

PEACE
LIGHTS, 7

The paper airplane contains the following words:

- an · ong hwa · fred sin · t · damini · guap
- ti · frede · rahe · pax · red · sin · mier · h
- ni · pace · xoko · haia
- ong hwa · fred sin · t · damini · guap
- malu · shalom · shanti · pax · taika
- malu · pace heiw · fred sula · amani · su
- we okeyeh · rabad · e ping selam · atash
- hoabin · amano patzin · s
- usango · thayl
- kukuthula pake · free
- mir · wor ping · pau · paz ·
- mier · paco · rahu · bake ·
- hedd · irini · guapy · malu
- béke · indur · damai · pal
- paci · rong · enh taiwain · sha
- paz · pace · mir · wo'okeyeh ·
- santioao · hau · sidi · harish
- n · freden · nula
- ai · pace heiw · w
- in · mier · paco · mal
- irini · guapy · mal
- en · musang · f
- hap · hau · sta
- poxy · pac
- ce · hap
- ma · mi

Enric Prat Carvajal





THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND ANTI-MILITARISM IN SPAIN: 2003-2008

Enric Prat Carvajal

Materials of Peace and Human Rights, 7



Generalitat de Catalunya
Departament d'Interior,
Relacions Institucionals i Participació
**Oficina de Promoció de la Pau
i dels Drets Humans**

BIBLIOTECA DE CATALUNYA - DADES CIP

Prat, Enric, 1956-

The Peace movement and anti-militarism in Spain, 2003-2008. –
(Materials of peace and human rights ; 7)
Referències bibliogràfiques

I. Catalunya. Oficina de Promoció de la Pau i dels Drets Humans II.
Títol III. Col·lecció: Materials de pau i drets humans. Angles; 7

1. Moviments pacifistes – Espanya – Història – S. XXI

327.36(460)(091)

Materials of Peace and Human Rights, 7

Barcelona, March 2009

© Author: Enric Prat

© Printed by: Generalitat de Catalunya
Ministry of Home Affairs, Institutional Relations and Participation
Office for the Promotion of Peace and Human Rights
Av. Diagonal 409, 08008 Barcelona
Tel: 935526000
oficinapaudhh@gencat.cat
www.gencat.cat/dirip

Coordination of Materials of Peace and Human Rights: Eulàlia Mesalles

Layout and printing: El Tinter, SAL (certified company 150 9001, 150 14001 and EMAS).

Printed on 100% recycled paper



This work is licensed under the *Creative Commons* Attribution-Non-Commercial – No Derivative Works 2.5 Spain license.

The licence can be found at: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.5/es/deed.ca>

This work may be copied, distributed, publicly broadcast, translated and modified, provided that this is for non-commercial ends and that its authorship be recognised using the following text:

PRAT, ENRIC. The peace movement and anti-militarism in Spain: 2003-2008. Barcelona: Office for the Promotion of Peace and Human Rights, Generalitat de Catalunya, 2008. (Materials of Peace and Human Rights,7)

The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily represent the views of the Office for the Promotion of Peace and Human Rights.

This material was produced in 2008.

The Office for the Promotion of Peace and Human Rights is the arm of the Catalan Government whose main mission is to develop public policies that promote peace and human rights.

The Materials of Peace and Human Rights series bring together working papers aimed at providing a new and original vision of fields, by publishing research carried out by specialised centres and experts

Within the framework of the activities promoted by the Programme for the Creation of the Catalan International Peace Institute (ICIP), the panel of experts who advised the Minister of Home Affairs, Institutional Relations and Participation in the process of creating the ICIP proposed commissioning a series of complementary studies. The Office has decided to include them in the Materials of Peace and Human Rights collection, with the aim of recognising their worth and usefulness, and to show appreciation for the fact that the creation of the ICIP has led to this knowledge and these collaborations.



Generalitat de Catalunya
Departament d'Interior,
Relacions Institucionals i Participació
**Oficina de Promoció de la Pau
i dels Drets Humans**

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	7
2. AGAINST MILITARY CONFLICTS	8
2.1. Demonstrations against the war	8
2.2. Peace Brigades International and Civil Peace Services	11
2.3. The Women in Black Network	11
2.4. Research and informing about military conflicts and about the actors of peace in violent contexts	13
3. FOR DISARMAMENT	13
3.1. Campaign against cluster bombs	13
3.2. For restrictions on small arms and a reduction in their numbers	16
4. IN THE FACE OF A MILITARY ECONOMY	17
4.1. Tax resistance to military spending	17
4.2. The “For peace: stop military research!” campaign and scientific objection	19
4.3. Proposals for converting the arms industry, and activities for preventing its expansion	20
4.4. Campaigns for transparency and restrictions on the arms trade	21
4.5. The “For disarmed banking” campaign	24
5. FOR THE DEMILITARISATION OF SPAIN	26
6. NEW WAYS OF OPPOSING THE ARMED FORCES	35
6.1. The “Schools for peace, objector schools” campaign	35
6.2. The “For non-military humanitarian action” campaign	36
7. CRITICISMS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION’S DEFENCE POLICY	37
8. COLLABORATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	38

1. Introduction

One of the characteristics of social movements is that they act with a certain continuity. That is to say, they are not specific incidences of struggle or the occasional demonstration. However, that they act with continuity does not mean that their evolution is linear. Social movements tend to fluctuate. In some periods they are highly visible socially and take centre stage in politics, whilst in others that is not the case. There are stages during which a large section of society participates in demonstrations organised by groups within the movement or during which the number of people who opt for an attitude of disobedience increases significantly. There are also phases during which their activities are reduced and less visible to the majority of citizens and the media. The number of collectives, activists and groups who give support to the movement also oscillates.

What do social movements do when demonstrations by citizens are at low ebb?

- They get used to carrying on organising street demonstrations despite knowing that the number of participants will be reduced.
- They set some symbolic dates as annual occasions for collective action, such as, for example, the School Day of Non-Violence and Peace (30 January), International Conscientious Objectors' Day (15 May) or International Women's Day for Peace and Disarmament (24 May).
- They establish certain references or points in space as a focus for collective action: firing ranges, military bases, armaments factories...
- They tend to diversify the areas in which they are active and about which they organise specific campaigns or activities.
- They dedicate a lot more effort to carrying out cultural tasks, aimed at passing on their ideas to society. To undertake this task they create or strengthen various instruments (foundations, research centres, magazines, bulletins...) and organise informative, debate and teaching activities.
- They participate in campaigns alongside other social movements that share their values and related issues: movements for peace and those for human rights, environmental movements and those focused on international works of solidarity...
- There tend to be more disagreements within the network of organisations of social movements. This is partly because in these periods there is more time for tackling any differences that have emerged in the more intense periods of activism. It is also because different strategies or directions for work are proposed in the new phase. Finally, it is a result of the feeling of powerlessness that having suffered a political defeat and having to face up to a period of greater difficulties and a lower political and media profile, etc. can generate in activists.

These periods of ebb in the participation in demonstrations organised by social movements, which are the most common, are little studied. However, knowledge of the debates and activities undertaken by social movements in the periods in which they are less visible to the public and the media is very important. Not just because it is interesting in itself – although it very much is – but also because studying these phases is essential for better understanding the stages in which they play a more central role socially, and the continuity that movements demonstrate over the course of time; in other words the ideas, objectives and organisations that are maintained in their various phases.

The peace movement in Spain has also gone through stages in which it has been very socially visible and central to politics, as was the case with the mass demonstrations against Spanish membership of NATO in the 1980s, and also with those against the Iraq war in 2003. During other periods, pacifist action has been sustained by the disobedience of conscientious objectors and

draft dodgers, whilst in several phases a reduced number of people have taken centre stage in the actions of the peace movement and their main tasks have been of a cultural nature: drawing up alternative defence proposals and fostering peace education.

In this study the activities of the peace and antimilitarism movement in Spain since the great demonstrations against the Iraq war of February, March and April of 2003, and the subsequent withdrawal of Spanish troops from Iraq.

The situation of the peace movement in the last five years is characterised by reduced public participation in street demonstrations, by a majority of public opinion that has shown itself to be against the war, and by the existence of a significant network of pacifist, anti-military and anti-war groups and platforms. These carry out a broad range of campaigns and actions on various subjects: military conflicts, armaments, the defence economy, militarisation of the country, the armed forces and the defence policy of the European Union. At the same time, various bodies and institutions work on research and teaching about peace.¹

The study is centred on two issues: the main activities carried out by pro-peace and anti-military organisations, and the relationship in terms of both subject and actions that these groups maintain with some NGOs and various collectives of other social movements. At the end of the text the themes of common interest to the organisations of the peace movement and other social movements are summarised, as well as the campaigns on which they are collaborating.

2. AGAINST MILITARY CONFLICTS

Of all the activities undertaken by the peace movement in relation to military conflicts, four areas can be distinguished: demonstrations against the war, Peace Brigades International and Civil Peace Services, the groups of the Women in Black Network, and the task of researching and informing the public about the various military conflicts and the actors of peace in violent contexts.

2.1. Demonstrations against the war

On 9 March 2003 a meeting was held to coordinate technically various organisations and platforms against the war across Spain.² However, since then further meetings of the same type have not taken place. Therefore, there is no coordinator of the anti-war movement for the whole of Spain. Nor is there any formal coordination of the anti-war platforms on the level of the autonomous communities, although there have been some meetings in some of them, such as Catalonia. The most common link between the groups and platforms that are still active is the meetings that take place aimed at organising and running the demonstrations against the war which are held in the most important cities. The majority of anti-war platforms that emerged in 2003 continue to act

1. The following reports can be consulted on peace research in Spain: School for a Culture of Peace. La recerca sobre la Pau a Espanya. November 2005 (http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/La_recerca_sobre_la%20Pau_a_Espanya_tcm112-53343.pdf); and the conference paper from "La investigación para la paz: una agenda para el siglo XXI", held in Barcelona, on 29 and 30 November 2007. On peace education, see the report by Anna Bastida, Estat de la qüestió de l'educació per a la pau a Catalunya i a la resta de l'Estat espanyol. (<http://www10.gencat.net/drep/AppJava/cat/ambits/Pau/publicacions/Publicacions.jsp>).

2. The following groups and platforms participated in the technical coordination meeting of March 2003: Andalucía (Social Forums), Aragón, Asturias (Oviedo for Peace and Asturian Initiative for Peace), Catalonia (Let's Stop the War Platform and Tarragona Organising Office for a Peaceful Heritage), the Canary Islands (Tenerife Platform for Peace), Extremadura (Extremadura Alternative Forum), the Balearic Islands (Majorca Platform for Democratisation and Social Globalisation), León (Movement against Globalisation and War) and Madrid (Assembly against Capitalist Globalisation and War). <www.liberinfo.net/print.php?sid=740>.

intermittently but are revitalised in March every year for a *Global Day of Action against War and Occupation* (on 20 March 2004,³ 19 March 2005,⁴ 18 March 2006,⁵ 17 March 2007⁶ and 15 March 2008⁷ demonstrations against the war were held in some number of cities), or to protest against the military intervention of Israel in Lebanon.⁸ As well as all these meetings, lectures and debates were held in many towns and neighbourhoods, organised by various bodies and collectives.

The content of these meetings firstly demonstrates that opposition to the various armed conflicts in the Middle East has been central to the activities of the anti-war platforms and, secondly, shows which problems have caused the most concern. So, the lies and manipulations of the governments of Great Britain and the United States have been condemned, particularly when the inspectors' reports saying that there were no active weapons of mass destruction in Iraq came into the public domain, and when it was not possible to demonstrate that Saddam Hussein's regime had links with Al-Qaeda. It has been insisted that control of oil was the main motivation for the military interventions of the United States in the Middle East. The attacks on civil liberties that the Bush Administration is bringing about through its global war on terrorism (arbitrary detention, torture, emergency laws, censorship, monitoring the communications of citizens...) have been criticised. The terrible consequences of the Iraq war⁹ have been highlighted, as well as its economic cost with basic social necessities still yet to be dealt with.¹⁰ The deployment of 30,000 extra US troops in Iraq was questioned (they arrived in summer 2008). Finally, the Bush Administration's contracting of private security firms for carrying out certain military roles (protection, police training...) was criticised, because they are difficult to control and because they have taken it upon themselves to take part in criminal activities (it was reported that some of these "private soldiers" had participated in interrogating detained Iraqis in the Abu Ghraib prison and had run clandestine prisons in Afghanistan).

For all these reasons, the anti-war platforms have demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops from Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as condemning Israel's military aggression in Palestine and Lebanon.¹¹

3. In March 2004 there were anti-war demonstrations in 21 Spanish cities. Gordillo, José Luis. "La duda más hermosa". In: Ibarra, Pedro; Grau, Elena (ed.). *La política en la red. Anuario de movimientos sociales*. Barcelona: Icaria/Betiko Fundazioa, 2005, p. 140-146.

4. In March 2005 there were demonstrations and rallies against the war in Barcelona, Madrid, Palma, San Sebastián and Zaragoza. Gordillo, José Luis. "El año de la derrota". In: Ibarra, Pedro; Elena Grau (ed.). *La red en la encrucijada. Anuario de movimientos sociales 2005*. Barcelona: Icaria/Betiko Fundazioa, 2006, p. 135-142.

5. In March 2006 there were demonstrations, meetings or rallies against the war in Alicante, Barcelona, Bilbao, Burgos, Córdoba, Gijón, Girona, Jaca, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Madrid, Marbella, Oviedo, San Sebastián, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Zaragoza, Tarragona and Valladolid. Gordillo, José Luis. "El año del naufragio". In: Ibarra, Pedro; Grau, Elena (ed.). *La red en el conflicto. Anuario de movimientos sociales 2007*. Barcelona: Icaria/Betiko Fundazioa, 2007, p. 149-154.

6. In March 2007 demonstrations or rallies against the war were held in Barcelona, Cádiz, Granada, Madrid, Seville and Tarragona. Karbala, David. "La guerra global continúa... las resistencias también". In: Ibarra, Pedro; Grau, Elena (ed.). *La red en la ciudad. Anuario de movimientos sociales 2008*. Barcelona: Icaria/Betiko Fundazioa, 2008, p. 133-145.

7. In March 2008 demonstrations or rallies against the war were held in Alicante, Barcelona, Bilbao, Elche, Lloret de Mar, Madrid, Málaga, Pamplona, San Sebastián, Zaragoza, Seville and Valencia. <www.atuuremlaguerra.org>, *El País*, 16th March 2008.

8. During the months of July, August and September 2006 rallies and meetings were held in cities such as Barcelona, Madrid, Málaga, Zaragoza, Valencia and Valladolid against Israel's military intervention in Lebanon.

