatic negotiations instead of solutions based on power politics. Also, this agreement was another supportive step for Spain regarding to its accession to the EC. In this part, the Brussels Agreement and its impact on the Gibraltar Dispute will be studied.

Although the Suarez administration neither praised nor criticized NATO membership of Spain, it became controversial by socialists when they came to power at the end of 1982. Because they were blaming the US government for supporting the Franco regime for over three decades, the socialists were opposed Spain's NATO membership during the negotiations. Besides opposing to the NATO membership, the Socialist government did not reverse the process and exited from NATO. The socialist government instead focused on the accession process to the EC. Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez alleviated the restrictions on Gibraltar as the border gate was opened in 1983 (Stockey & Grocott, 2012, p. 120). Since Spain's accession to NATO enhanced the Anglo- Spanish relations, both governments also continued the negotiation about the Gibraltar Dispute. They agreed so Spanish and British governments signed the Brussels Agreement in 1984. The Brussels Agreement basically was consisted of three articles which are;

“1) The provision of equality and reciprocity of rights for Spaniards in Gibraltar and Gibraltarians in Spain. This will be implemented through the mutual concession of the rights which citizens of EC countries enjoy, taking into account the transitional periods and derogations agreed between Spain and the EC. The necessary legislative proposals to

achieve this will be introduced in Spain and Gibraltar. As concerns paid employment, and recalling the general principle of community preference, this carries the implication that during the transitional period each side will be favorably disposed to each other's citizens when granting work permits.

2) The establishment of free movement of persons, vehicles and goods between Gibraltar and the neighboring territory.

3) The establishment of a negotiating process aimed at overcoming all the differences between them over Gibraltar and at promoting co-operation on a mutually beneficial basis on economic, cultural, touristic, aviation, military and environmental matters. Both sides accept that the issues of sovereignty will be discussed in that process. The British Government will fully maintain its commitment to honor the wishes of the people of Gibraltar as set out in the preamble of the 1969 constitution ” (Jordine, 2007, p. 119).

Because of the Brussels Agreement, all restrictions, which were introduced by Franco, were lifted after the Brussels Agreement. The attitude of Spain softened towards Gibraltar. The improvement in relations with Gibraltar and the UK supported Spain's accession process to the EC. The Brussels Agreement indicated Spain's approach to the Gibraltar Dispute. Signing the Brussels Agreement fulfilled the requirements which Spain needs to meet with the European norms and values. The Agreement established the free movements of goods and services between Gibraltar and Spain. Thus, the obstacles in the way of the membership of EC were eliminated by Spain. To be a member of the EC, Spain decreased the tension with the UK. On the other side, Spain did not give up its claims and rights over Gibraltar. Instead of applying the military force or sanctions, Spain followed the Europeanized foreign policy and put aside the realist assumptions to gain sovereignty right over Gibraltar. Thus, Spain became a member of the EC in 1986 because of a decade-long Europeanization process.

4.5 SPAIN'S ACCESSION TO EC (1986)

One can argue that the Europeanization process was the driving force behind the profound transformation in Spain. The Europeanization process facilitated the major changes in Spanish foreign policy since its transition to democracy. Spain applied to the EC to be a member in 1977. The application to EC membership paved the way for the further changes in country's both domestic and foreign policy. Therefore, the Europeanization process started in Spain. As put forward by Bulmer and Burch, Europeanization is "*a process in which member states are under influence of EU norms, policies, rules and values in both policy-making and policy implementation*" (Bulmer & Burch, 1998, p. 602).

Spain completed its accession process and became an EC member in 1986. During the Europeanization process, Spanish foreign policy underwent a tremendous transformation in terms of three dimensions which are "*identity reconstruction, adaptation to EU policies and the projection of national concerns on the European agenda*" (Barbé, 2011, p. 131). First, during this process, the identity reconstruction took place via socialization of the diplomats who internalized the necessities of the European way of foreign policymaking. Thus, over the years, the effective multilateralism became part of the Spanish foreign policy making. One can say that because of the Europeanization process, Europe became "*as a way of life*" for Spanish foreign-policy makers (Barbé, 2011, p. 132).

