MILITARISM AND ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS: A NECESSARY REFLECTION

Coordination: Chloé Meulewaeter · Pere Brunet
Authors: Gemma Amorós · Xavier Bohigas · Teresa de Fortuny
Anna Montull · Albert Orta Mascaró · Pere Ortega
Ainhoa Ruiz Benedicto · Quique Sánchez Ochoa
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The environmental crisis, which includes a large number of interrelated phenomena at the planetary level, will be the great global problem of the 21st century. For decades, and guided by the absurd myth of unlimited growth that some defend, we have come to exceed the capacity of the Earth to generate resources, we have broken the ecological balances and we have been approaching a multiple point of no return. A point such that, if we pass it, we will disappear as a species. We know that global warming has gotten out of control, we see that the depredation of natural resources is advancing without any kind of regulation, new pandemics surprise us, but some, and especially the centres of power and large corporations, continue to prioritize short-term economic benefits for a few, instead of the well-being of the majority of the people and the sustainability of the planet. We know that human activity facilitates pandemics, because deforestation and loss of biodiversity (extinction of species due to anthropogenic causes) favour the leap of pathogens from animals to people, in addition to contributing to global warming and the climate crisis. The global temperature continues to rise, with the annual average of deforested hectares exceeding 26 million, with proven effects on warming and on the spread of new viruses and epidemics. We face fast and unforeseen crises, such as global pandemics, which coexist with the climatic crisis, slow and almost imperceptible, but which can have devastating effects for our descendants. The current environmental crisis can easily turn into a complete planetary collapse.

According to a recent IPBES Report1, developed by 150 international experts assisted by 350 contributing authors and drawn from the analysis of more than 15,000 scientific publications and from the study of local and indigenous knowledge, climate change is a direct driver that increasingly exacerbates the effects of other drivers on nature and human well-being:

On average, about 25% of the species of animal and plant groups assessed are threatened, so that around a million species are already in danger of extinction, many within a few decades, unless measures are taken to reduce the intensity of drivers of biodiversity loss. If no action is taken, there will be a further acceleration in the rate of extinction of species around the world, an extinction that now is already tens, if not hundreds of times higher than the average of the last ten million years.

The Report continues explaining that “current negative trends in biodiversity and ecosystems will undermine progress on 80% (35 out of 44) of the specific targets of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals related to poverty, hunger, health, water, cities, climate, oceans and land”.

But we cannot speak about the Environmental Crisis without taking into account Military Spending and militarism. Because, as the Covid’2019 pandemic has shown, neither the national security model based on the security concept nor its militarized solutions, can solve the great problems that humanity has and will have, given that the environmental crisis is essentially global while security solutions, designed to defend the borders of nation-states, are useless in these cross-border challenges.

We need fewer soldiers, less military aircrafts and weapons, and instead we need more medical doctors, more hospitals, green energy and solutions to meet the needs and guarantee the rights of all people. For decades we have been wrong in setting our priorities. It is time to consider that military spending has absorbed a large amount of public resources, providing a false notion of security that has nothing to do with the needs of the majority of the population and with the right to have access to health care, education, energy justice, housing and quality of life, which would require sustainable and environmentally friendly solutions. And it is time to note that the military system is also one of the major contributors to emissions and global warming. Constructive solutions are needed for people and the planet, not destructive “solutions” based on imposition, curtailment of rights, violence and armed conflict. It is time, therefore, to demand a change in priorities and a transfer of resources, transferring military budget funds to items related to the construction of new security systems serving all people.

THE MAIN RESULTS OF THIS REPORT ARE:

IN RELATION TO THE PRIVILEGES THAT REQUIRE A DEPREDATION OF RESOURCES:

- The main arms exporting countries together represent 35.48% of the world’s population, accounting for a 82% of global military spending and being responsible for two thirds of the world’s CO2 emissions.

- These countries generate 67.1% of the global CO2 emissions that cause global warming and concentrate the Centres of Power that effectively control more than 63,000 Transnational Corporations.