9. According to a United Nations report, between March 2003 and June 2006 150,000 Iraqis died. The journal *The Lancet* raises the figure for dead Iraqis to 700,000. It is estimated that some 4,300 coalition soldiers have died, with some 30,000 injured. It is thought that there are 1,700,000 displaced persons within Iraq and 2,000,000 refugees outside the country. "Iraq, cinc anys després". *Butlletí de la Fundació per la Pau*, nº 89, March 2008, p. 3.

10. According to J. E. Stiglitz, the cost to the United States of the Iraq war is three trillion dollars, plus another three trillion at the expense of the rest of the world. Stiglitz, Joseph E. "La guerra de los tres billones de dólares", *El País*, 13 March 2008.

11. This account of the main activities organised by Let's Stop the War Platform in Barcelona (www.atuuremlaguerra.org) demonstrates the subjects of greatest concern to the anti-war movement in recent years. A "cassolada" (a street protest in which the participants make noise by hitting cooking pots with wooden spoons), 24 May 2003, on the day before the elections, with the aim that when it came to voting nobody forgot the war or who had supported it. Demonstration against

The participation of Spanish troops in the Afghanistan war has been questioned by anti-war platforms and various pacifist organisations. In fact, demands for the immediate withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan has been the main slogan at various demonstrations and rallies against the war. The NATO military mission, in which Spanish troops are participating, has been classified as a military occupation because it is not limited to reconstruction work, which is how the mission was initially justified, but has also carried out direct military actions. For example, Spanish troops have trained and equipped Afghan military forces and have entered combat on several occasions.¹² The Spanish Government alleges that Spanish troops participate in ISAF (International Security and Assistance Force), which has a United Nations Mandate, but not in the military operation "Enduring Freedom". However, anti-war platforms point out that both operations are US-led and are designed to complement each other.¹³

No demonstration against the war which has been held in the last five years has been able to rely on the large number of participants (the majority of them have had a few hundred or a few thousand participants, and on a few occasions a few tens of thousands) which the extraordinary mass demonstrations of February and March 2003 enjoyed. However, this does not mean that public opposition to the war has decreased, as evidenced by the various public opinion surveys that have been carried out in recent years. There is no doubt that the disastrous consequences of the military occupation of Iraq and the offensive of the Afghan insurgents in 2007 and 2008¹⁴ have contributed to the majority of public opinion remaining firmly anti-war.

the occupation of Iraq and Palestine on 1 June 2003. Candle-lit rally against the occupation of Iraq and Palestine on 23 October 2003. Rally against the war and for the withdrawal of the forces occupying Iraq and Palestine on 15 February 2004. "Cassolades" rejecting war and the occupation of Iraq and Palestine in March 2004. Demonstrations against the war on 20 March 2004. Rally against the genocide against the Palestinian people on 2 April 2004. A street party claiming responsibility for and celebrating Aznar's defeat and the return of Spanish troops on 15 May 2004. Demonstration against the war on 19 June 2004. Rally in front of the United States consulate in protest against the Falujah massacre of 26 November 2004. A public event in favour of justice for Palestine on 28 December 2004. Demonstration against the occupation of Iraq and Palestine on 19 March 2005. Demonstration against the war the occupation forces and "global Guantanamo" on 18 March 2006. Pro-Palestinian rally on 7 July 2006. A rally entitled "We are against the massacre of the Palestinian people and the invasion of Lebanon" on 20 July 2006. "Cassolades" against Israel's military attacks on the Palestinian and Lebanese people in Sant Jaume Square on 27 July, 3, 24 and 31 August, and 7 and 14 September 2006. Demonstration against the war in the Middle East on 1 October 2006. Demonstration against the war and the occupations (Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine and Lebanon...) on 17 March 2007. Demonstration on 15 March 2008 with the following slogans: "Ara, com fa 5 anys... No a la guerra!" ("Now, the same as five years ago... No to war!") "Tropes fora de l'Iraq i d'Afganistan" ("Troops out of Iraq and Afghanistan"), "Cap atac a l'Iran" ("No attack on Iran") and "Justícia per a Palestina" ("Justice for Palestine").

12. On 14 June 2008, Spanish troops were attacked by an armed group against whom they returned fire, killing six insurgents. Also, on 19 October 2008 they suffered a new attack, against which they returned fire with an undetermined number of insurgents dying as a result. *El País*, 16 June and 20 October 2008.

13. Let's Stop the War Platform, "Tropes espanyoles a l'Afganistan: ajut humanitari o ocupació?", 2007. <www.atuermela-guerra.org/arxius/diptic_Afganistan_baix.pdf>.

14. The Afghan insurgents' 2007 offensive was reflected in an increased number of casualties suffered by foreign armies: of the 746 soldiers killed between the end of 2001 and December 2007, 229 of them were killed in 2007 (*El País*, 25 December 2007). Furthermore, according to United Nations data, 2008 is the most violent since the Taliban regime fell at the end of 2001.

2.2. Peace Brigades International and Civil Peace Services

Peace Brigades International (PBI)¹⁵ have, since their foundation in 1981 (their Spanish branch was created in 1988), maintained international teams of people to accompany/observe in areas where there are armed conflicts,¹⁶ with the aim of protecting the political activities of people and organisations that defend human rights and are suffering repression or threats, as well as the civil population. They begin from the conviction that the presence of people in an accompanying role has a dissuasive effect on potential aggressors (governments, armies, security forces...), since these have to take into account that their possible human rights violations are known about by the international community and will have political and economic consequences.

The pacifist organisation NOVA, Centre for Social Innovation,¹⁷ is proposing the formation of a platform to undertake a campaign promoting the creation of Civil Peace Services to civic associations and official institutions. The aim of these services would be to create unarmed non-violent peace forces and bodies that are professional and permanent and have the capacity to intervene effectively in the pacification of conflicts. They would cooperate with local organisations, helping to resolve conflicts justly and peacefully, consolidate peace processes, rebuild basic equipment, and restore a state of social and political coexistence in countries that are coming out of an armed conflict. These bodies would be made up of experts in preventing, mediating and transforming violent conflicts, and protecting human rights and threatened communities. Civil Peace Services would also offer training programmes on democratic principles and practices for those who work at both low and high levels in the media, state employees (judges, public prosecutor, the police, prison workers...) and the elected candidates of any political party that enters into peace processes. The European Network for Civil Peace Services is currently in existence, with 34 organisations from 22 countries and 93 groups of Nonviolent Peace Forces from all the continents. This proposal has sparked an interesting debate within various Catalan pacifist bodies, in which it has become obvious that the nature of this ambitious project needs to be further specified (governmental, non-governmental or mixed; does it act independently from or alongside the armed interventions of armies) and a viability plan needs to be drawn up for it.¹⁸

2.3. The Women in Black Network

In the nineties and in the first years of the twenty-first century, movements and initiatives of pro-peace women have proliferated in response to the terrifying wars which have occurred, both in countries which are involved in armed conflicts and in countries which, in recent years, have not directly suffered a war. Amongst these first, the movements of anti-war and pro-peace women in the Middle East, the countries of the former Yugoslavia and Colombia must be given special mention. Of the second group, the activities of the various groups linked to the international Women in Black Network.¹⁹

When military conflict broke out in the former Yugoslavia, organisations of anti-war women began to appear in various parts of Spain and develop initiatives in solidarity with women who were

15. <www.peacebrigades.org>.

16. Members of the organisation have accompanied/observed in conflicts in Guatemala, El Salvador, Sri Lanka, Colombia, Haiti, Mexico, Croatia, Serbia, Kosovo, Nepal and Timor.

17. <www.nova.cat>.

18. NOVA, Centre for Social Innovation. "Proposta per promoure un servei civil de pau des de Catalunya", date unknown.

Study Group of the 2nd "Castell de Figueres" International Meeting for a Culture of Peace. "Propostes per promoure sistemes de defensa i d'intervenció civils i no violents", date unknown.

19. Groups from various countries of the former Yugoslavia, Israel, Palestine, Colombia, Spain, Italy, Great Britain, Germany, France, Finland, Sweden, Cyprus, Turkey, Japan, India, Mexico, Argentina, Australia and the United States are part of the Women in Black International Network. To date, the Network has organised fourteen international meetings: the most recent was held in August 2007 in Valencia, and attended by some 400 women (El País, 20 August 2007).

fighting for peace in war situations. These groups, which would end up coming together as the Women in Black Network,²⁰ played a central role in a multitude of rallies, dressed all in black and in silence, to show their opposition to war and their solidarity with women who were working towards peace in countries suffering armed conflict. The Women in Black Network has, from the early nineties to the present, brought together various collectives of anti-war, pro-peace and anti-military women from Castellón, Valencia, Torrente, Alicante, Palma, Murcia, Zaragoza, Madrid, Salamanca, Mérida, Badajoz, Santander, Oviedo, Jerez, Seville, Cádiz, Puerto de Santa María, Córdoba, Bilbao and Barcelona. The Women in Black Network in Spain has held some meetings.²¹

All these groups of pro-peace women champion the abolition of war, undertake non-violent activities, and support conscientious objectors and wartime deserters. They agree on rejecting violence and denouncing its agents (governments, armies, guerrillas...) and its terrible consequences (death, injuries, displaced people...). They also denounce, firstly, the gender-specific violence of armed forces and groups against women during wars (they are raped, forced to act as sex slaves, to become prostitutes...) and, secondly, the fact that in wartime, levels of rape against women increase exponentially, not only by enemies but also by men on their own side. Women's organisations have catalogued the massive and systematic sexual aggressions against women as a weapon and strategy of war as they are planned and used by political leaders, armies and paramilitary groups to humiliate, demoralise and weaken the capacity for resistance of women and of the rest of the enemy side's population, and thus demonstrate their power and capacity to dominate them.

As well as the aforementioned meetings, groups of pro-peace and anti-war women carry out specific tasks based on whether or not they live in countries with armed internal conflicts. The main areas of activity for groups of pro-peace women from countries which are not immersed in internal military conflict are the following: making public and denouncing the causes of military conflicts and gender specific violence carried out against women. Giving visibility to the resistance and struggles that women who live in countries that are immersed in armed conflicts undertake, and informing institutions, political parties, NGOs and the media about them so that the population knows about the important work towards peace and the preservation of life that women carry out in war situations. Giving support to women struggling against war and for peace, maintaining relationships and permanent communication with these organisations and visiting them in their countries, so as to better understand their ideas, feelings and experiences. Building bridges, fostering and strengthening relationships and dialogue between women and the opposing parties in armed conflicts, with the aim of finding just and peaceful solutions through negotiation and mediation that set the bases for a culture of peace. Also, inviting groups of pro-peace women in war situations to participate in debates and meetings, in which they explain their activities, ideas and suggestions, and win space in the media in which they can explain their experiences.²²

20. <www.mujaresdenegro.org>.

21. On 6, 7 and 8 December 2003 the nationwide Meeting of the Women in Black groups took place in Vitoria-Gasteiz, attended by women from the Women in Black groups of Belgrade, Kosovo and Israel. Debate took place about military conflict and nationalism. <www.casadelapaz.org>.

22. Specifically, Women for Women, one of the groups that make up the Women in Black International Network against War and the Women in Black Network in Spain has concerned itself with relationships between groups of women in the Balkans, in Israel and Palestine, in the United States and Afghanistan, in Chechnya and Russia, in Morocco and the Sahara, in Algeria, and in Colombia.

2.4. Research and informing about military conflicts and about the actors of peace in violent contexts

It must be emphasised that some pacifist bodies and university sectors have maintained regular activity concerning the wars that occur in the world, researching and informing about military conflicts that are ignored by the media or are evaluated in a simplistic way, as well as about the processes and practices of peace.

Of these bodies, the Autonomous University of Barcelona's School for a Culture of Peace²³ stands out. It publishes the annual study *Alerta!* about conflicts, human rights and peace-building, as well as the weekly bulletin *Semáforo* and the quarterly publication *Barómetro*, while in 2006 the publication of a yearbook on peace processes began.²⁴

The task started in 2006 by the Foundation for Peace must be given recognition. Through the "Practicing Peace" project it spreads information about the peace-building work carried out in violent contexts by various organisations all over the world, such as Sou da Paz (I'm for Peace) in Brazil, the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information in the Middle East, the Instituto de Enseñanza para el Desarrollo Sostenible (Institute for Teaching on Sustainable Development) in Guatemala, and the Réseau Congolais d'Action sur les Armes Légères (Congolese Action Network on Small Arms) in the Democratic Republic of Congo.²⁵

3. FOR DISARMAMENT

During the 1990s and in the last nine years several international campaigns for disarmament have taken place. Notably, the campaign against anti-personnel landmines, which emerged in 1992,²⁶ the campaign for restrictions on, and reduction in, numbers of small arms, which was formed in 1998 driven by the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) and the campaign against cluster bombs ("Stop cluster munitions"), run by the Cluster Munition Coalition (CMC),²⁷ which was created in November 2003 and has brought together approximately 250 bodies from some 70 countries.

3.1. Campaign against cluster bombs

The campaign against cluster bombs was very appropriate and necessary, given the characteristics of these weapons and the large number of countries affected by this type of weaponry. Cluster bombs can be launched from military aircraft and artillery pieces. They open up in the air and whilst in flight, scattering dozens or hundreds of explosive fragments over a very wide radius which kill or mutilate any people in the vicinity when they land. Some of these fragments do not explode when they are fired and they become a long-term danger to the population (between

23. <www.escolapau.org>.

24. According to the report *Alerta 2006!*, at the end of 2005 there were 21 armed conflicts in the world, eight of which were in Africa and nine in Asia (School for a Culture of Peace. *Alerta 2006! Informe sobre conflictos, derechos humanos y construcción de paz*. Icaria. Barcelona, 2006). According to *Anuari 2006 de processos de pau* of the UAB's School for a Culture of Peace, 2005 ended with some thirty negotiations in progress, nineteen of which corresponded to armed conflicts, eight to unresolved conflicts and three to conflicts that had ended, and there were negotiations in two out of every three armed conflicts. Also, in the *Anuari 2007 de processos de pau* it was stated that at the end of 2006 there were 24 armed conflicts in the world, of which 14 had negotiation processes open.

25. Foundation for Peace. *Practicar la pau en contextos de violència*, 2008.

26. The international campaign against anti-personnel landmines had some very positive effects, as in 1998 46 countries signed the Ottawa Treaty which banned them; currently 160 countries have ratified the treaty, although Russia, China and the United States have not.

27. <www.stopclustermunition.org>.