Second, Spain also committed to the several policy areas in terms of adaptation to the EU policies. The prominent ones were the overseas ESDP operations in Balkan countries and Congo. Spain participated to the ESDP operations taken place in those countries where they did not take up much attention in Spanish agenda. Third, after Spain had become a member of EC, Spain transferred its national agenda to the European agenda. Spain formed EC's policies towards Latin America and Mediterranean countries. As discussed in the theory chapter, Spain was a receiver of

European policies and norms until its accession to the EC. Afterward, Spain transferred its agenda into the European agenda. Spain led to form the regional cooperation which the EC had not developed such relation.

As stated in the previous chapter, the realist assumptions were dominant in Anglo-Spanish relations over Gibraltar Dispute from 1704 to 1975. The power politics shaped the Gibraltar Dispute over centuries. Thus, the settlement of the dispute never happened. In addition, Gibraltarian people faced with the severest restrictions from Franco. But the death of Franco changed not only the domestic politics of Spain but also its foreign policy. Between 1975 and 1986, Spain had a tremendous transformation for the transition to democracy. When Spain applied to the EC membership, the Europeanization started in 1977. On the other side, there were also major impacts of Europeanization process on the Gibraltar Dispute.

Though Spain did not give up claiming Gibraltar as a part of its territory, Spain also recognized certain rights of Gibraltarian people by Lisbon (1980) and Brussels Agreements (1984). They were certain developments in favor of both Gibraltarian people and Spain because of the Europeanization process. The more Spain became Europeanized country, the more Spanish diplomats became European in terms of policy making. The identities of Spanish diplomats were established based on the European identity. Also, Spain adopted the EC policies after the accession.

Whereas the UK took into the consideration of demands of Gibraltarian people on national commitment to the UK, Spain rejected the decision of self-determination of the Gibraltarian people. According to Torreblanca, Spanish governments after Franco believed that the transition to democracy and the Europeanization process enabled to return of Gibraltar back to Spain. But, the EU regulations on free trade and the membership status made it harder for Spain to acquire back (Jose Ignacio Torreblanca, 2001, p. 18). The Europeanization process provided support for normalizing the Gibraltar Dispute.

4.6 THE EMERGENCE OF CIVILIAN COMMUNITY AND THE GIBRALTARIAN IDENTITY

The Anglo-Spanish relation has had a profound impact on Gibraltarian people since 1704. Whereas Spanish forces attempted to regain Gibraltar, the British forces defended the city, the Rock and the garrison. This conflicting relation led to the emergence of civilian community and the Gibraltarian identity. To understand contemporary issues and Gibraltar's stance today, one needs to consider the role of Gibraltarian identity. The existence of Gibraltarian people was ignored by Spain and the UK over years until the beginning of the Europeanization process of Spain. The Europeanization process accelerated the formation of identity. That's why this part is divided into two periods which are first, the emergence of the civilian community of Gibraltar until the 1970s, and second, the emergence and formation of Gibraltar identity from the 1970s to present.

The people of Gibraltar suffered the consequences of the conflicting Anglo-Spanish relation since 1704. The power politics based on wars and sieges resulted in tragedies for Gibraltarian people. They claimed their own rights, but they did not even have a direct voice in the negotiations taken place between Spanish and British diplomats until 1980s. However, the Europeanization process brought about the improvements in right of representation of Gibraltarian people, after the 1980s. Understanding the Gibraltarian identity is necessary for comprehending the current events. Thus, in this first part, the historical evolution of the Gibraltarian civil community and its effect on the Gibraltar Dispute will be analyzed.

The British Empire used Gibraltar as a fortress and station for its colonies in Southeast Asia throughout 18th and 19th century. The British Navy depended on the logistical support from Gibraltar. The interaction of the demand for and the supply of logistical support increased the importance of Gibraltar. Thus, the city was developed due to the trade activities. This growth attracted the merchants and people across from

Mediterranean countries to meet such a demand. The civilian population in Gibraltar increased throughout 18th and 19th century (Constantine, 2006, p. 23). According to Grocott and Stockey, the emergence of Gibraltar's civilian community dates back to 1865 when the Sanitary Commission was found by British colonial officers. The Sanitary Commission served as a municipality for Gibraltar for fifty-six years. Its members were appointed by the British Empire that it was not an elected institution (Stockey & Grocott, 2012, p. 51).