- China, the United Kingdom, Spain, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, South Korea, Ukraine, Switzerland, Turkey, Sweden, Canada, Norway, the United Arab Emirates, the Czech Republic, Belarus, Australia, Saudi Arabia and Japan, add up to just over a third of the world’s population (35.48%), but they manufacture and export practically all the weapons made in the world, weapons that end up triggering conflicts and killing people, especially in the countries most affected by climate change.
IN RELATION TO THE DOMINANT SYSTEM, MILITARISTIC POWER AND ARMED CONFLICTS:

- Environmental degradation leads to a scarcity of resources that generates greater confrontations between population groups, thus increasing the possible outbreak of armed conflicts.

- The inclusion of climate change as a relevant factor in NATO’s strategic plans is an indicator of the militarization of the climate, showing that it is in fact an opportunity to justify increases in military spending, nuclear deterrence strategy, and operations of the Allied military.

- Recent security policy documents, both in Spain, the United States, the European Union and NATO, point to climate change as a relevant security element, as a “risk enhancer” or “threat multiplier”. However, approaching climate change as a security issue carries a clear risk: militarization.

- The concept of climate wars eludes human responsibility in these wars, by claiming that the cause of these conflicts lies in uncontrollable climatic factors.

- The 11 countries that are considered to be at the highest risk of humanitarian crises and natural disasters globally are Somalia, Central African Republic, South Sudan, Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Chad, Yemen, Niger, Burundi, Cameroon and Burkina Faso. All of them are currently immersed in armed conflicts.

IN RELATION TO THE EMISSIONS AND ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE CAUSED BY THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT:

- Ecological degradation is inherent in the processes of militarization. As military expenditures increase, military environmental impacts are expected to increase.

- All stages of the military economic cycle are related to specific damage to the environment, from the consumption of energy and resources necessary for normal military activity, testing and production of weapons as well as their transport, to post-conflict reconstruction, and even pollution caused by toxic waste, deforestation, loss of habitat, and ecosystems as a result of militarization and armed conflicts.

- The most relevant sources of greenhouse gas emissions related to the military sector are emissions from military facilities and activities not directly related to war, emissions related to war in contingency operations abroad, emissions from the military industry, and emissions generated by attacks and oil targets.

- The CO2 emissions of armies around the world are estimated to be between 5 and 6% of total carbon emissions.
US military spending is the highest in the world. The year 2019 was 732,000 million dollars; this is 38% of world military spending and more than double the sum of the military expenditures of Russia (65,100 million dollars) and China (261,000 million dollars). The US has the largest war machine in the world. The US military uses more oil and emits more GHGs than most mid-size countries.

If the US Department of Defence were a State, it would be the 47th largest emitter of greenhouse gases in the world. US military activity was responsible for the emission of 212 million tons of CO2e in 2017. These emissions are almost double the emissions of Belgium (114 million tons) or half of those of France (471 million) during the same year.

IN RELATION TO THE VIOLATION OF PEOPLE’S RIGHTS:

There are militarized walls on the main migratory routes used by people fleeing climate crises. This implies that people displaced by environmental issues will have to face the militarized violence of the walls, and will have to change and lengthen their route to reach potential host countries, with the risks and costs that this implies.

Estimates for forced displacement due to climatic causes show that they will exceed 200 million people in 2050.

Of the ten countries most affected by the environmental crisis in 2018, four of them (Japan, Germany, India and Canada) are also in the ranking of the 15 most polluting countries in terms of carbon emissions in the same year. And in the ranking of these 15 most polluting countries, 4 of them (the United States, India, Saudi Arabia and South Africa) have built walls that interfere with the migration routes of people displaced by environmental causes.

Environmental human rights defenders (EHRDs) are three times more likely to experience violence and coercion than other human rights defenders (HRDs).

Out of the total HRDs defenders murders registered worldwide in 2018 (321 deaths), 77% were EHRDs, mostly linked to conflicts arising from the activity of extractive industries and macro-projects that had the support of the States.

In 2018, 164 environmental human rights activists were murdered, after protesting mainly against the extractive industry, the mining industry, dams, logging and agribusiness.