5% and 30% of these submunitions do not explode immediately, at the moment of detonation). Their effects clearly violate international humanitarian law, as the uncontrolled explosion causes the mini bombs to be spread over a wide area, affecting civilians as well as combatants. Cluster bombs are often the same shape as drinks cans or balls, presenting a great temptation to children looking for new toys (98% of their victims are civilians, one quarter of those infants).²⁸

When the international "Stop cluster munitions" campaign was launched, more than 30 countries produced cluster bombs, more than 50 had them at their disposal, and 23 were suffering their impact. The list of countries affected by this type of bombs during the more than 40 years in which they have been being used is long (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia...). Cluster bombs have also been used in many recent military conflicts: Great Britain used them in Kosovo and in Iraq, Russia used them in Chechnya, Israel used them in Lebanon, and the United States used them in Afghanistan, Kosovo and Iraq.²⁹ It is estimated that during the 2003 invasion of Iraq the United States and Great Britain launched roughly one million cluster bombs. According to the United Nations, in 2006 the Israeli Army launched four million cluster bombs in Lebanese territory, causing some 200 "accidental" civilian deaths one year after the ceasefire.³⁰ It is estimated that some 100,000 people have died as a result of the use of this type of explosive.

The objectives of the Cluster Munition Coalition (CMC) have been the following: making the impact of cluster weapons known to the civilian population; achieving a moratorium in the production of these bombs; helping the victims; eliminating explosive remnants left over in countries after conflicts; the signing of an international treaty prohibiting cluster bombs.³¹

In 2007 the nationwide coalition CMC Barcelona was formed by the Foundation for Peace,³² Justice and Peace,³³ the Movement for Peace,³⁴ and the Catalan Commission for Aid to Refugees.³⁵ CMC Barcelona and Greenpeace³⁶ are the bodies that have driven the "Stop cluster bombs"³⁷ campaign in Spain and Catalonia, which appeared publicly in February 2008.³⁸ On 14 May 2008 the manifesto of this campaign was presented in Madrid, signed by 150 significant figures in the worlds of culture, art, science and the third sector.³⁹ The "Stop cluster bombs" campaign condemned the facts that there were two companies in Spain that produce this type of weapon (Instalaza, based in Zaragoza, and Explosivos Alaveses, based in the Alava province of the Basque Country), and that the Spanish Armed Forces had three types of cluster bomb at their disposal: one imported from the United States and two made in Spain (the BME-300 by Explosivos Alaveses, and the MAT-120 by Instalaza).

CMC Barcelona and Greenpeace set out the demands listed below. To the Spanish Government: prohibition of the production, storage and use of cluster bombs in Spanish territory and their transfer or sale to other countries; destruction or dismantling of arsenals of cluster bombs under the control of the Spanish Army; giving support to the adoption of an international treaty banning cluster bombs; ensuring that European Union troops never use cluster bombs in any military campaigns in which they intervene. To the Spanish Parliament: support for all initiatives aimed at prohibiting cluster bombs.⁴⁰

28. "Crida internacional contra les armes cluster", November 2006. CMC Barcelona and Greenpeace. "Perill bombes de dispersió", April 2008.

29. CMC Barcelona and Greenpeace. "Perill bombes de dispersió", April 2008.

30. Valenciano, Elena. "Mamá, ¿el pulgar crece?". *El País*, 2 June 2008.

31. "Crida internacional contra les armes cluster". November 2006.

32. <www.fundacioperlapau.org>.

33. <www.justiciaipau.org>.

34. <www.movimentperlapau.org>.

35. <www.cear.es>.

36. <www.greenpeace.org>.

37. <www.stopbombesdispersio.org>, <<http://clusterviena.wordpress.com>>.

38. "Neix la campanya Stop bombes de dispersió". *Butlletí de la Fundació per la Pau*, nº 89, March 2008.

39. Europa Press, 14 May 08.

40. CMC Barcelona and Greenpeace. "Perill bombes de dispersió", April 2008.

On 29 May 2008, representatives of 109 countries, including Spain, came to a consensus on the draft of an international treaty banning the production, use, possession and sale of cluster bombs.⁴¹ Some of the main producers of cluster bombs such as the United Kingdom, Germany and France sided with the treaty.

The Cluster Munition Coalition and victims of cluster bombs also participated in the Dublin conference.

The signing of the treaty is envisaged for December 2008 in Oslo and it will come into force when 30 countries have ratified it. The treaty covers the destruction of existing arsenals within a maximum of eight years after it enters into force and establishes obligations to help survivors: each signatory state must develop a medical aid, rehabilitation and psychological support plan for victims. Signatory states will have 180 days after ratifying the treaty to submit a report to the Secretary General of the United Nations in which the number of cluster bombs at their disposal and their characteristics are detailed, as well as decommissioning and destruction programmes for their installations and factories, and the progress made in destroying these bombs. This report must be updated annually.⁴²

In January 2007 the Spanish Government told the Congress of Deputies that it did not consider it advisable to ban the production of cluster bombs in Spain, but in September of that same year it accepted Izquierda Unida's proposal to support any initiatives that aimed to restrict and prohibit them.⁴³ During the negotiations that led to the signature of the draft of the international treaty, the representatives of the Spanish Government proposed that bombs containing electronic self-defusing devices, such as those made in Spain, should be exempt from prohibition. Fortunately, this proposal was not included in the final text of the treaty, although it does contain some exceptions: so-called super-intelligent cluster bombs, which contain less than 10 submunitions and self-defuse if they land without exploding (this will allow the use of the model Smart 155, which contains two submunitions and is made in Germany), are excluded from prohibition. However, the Spanish Government must be given credit for having decided to move forward the process of destroying the 5,589 cluster bombs included in the arsenal of the Armed Forces, which will begin this autumn, as demanded by various bodies and NGOs, such as the Foundation for Peace and Justice and Peace.⁴⁴

The organisations behind the campaign against cluster bombs have reacted positively to the agreement because it is a new step forward in the field of disarmament. They consider the prohibition of these weapons a success or a victory for the peace movement, the organisations of civil society and the Norwegian Government, which launched the Oslo Process in February 2006 with the aim of securing an international treaty banning cluster bombs. However, they criticised three aspects that they considered negative: six of the world's most important producers of these bombs did not participate in the negotiations and have not signed the treaty (the United States, Russia, China, Israel, India and Pakistan); the treaty does not cover fragmentation munitions that use advanced technology which, although they do not cause the indiscriminate impacts that the banned ones do, are very destructive; and the agreement allows military cooperation between countries that have and countries that have not signed the treaty, making possible the use of cluster bombs in joint military operations, such as those of NATO.⁴⁵

41. There had been four previous international conferences aimed at drawing up an international treaty banning cluster bombs: in Oslo (February 2007), Lima (May 2007), Vienna (December 2007) and Wellington (February 2008). "El Procés d'Oslo: cap a la prohibició de les bombes de dispersió". www.stopbombesdispersio.org/plana.php?id=2

42. *El País*, 29 and 30 May 2008.

43. Soledad Gallego-Díaz. "Bombas de racimo". *El País*, 25 May 2008.

44. *El País*, 9 and 18 July 2008. Justice and Peace's J. M. Delàs Centre for Peace Studies, "Èxit del moviment pacifista: la prohibició de les bombes de dispersió". *Materials de Treball*, nº 34, July 2008, p. 1-2. "Les bombes de dispersió, prohibides!". *Butlletí de la Fundació per la Pau*, nº 90, summer 2008, p. 3.

45. Justice and Peace's J. M. Delàs Centre for Peace Studies. "Èxit del moviment pacifista: la prohibició de les bombes de dispersió". *Materials de Treball*, nº 34, July 2008, p. 1-2. Armadans, Jordi. "Victòria". *Butlletí de la Fundació per la Pau*,

In line with this approach, Justice and Peace's J. M. Delàs Centre for Peace Studies has made a very appropriate demand of the Spanish authorities: "that they go a step further and legally prohibit any sort of relationship between citizens of Spain and cluster bombs. We are referring to Spanish financial institutions financing and actively participating in the military industry that produces this terrible weapon. It would not be acceptable if Spanish banks aided the production of this type of weapon in countries which have not signed the treaty while Spain is committed to not manufacturing, selling, storing, or using them".⁴⁶

On the other hand, the organisations that carried out the campaign against cluster bombs are aware that monitoring will be necessary to ensure that the treaty is signed, ratified and adhered to; also that it is advisable to carry on working in the area of disarmament.

3.2. For restrictions on small arms and a reduction in their numbers

Following the success of the campaign against cluster bombs, the campaign for restrictions on small arms and a reduction in their numbers takes centre stage. Its driving force is IANSA: an international network that unites some 800 organisations from 120 countries, including Amnesty International, the British-American Security and Information Council (BASIC), OXFAM, Pax Christi, Christian Aid, International Alert, and Saferworld.

Statistics published in a report drawn up by IANSA show the proliferation and lack of restrictions on small arms. Currently there are 875 million firearms in circulation (pistols, assault rifles, machine guns, rifles, grenade launchers, anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns, mortars...), 74% of which are in the hands of civilians or non-state actors. These types of weapon cause the vast majority of deaths in violent conflicts. Every year some eight million new weapons are made. The result is terrifying: every day some 1,000 people are killed by firearms and another 3,000 are seriously wounded.⁴⁷

The main objectives of IANSA are securing a reduction in the production of, and demand for, small arms; improving regulation of firearms; and strengthening controls on transference. To make these objectives possible IANSA runs campaigns to have laws passed preventing the proliferation and misuse of small arms, demands the signing of an international treaty on the arms trade, and keeps the public informed so as to increase popular involvement in the struggle against armed violence.

nº 90, summer 2008, p. 2. "Les bombes de dispersió, prohibides!". *Butlletí de la Fundació per la Pau*, nº 90, summer 2008, p. 3.

46. Justice and Peace's J. M. Delàs Centre for Peace Studies. "Èxit del moviment pacifista: la prohibició de les bombes de dispersió". *Materials de Treball*, nº 34, July 2008, p. 2.

47. IANSA – Foundation for Peace. "Violència armada: la crisi mundial", 2008.

4. IN THE FACE OF A MILITARY ECONOMY

The organisations of the peace movement have been calling into question the various sectors of the defence economy or components of the arms cycle (state military expenditure, scientific research aimed at warfare, the arms industry and the arms trade). They have done this through various campaigns and conscientious objections, such as tax resistance based on opposition to military spending, the “For peace: stop military research!” campaign, scientific objection, activities and proposals for converting arms factories into producers of civilian goods and services, campaigns for transparency, restrictions on, and a reduction in, the arms trade, and the “For disarmed banking” campaign.

These campaigns share a body of criticisms of the military economy and various alternative proposals. Of the criticisms, the following must be highlighted: all the components of the arms cycle contribute to the preparation for war; military expenditure and research for military ends absorb an immense quantity of resources that could be used for social needs and civilian research; the arms industry produces means of destruction, and the arms trade feeds armed conflicts, strengthens governments that violate human rights and contributes to many countries’ indebtedness. The main alternative proposals are disarmament; the reduction and ending of military spending and research, and the transfer of these resources to civilian research relating to social necessities; conversion of the arms industry into producers of civilian goods and services; transparency, restrictions and reduction of the arms trade, and its elimination, and the application of codes of conduct for arms exports.

4.1. Tax resistance to military spending

Since 1983, every year campaigns of tax resistance to military spending are undertaken. Tax resistance is a refusal to cooperate with the State on expenditure destined for preparation for wars and maintenance of the armed forces. Tax resisters deduct from their income declaration a percentage equivalent to that destined for military spending in the Budget, enclosing a letter addressed to the representatives of the Treasury in which they explain the motives for their tax resistance and a bank deposit slip as proof of having donated the unpaid amount to bodies and NGOs that undertake charitable and support projects (environmental conservation, caring for the poor...).⁴⁸

The objectives of these campaigns were very well reflected in the conclusions of the First Spanish Congress of Tax Resisters which took place in 1989. Tax resistance is a form of civil disobedience which aims to achieve, firstly, respect for an individual’s right to conscientious objection to military expenditure and, secondly, the following social objectives: progressive reduction of military spending until it disappears completely along with, by extension, armies; denouncing society’s growing militarism and militarisation; questioning the current defensive model by supporting lines of debate in this direction, and contributing to boosting the antimilitarist movement by opening new means of participation and struggle.⁴⁹ Therefore, tax resisters feel like integral parts of the broader peace and anti-military movements, the objective of which is building a demilitarised society through social mobilisation, civil disobedience and peace education. They practise collective and public tax resistance so as to generate social debate about military spending and increase the number of resisters.

48. The following sites of organisations that encourage tax resistance explain in detail how to do it, which charitable projects receive funds from tax resistance and the situations in which tax resisters can find themselves after making their income declaration: Tax Resisters’ Information Service (www.objecciofiscal.org, www.justiciaipau.org/siof), Organising Committee for Charitable NGOs of the Girona region and Alt Maresme (www.solidaries.org/ofiscal), Anti-Military Alternative-MOC (www.nodo50.org/objecionfiscal, www.nodo50.org/tortuga), Galician Tax Resisters’ Coordinating Office (www.nonaogastomilitar.org).

49. Conclusions of the First Spanish Congress of Tax Resisters, 1989.

Groups promoting tax resistance have condemned the progressive increase in global military spending since 1999, following the decrease which occurred in the nineties as a consequence of the end of the Cold War and a redefinition of defence policies. In 1998 worldwide military spending rose to 765 billion US dollars and in 2004 the figure rose to 975 billion: worldwide military spending for 2002 rose 5.4% in real terms compared with 2001; spending for 2003 rose 7.3% compared with 2002; in 2004 it rose 5.3% compared with 2003.⁵⁰ According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the combined military spending of all the world's governments in 2007 was 1.3 trillion dollars; the equivalent of 2.5% of the world's gross domestic product.⁵¹ Groups promoting tax resistance have also criticised the fact that Spain's military budget continues to be so large:⁵² 12.7 billion Euros for 2000, 13.31 bn for 2001, 14.37 bn for 2002, 15.08 bn for 2003, 15.74 bn for 2004, 16.18 bn for 2005, 17.09 bn for 2006, 17.98 bn for 2007 and 18.91 bn for 2008. The military budget for 2008 is equivalent to 1.7% of GDP (the *Human Development Report* defines a country that uses 2% or more of its GDP for military purposes as a militarised country), and involved a daily military expenditure of 51 million Euros (422 Euros per inhabitant per day).⁵³

Pro-peace and anti-military groups believe that there are several factors that have a bearing on the maintenance of these high levels of military spending. Of these, they highlight the obsession that many governments have with continually modernising their armies and possessing the newest weapons to come onto the market, which are ever-more powerful and accurate; and the pressure exerted by industrial military complexes – in other words, any sector that has interests in weapons production and to which it is convenient that military spending increases (weapons manufacturers, banks and financial institutions that finance the buying and selling of weapons, senior military figures and politicians linked to the arms industry...).

This criticism of military spending has been complemented with tax resistance. Since the demonstrations against the Iraq war in 2003, the number of tax resisters has increased: in Spain the number increased from some 1,500 declared tax resisters in 2002 to more than 5,000 declared tax resisters today; this takes no account of there being some who do it anonymously. In any case, victory in the campaign's main objective – a reduction in military spending – is not just determined by the number of tax resisters, but also other factors such as levels of public awareness and political support achieved, or any disagreements which may appear amongst the political elite on this subject.

50. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI Yearbook 2005. <www.sipri.org>.

51. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *SIPRI Yearbook 2008*.

52. Collectives promoting tax resistance believe that military expenditure should cover the following: the budget of the Ministry of Defence, and all of the Ministry's autonomous bodies; the budget of the National Intelligence Centre; defence expenditure included in the budgets of other ministries (the Guardia Civil under that of the Ministry of Home Affairs, military research and development under that of the Ministry for Industry, funding for NATO participation under that of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), expenditure on military pensioners and part of the interest paid on the national debt proportional to military expenditure.

53. <www.justiciaipau.org/centredelas/index.php?module=htmlpages&func=display&pid=16>; Ortega, Pere. "La inercia del gasto militar del Estado español". *Materiales de Trabajo*, no 33, February 2008.

4.2. The “For peace: stop military research!” campaign and scientific objection

Since 1999 the Foundation for Peace has been promoting the “For peace: stop military research!” campaign,⁵⁴ which is supported by Justice and Peace, the Association for United Nations in Spain, the UNESCO Centre in Catalonia and the Catalan Federation of NGOs for Peace and Human Rights; some forty bodies participate in it.⁵⁵ In June 2002 the national platform for the campaign was created. Its main objectives were promoting debate within society and the scientific community about research aimed at warfare, and using the campaign’s activities and scientific objection to pressure public authorities so that they transfer resources aimed at military research to research with civilian ends.

There follows an explanation of this campaign’s main arguments. It declares that military research is also responsible for wars because it is directly aimed at developing new weapons systems. It warns of the immense resources that are used for this type of research worldwide: more than half a million scientists work in the military sector; worldwide investment in military research in 2003 exceeded 70 billion dollars, taking up one third of all the funds used for research on the entire planet, and research aimed at warfare had five times the resources dedicated to it than research on health. It condemns the militarisation of scientific research in Spain:⁵⁶ in the 2007 Budget 1.59 billion Euros went to military research⁵⁷ and for 2008 the figure reached 1.67 billion Euros which was equivalent to 18% of the total research and development budget.⁵⁸

The campaign asks scientists, universities and research centres to refuse to take part in military research programmes by signing scientific objection declarations and including ethical-use clauses in their scientific work (theses, dissertations, patents, projects...), in which they prohibit the use of their scientific contributions by armies and armed groups, and for any use by the military or that infringes human rights or damages the environment. Finally, the campaign proposes the promulgation of a scientific objection law, which protects any researchers who refuse to take part in military programmes.

The campaign’s impact to date has been considerable. In late 2006 there were some 2,300 scientific objectors; that is to say scientists who had signed an agreement not to participate in research aimed at warfare or that was subsidised with funds dedicated to research with military aims.⁵⁹ In 2003, twelve Spanish universities included scientific objection clauses in their statutes, in which scientific research aimed armament or military ends,⁶⁰ and the staffs of other universities

54 <www.prouinvestigacionmilitar.org>, <www.noalainvestigacionmilitar.org>.

55. The Spanish Federation of Engineers Without Borders, the Association of Progressive Students (Catalonia), Peace and Development Forum (Burgos), Librarians for Peace (Madrid), House of Peace (Seville) CGT-CIEMAT (Madrid), CGT-Universities, Ciutadella Against War, COA-MOC of Zaragoza, the Hypatia Collective (Madrid), the Non-Violence and Education Collective (Madrid), The University and Social Commitment Collective (Seville), the Mueve Commission (Valencia), the Students’ Organising Committee for the Catalan Countries, the Development NGO Organisation Committee for the Principality of Asturias, the UNI for Peace Organising Committee (Catalonia), ESF of Galicia, Barcelona, Girona and Lleida, Physicists for Development (Barcelona), UB Solidarity Foundation (Barcelona), Granada Peace and Conflicts Institute, ISF of Corunna, Málaga, Valencia, Valladolid, Asturias and León, the León Anti-Globalisation Movement, the Soria Citizens’ Movement for Peace, the University of Corunna Office for Charitable Acts, the Galician Forum for Peace Education (Santiago de Compostela), and UNED No to War (Madrid).

56. According to an OECD report, Spain is the second country in the world in terms of percentage of GDP spent on military spending after the United States. *Boletín de la Objeción Científica*, nº 7, March 2004.

57. The total figure for military research in Spain includes the Ministry of Defence’s research and development budget and loans to businesses by the Ministry of Industry for designing and making various types of weapon.

58. The “For peace: stop military research!” campaign and Foundation for Peace. *Informe sobre el proyecto de presupuestos per a la R+D civil i militar a l'Estat espanyol (2007)*. Barcelona: October 2006. Ortega, Pere. “La inercia del gasto militar del Estado español”. *Materiales de Trabajo*, nº 33, February 2008.

59. Foundation for Peace, *Memòria 2006*, p. 10.

60. Universities of Valladolid, Oviedo, Alicante, Girona, Granada, Santiago de Compostela, Barcelona and Lleida, as well as the Autonomous University of Barcelona, the Technical University of Catalonia, the Autonomous University of Madrid, and Rovira i Virgili University. *Boletín de la Objeción Científica*, nº 5, July 2003.

passed motions to the same end.⁶¹ In 2004 for the first time a doctoral thesis presented at the Faculty of Mathematics of the University of Seville incorporated a clause to prevent its use for military ends.⁶² Finally, 1,210 researchers and 151 NGOs demanded the demilitarisation of research in 2005 budgets.⁶³

4.3. Proposals for converting the arms industry, and activities for preventing its expansion

Since the start of the nineties various marches have taken place in the Basque country against arms factories and in favour of their conversion into producers of goods and services for civilian use, which led to the formation of the Gasteizkoak collective, which has made various proposals relating to the conversion of the arms industry. Amongst these the one relating to Explosivos Alaveses (EXPAL) stands out, which generated significant debate between the various sectors involved (union members at the factory, anti-military groups and social collectives...).

In 1997 the Barcelona Campaign against the Arms Trade (C3A) proposed that a study be carried out of converting this factory, which had to include two conditions: keeping all places of work and the support of the company's workers. EXPAL's Comisiones Obreras trade union (CCOO), which at that time had an absolute majority in the Works Council, opposed the proposal because of the risk of possible site closures and gave priority to this issue over the moral problem inherent in producing objects which are used to kill.⁶⁴ In April 2004 it was announced that the Management of Unión Española de Explosivos (UEE) would close EXPAL because of a decline in production due to a lack of demand.⁶⁵ The closure of the EXPAL factory in Vitoria-Gasteiz would be carried out and its production relocated to other factories in the UEE group.

Without doubt the closure of an armaments factory is good news for the cause of peace and disarmament, but that the workers should lose their place of work is not. Therefore, given the results, it seems fairly clear that it would have been better to have fought at the time for the conversion of the EXPAL factory to civilian production than to have later attended the closure of the factory and had to mobilise to guarantee other alternative occupations to the workers. In any case, a debate between pacifist groups, union members and other social movements on these issues is advisable, as well as drawing up proposals for converting arms industries that guarantee places of work, and evaluating the possibilities of promoting labour objection; in other words the negatives of working towards military ends.

Some pacifist organisations have questioned the projects for developing Catalonia's military industry. When in 2004 the Industry, Energy, Trade and Tourism Commission of the Catalan Parliament presented Catalonia's candidacy for situating a factory where Eurocopter, a subsidiary of the European Aerospace Defence and Space Systems, would produce Tiger combat helicopters, Barcelona's Justice and Peace delivered a letter to the President of the Catalan Government in which the withdrawal of this proposal was demanded.⁶⁶ This factory ended up being built in Albacete.

In addition, Justice and Peace's J. M. Delàs Centre for Peace Studies condemned the creation of a development pole of the aeronautical industry in Catalonia. This was being promoted by various authorities (the Catalan Government, as well as Barcelona, Sabadell and Viladecans

61. The University of Valencia, Ramon Llull University and Pompeu Fabra University.

62. Foundation for Peace, press release, 5 July 2004. *Boletín de la Objeción Científica*, nº 8, July 2004.

63. "For peace: stop military research!" campaign, press release, 10 November 2004. *El País*, 11 November 2004.

64. Gasteizkoak Collective. "El movimiento antiarmamentista vasco. Una experiencia en desarrollo". In: Ibarra, Pedro; Grau, Elena (ed.). *Una mirada sobre la red. Anuario movimientos sociales*. Donostia/Barcelona: Betiko Fundazioa/Icaria, p. 81-84.

65. Ortega, Pere. "El 11-M y Unión Española de Explosivos". *Materiales de Trabajo*, nº 24, April 2004.

66. *Materiales de Trabajo*, nº 24, April 2004.

town councils) and the BAIE (Barcelona Aeronautical and Space) association founded in 2001, which brings together 55 Catalan companies of this sector and in which the Catalan Government, the Ministry of Science and Technology and three universities (the University of Barcelona, the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the Polytechnic University of Catalonia) and some town councils (Barcelona, Sabadell, Badia del Vallès, El Prat de Llobregat and Reus) participate. Several of the companies linked to BAIE make products for the military sector (missile components, bullet cartridges, components for combat aeroplanes...).⁶⁷ In 2004 the Delàs Centre decided to launch the “No to the military aeronautical industry in Catalonia” campaign, which the Foundation for Peace also promotes.⁶⁸ Signatures were collected to warn about the installation of industries linked to the military aeronautical industry, and protest letters were sent to the President of the Catalan Government, political groups in the Catalan Parliament and to the mayors of local administrations involved in the possible installation of military aeronautical industries.⁶⁹

4.4. Campaigns for transparency and restrictions on the arms trade

The countries that are the main exporters of arms (Russia, the United States, France, Germany, Canada and Great Britain) continue to sell them to the governments of countries in conflict, which violate human rights, or are suffering poverty (amongst the importers of arms Turkey and Egypt stand out).⁷⁰ In other words, the international arms trade continues to feed armed conflicts and contribute to the indebtedness and impoverishment of many countries.

That is why NGOs and pacifist groups have carried out various campaigns against this “market of death”, such as the Campaign against the Arms Trade (C3A), which was formed in Barcelona in late 1988 and became the J. M. Delàs Centre for Peace Studies, part of Justice and Peace. The “There are secrets that kill” campaign⁷¹ led by Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Doctors without Borders, Intermón Oxfam and the UNESCO Centre Catalonia, which was launched in December 1994 and which was active until the end of 1998, and the current international “Control arms” campaign⁷² promoted by IANSA.

Of the activities undertaken by the “Control arms” campaign, which was launched in October 2003 the “One million faces” initiative must be mentioned. It involved the collection of one million signatures and photographs of people from 160 countries worldwide demanding the adoption of an international treaty regulating the arms trade, which was delivered to the then Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, at the conference about light arms held by that institution between 26 June and 7 July 2006. The governments of 52 countries, amongst them Spain, demonstrated their support for this initiative⁷³ Intermón Oxfam and Amnesty International are the promoters of the “Control arms” campaign in Spain.

Campaigns in favour of transparency in and restrictions on the arms trade have been a key factor in getting some codes of conduct for exporting conventional weapons approved, such as those of the United States in 1997 and that of the European Union in 1998, which prohibits the sale of weapons to countries involved in armed conflicts, which violate human rights or have a precarious

67. *El Punt*, 23 May 2004. Ortega, Pere. “La indústria militar aeronàutica aterra a Catalunya”. *Illacrua*, nº 124, November 2004, p. 14-16.

68. To find out about the historical development and current establishment of the military industry in Catalonia and the content of the “No to the military aeronautical industry in Catalonia” campaign, see Pere Ortega’s text “Indústria d’armes a Catalunya. Dels trabucs a l’aeronàutica”. *Quaderns per a la solidaritat*, nº 34, September 2007.

69. Justice and Peace, *Memòria 2004*, p. 44-45.

70. *SIPRI Yearbook 2004*.

71. For more information on the “There are secrets that kill” campaign see the following works of Vicenç Fisas: *Secretos que matan. Los derechos humanos y la exportación española de armamento*. Barcelona: Icaria, 1995. *El lobby feroz. Las ONG ante el comercio de armas y el desarme*. Barcelona: Icaria, 1998.

72. <www.armessotacontrol.org>, <www.controlarms.org/es>.

73. *El País*, 26 June 2006.

state of well-being. However, pro-peace bodies and NGOs are demanding the correction of some deficiencies in the EU's Code of Conduct to avoid the export of arms to countries in conflict or that do not respect human rights, such as the establishment of a common system of verification of the final use of weapons once they have been exported. Also that arms companies have to obtain permission from their governments before signing export contracts, and the regulation of arms traders.⁷⁴

The pressure exerted by the international "Control arms" campaign contributed decisively to the United Nations General Assembly approving in December 2006 a resolution in favour of drawing up an international treaty to regulate the trade in all conventional weapons. This treaty, the wording of which is currently being formulated by a group of experts, has yet to be debated properly in the United Nations General Assembly.

IANSA saw the results of the Third Biennial Meeting of States – held in New York in July 2008 with the aim of monitoring the process of establishing the United Nations Action Plan to prevent, combat, and eradicate the illegal light weapons trade – as positive. This was because 154 states approved a document saying that arms would be marked at the point of manufacture to help to track their final destination and in which legislation concerning arms middlemen was recommended. However, IANSA is demanding that these commitments be legally binding and that they also cover ammunition.⁷⁵

Pro-peace bodies and some NGOs condemned the Spanish Government's systematic failure to comply with the European Union's Code of Conduct. In a report published by Amnesty International, Greenpeace and Intermón Oxfam on Spanish exports related to defence, it was reported that 30% of Spanish arms exported during 2004 could violate the EU's Code of Conduct, since they were exported to countries in conflict, with serious human rights violations or with development problems (Colombia, Saudi Arabia, Israel...).⁷⁶ For these reasons, NGOs demand that the Government supply information about the goods and services exported to each country and their value; that exports that violate EU's Code of Conduct be banned; and that a law that effectively restricts the arms trade be passed.

On 23 September 2008 the "Control arms" campaign organised a symbolic event in front of the Ministry of External Affairs and submitted the signatures of the eleven thousand citizens and 160 parliamentarians who were demanding that the Spanish Government give its total support to the International Treaty on the Arms Trade.⁷⁷

Pressure exerted by the campaigns for transparency and restrictions on the arms trade was an essential element in making the Congress of Deputies agree a non-legislative motion in March 1997 that urged the Government to: incorporate the criteria for transparency and restrictions on exporting defence items approved by the EU in 1991 and 1992 into Spanish legislation; send data relating to these exports to the Parliamentary Commissions on Defence and Foreign Affairs every six months; and supply the list of countries that are in conflict situations, are militarising or do not respect human rights to these commissions so that restrictions on the export of defence items can be applied to them. Since the approval of this non-legislative motion, various official reports have been published supplying information about countries that are in receipt of defence goods and the absolute values of products sold, even if they do not give information about the products that each country exports.