In 1919, the TGWU extended its operations and opened a branch in Gibraltar. They organized the workers, so the union became in a strong position in Gibraltar politics. The election of the City Council was held in 1921 and the candidates, who were supported by TGWU, won three seats. The Executive Council was established in 1922 and it consisted of four officials, three unofficial, and the governor as a chairman. TGWU attempted to achieve a success also in the council (Stockey & Grocott, 2012, p. 63). The civilian community of Gibraltar was affected by the Second World War. During the Second World War 16,700 Gibraltarian were evacuated to Britain, Madeira and, Jamaica (Gold, 2005, p. 12). The evacuees returned to Gibraltar when the war ended for Gibraltar in 1944. Harvey claimed that the war and obligatory evacuation that lasted for years brought Gibraltar people together as a nation (Harvey, 1996, p. 160). The City Council was restored in 1945. In addition, the Legislative Council was established in 1950. Thus, the British government revived the civilian community and the politics of Gibraltar. At the beginning of the 1960s, the British government boosted the decolonization process. It resulted in the publishing of the new constitution of Gibraltar in 1969. However, the civilian community faced with the sanctions and restrictions from Spain, so the progress in a civilian community in Gibraltar was interrupted by Franco. The Gibraltarian people lived under the sanctions of Spain until 1985. The main reason behind the opening of the border was the Europeanization process of Spain.

About the Gibraltarian identity, Grocott and Stockey (2012) claimed that Gibraltarian people joined the unions for class interest, not for Gibraltar identity (Stockey & Grocott, 2012, p. 66). However, the Gibraltarian identity has been shaped over years. The identity emerged because of the combination of a civilian community, the isolation of Franco and the Europeanization process. These factors contributed the creation of Gibraltarian identity. Until recently, the Gibraltarian people considered themselves British Gibraltarian rather than Spanish but this fact came to change when the negotiations started between Spain and UK. In recent times, Gibraltarian people both abandoned the identity of British Gibraltar and called themselves only Gibraltarian. The reason behind the renunciation of the British identity by Gibraltarian people was Britain's both economic and military withdrawal from Gibraltar since the beginning of the 1970s (Stockey & Grocott, 2012, p. 117).

The emergence of the Gibraltarian identity resulted from a process that started with the death of Franco. The Lisbon Agreement (1980) and the Brussels Process (1984) were two significant steps for the emergence of Gibraltarian identity. The Cordoba Agreement was signed between Spain and UK in 2006. Gibraltar gained the right of representation in the talks between Spain and UK. The Europeanization of Spain impacted on the emergence of the Gibraltarian identity. It was empowered by the Europeanized Spanish foreign policy. The Gibraltarian identity strengthened Gibraltar's position in the talks. Moreover, the Gibraltarian identity played a more significant role for more autonomous Gibraltar.

Gibraltar held a referendum on joint sovereignty of the UK and Spain over Gibraltar in November 2002. 99% of Gibraltarian people rejected this proposal. The people would have more freedom from the UK instead of living under Spanish authority. The people have suffered not to have voice to effect the negotiations between Spain and the UK. Gibraltar could not get its opinion noticed by neither the UK nor Spain. Gibraltar has been voiceless that Gibraltarian people suffered the lack of right for

representation at the negotiations between the UK and Spain. Instead, Gibraltar needed more representation to solve its problems.

It was not until 2004 that the lack of a right of representation ended. Besides celebrating the 300th anniversary of British rule, in the year 2004 was a turning point for Gibraltar to receive equal representation on the table with Spain and the UK. Its participation into negotiations was a major step for Gibraltar. Moreover, Gibraltar will become more active in the negotiations. Thus, Gibraltar developed its relations with both Spain and the EU. There was a positive impact on Gibraltar's economy. Gibraltar enjoyed the benefits of the EU such as regional development funds.

Although Gibraltar has gained certain autonomy from the UK, Gibraltar is an overseas territory of the UK. The British government represents Gibraltar for the foreign affairs. Thus, Gibraltar is represented by the British government at the European level. Because Gibraltar have enjoyed from the EU, the UK's Brexit referendum affected Gibraltar's overall affairs. At the end, the possibility of further war and conflict in Gibraltar between Spain and the UK were eliminated when Spain became a member of the EC in 1986.

4.7 CONCLUSION: THE TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF EUROPEANIZATION

As earlier discussed in the chapter of the theoretical framework, the Europeanization process takes place in two ways, which are policy transfer and policy convergence. The candidate country converges with the European policies which are range from domestic policies to foreign policy. During the candidacy period, the candidate state adapts the European level policies into its domestic policy areas. Second, the policy transfer takes place when the candidate state becomes a member state. The way of interaction changes from policy convergence to the policy transfer. The candidate state effects the European policy agenda.