Latin America and Asia-Pacific are the regions that account for the highest number of murders of defenders, and indigenous groups are the main victims of these murders.
IN RELATION TO THE NECESSARY ECOLOGICAL TRANSITION FROM A PERSPEcTIVE OF PEACE:

■ The ecological transition necessarily requires disarmament and demilitarization processes: reduction of world military spending, conversion of the arms industry into a renewable energy industry, and dismantling of the nuclear arsenal.

■ It is necessary to build peace from an environmental peace approach, that is, addressing the environmental crisis from the study of violence (direct, structural and cultural) committed on nature and people.

■ In a context of climate transformation, security will be impossible without climate justice. In this sense, the proposals for an ecological transition must necessarily incorporate a rigorous study of current military spending, of arms production and trade, and of the priorities to redistribute the budgetary expenditures of the countries, in order to move from approaches based in the concept of military national security to an approach based on the needs and social rights of all people.

■ In the same way that long-term security cannot exist without social justice, human security must be put at the centre. The solution to the environmental crisis requires international demilitarization and disarmament.

In this context, we believe that it is necessary to bet on an ethic centred on all people and on the planet, overcoming this patriarchal, capitalist and militaristic model that is destroying the environment and people’s lives, and begin to think in terms of ecological balance, of the rights of all people and in terms of care.

It is essential that both the fight against the environmental crisis and the ecological transition incorporate and require the reduction of world military expenditures and the transfer of these funds to finance security policies for peace. It is essential to change the security paradigm, and to move from militarized security to human security.
INTRODUCTION

Climate crisis and environmental collapse are the greatest global threats facing humanity in this century. Global warming, the loss of ecosystems and biodiversity, and the increased occurrence of natural disasters are widely described and agreed upon by the scientific community. Beyond the effects on nature, there are many studies on the consequences that the environmental crisis will have on social, political and economic processes. But, being a threat, the question is: from what security paradigms are we analysing this crisis?

In this report we present, from a critical approach and with a human security perspective, several approaches to the problem of the climate crisis and its links with militarism. These rotate around six axes. The first deals with the privileges that are based on the depredation of resources by western countries, which are largely responsible for the size of the environmental and climate crisis we are facing. The second axis addresses the question of the current dominant system, based on militaristic power. CO₂ emissions and environmental damage generated by the military establishment constitute the third axis of the publication. The fourth is the violation of the rights of individuals, specifically environmental human rights defenders and climate refugees. The fifth axis of analysis deals with peace dividends and the necessary transfer of military funds to finance security policies for peace. And the sixth and last axis presents recommendations for the ecological transition from a perspective of positive peace and environmental peace. These axes are developed and interrelated in the nine sections of this publication.

The report aims to provide clues on the links between militarism and the global climate crisis. These allow us to understand how militarism, and more specifically the military establishment, is one of the relevant causes of global warming and the environmental damage observed around the planet, and how militarism, from a perspective of national and military security, is the consequence and current response to this crisis. In this sense, the report tries to give proposals for a successful ecological transition, which necessarily implies an environmental peace approach and a diversion of military expenses and funds towards the financing of security policies for peace to develop policies to mitigate the effects of the climate crisis.

Being the first report published in the new research area on militarism and environmental crisis of the Delàs Centre for Peace Studies, it presents the links between militarism and the current climate and environmental crisis. Methodologies and sources vary depending on the sections, as they respond to the availability of data and the respective bibliography for each addressed topic.

As shown in the following Graph, the different sections of the report indicate that the environmental crisis associated with emissions, global warming and the destruction of the ecological balance has the current unfair and predatory economic system as its underlying cause, using militarization and solutions based on the use of military spending as essential mechanisms for its survival.
But, as will be shown, this militarization is also part of the causes of the climate crisis, so that both the current economic system and securitization and militarization are in the roots of the problem, which grows like a tree with consequences that imply the reinforcement of an unjust economic system and the threats and repression against people's rights and their dignity. In this context, the great current challenge is to achieve disarmament and a demilitarization process to lead us to the construction of a positive Peace.