74. Fisas, Vicenç. *Adiós a las armas ligeras. Las armas y la cultura de la violencia*. Barcelona: Icaria, 2000, p. 91.

75. "El Procés de les Nacions Unides per controlar les armes lleugeres fa un pas endavant". *Butlletí de la Fundació per la Pau*, nº 91, autumn 2008, p. 4.

76. Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Intermón Oxfam. *Por una ley para un control efectivo del comercio de armas. Análisis de las exportaciones españolas de armamento 2004*.

77. "Ulleres per veure clar els efectes del descontrol de les armes". *Butlletí de la Fundació per la Pau*, nº 91, autumn 2008, p. 4.

In December 2007 the Congress of Deputies approved the Law on Control of Foreign Trade Activity in Arms and Dual-Use Items. The Law, which incorporates the criteria of the European Union's Code of Conduct, prohibits the export of arms when there are rational indications that the defence goods might: be used in activities which disrupt peace, stability or security on a world or regional level; exacerbate latent tensions or conflicts; be used in a way contrary to the inherent dignity of the human being, aimed at internal repression or in situations that violate human rights; been destined for countries where there is evidence that traded weapons are sold on; violate international agreements (article 8).

Pro-peace bodies and NGOs have reacted positively to the approval for the first time of a law that regulates the arms trade in Spain and especially to the fact that this law includes an obligation for the government to publish export reports by country of destination and by descriptive categories of the exported products. However, they have criticised the fact that the Spanish Parliament has not broken with the opacity which surrounds arms exports, as is demonstrated in the fact that the activities of the Inter-Ministerial Regulatory Board on Foreign Trade in Defence and Dual-Use Items (JIMDDU)⁷⁸ are kept as a state secret, which means that neither parliamentarians nor the public have access to information about which weapons are exported, who has produced them and who is buying them. That is why pro-peace bodies and NGOs are demanding that the activities of the JIMDDU cease to be secret, to facilitate parliamentary and judicial regulation of arms exports.⁷⁹

In any case, it is apparent that the passing of the Arms Trade Law would have to involve a major change in the orientation of Spanish arms exports, as in 2006 Spain continued to sell weapons to countries involved in armed conflicts, that did not respect human rights or that dedicated more resources to military spending than to human development. Tica Font has supplied very accurate data about this problem: "Spanish weapons are sold in countries that are involved in armed conflict, such as Colombia and Israel; or that intervene in conflicts, such as the United States and the United Kingdom. Spain also exports to countries which are experiencing tension and instability, such as the Philippines, Indonesia or Sri Lanka; or about which there are serious human rights concerns such as Indonesia, Kenya, Singapore or Thailand; and even that are in confrontation with each other, such as India and Pakistan. Furthermore, Spain has also sold arms to some of the poorest countries of the world, such as Burkina Faso, Angola, Kenya and Mauritania; or that dedicate more resources to military spending than human development (military spending greater than that on health and education), such as Angola, Saudi Arabia, Brazil, Ecuador, the United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Pakistan and Turkey. [...] As far as handguns are concerned, in 2006 111 million Euros worth were exported. The largest importer of Spanish handguns was Ghana, which received arms to the value of 3.26 million Euros. There is a moratorium imposed on Ghana importing, exporting, producing and distributing handguns, because there was concern over the uncontrolled proliferation of these weapons in the country and the risk of illegal trafficking from Ghana to neighbouring countries, some of which are in situations of conflict, post-conflict or tension, such as Togo, Nigeria or the Ivory Coast".⁸⁰

Pro-peace bodies and NGOs also confirm the worrying rise in Spanish military exports. Since 2000 the annual volume of defence exports has not stopped growing, as is reflected in the following data, sent by the Secretary of State for Trade to the Congress of Deputies: 138.3 million Euros in 2000; 231.2 in 2001; 274.7 in 2002; 383.1 in 2003; 405.9 in 2004; 419.5 in 2005 and

78. It is the JIMDDU's duty to evaluate whether arms exports comply with the requirements laid down by the Arms Trade Law and by the Code of Conduct of the European Union, and to issue favourable reports so that the Ministry of Industry can authorise these exports.

79. "Primera ley que regula el comercio de armas en Espanya". *Materiales de Trabajo*, nº 33, February 2008. Melero, Eduardo; Font, Tica. "La ley de ocultación de las ventas de armas". *Materiales de Trabajo*, nº 33, February 2008.

80. Font, Tica. "Informe 2007 d'exportacions espanyoles d'armament 1997-2006". *Materials de Treball*, nº 34, July 2008, p. 14. To find out more detail about Spanish exports of defence items between 1996 and 2005, consult the table published in *Materials de Treball*, nº 29, July 2006, p. 11-12.

845 in 2006. Following this upwards trend, in 2007 the volume of defence exports (warships and military aeroplanes, electronics, ground vehicles, bombs, explosives and ammunition...) hit the record figure of 932.9 million Euros. This spectacular growth in military exports has places Spain in eighth place in the world ranking for conventional weapons exports.⁸¹

4.5. The “For disarmed banking” campaign

At the meeting of ENAAT (European Network Against the Arms Trade)⁸² which took place in Ghent on 13 and 14 May 2006, the possibility of launching a European campaign to publically condemn financial institutions and Export Credit Agencies (ECA) that finance the arms trade (at that time campaigns of this type were being carried out in Belgium, Great Britain and Italy – Banche Armate⁸³). The ECAs, the majority of which are public-funded, facilitate commercial exports in unstable region, and they do it in a way that lacks transparency. This means that many arms industries turn to them because they issue credit and help them to export their products to countries that do not respect human rights. There is proof that Spain’s ECAs, which are called Compañía Española de Seguros de Crédito a la Exportación, 50.25% of which are public property and 49.75% private, have on several occasions facilitated arms exports.⁸⁴

At the ENAAT meeting held in Florence in April 2007, the representatives of the Banche Armate campaign made it known that in the document that the Italian Government publishes annually in which the financing that financial institutions provide for arms exports is recorded, BBVA appeared as a major financier of exports of Italian weapons to states such as Israel, Malaysia, Singapore, Brazil, Mexico, Lebanon and, above all, Spain. Some of these countries, such as Israel and Malaysia, are in violation of the European Union’s Code of Conduct for the arms trade.⁸⁵ Furthermore, some centres for peace research carried out studies on the shareholders of Spain’s military industries,⁸⁶ which made it clear that financial institutions such as BBVA, Santander and Caja Castilla La Mancha have strong links to these industries.

Faced with this worrying information, several NGOs launched the “For disarmed banking” campaign, with the aim of creating a level of public support that would oblige the Government to supply information about the intermediation of banks and savings banks in arms export. It also aimed to achieve the financial institutions’ withdrawal from the arms trade, ending their investment in companies that manufacture weapons, stopping issuing credit to military industries and ceasing to act as intermediaries in arms sale transactions. This campaign was presented publically in June 2007. As part of the “For disarmed banking” campaign the specific campaign “Disarmed BBVA”⁸⁷ has been undertaken, promoted by the following organisations: Justice and Peace’s J. M. Delàs Centre for Peace Studies, the Observatory on Debt and Globalisation (ODG)⁸⁸ and Setem.⁸⁹

81. *El País*, 8 June and 6 August 2008.

82. ENAAT, which was created in 1984, is a network of groups that operates in almost all the countries of Europe, which has carried out various coordinated activities against the arms trade. <www.enaat.org>.

83. <www.banchearmate.it>.

84. Annual meeting of the European Network against the Arms Trade: the role of banking and Export Credit Agencies in fostering the arms trade. <www.justiciapau.org/centredelas>. Benítez, Francesc. “Agències de crèdit a l’exportació: complicat dels estats del nord en els negocis bruts”. *Materials de Treball*, no 32, September 2007, p. 12-13.

85. Minutes of the meeting of the J. M. Delàs Centre for Peace Studies, 9 May 2007. Pozo, Alejandro. “Per què no es publiquen les dades dels finançaments de les exportacions espanyoles d’armament?”. *Materials de Treball*, n° 32, September 2007, p. 5-7.

86. In Spain there are some 200 companies and between 15,000 and 20,000 who are dedicated to producing or offering military-related services: weapons and ammunition, naval construction, electronics and IT, equipment and components, the aerospace industry, consultancies, security...

87. <www.bbvasensearmes.org>.

88. <www.odg.cat>.

89. <www.setem.org>.

In October 2007 a conference was held to debate the subject “For disarmed banking”, organised by the Delàs Centre. In the pamphlet announcing this conference a list of financial institutions that were involved in the arms trade was published: BBVA, Banco Santander (BSCH), Banesto, Banco Popular, Banco Sabadell, Banco Pastor, Deutsche Bank, Barclays Bank, Caja Castilla La Mancha, Bancaja, Bilbao Bizkaia Kutxa, Kutxa, Caja Vital, Caja Madrid, Cajastur, Caja Cantabria, Caja Sol, Unicaja, La Caixa and Caixa de Catalunya.⁹⁰

Between the campaign's launch and the present, more information about the involvement of the Spanish banking sector in the financing of military contracts and companies. It was made known that BBVA had made a 25 million dollar contribution to an international group of thirty financial companies which supplied a credit of 1.7 billion Euros to the United States company Raytheon, which manufactured cluster bombs, and had participated in an international group of twenty-eight banks which had issued a loan of 1.5 billion Euros to the French company Thales, which manufactures cluster missiles and munitions.⁹¹ The presence of savings banks amongst the shareholders of various military industries was made known; in particular, that three of these banks (Caja Madrid, Caja Asturias and Caja Cantabria) were the majority shareholders in the electronics company INDRA, which participates in the main projects of the Ministry of Defence.⁹²

The MAXAM group of companies was also condemned. It manufactures all types of explosives and in September 2007 it had obtained a syndicated credit to the value of 300 million Euros, in which 18 financial institutions participated led by the banks BBVA and Banesto.⁹³ It has also recently become known that seven banks, amongst them BBVA, financed a contract to supply 14 tanker aircraft worth 1.7 billion Euros to the British Royal Air Force, which will be undertaken by the European aeronautical consortium EADS, the British companies Air Tanker and Rolls Royce and the French company Thales.⁹⁴

The activities of the “Disarmed BBVA” campaign (distribution of thousands of pamphlets, press conferences, sending letters to the president of the bank and branch managers, coverage in the media, speaking at shareholders’ meetings) has already had some effects. Representatives of BBVA have been interviewed in Madrid and Barcelona by senior figures in Justice and Peace, and they said that the financial institution’s management was studying some of the recommendations made by the Delàs Centre, such as withdrawing their investment from companies that manufacture cluster bombs.⁹⁵ Moreover, the President of BBVA, Francisco González, stated at the Shareholders’ Meeting held on 14 March 2008 that the bank’s management was disposed to reduce investment in arms companies and some financing for arms exports, following the speech that had been made by a member of the Delàs Centre, representing a group of shareholders, in which the fact that part of the bank’s profits came from the military industry was condemned.⁹⁶

Some bodies and NGOs have made a concerted commitment to ethical banking, so as to avoid their money being invested in the arms trade and used to perpetuate conditions of war and injustice. For example, Justice and Peace is one of the founding bodies of FIARE-Catalunya, which was launched in 2007,⁹⁷ and the Foundation for Peace has deposited its funds in Triodos Bank:⁹⁸ a model for ethical banking in Europe that has recently opened some branches in Spain.⁹⁹

90. J. M. Delàs Centre for Peace Studies (Justice and Peace). “Jornades per al debat. Per una banca desarmada”, October 2007.

91. Carrión, Jesús; Calvo, Jordi. “Campanya BBVA sense armes”. *Materials de Treball*, nº 32, September 2007, p. 3-5.

92. Ortega, Pere. “Desarmar la banca”. *Materials de Treball*, nº 32, September 2007, p. 8-11.

93. Gisbert, Tomàs, “Negocios explosivos: BBVA y Banesto lideran un crédito sindicado a MAXAM”. *Materiales de Trabajo*, nº 33, February 2008.

94. *Materials de Treball*, nº 34, July 2008, p. 15.

95. Justice and Peace. *Memoria 2007*, p. 38.

96. Calvo, Jordi. “Actualitat de les campanyes del Centre Delàs pel desarmament”. *Materials de Treball*, nº 34, July 2008, p. 12.

97. Justice and Peace, *Memoria 2007*, p. 31.

98. www.triodos.es

99. “Aposta pel Triodos Bank”. *Butlletí de la Fundació per la Pau*, nº 91, autumn 2008, p. 2.

5. FOR THE DEMILITARISATION OF SPAIN

In recent years the struggle for the demilitarisation of the whole of Spain has been extended. This includes demonstrations against the presence of United States and NATO warships and military facilities, activities in favour of removing military bases, barracks, manoeuvres grounds and firing ranges,¹⁰⁰ and activities against arms factories. The collectives grouped together in Anti-Military Alternative-MOC state that this entire group of movements resisting militarisation are part of the international "Reclaim military areas" campaign, which they have been promoting since 2004 and which demands the closure and restructuring of military installations.¹⁰¹

The organisations that promote these struggles for demilitarisation reject Spain's adherence to the Atlantic Alliance, stressing that it has become a political and military instrument in the service of the global anti-terrorist war declared by the Bush Administration. They criticise the participation of Spanish forces in NATO military missions such as those in Kosovo and Afghanistan. They also condemn the fact that NATO military installations in Spain continue to be used in the armed conflicts in which this military alliance is involved, as well as the presence of United States and NATO nuclear propulsion vessels in Spanish ports and bases.

They have also insisted that the Spanish Government has no need to renew the Bilateral Defence Agreement between Spain and the United States, signed in 1953 and successively extended up until now. They have also insisted on the advisability of dismantling military bases, especially those at Rota and Morón, because they would be platforms (aero-naval and aerial, respectively) for the arrival, stopover and transit of military forces coming from the United States in the event that that country's government decided to intervene in possible military conflicts in Europe, the Mediterranean and Central Asia.

Moreover, the groups of the pro-peace movement have condemned the Bilateral Agreement's recognition of zones for the exclusive use of the United States, as secret activities can be carried out in them, as well as the fact that the inspection of US aeroplanes passing through Spain is not provided for in the agreement. In fact, the research carried out by the public prosecutor's office of the Spanish High Court to verify whether the bases were used between 2002 and 2007 for transporting terrorism suspects to the US base at Guantanamo Bay in secret flights, where there are more than 700 people detained indefinitely without charge or legal protection and where torture is carried out, shows that condemnation by anti-military groups was not along the wrong lines.