Considered in the context, the Europeanization process led to several systemic transformations in Spain. Along with these changes, this process also effected Spain's attitude towards Gibraltar Dispute. Because Spain began the accession process to the EC in 1977, Spain left its traditional classical foreign policy against the UK on Gibraltar Dispute. Spain's internalization process of Europeanization led to obtain more peaceful foreign policy for Gibraltar. Since 1977, the tension between Spain and the UK has been eased and the border restrictions were taken off. In 1985 on the eve of Spain's accession to the EC, the movements of goods and services between Spain and Gibraltar returned to normal as Spain lifted the restrictions.

On the other hand, the Gibraltarian identity has been developed by the efforts of the civil society for over three decades. As stated earlier, its origin dates back before the First World War. In this context, one may argue that the Europeanization process of Spain contributed to this development. The well diplomatic relation between Spain and the UK has always been vital to the Gibraltarian people and to their identity. In addition, the existence of strong identity was the main reason for gaining more freedom from the UK. For instance, Gibraltar rejected the proposal of joint sovereignty introduced by the UK. They voted for rejecting this proposal in the referendum. The identity movement

accelerated and in 2004, the UK had to recognize Gibraltar's participation in the negotiations with Spain. Following years, the Gibraltarian identity appeared in Brexit referendum in 2016. Unlike the UK overall, Gibraltar voted for remaining in the EU. As stated earlier that Gibraltar has sided with the UK, however, they decided to stay in the EU. The reasons for Brexit referendum and the consequences for Gibraltar as well as the contemporary issues will be discussed in the next chapter.

5. BREXIT AND GIBRALTAR DISPUTE

The Gibraltar Dispute has become a contentious topic after the Brexit referendum. The result of the referendum has brought obscurities about the future of the UK and Gibraltar. From the perspective of the EU, it is obvious that the efforts to promote integration in the UK have been unsuccessful for last decade. In the Brexit referendum, the British voters voted to leave from the EU by 51.89%. Contrary to the British vote, Gibraltarian people voted to remain in the EU by 95.9%. Even if the people had voted to remain in the EU, as an overseas territory of the UK, Gibraltar has to leave from EU. Thus, the tension between Spain and Britain on the Gibraltar Dispute elevated more as British people decided to leave from the EU. This chapter will analyze the causes and effects of the Brexit referendum as well as its impact on the Gibraltar Dispute.

The claims of Spain over Gibraltar made Gibraltar Dispute a dispute since the occupation by the British forces. Until the Brexit referendum, Spain's attitude used to be a determinant factor in the Gibraltar Dispute. However, despite overwhelming support for remaining inside the EU by Gibraltarian people, Gibraltar must leave with the UK. It can be said that after the Brexit referendum, the attitude of the UK will be a determinant factor in the Gibraltar Dispute. To clarify the ambiguities about the leaving process, the UK and the EU have started the negotiations. The representatives have been working on determine the road map. On the other hand, there has been a movement that has empowered the Gibraltarian identity as mentioned in previous chapter. Just as Scottish people demanded for an independence referendum, it will be possible to see such a demand from Gibraltarian people. In this chapter, the causes and effects of the Brexit referendum will be studied. The Brexit from the Gibraltar perspective will be discussed as well as the impact of Brexit referendum on Gibraltar Dispute.

5.1 THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE BREXIT REFERENDUM

In Brexit referendum, British people voted for the future of the UK's EU membership in 2016. British people voted to leave from the EU by 51.89%. The result was unforeseen that the Brexit referendum has serious political, economic and social consequences not only for the UK but also for the EU. Since 1950s, the EU has overcome problems but UK's leaving from EU is a threat for the unity and integration of the EU. In the period of rising Euroscepticism, such a decision made by British people grew the concerns about the future of the EU. On the other hand, there were consequences of the Brexit referendum for the overseas territories of the UK. As relevant to our topic, Gibraltar as an overseas territory of the UK has been affected by the Brexit referendum although Gibraltar voted to remain in the EU. The Brexit referendum also has consequences for Gibraltar. In this part, the reasons and the consequences of the Brexit referendum will be studied as well as the impact of Brexit referendum on Gibraltar.