The nine sections of the Report are interrelated and cover the six perspectives outlined in the following diagram:
These are the six perspectives that the Report analyses and develops in its different sections:

1. On the privileges, the depredation of resources and the countries that suffer the most from the environmental crisis (AM, AO, AR, GA, PB, TF, XB):
The current lifestyle of the privileged is based on a predation and exploitation of resources (basically from the Global South) that, in addition to being the main contributor to global warming on the planet, it is done through the use of force. Global warming is the source of the benefits of the political and economic elites and the armament is the means for the securitization of their strength. The effects of climate change are inseparable from the increase in violence and the loss of rights, and from an economic system that not only condemns millions of people to poverty, but is also at the root of the climate crisis.

2. On the dominant system that is based on militaristic power (AO, AR, GA, PB, PO):
We base our privileges on a militaristic and genocide model, which in addition to provoking the environmental crisis, profits from armed conflicts. On the other hand, it ignores the colonial past of many regions that today are identified as the origin of conflicts and climatic migrations. The discourse focused on national security is what reinforces the classic geopolitical approach based on the survival of the State in a hostile global environment. Looking at the challenges of climate change from this perspective, is only contributing to activate the nationalist rhetoric based on the them/us dichotomy that hinders international cooperation. As long as capitalism as an economic system continues to prevail, climate change will be irreversible, and planetary collapse will be irremediable.

3. On the emissions from the military system and global warming (CM, QS, TF, XB):
Global spending on mitigation and adaptation measures to the climate emergency is notably lower than global military spending. In 2016, military spending was twelve times greater than all funds allocated to the climate crisis. Paradoxically, a significant part of the oil consumed in US military operations abroad is used for ships and planes that protect access to oil and the sea routes for transporting this oil. Furthermore, the military sector has chosen to focus on managing the consequences of the eco-social collapse, considering itself part of the solution and not of the problem. Given the effects that military responses could have on the environmental crisis, it is urgent to investigate in depth the role that the military sector should play versus the role of other sectors linked to human security.

4. On the violation of people’s rights (AM, AO, AR, GA):
A planetary discourse marked by “climate conflicts”, with population movements, “climate migrants” (who are seen as threats to the stability of the States and the order they represent) has been created. The security process turns populations into potential risks and wants to legitimize border areas

2. Initials of the authors’ first and last name, see corresponding sections.
as spaces at war, with military and police techniques, strategies and technologies, and as spaces of exception to detect, intercept and expel people who flee, among other reasons, of environmental violence. But militarization begins from the moment we accept the use of organized violence as a legitimate and appropriate response to the different social challenges that we as a society face.

5. On the Dividends for Peace and the transfer of funds from the military system to human security (CM, PO, QS):
Limiting the military power of the great powers can reduce the predatory practices of the great corporations, because environmental peace is intended to protect nature by considering planet Earth as a single system that unites humanity and nature. And that is why the responsibility of the military sector must be included in the discourse of the movements that seek solutions to the climate and environmental crisis. A system of dividends for peace must be implemented at a global level that involves the diversion of military economic resources towards the financing of policies related to human security. The reduction of military spending and the construction of peace must be part of the demands and debates for the climate.

6. On the Ecological Transition and Environmental Peace (PO, QS):
The links between militarism and the climate emergency must be made explicit, delegitimized the militarized and security responses to the climate crisis, calling for the reduction of world military spending and freeing up public and private resources that could well be used to promote an Ecological Transition. Any proposal for an ecological transition that wants to avoid the effects of the environmental crisis and the consequent eco-social collapse must necessarily incorporate exhaustive processes of international demilitarization and disarmament. We must work and walk the way towards a positive and environmental Peace that is centred on people, on their rights and on social justice.

The work carried out in this report aims to present the different relationships between the power structures (State, transnational and military-industrial network) on the one hand, and the environmental crisis on the other, showing, in different scenarios, who suffers the consequences. In addition to the environment and the planet, people is suffering, especially the most vulnerable. In this context, the solution to the environmental crisis necessarily requires a process of worldwide demilitarization.
CONCLUSIONS

In the different sections of this report, an attempt has been made to show that the capitalist system that is causing global warming and the environmental crisis needs a military organization to maintain itself and grow. We have also seen that this same military organization contributes to the environmental crisis; Furthermore, it has been found that the capitalist system foresees the use of military power to face the conflicts derived from the crisis (struggle for scarce resources, population movements due to climatic causes...), although hardly the same agent can be an essential part of the causes and the solution.