In the documentation that the Ministry of Defence sent to the High Court Judge, Ismael Moreno, it is recognised that thirteen aeroplanes of the United States Air Force travelling either to or from Guantanamo Bay obtained permission to stop over at the military bases of Morón, Rota and

100. The Armed Forces have 33 manoeuvres grounds and firing ranges with a total area of 150,000 hectares, amongst which are the following: El Teleno (León), Renedo-Cabezón (Valladolid), Monte la Reina (Zamora), Casas de Uceda (Guadalajara), El Palancar (Madrid), Los Aljares (Toledo), Bótoa (Badajoz), Cerro Muriano (Córdoba), Médano del Loro (Huelva), Base de Rota (Cádiz), Sierra El Retín (Cádiz), Las Navetas (Málaga), Álvarez de Sotomayor (Almería), Islas Chafarinas, Yaiza (Lanzarote), Pájara (Fuerteventura), Las Cumbres (Tenerife), La Isleta (Gran Canaria), Chinchilla (Albacete), Cabrera (the Balearic Islands), Marines (Valencia), Sant Climent Sescebes (Girona), San Gregorio (Zaragoza) y Las Bardenas Reales (Navarre). *El País*, 7 February 2007.

101. Anti-Military Alternative-MOC. "Reclama los espacios militares: llamamiento global a la acción contra la guerra", April 2006. The groups that make up Anti-Military Alternative-MOC are the following: Tortuga Anti-Military Group of Elche-Alicante (www.nodo50.org/tortuga); Anti-Military Alternative-MOC Valencia; Barcelona Draft Dodgers' Assembly; KEM-MOC Bilbo; KEM-MOC Donostia; KEM-MOC Iruña (www.noalasguerras.org); MOC Bahía de Cádiz; MOC Puerto de Santa María-ELAIA; MOC Jerez-Peace Workshop; MOC Seville (www.lacasadelpaz.org); MOC Santander; Logroño Draft Dodgers' Collective; MOC Las Palmas de Gran Canaria; MOC Tenerife; Carabanchel Anti-military Group (Madrid) (www.nodo50.org/moc-carabanchel); MOC Lavapiés (Madrid); MOC San Martín de la Vega (Madrid); MOC Murcia; MOC Albacete; MOC Salamanca; MOC Valladolid; COA-MOC Zaragoza (www.nodo50.org/objecionfiscal). The full list of the groups involved in Anti-Military Alternative-MOC, as well as their addresses and contact telephone numbers, can be found at: www.uv.es/~alminyan/mocs.html.

Torrejón, and another thirteen aeroplanes crossed Spanish airspace. It must be stressed that these authorisations were made within the framework of the Defence Cooperation Agreement between Spain and the United States, which does not allow the Spanish authorities to know the identity of any passengers of US military aeroplanes that use military bases that are on Spanish soil. This meant that Spain did not inspect the military aeroplanes, nor ask about the identity of those who were travelling.¹⁰² The British NGO Reprieve stated that 36 United States military aeroplanes with 170 prisoners, captured or bought by US troops in Afghanistan and Pakistan, crossed Spanish airspace or stopped over at the bases at Rota and Morón between 2002 and 2004, heading for the base and torture centre at Guantanamo Bay.¹⁰³

The basic criticisms that have been made of military bases, weapons factories, barracks and manoeuvres grounds and firing ranges are the following. They are part of the military training used to prepare for war; they are military targets for the enemies of NATO; they involve an intense militarisation of the country; they absorb large amounts of resources that could be used to cover basic social necessities; they endanger the safety and health of the inhabitants of the inhabitants of the actual towns; they have a negative impact on the environment. Specifically, it has been emphasised that at firing ranges and manoeuvres grounds armies destroy natural heritage and archaeological sites, generate polluting waste, and cause forest fires and serious accidents. The anti-military groups and environmentalists at the centre of these struggles against military installations propose the demilitarisation and social and environmental restructuring of these areas (making use of them for crops and livestock, protected natural areas, construction of housing, schools and health centres...).

This collection of struggles for demilitarising the country has combined direct and illegal actions, but always within a non-violent framework, and more traditional actions such as rallies, demonstrations and marches. The actors who have organised and taken centre stage in the protests have been the following. The illegal actions have been organised by anti-military groups and have been carried out by their activists. In contrast, the demonstrations and marches organised by the platforms made up of various environmentalist, anti-military, trade union, political and social groups enjoyed relatively high levels of participation.

The important role played by collectives linked to Anti-Military Alternative-MOC in promoting these activities must be stressed. That organisation is one of the most stable means of anti-military coordination that exists in Spain. Following the conscientious objection campaign, which was undertaken between 1989 and 2002, the Conscientious Objection Movement (Moviment d'Objecció de Consciència – MOC) network became known as Anti-Military Alternative-MOC, making tax resistance to military spending the centrepiece of its struggles for demilitarisation in Spain.

There follows an outline of the main pro-demilitarisation actions that have been carried out in Spain's various autonomous communities in recent years.¹⁰⁴

Andalucía

In this Autonomous Community there have been actions relating to dismantling the military bases at Rota and Morón since the mid-1980s, organised by a collection of pacifist, environmental, trade union and political groups.

102. *El País*, 12 and 25 November 2007, 4 February 2008, 28 and 29 May 2008, 6 August 2008, 5, 6 and 7 September 2008, and 6 October 2008.

103. *El País*, 14 September 2008.

104. There is a lot of information available at the anti-military web portal Insumissia (www.antimilitaristas.org), which was launched in 2005, about the characteristics, the function and the situation of military installations and protest actions that have been carried out in recent years. The following are particularly recommended: the report *Base a base: la militarización del territorio español a vista de satélite* (I), (II), (III), (IV), (V), and the article <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php?id_article=2414>. It is also advisable to consult the web pages of the various groups that make up Anti-Military Alternative-MOC, especially that of Tortuga Anti-Military Group of Elche-Alicante.

Every year since 1983 the March has been held at the aero-naval base of Rota (Cádiz). The most recent marches have been the following: the 18th march which took place on 30 March 2003 with the slogan “No to war, not in our name, NATO no!, bases out!”, in which some 70,000 people took part; the 19th was organised for 15 May 2004; the 20th, which was held on 8 May 2005 with the slogan “For peace, better today than never, NATO no, bases out”, with some 5,000 people participating; on 21 May 2006 the 21st march was held with the slogan “NATO no, bases out, for a Europe without bases” with some 1,200 people participating; finally, on 6 May 2007 the 22nd march at Rota was held with the slogan “Not one more life, not one more soldier, not one more war, never again” in which about 2,000 people participated.¹⁰⁵

From the middle of the eighties until the early nineties annual marches were held at the airbase of Morón de la Frontera (Seville). In recent years actions against this base have started to be held again. Some 15,000 people took part in the March at the Morón de la Frontera Airbase, which took place on 15 March 2003, as part of the international protest against the Iraq war. There were some 500 demonstrators at that of 20 November 2005 and at the march on 28 January 2007, organised by the Seville Social Forum, there were some 1,000 people.¹⁰⁶

The demonstration in Seville on 4 February 2007 against the meeting of NATO Defence ministers in that city on 8 and 9 February must also be mentioned. The demonstration, organised by the Seville Social Forum, was attended by some 5,000 people.¹⁰⁷

Aragon

During the 1980s various actions were organised against the airbase in Zaragoza, amongst which the human chain from the centre of the city to the base's gate stands out; it took place in May 1983 and 20,000 people participated. In subsequent years annual marches to the base were organised, and during the 1991 Gulf War another human chain was organised. Protest actions stopped when the United States military pulled out and the base ceased to be used jointly. However, although there has been no permanent United States military presence at the base since 1990, the fact that it is used as a stopover for United States military aeroplanes in their international interventions and that Spanish combat aeroplanes are based there have been motives for pacifist protests in recent years. The Zaragoza Citizens' Assembly against War held a march to the base on 30 March 2003, when the United States' military attack in Iraq was imminent; 8,000 people participated.¹⁰⁸

In 2003 the Zaragoza Objection and Anti-militarism Collective (COA-MOC), alongside other neighbourhood and environmental organisations, launched a campaign against the Spanish Army's manoeuvres grounds and firing ranges at San Gregorio (Zaragoza), taking advantage of the procession to the Chapel of San Gregorio which takes place every year in the month of May to carry out actions in protest against the base (bicycle march, display of banners and

105. The most recent marches at the base at Rota have been organised by the Andalusian March to Rota Platform, which brings together various pacifist, environmentalist, feminist, trade union and political collectives: House of Peace of Seville, Gandhi Direct Action Group of Rota, Environmentalists in Action, Social Forum, Human Rights, CGT, USTEA, PCA, Communist Youth, IU...

<www.ainfos.ca/03/apr/ainfos00044.html>, Diario de Cádiz, 9 May 2005,

<www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=2501>, <www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=3806>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3291>.

106. Various organisations organised the 2003 march at the base at Morón: the Culture against War Platform, Seville Social Forum, UGT, SOC, CCOO, IU. The 2005 march at Morón was held by a group of organisations: Colectivo de Unidad de los Trabajadores-Bloque Andaluz de Izquierdas (CUT-BAI), PCA, SOC, IU...

El País, 21 November 2005, <www.lahaine.org/global/15m_sevilla_frontera.htm>,

<www.antimilitaristas.org>, <www.andalucia24horas.com>, <www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=5294>,

<<http://estrecho.indymedia.org/newswire/display/67320/index.php>>,

<www.kaosenlared.net/noticia.php?id_noticia=30084>.

107. El País, 5 February 2007.

108. Information about this march is available at: <www.ainfos.ca/03/mar/ainfos00646.html> and <www.ainfos.ca/03/apr/ainfos00044.html>.

balloon launch, rally...). The annual mass marches for the demilitarisation of the San Gregorio manoeuvres grounds and firing ranges stand out: the 6th March took place on 8 May 2005, the 7th March on 14 May 2006 and the 8th on 13 May 2007.¹⁰⁹

On 4 November 2006 a demonstration of some 2,000 people was held in Zaragoza against the Spanish Government's aim to install in their city – the capital of the Autonomous Community of Aragon – the Atlantic Alliance's main operational surveillance base. It was organised by the Platform against the NATO Base in Zaragoza, which is made up of various neighbourhood, political, trade union, environmentalist, pacifist and anti-military organisations. On 21 January 2007, also in Zaragoza, a new demonstration against the creation of the NATO espionage base, in which 10,000 people participated. This demonstration was also organised by the Platform against the NATO Base, with the slogan "For a culture of peace. 20 years ago and today: NATO no, bases out".¹¹⁰

Catalonia

Various actions have been carried out in Tarragona (petitions, rallies, lectures, musical performances, demonstrations, graffiti...) against the presence of vessels of the US 6th Fleet and the Atlantic Alliance, organised since February 1998 by the Tarragona Organising Office for a Peaceful Heritage. That body brings together more than thirty bodies from the city of Tarragona, with the aim that their city's port stops being the logistical base for these warships have nuclear propulsion systems and perhaps carry nuclear weapons and for them not to be anchored on in the city's waters. The arrival in October 1997 of JFK aircraft carriers of the 6th Fleet and the news that the town council would try and house United States and NATO warships in the city's port triggered this movement. The organising committee has a web page¹¹¹ and has published, up to October 2008, 86 editions of the fact sheet "*Paraules per la Pau*" (Words for Peace). Every first Sunday of the month, from 4 March 2001 to the present, it organised a rally to condemn the presence of warships in the city's port.

The Organising Committee for Charitable NGOs of the Girona region and Alt Maresme¹¹² organised a rally outside the military base at Sant Climent Sescebes on 21 May 2005 to protest against NATO manoeuvres.

The Valencia Region

A collective of Valencian anti-military and environmentalist groups have been central to various protest actions since the proposal at the end of 2000 that the military base at Bétera (Valencia) become one of the general barracks for the Atlantic Alliance's Rapid Deployment Force, whose main mission is running missions against international terrorism all over the world.¹¹³ In June 2001 the Anti-NATO Base at Bétera Platform published a manifesto in which it rejected the military based.

109. Organisations that support the "Disarm San Gregorio" campaign are: APUDEPA, Environmentalists in Action, UAGA, the ACTUR-Puente de Santiago and Parque Goya II neighbourhood associations, ANSAR, Rebel, Pedalea, COA-MOC and Citizens' Platform against War.

<www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=1844>, <www.ecologistasenaccion.org/article.php3?id_article=148>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=2475>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3306>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3307>.

110. The Minister of Defence and the President of the Government Rodríguez Zapatero have made major efforts to promote the candidacy of Zaragoza as the main operational surveillance base for NATO's future surveillance system with the French Minister of Defence and the Secretary General of the Atlantic Alliance. It would have a command and control centre, and manned and unmanned aeroplanes. *El País*, 26 June 2006 and 22 January 2007, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=2591>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=2865>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3055>.

111. <www.tinet.cat/~tgnapau>.

112. <www.solidaries.org>.

113. In May 2003 it was certificated General Barracks for High Terrestrial Deployment and became part of the NATO Rapid Response Force.

On 2 July of that same year, the plenary meeting of Bétera Town Council passed a motion demanding that the proposal to turn the base into a NATO general barracks be withdrawn. At the end of September 2001 a passacaglia was organised in Bétera by the Anti-Base Platform, in which some 3,000 people participated and on 17 November some 1,000 people demonstrated.¹¹⁴

Since then various types of activity have been held (campouts, parodies, demonstrators chaining themselves to railings...) to demand the closure of the base, where the NATO Rapid Response Force is currently based, and its social and environmental restructuring. The most characteristic actions have been "citizen inspections" which are undertaken each year, organised by the Valencia Anti-military Collective-MOC. In the first year of these inspections, which took place on 30 March 2003, some forty people set themselves up as "inspectors and civilian inspectors" and gained access to the base with the intention of carrying out a "citizen inspection" of this military installation. Some 30 people dressed in white coats managed to get into the base on 15 May 2004 for the second "citizen inspection". Some hundred people participated in the third, which took place in May 2005, of whom fourteen got in and were removed by the Guardia Civil, the Spanish police force. On 20 May 2006, some 120 people participated in a march from Bétera to the base to carry out the fourth "citizen inspection", with around ten "civilian inspectors" managing to gain entry to the military compound who were violently removed by the riot police. Finally, on 12 May 2007 the fifth "citizen inspection" took place, starting with a march from the town of Bétera to the base in which some eighty people participated and ending with a team of seven "civilian inspectors" gaining access to the base's main compound, making a mockery of the Guardia Civil's security measures.¹¹⁵

Since 2004 the Demilitarisation March has taken place every year at the Serra d'Aitana (Alicante), where there is a military radar base for maritime and aerial surveillance in the western Mediterranean and North Africa. The first march took place on 22 May 2004, organised by Tortuga Anti-Military Group of Elche-Alicante. Some sixty people participated, with a sit-down protest in front of base's main gate as the main event. Some forty people participated in a sit-down protest at the march of 22 May 2005, but that year some twenty demonstrators reached the gate of the radar compound, where they held an hour-long sit-down protest, and one of them managed to penetrate the compound through a hole in the wire fence. On 21 May 2006 some 60 people participated in the third march. The demonstrators assembled in front of the gate's entrance and thirty of them reached, after various tussles with the civil guards, the gate to the radar enclosure. Two of these jumped the fence and gained entry to the radar compound. Support and solidarity campaigns were run in response to the detention and trial of these campaigners. On 20 May 2007 some thirty people took part in the 6th March; ten of these reached the radar zone and read the march's manifesto. This time the demonstrators did not attempt to jump the fence.¹¹⁶

Murcia

114. *Agitación* (supplement of *Rojo y Negro*), nº 7, December 2002.