The origin of the EU goes back to the post-war period when six nations, who are Germany, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg and Italy, came together and agreed to transfer their sovereignty over coal and steel resources to a supranational organization. These countries signed the Treaty of Paris and established The European Coal and Steel Community in 1952. In addition, these countries developed their cooperation, and they signed the Treaty of Rome in 1957. They established the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Agency (EURATOM). Thus, the EU was commenced with the establishment of these institutions. Throughout 60s the economic growth was achieved by these member states. Thereupon, the EU was expanded by its transformative power instead of force or invasion (Mcgowan, 2018, p. 2). The first enlargement wave took place in 1972 when the UK became a member of the EC along with Denmark and Ireland. Spain, for instance, became a member at the third wave of enlargement with Portugal in 1986.

The EU had consisted of 28 member states before the Brexit referendum. However, in 2016, the enlargement process was reversed by the Brexit referendum. One of big member states of the Union, the UK voted to leave because of the problems that the Union have been challenged to eradicate for last ten years. These problems have contaminated the European politics that they are 2008 global economic crisis, the rise of Euroscepticism and the migration crisis (Schnapper, 2017, p. 13; Troitiño, Kerikmäe, & Chochia, 2018, p. 169). Among them, the Euroscepticism was the most prominent problem that hinders the European integration and unity. According to Taggart, the Euroscepticism refers to “*the idea of contingent or qualified opposition, as well as incorporating outright and unqualified opposition to the process of European integration*” (Taggart, 1998, p. 366). The global financial crisis was the main driver behind the rise of the Euroscepticism. The problem of migration was rather a new phenomenon but boosted the Eurosceptic movements across the Europe and led to formation of new Eurosceptic political parties.

The Brexit referendum was a manifestation of a combination of all these problems which are counted above. The movement of Euroscepticism has been rising in the member states whether UK, Germany or Netherlands. The movement of Euroscepticism has its roots in the 2008 global financial crisis. Moreover, it was also fueled by the migration flux into Europe from Middle Eastern countries such as Syria, Iraq and Libya. In addition, there were growing public dissatisfaction with the reactions of the EU. The British people blamed the EU for problems which occurs in the UK. The growing majority accused the EU for these problems which are economic development, sovereignty and the immigration. First, the British public complained about the British funds which sent to Brussels’ budget. They opposed the unequal share of the EU budget among the member states. Second, it was hard to accept the policies that were made at Brussels. The British public saw the democratic deficit that the EU produced the imposition on the member states. Third, it was the migration flow that the public opposed the undocumented migration from the other countries under the EU framework (Clarke, Goodwin, & Whiteley, 2017, p. 2). Thus, the combination of all these factors

paved the way for holding a referendum that asks people whether to stay inside the EU or not. So, the Prime Minister David Cameron could not resist the referendum demands of the Eurosceptics in his Conservative Party. Thus, David Cameron announced at his Bloomberg speech that the referendum on the UK's membership will be taken place in 2016 (Schnapper, 2017, p. 86).

According to McGowan, because the UK has opted out from the certain policy areas of the EU, the UK did not integrate with the EU. Thus, the commitment of the UK to the EU has remained weak and the Brexit referendum happened (Mcgowan, 2018, p. 18). According to the EU referendum, whereas 53.4% of English and 52.5% of Welsh voted in favor of leaving from the EU, 55.8% of Northern Irish, 62.0% Scottish and 95.9% Gibraltarian people voted in favor of remaining in the EU. However, 52% of the voters voted to leave from the Union turnout of 72.2% (Mcgowan, 2018, p. 90). The referendum did not satisfy all the nations of the UK including its overseas territory Gibraltar. Scotland, Northern Ireland and Gibraltar voted to remain in the EU.

Finally, the UK held a referendum on its future in the EU in 2016. Because of the global financial crisis, immigration and Euroscepticism, the British public voted to leave from the Union. On the other side, the referendum has consequences for both UK and the EU. The UK has lost its membership status and those privileges. Second, global financial crisis in 2008 led to the rise of unemployment across Europe. The number of Eurosceptic movements in EU member states increased that new political parties were founded by Eurosceptic politicians. Most of EU member states whether the UK, France, Austria or Germany have been affected because of the rise of Eurosceptic movement across the EU. This developing movement influenced the politics of the EU. Based on the referendum result, Gibraltar is the overseas territory of the UK that reject the leaving from the EU. In our study the impact of Brexit on Gibraltar will be studied in the next chapter.