The military system is necessary to maintain the model of exploitation of non-renewable resources that are the cause of global warming and the climate crisis. And this is why the struggle to reduce the impacts of the environmental crisis and the proposals for the ecological transition must inevitably entail disarmament and the reduction of world military spending, moving from the current militarized security, which is based on the use of force, to human security.

On the other hand, the task of preparing the countries most vulnerable to climate change to reduce the impacts of an uncontrolled climate (rise in sea level, extreme weather conditions, floods, pandemics, etc.), would have an annual cost of 0.18 trillion dollars, equivalent to 10% of world military spending. Therefore, even a slight reduction in this military expenditure would allow the launching of very powerful programs to mitigate the climate crisis at the global level.

To reverse the current crisis and the approaching environmental collapse, it will be necessary to return to solidarity discourses capable of leading an energy transition towards a post-carbon society. We must move towards more democratic and eco-socialist societies, based on the concepts of freedom, equality, fraternity, responsible consumption, and respect for nature, in order to safeguard the biosphere and the human species. The current economic system has exploited natural resources regardless of their limitation. But the new future society cannot continue to be based on indefinite growth as it has been until now.

And, just as long-term security cannot exist without social justice, in a context of climate transformation, security will be impossible without climate justice. Human security must be put at the centre, as an alternative to the traditional notion centred on States, with the aim of going beyond military-type threats and strategies.

Environmental peace is intended to protect nature by considering planet Earth as a single system that unites humanity and nature. And environmental peace aims to respond to the challenge of the climate and environmental crisis by solving this global and planetary conflict by peaceful means. It is a positive peace centred on people, their rights and social justice. It is a peace that leads to acting with global and species awareness, because the great problems of the 21st century are planetary, they do not respect borders, and affect all people.
Furthermore, the most polluting countries must play a relevant role in establishing solutions to the environmental crisis, also implementing policies for the recognition and reception of people displaced by climate crises, and eliminating the violence generated by border walls.

The following diagram attempts to summarize, based on what has been explained in the different sections, the current situation, also showing the necessary evolution towards a system based on human security, ecological balance, global justice and environmental peace:

The ecological ceiling of humanity on the planet, indicated by the dark circle in the diagram, is currently surpassed by a militaristic system that does understand neither limits, nor dignity of people, nor ecological and planetary restrictions. This is the system that has created the humanitarian and environmental crisis, and that, by standing outside this circle of the ecological roof, defends the discourse and the myth of unlimited growth. It is the system based on national security and securitization, that of the military-industrial complex, which maintains the depredation of resources, which increases military spending, which maintains military activity and generates a big part of the gas emissions Greenhouse effect. It is the system based on patriarchal and supremacist schemes
that violate the rights of the vast majority of people on the planet and is ultimately responsible for the climate and environmental crisis and many armed conflicts in countries of the Global South.

The alternative is to “enter the circle”, placing the emphasis on caring for people and the planet with a focus on human security and global justice, in order to find solutions to today’s great problems, all being global: warming, pandemics, inequalities, injustice, desertification, scarcity of resources, lack of compliance with the sustainable development goals. And the militarized power system that has widely crossed the limits of the ecological ceiling while spreading violence and armed conflicts, can not be part of the solution that requires re-entering the circle, because this solution should include policies welcoming and caring for people.

The so-called national security is based on defending the interests, too often unspeakable, of a few: the elites. It is a security that needs to break the limits of the ecological ceiling and the dignity and rights of people, with false discourses of unlimited growth, its essential tool being military power. On the other hand, the impact of war and preparation for war has obvious environmental consequences, although they are poorly documented. Taking into account the effects that the military responses to the environmental crisis could have in the sense of worsening it, it is urgent to investigate in depth the role of the military sector from a peace perspective. For all these reasons, actions for the climate and the environment must include the responsibility of the military sector in their discourse.