115. <www.inspecciciudadana.org>, <www.nodo50.org/tortuga>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=75>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=2498>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=2499>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3272>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3309>.

116. The 2nd March for the Demilitarisation of the Serra d'Aitana was organised by the following groups: Environmentalists in Action of the Valencia Region, La Carrasca Environmentalist Group, El Panical of Alcoy Cultural Centre and Tortuga Anti-Military Group. The 3rd March was organised by various collectives: Tortuga Anti-Military Group, Casal Jaume I of Elche, Casal Jaume I of Alicante, Casal Jaume I of Alcoy, El Campello Highland Group, La Carrasca Environmentalist Group, El Margalló Environmentalist Collective, Comtat and Alcoià Collective for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence, and El Panical Cultural Centre. Finally, the 4th march was organised by Environmentalists in Action of El Margalló, Maulets d'Elx, Casal Jaume I of Alicante, La Carrasca Environmentalist Group and Tortuga Anti-Military Group.

<www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=365>, <www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=1897>, <www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=3868>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=2473>, <www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=5924>.

On 30 March 2003, some 3,000 people participated in a march against the use of the San Javier airbase for the Iraq war, organised by the Murcia Social Forum.¹¹⁷

On 14 May 2005, some forty people participated in an anti-military march organised by MOC Murcia to the gate of the barracks of the Santa Bárbara Parachutist Training Battalion in Jabalí Nuevo, where troops are trained for intervention in international conflicts.¹¹⁸

Castile-La Mancha

On 30 March 2003 two hundred people marched from the city of Albacete to the Spanish military's Los Llanos Airbase. It was organised by various environmental, anti-military, social and student bodies.¹¹⁹

The Organising Committee for the Demilitarisation of the Sierra de Chinchilla was formed in 1997. It brings together various environmental and anti-military collectives of Albacete Province and the town Council of Higuera which are opposed to the Chinchilla Military Manoeuvres Ground, used by the Spanish Army and NATO for exercises. The committee has organised various protest activities (campouts, demonstrations, concerts...), amongst which symbolic reforestation using species that are indigenous to the military manoeuvres ground stands out. The eleventh tree-planting, organised by Environmentalists in Action and the Organising Committee for the Demilitarisation of the Sierra de Chinchilla, took place on 11 February 2007.¹²⁰

In March 2007 the Platform against the Militarisation of Albacete was formed, made up of some fifteen pacifist, anti-military, environmentalist, political and cultural collectives, to oppose the establishment of the NATO flight school (called the Tactical Leadership Programme) at Los Llanos Airbase, which was approved by the Council of Ministers in October 2006, as well as Eurocopter's factory for Tiger Combat Helicopters, and the Chinchilla manoeuvres ground and firing range.

The platform was central to several actions and has been running a petition in support of a manifesto against the militarisation of Albacete, aimed at that city's council, the administration of the Autonomous Community of Castile-La Mancha, the Spanish Government and NATO. As of 31 October 2007, 44 organisations supported that manifesto.¹²¹

117. < www.nodo50.org/forosocialregionmurciana/No%20a%20la%20guerra.htm#Marcha >.

118. < www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=1864 >.

119. Aldea Nómada, ATTAC, Committee for the Global Forum, Black Africa Committee, Environmentalists in Action, JOC, MOC, Students' Union < www.nodo50.org/ecologistasclm/ab/actividades/MarchaBase.htm >, < www.ainfos.ca/03/apr/ainfos0044.html >

120. < www.nodo50.org/ecologistasclm/ab/actividades/Repobla05Feb.htm >, < www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=1497 >, < www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3097 >.

121. The following groups make up the Platform against the Militarisation of Albacete: Aldea Nómada Antimilitarista, Committee of the Popular Christian Communities' Social Forum, Organising Committee, the Organising Committee for the Demilitarisation of the Sierra de Chinchilla, Environmentalists in Action, Al Andalus Cultural Group, Izquierda Unida, Justice and Peace, La Siesta del Lobo, Conscientious Objection Movement, La Peña con un Par, the Albacete Communist Youth Union, the Village of Saharai Association of Friends and Citizens for Peace and Disarmament. < <http://conmilab.blogspot.com> >, < www.larepublica.es/spip.php?article4692 >, < www.ecologistasenaccion.org/article.php3?id_article=7293 >, < www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3073 >, < www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=5635 >, < www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3278 >, < www.firmasonline.com/1Firmas/camp1.asp?C=572 >, < www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3155 >, < www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3661 >.

Castile and León

Since the start of the eighties various activities have been undertaken in protest at the El Teleno Firing Range, used by the Spanish Army for live ammunition exercises for its artillery units. There were demonstrations in Astorga in August 1981 (3,000 people) and February 1982 (800 people), an anti-military campout at Quintanilla de Somoza in August 2000... In September 1998, following a fire, several of the area's town councils and the Provincial Assembly of León demanded the closure of the firing range. On 26 September of that same year, some hundred pacifists and environmentalists demonstrated at El Teleno. On 8 October the Platform for the Dismantling of the El Teleno Firing Range was formed, made up of sixteen political, environmental and trade union groups from the Province of León; it has presented several reports condemning the army for the fires caused by the firing range.¹²²

In recent years some protest marches have been held at the Explosivos de Burgos weapons factory at Páramo de Masa-Quintanilla de Sobresierra (Burgos), where artillery and naval shells, and charges for aviation bombs are manufactured. Some hundred people participated in the second march on 23 May 2004, which demanded the civilian restructuring of this military company.¹²³

The Valladolid Anti-NATO Assembly has held several demonstrations, including that of 17 March 2007 in response to information about the possible establishment of a NATO terrestrial surveillance base at Villanubla and an aeroplane factory for the United States military.¹²⁴

122. The groups behind this platform were: AEDENAT (León and El Bierzo), URZ, CGT, CNT, CCOO, UGT, STELE, IU, Communist Youth, Partido Democrático de Nueva Izquierda, AISPAS, CCAN, ANTIFA and Flora Tristán.

<<http://platea.pntic.mec.es/~abercian/priaranza/tiro/index.html>>,
<www.profesionalespcm.org/_php/MuestraArticulo2.php?id=2512>,
<www.diariodeleon.com/reportajes/noticia.jsp?TEXTO=2560975>.

123. The second march was organised by the Burgos Assembly of Conscientious Objectors and was supported by Cauca, CGT, Environmentalists in Action, International Solidarity Initiative and Izquierda Unida.

<www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=362>.

124. <http://kaosenlared.net/noticia.php?id_noticia=33287>.

Autonomous Community of Madrid

Every year since 1981 in the Autonomous Community of Madrid the march at the Torrejón de Ardoz airbase takes place. The base is currently used as a stopover for US combat aeroplanes in their international interventions and there are Spanish military aeroplanes based there as well.

The March to Torrejón of 30 March 2003, organised by some eighty social and political groups had some 30,000 participants. The 15th March, which took place on 2 October 2005, was attended by several hundred people, and the 16th March on 12 November 2006 had some three hundred participants; it was organised by some fifty leftist, pacifist, student and anti-globalisation organisations and had the slogan: "Spanish troops out of Lebanon and Afghanistan. NATO no. Bases out".¹²⁵

In addition, on 29 May 2005 the March at the NATO Barracks of Retamares (Pozuelo de Alarcón), which houses the Allied Land Component Command, that reports to the Allied Joint Force Command in Naples and whose area of operations is North and Central Africa. The removal of the command centre and the closure of the barracks were demanded.¹²⁶

Various actions have taken place to reclaim the installations of the Military Academy for Ground Forces for social uses (housing, sports, green zone, children's playground, hospital, swimming pools...): on 22 July and 30 September 2004 two demonstrations were organised by the Central Madrid Citizens' Assembly, and on 14 July 2005 some 200 people participated in a demonstration organised by the Central Madrid Citizens' Assembly, Environmentalists in Action and the Horizontal Forum against War.¹²⁷

From 1994 to the present, protest marches against the military chemical complex at La Marañosa (San Martín de la Vega) have been being organised. The first of these marches took place on 30 January 1994 and was attended by some 500 people. In response to the Ministry of Defence's 2003 agreement to expansion of this complex and its conversion into a Technological Institute dedicated to nuclear, biological and chemical weapons research, the Platform against the La Marañosa Chemical-Military Complex was created in 2004, with the aim of restructuring the complex into a socially useful centre that respects the environment. On 21 May 2006 the 8th March against the La Marañosa Military Complex was held, and 30 September 2007 saw the 9th March against this military-chemical complex.¹²⁸

125. <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=2239>, <www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=2518>, <www.sodepaz.net/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=3676>.

126. The following organisations organised the march: Assembly against Capitalist Globalisation and War, Francisco de Goya Association, Haydée Santa María Association, Pablo de la Torriente Brau Association, CAES, CGT, Committee for Solidarity with the Arab Cause, National Organising Committee for Solidarity with Cuba, Environmentalists in Action, Alternative Forum, Izquierda Unida Community of Madrid, Madrid Communist Youth, Communist October Organisation, Partido Comunista of Madrid, Platform against the La Marañosa Chemical-Military Complex, Platform of Citizens for the Republic, Women's Platform, 2000, SKP, Students' Union, Civic Unity for the Republic, Feminist Vindication. <www.nodo50.org/maranosa/convocatorias/octavilla_retamares.html>, <www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=1900>.

127. <<http://ania.eurosur.org/noticia.php?id=10785>>, <www.culturacontralaguerra.org/archives/000262.htm>, <www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=2083>, <www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=2163>.

128. The 8th March at La Marañosa was organised by the following groups: Anti-Military Alternative-MOC of Madrid, San Fermín Neighbourhood Association, "A world without military bases" campaign, CGT Madrid / Castile-La Mancha, Group of the Arca de Madrid, Izquierda Unida of Ciempozuelos and the Community of Madrid, Los Verdes of Madrid, Platform against the La Marañosa Chemical-Military Complex, Neighbourhood Platform for the Defence of Lower Manzanares Basin. <www.nodo50.org/maranosa>, <www.nodo50.org/triton/m.htm>, Platform against the La Marañosa Chemical-Military Complex. ¡Cerremos "La Marañosa"! La vergonzosa historia de un complejo químico-militar y la lucha social contra él. Ediciones Bajo Cero, 2006.

Basque Country

Many actions have taken place against arms factories in the Basque Autonomous Community. The most noteworthy of recent years those mentioned below. On 22 February 2003 a march was organised against the company Unión Española de Explosivos factory at Galdakao (Biscay) which was attended by some seventy people.¹²⁹ In July 2005 the anti-military group KEM-MOC of Bilbao organised a rally and was central to a non-violent direct action within the headquarters of Sener Ingeniería y Sistemas at Getxo, a company that manufactures various components of cruise missiles and combat aeroplanes.¹³⁰

In addition, marches have been taking place for some years against the military barracks at Soietxe a Mungia, organised by various anti-military collectives in Biscay. Some seventy people participated in the 16th March on 27 May 2006. Approximately the same number of people also participated in the 17th March on 5 May 2007; it started after a mock wake for the death of the military vocation and ended at the entrance of the barracks with the burial of the military vocation.¹³¹

Navarre

Activities have been carried out for more than twenty years in opposition to the Las Bardenas Reales firing range (Navarre), which is used by military aeroplanes belonging to Spain and other NATO countries, especially the United States, for combat training and to practice bombing. Various institutions of the Navarre region have petitioned for dismantling the facility (Parliament, Government of Navarre, town councils...) and every year since 1988 the Anti-Firing Range Assembly has organised a march against it. On 5 June 2005 the 18th March to the Firing Range will take place. On 4 June 2006 some 500 people participated in the 19th March, organised by the Anti-Firing Range Assembly and Navarre Environmentalists in Action. On 3 June 2007 some 600 people participated in the 20th March, organised by the Anti-Firing Range Assembly.¹³²

129. The march was organised by the following anti-military, trade union, feminist and internationalist collectives: Kakitzat, KEM-MOC, ELA, CCOO, LAB, EHNE, ESK, STEE-EILAS, CNT, CGT, Danok Lan (Galdakao), Bazterketaren Aurkako Taldea (Basauri), Assemblies of the Unemployed of Barakaldo and Sestao, Berri-otxoak (Barakaldo), La Kelo Gaztetea (Santurtzi), Argilan (Bilbao), Haritza (Rekalde-Bilbao), Dagokiguna (San Ignacio), Labroa Feminist Collective, Assembly of Women of Biscay, Advice Centres for Women of Barakaldo, Sestao and Basauri, Kiskitinak, Lila Gorria (Leioa), Organising Offices for Development NGOs of Euskal Herria, Mugarik Gabe, Hirugarren Mundua eta Bakea, Hoa, Komite Internazionalistak, Bakeaz, Ehgam, Salhaketa, Hemen eta Munduan, Ekologistak Martxan, SOS Racism.
<<http://euskalherria.indymedia.org/eu/2003/02/4539.shtml>>.

130. <www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=2139>.

131. <www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=3909>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3279>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3283>.

132. In June 1979 a rally in favour of dismantling the firing range and against the proposal to construct a nuclear centre on the banks of the River Ebro was held in Tudela; it was repressed and Gladys del Estal was shot dead by the Guardia Civil. That same year the plenary meeting of Tudela Town Council demonstrated its opposition to the firing range and the Government of Navarre approved an agreement in which its closure was demanded. In 1981, thirty-three town councils in Navarre expressed their opposition to the firing range. In November 1987 the Anti-Firing Range Assembly was formed and backed by a group of political parties and environmental, social, trade union and cultural collectives. In January 1988, the General Council of Las Bardenas unanimously passed a resolution urging the Government of Navarre to take action towards closing the firing range. In April 1990, the President of the Government of Navarre requested that the Minister of Defence dismantle the firing range.

<www.lasbardenas.org/ficheros>, <www.nodo50.org/tortuga/article.php3?id_article=1968>.