5.2 THE IMPACT OF BREXIT REFERENDUM ON GIBRALTAR DISPUTE

Gibraltar, which is one of fourteen overseas territories of the UK, is a part of the EU due to the Article 355(3) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (Clegg, 2016, p. 543). For 10 years, the relation between Gibraltar and the EU has been developed due to the economic cooperation. Gibraltar has gained more voice and political ground in Brussels because of having strong political relations with the Commission of the EU. Due to being a part of the UK and the EU, Gibraltar also joined the Brexit referendum. Besides Scotland and Northern Ireland, Gibraltar was at the time ranked first among the Remain Camp. The Brexit referendum led to a process of negotiation between the UK and the EU. Gibraltarian people rejected the proposal which offered the joint sovereignty of the UK and Spain in the referendum in 2002. Gibraltar voted to remain in the EU by 96 percent.

The decision, which is made by Gibraltarian people, is plausible because Gibraltar has developed multisectoral relation with the EU. The relation ranges from trade to security. Gibraltar has maintained the bilateral relation with the EU. The referendum has consequences on the economy of Gibraltar. According to the Overseas Association Decision (OAD) by EU, the goods and services of Gibraltar have free accession to the EU. However, after the Brexit referendum, Gibraltar could lose its free accession to the Single Market. Gibraltar has been offering services to the Single Market such as online gaming industry, investment services, insurance and banking (Clegg, 2016, p. 546). Gibraltar receives funds from European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the European Social Fund (ESF) (Clegg, 2016, p. 545). These funds are significant for Gibraltar's economy. With the support of these funds 4.000 employees enjoyed from the jobs in Gibraltar. The security is another field that Gibraltar has been benefitted from the EU. Gibraltar has been applied the laws and directives of the EU justice and home affairs. Applying those rules provided security for Gibraltar cooperation on judicial matters with Spain (Clegg, 2016, p. 548). Therefore, Gibraltar's economy and security will be affected after Brexit referendum. The post-

Brexit period would also trigger the independence movement that has been growing since 1960s. Because, the interests of Gibraltar will be disrupted due o the Brexit referendum, the political parties, which defends the freedom of Gibraltar, would gain subsequent attraction and votes for the next election.

As mentioned before, the EU has been enlarging for decades. The Union has overcome various problems and developed solutions for them. However, the 2008 global financial crisis had effected the member states. This crisis has ignited the Eurosceptic movements and parties across the Union. In addition, the latest immigration crisis also boosted the concerns of the British people. Thus, the Prime Minister David Cameron declared to hold a referendum on the EU. As a result, 51.89% of the British voters have voted to leave from the EU. The decision has brought consequences for either the UK or the EU. As a part of the UK, Gibraltar's economy and security will be crippled due to cut off the relations with the EU. Not only the UK but also the EU have experienced the leave of one its big member states. The concerns about the disintegration would rise as the Eurosceptics gain more power in the politics.

6.CONCLUSION

Dimensions and characteristics of the Gibraltar Dispute have changed compared to forty years ago. This study aimed to analyze the transformation of the dispute and the factors that have impacted on. It is argued that the transformation in Gibraltar Dispute began with the death of Francisco Franco in 1975, and then the transition to democracy of Spain started. As Spain applied for the EC membership, the accession period brought about the Europeanization process that transformed the institutions and policies. Therefore, the features and the characteristics of Gibraltar Dispute were changed. To comprehend this transformation the background of the Gibraltar Dispute as well as the Europeanization process of Spain was analyzed in third and fourth chapters. The Brexit referendum and its impact on the Gibraltar Dispute were analyzed in the fifth chapter. At the end, to give an understanding about the Gibraltar Dispute, the results of this study will be compiled in the conclusion chapter.

This study explains the smooth transition from power politics to peaceful negotiations in the Gibraltar Dispute. The classical realism and the concept of Europeanization will be applied to explain this transition. First, the classical realism argues that the politics are driven by the assumptions of power, interest and anarchy. States are consisted of people. They govern the state. People follow their interests. Like people, states also follow their interests. Thus, states are eager to seek their interests in international politics. In addition, the power is the essence of the politics. States aim power to achieve their interests. The notions of power and interests are intertwined both in domestic and international politics. There is an order in domestic politics due to the existence of the authority of the state. However, the same rules cannot be applied for the international politics because of lack of international government. There is no a higher government than other governments in international politics. Therefore, the classical

realism argues that the international arena is anarchic and the international politics is driven by the anarchic rules.