<www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=2180>, <www.nodo50.org/elotropais/n6/bardenas.htm>.

<www.retena.es/personales/mizubel/bardenas.htm>, <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=2540>.

<www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=2548> <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3346>.

The Canary Islands

On 13 August 2005 the Malpaso Commission organised a rally in Valverde (El Hierro) to remind President of the Government Rodríguez Zapatero on the occasion of his first visit to the island of the historical opposition of its population and institutions to the project to establish a military radar at the Pico de Malpaso, and to demand the repeal of the Royal Decree that declared Malpaso of interest for National Defence. Several dozen people participated in the rally.¹³³

On 10 March 2007 some 200 people participated in a pro-demilitarisation March held by Peace and Solidarity in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria to demand that the naval base be closed and restructured as a space of social utility.¹³⁴

6. NEW WAYS OF OPPOSING THE ARMED FORCES

Following the campaign for draft-dodging and the abolition of obligatory military service, pacifist and anti-military groups are promoting new ways of opposing the armed forces.¹³⁵ They still have some number of criticisms of the armed forces (it is an institution that plays a vital role in preparing for wars, one of its objectives is disciplining young people, during military service many soldiers are physically and mentally abused, and women who join up suffer sexual aggression...) and undertake various activities to further decrease their social credibility and make it harder for them to find enough of volunteers. They promote activities aimed at the young so that they do not volunteer for the army, through the “Schools for peace, objector schools” campaign, which has been promoted by the Foundation for Peace since 1998, and foster critical debate about the humanitarian missions that armies undertake during their interventions all over the world. A good example of this is the current “For non-military humanitarian action” campaign which is being promoted by Justice and Peace’s J. M. Delàs Centre for Peace Studies.

6.1. The “Schools for peace, objector schools” campaign

Through the “Schools for peace, objector schools”¹³⁶, secondary education centres can declare themselves conscientious objectors, commit themselves to education for peace and human rights, and refuse to take part in the Ministry of Defence’s campaigns to promote the martial spirit in schools and recruit volunteers to be army soldiers, by not organising lectures or distributing their propaganda materials. To date, some 250 schools in Catalonia have declared themselves conscientious objectors to plans to militarise teaching. Similar campaigns have been carried out since 1997 and 1998 in Madrid,¹³⁷ the Autonomous Community of Valencia,¹³⁸ the Canary Islands, Castile and León and the Basque Country.

This campaign started during the Partido Popular period in government, when a national defence directive was passed in which the need to increase the “culture of defence” in the educational sphere was noted. This was to be achieved through increased visits by military personnel to schools

133. <www.comisionmalpaso.org>.

134. <www.antimilitaristas.org/article.php3?id_article=3172>.

135. Armies are still very numerous: the United Nations calculates that there are some 26 million military professionals in the world. The Spanish Armed Forces have some 130,000 military professionals of which 79,000 are soldiers and sailors (*El País*, 5 March and 1 July 2008).

136. Information about this campaign can be found at: <www.fundacioperlapau.org>.

137. The Madrid Organising Committee against the Militarisation of Schools was formed in October 1997. <www.nodo50.org/moc-carabanchel/campa%F1as/cmescuela/informe_1999.htm#uno>.

138. The Valencia Platform against the Militarisation of Teaching was formed, made up of Sodepau, Entrepobles, CGT, STE, MOC and Youth Collective of the La Coma Neighbourhood. <www.uv.es/~alminyan/escolesobj.html>.

and visits of students to military centres, the possible publishing of textbooks about the military issue, and offering a subject dedicated to defence and the army and training courses for teachers to initiate them into military teachings. Unfortunately, in the National Defence Directive passed in December 2004 the Spanish Socialist Party kept the objective of raising the level of defence and security culture in Spanish society, which is why the Spanish Government will promote the role of, and need for, defence, with the aim of encouraging society's increased involvement.

It must also be mentioned that in Catalonia some meetings have been held since April 2008 with the aim of launching a campaign for the demilitarisation of education, which bring together pro-peace groups, trade unions and associations of fathers and mothers of students. Its goal would be avoiding the presence of military personnel in the educational sphere.

6.2. The “For non-military humanitarian action” campaign

The objective of the “For non-military humanitarian action” campaign, launched in April 2006, is fostering debate about the participation of armies in humanitarian actions. The group which is promoting this campaign, Justice and Peace's J. M. Delàs Centre for Peace Studies condemns the fact that governments capitalise on humanitarian activity to legitimise their armies and justify their presence all over the world. It also questions armies' use of the term humanitarian to define the type of tasks that they undertake in their military interventions, as humanitarian activity is characterised by its impartiality, neutrality and independence, while military activity responds to political interests and armies are subordinate to their governments. Finally, the Delàs Centre does not consider the armed forces to be appropriate actors for helping populations in situations of humanitarian crisis or emergency because, amongst other reasons, soldiers are not trained to carry out this type of task. Instead it argues for non-military humanitarian activity, with specialised civilian organisations playing a central role.

One more consideration should be added to this body of arguments: the fact that rebel groups, whether in Afghanistan, Iraq, or Chad, have declared war on foreign troops renders impossible any hope of limiting military missions to undertaking humanitarian or reconstruction tasks.

The conference “Military humanitarianism, humanitarian militarism” was held in October 2006, organised by the Delàs Centre. The lectures given at the conference were published in a book with the same title.¹³⁹ The promoters of this campaign have held meetings with representatives of the various parliamentary groups, to whom they have explained their concerns.

The campaign is currently centred on criticism of the Spanish Army's participation on the Afghanistan war. To reflect on this issue, in October 2008 the Delàs Centre organised the conference “What is Spain doing in Afghanistan? Spanish participation in the Afghanistan war up for debate”. Questioning the Spanish military presence in Afghanistan is very appropriate because, as has been discussed in the section referring to demonstrations against the war, Spanish troops are not only carrying out reconstruction tasks, but are also entering combat. It seems very clear that the “For non-military humanitarian action” campaign is connected in many ways to activities undertaken by anti-war platforms in opposition to the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan.

As well as this activity in opposition to the participation of the Spanish Army in the Afghanistan war (in late 2009 there were 780 troops deployed there) it would be advisable to carry out critical monitoring of all the international missions in which Spanish soldiers are involved (378 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 585 in Kosovo, 1,100 in Lebanon, 90 in Djibouti and 88 in Chad). Moreover, the intentions of the Minister of Defence in abolishing the legal limit that the Council of Ministers had established of 3,000 troops on missions abroad should be questioned.¹⁴⁰

139. J. M. Delàs Centre for Peace Studies (Justice and Peace). *Humanitarisme militar, militarisme humanitari*, 2007.

140. *El País*, 3 November 2008.

7. CRITICISMS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION'S DEFENCE POLICY

Some activities in opposition to the defence policy of the European Union (EU) and in favour of security proposals based on disarmament, preventative diplomacy and development cooperation have been organised. Specifically, in autumn 2002 Justice and Peace launched a social information campaign called "Let's globalise peace. For an unarmed European defence",¹⁴¹ which argued for a demilitarised Europe, without military blocs, or production of or trade in arms. This was in opposition to the militarist conception of security which prevails amongst the senior figures of the EU, which has in recent years taken decisive steps towards having a significant military force, coordinated with NATO and the United States military and aimed at intervening across the world in defence of the economic and strategic interests of the Atlantic Alliance.

The most important initiatives of the EU have been: the creation of EADS (European Aerospace Defense and Space Systems), a European aeronautic and defence consortium made up of the arms industries of France, Germany and Spain; the European Arms Agency, with responsibility for coordinating, modernising and harmonising the military capacities of the countries of the EU and promote a Europe-wide military industry; the development of joint arms manufacturing programmes, such as the Eurofighter European Combat Aeroplane or the Tiger Helicopter; and the decision to create rapid intervention forces. In November 2004 the EU approved the creation of thirteen rapid response units made up of 1,500 troops each, and capable of intervening in any part of the world on the types of mission envisaged in the foreign and common security policies included in the European constitution: peacekeeping, conflict-prevention and reinforcement of international security. The EU envisages the possibility that troops will enter combat as part of these missions.¹⁴²

All the elements mentioned above are included in the EU Constitution, signed on 29 October 2004: it envisages an increase in member states' military capacities, which would involve increased military spending to enable the purchase of new military equipment; it envisages military interventions in various regions of the world; it maintains the EU's links with NATO; and it commits to the growth of the European arms industry.

Those in favour of an affirmative vote in the referendum for the European Constitution, which was held in Spain in February 2005, stated that the EU defence policy was necessary to balance the United States' unilateral and bellicose foreign policy, move towards a militarily multi-polar world, and reinforce a characteristic and autonomous European political identity. However, the relationships that the EU and the United States maintain are a far cry from these interpretations. The desire of the US Government, and the real intention of the EU, is to harmonise their defence policies sharing the military tasks which are necessary throughout the world to guarantee their common interests, and for the West to dominate the planet together. This is the main function of the rapid intervention forces. Furthermore, the EU's military decisions continue to be subordinate to those that NATO might make, as that organisation's primacy in European defence matters is recognised, and to the United States, which has hegemony in that military alliance. What there is, in fact, is industrial and technological competition between the EU and the United States; that explains the EU's boosting of the arms industry by the EU.

The European Constitution was only ratified by 18 of the 27 member states and was replaced by the Lisbon Treaty, signed by the heads of state or government of the EU on 13 December 2007.

141. The following text can be consulted regarding the content of this campaign: J.M. Delàs Centre for Peace Studies (Justice and Peace). "Globalització i pau: per una defensa europea no armada". *Quaderns per a la solidaritat*, nº 19, May 2004. Various lectures and conferences were held to analyse and debate the EU's defence policy in May 2004. Justice and Peace, *Memòria 2004*, p. 9-10.

142. The EU's first military mission took place in the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; the Eurocorps is contributing the general barracks for the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan, under the command of NATO, and in December 2004 the EU deployed 7,000 troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina, relieving the NATO-led Stabilisation Force. *El País*, 20 November, 23 November and 3 December 2004.

This new treaty, in its clauses relating to common security and defence policy, maintains the fundamental elements of militarist policy that were present in the European Constitution. Firstly, the EU can use military means in missions outside the EU. These missions can contribute to the struggle against terrorism amongst other things, through support given to third countries to fight it in their territory. Secondly, member states are committed to progressively increase their military capacities. The European Defence Agency, which was created in July 2004 by the Council of Ministers of the EU, will determine operational needs and promote measures for satisfying them; contribute to defining and applying whatever measure is appropriate for strengthening the industrial and technological basis of the defence sector and improving the effectiveness of military spending; participate in defining a European arms capacities policy; propose multilateral projects to achieve military capacities objectives and coordinate the programmes carried out by member states and the management of specific cooperation programmes; give support to defence technology research; and coordinate and plan joint research activities studies of any technical solutions that respond to future operational needs. Finally, if the territory of a member state is subject to armed aggression, the other member states will have to help and assist them with all their means. Cooperation on this area will continue to be adjusted to the commitments acquired within the framework of NATO; for those member states which are also NATO members, that organisation will continue to be the foundation of their collective defence and the body which carries it out.¹⁴³

8. COLLABORATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Pacifist, anti-military, pro-human rights, environmentalist and international solidarity organisations have worked together on various campaigns on the subjects and concerns that they share. They have come together on anti-war platforms, on the various campaigns for conventional disarmament ("Let's eliminate landmines", "There are secrets that kill", "Goodbye to arms", "Control arms", and "Stop cluster bombs") and in the struggles for demilitarisation of the country. This collaboration has been given expression in joint documents, in which these bodies and NGOs have highlighted development, environmental, human rights and peace issues, which are strongly linked.

Pacifist groups and NGOs agree that there can be no development without peace and that the struggle for disarmament and development cooperation must come together, since war destroys both human and material resources, buying arms impedes the economic and social development of many countries, and development aid is in many cases used to reconstruct countries ravaged by armed conflicts. In contrast, peace would allow international aid to be channelled into developing impoverished countries and reducing military spending in these countries would allow them to use more money for education, health or environmental protection. NGOs that focus on defending human rights and pacifist bodies have a significant common ground in the sense that these rights are systematically violated in wars and given the evidence that many arms exports end up in countries where they are used to torture prisoners and carry out death sentences. Environmentalist and pacifist groups have a broad area of common action because many current armed conflicts are related to controlling sources of energy (oil, gas, uranium mines...) and military installations have a negative impact on the environment. NGOs that work with humanitarian issues are increasingly focused on peace. It would also be advisable for to be a dialogue between pacifist and anti-military groups, trade unions and other citizens' organisations to agree on proposals for converting the arms industry and for workers' right to object.

143. *Official Journal of the European Union*, 17 December 2007.
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/JOHtml.do?uri=OJ:C:2007:306:SOM:ES:HTML>

In some cases, the convergence of this group of pro-peace, human rights and environmental protection bodies and NGOs has come about as a consequence of their support for the previously mentioned international campaigns for conventional disarmament. In others, unity of action has manifested itself as platforms for the demilitarisation of the territory which have formed in various autonomous communities, in which various environmental, anti-military, trade union, political and social groups have come together.

There are a few basic reasons which make this collaboration between organisations of various social movements will continue into the future and which make it advisable to intensify it. Firstly, in the same way that the various dimensions of militarism affect many of society's collectives, pro-peace and anti-military organisations can establish alliances with a broad range of social and political groups, around the elements of militarism that worry them most: the macho and homophobic behaviour that occurs in the armed forces are questioned by anti-military, feminist and gay and lesbian liberation groups; military interventions that aim to control oil and other sources of energy are rejected by anti-war platforms, pro-peace bodies and environmentalist groups; increased military spending is condemned by anti-military groups and NGOs that work to eradicate poverty, etc.

Secondly, it must be taken into account that the activists of various social movements share a body of political and social values, such as peace, social justice, liberties, human rights, solidarity with impoverished countries, environmentalism, or democratic participation. Activists' identification with these varied values is strongly linked to two phenomena: multiple membership, in other words the fact that the activists of one social movement belong to organisations of other movements, and that activists are given to changing movement when they consider it convenient.¹⁴⁴

Finally, it is advisable to point out that the long-term objectives of the peace movement are so ambitious (creating the social, political and cultural conditions necessary for abolishing war, armies and militarism, and for building a society based on peace, coexistence in diversity and solidarity) that a combined effort from all transformational social movements and policies will be necessary to achieve them.

144. These issues (shared values, multiple membership and activist transfer) are dealt with in Prat Carvajal, Enric. *Activistes de la pau. Estudi sociològic i polític dels activistes del moviment per la pau de la dècada de 1980*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2008, p. 93-116.



Generalitat de Catalunya
Departament d'Interior,
Relacions Institucionals i Participació
**Oficina de Promoció de la Pau
i dels Drets Humans**