In the analysis of the Gibraltar Dispute, the classical realism was selected due to its assumptions. The time period that this study focuses match with the time period that the classical realism covers. Since the emergence of the Gibraltar Dispute in 1704, there has been a power politics between sides of this dispute which are Spain and the UK. Until the death of Spain's dictator Franco, both sides used to apply the harsh resolutions to save their interests over Gibraltar. Spain used to lay siege to Gibraltar throughout the eighteenth century. The tension over Gibraltar has never decreased between the UK and Spain. In the twentieth century, Spain imposed strict border restrictions and even Spain closed the border gate between Spain and Gibraltar. So far, the assumptions of classical realism such as power and interest were obvious applied in the Gibraltar Dispute. It was the 1960s that one can claim that there was anarchy that although having been declared resolutions by UN, the UK did not take into consideration. The UK ignored the resolutions of the UN. These assumptions that having been adopted by states made the dispute harder to solve and the normalization process had to wait until the end of the fascist regime in Spain.

Second, the concept of Europeanization is applied to indicate the impact on the Gibraltar Dispute. Although, the Europeanization process did not affect Gibraltar, the process influenced as Spain underwent tremendous transformation due to its EC accession process. The concept of Europeanization has been developing by academicians and scholars. Despite many descriptions, the concept of Europeanization refers to the interaction between member/candidate state and the EU. In this process the political, economic and socio-cultural structures of both member and candidate state are reformed based on the European norms and values. In Spanish case, the transition did not start suddenly as General Franco died in 1975. The accession process began with the membership application in 1977. Between 1977 and 1986, Spain had transformed its institutions as well as domestic/foreign policies. During the candidacy period, Spain

accomplished various tasks and criteria that became a member of NATO in 1982. Spain took significant steps towards Gibraltar Dispute. Spain did not open the border that closed since 1960s. But the Europeanization process led to formation of ground that provide available climate to set up negotiations. Spanish diplomats met with their counterpart British diplomats. The Lisbon and Brussels Agreements were signed as a result of these negotiations. At the eve of the Spain's accession to the EC in 1986, the relation between Spain and Gibraltar was restored as Spain opened the border with Gibraltar. One can argue that the transition took place as Spain and UK changed their attitude and selected to negotiate on the Gibraltar.

The tension between Spain and the UK has impacted on the Gibraltarian people since the First World War. Because, the Gibraltarian people have suffered from wars, evacuations and restrictions, they have developed strong ties as a nation. The power politics and restrictions by Spain led to formation of Gibraltarian identity that has played a significant role in the Gibraltar politics. They rejected being ruled by joint sovereignty between Spain and the UK in 2002. They also have developed a strong relationship with the EU due to being an overseas territory of the UK. But the relationship that Gibraltar developed over twenty years is in jeopardy according to the result of the Brexit referendum. As discussed in the fifth chapter, the Brexit is a manifestation of several factors such as 2008 global financial crisis, Euroscepticism, the immigration crisis of the EU. 52% of British voters voted to leave the EU. The result of referendum has brought consequences for both the UK and the EU. On the other, there are nations, are Scotland, Northern Ireland, which voted for remaining inside the EU. Beside the other overseas territories of the UK, Gibraltar has a special status with the EU due to the Article 355(3) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU. Contrary to the overall result, 96% of Gibraltarian overwhelmingly voted to remain inside the EU because Gibraltar would like to continue to maintain its relationship with the EU. As discussed in the fifth chapter, with the Brexit referendum, the UK became the determiner factor of the Gibraltar Dispute.

In the consequent, one may predict that the post-Brexit period would bear risks for both sides in case of any confrontation over Gibraltar. However, both Spain and the UK underwent the Europeanization process. Unlike past, they will not choose the war options, instead they would be in favor of easing the tension and work for eliminate the possible threats and risks on the Gibraltar. Finally, as the transformation of features and characters of the Gibraltar Dispute has indicated that there has been a transition and the sides are tended to obtain peaceful resolutions in the case of confrontation and dispute.

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5. **Publications**

5.1. **Master Thesis**

Atilla A., The Dispute between Two Major European Powers over Gibraltar's Sovereignty, Turkish-German University, Supervisor: Dr. Enes Bayraklı, 2018.

6. **Projects**

International Summer School and Simulation Practice - EUCOPAS PROTEUS Summer School 2016, European Refugee Crisis and EU-Turkey Relations, Brussels, 2016.

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