In this sense, we understand that:

- We must overcome the current patriarchal, capitalist, colonialist and militarist model that has managed to destroy the environment and people’s lives, starting to think in terms of ecological balance and the rights of all people, in terms of positive peace and care and in terms of reducing worldwide military spending.

- It is necessary to avoid, in the political discourse on security, the paradigm saying that human security is subordinated to the conventional geopolitical and geo-economics imaginary, where the preservation of an order based on nation-states and the defence of the interests of certain political elites and economic goals become the priority objectives. In the same way that long-term security cannot exist without social justice, in a context of environmental crisis, human security will be impossible without climate justice that involves recognizing and assuming responsibilities, and distributing the costs of climate change. Security does not have the same meaning for the citizens of the societies of the global North as for the citizens of the impoverished countries of the global South: as it is understood in enriched countries, security has the ethnocentric sense of preserving what they understand to be their own in the face of threats from others, most of the time from outside their society. But this is a supposed security that cannot solve the systemic
problems of the environmental crisis and that does not target people care and people’s basic needs.

- Proposals for an ecological transition that seek to avoid the most extreme effects of the environmental crisis and the consequent eco-social collapse must necessarily incorporate a rigorous study of current military spending and the priorities for redistributing budget expenditures to the countries, in order to move from approaches based on the concept of military national security to an approach based on the needs and social rights of all people. Analyses of the climate and environmental crisis must necessarily incorporate the study of militarized national security, military spending, and arms production and trade.

- The solution to the environmental crisis therefore requires exhaustive processes of international demilitarization and disarmament. The majority of Nobel laureates in science and 1,700 scientists already declared this 28 years ago: “the resources devoted to the preparation and conduct of war will be much needed to solve the environmental crisis, and should be diverted towards these new challenges”. We must be alert, by making a critical reading of reality and by thinking about possible alternatives for transformation and risk mitigation that can reduce vulnerabilities and increase the resilience capacity of the territories.

- This solution to the environmental crisis must respect ecological limits and balance. We must build the future from the recognition of our vulnerability, making vulnerability a force and care a necessity. Governance, both global and at all levels, should be focused on human security with an ecological, peace and eco-feminist vision.

- The most polluting countries must play a relevant role in establishing policies for the recognition and reception of people displaced by the environmental crisis; on the other hand, they must establish border management policies that eliminate the violence generated by the border walls. It is not acceptable that the border area becomes a scene of violence, with the impact that this has on the human rights of people who are forcibly displaced from their homes for environmental or other reasons. On the other hand, all environ-

---

3. The so-called national security is based on the defence of the interests, too often unspeakable, of a few, the elites. Human security targets people’s basic needs, as proposed by the United Nations in 1994 in its UNDP report.

4. In November 1992, around 1,700 scientists around the world, including most of the Nobel laureates in science alive at the time, warned humanity. They said that human activities cause a damage that is often irreversible to the environment and critical resources, and that many of our current practices seriously jeopardize the future we wish for human society and plant and animal ecosystems, so they can end up altering the living world. They explained that it was very urgent to make fundamental changes to avoid the collision we were heading. They asserted that developed nations are the largest polluters in the world today, declaring “success in this global effort will require a great reduction in violence and warfare. The resources now devoted to the preparation and conduct of war, amounting to more than a trillion dollars annually, will be much needed in the new tasks and should be diverted towards these new challenges.

mental human rights defenders have the right to enjoy the rights to life and physical integrity.

Civil society organizations play an essential role in forcing a change in the system that attempts to resolve the environmental crisis, given that they are not linked to dominant interests. As said in 2017 by 15,372 scientists from 184 countries\(^5\), the activism of these entities is necessary to ensure that politicians are forced to act: “As most political leaders respond to pressure, scientists, media influencers, and lay citizens must insist that their governments take immediate action as a moral imperative to current and future generations of human and other life. With a groundswell of organized grassroots efforts, dogged opposition can be overcome and political leaders compelled to do the right thing”.

The current environmental crisis requires a total paradigm shift, demilitarizing and moving the money from military spending with a new perspective that must oppose the neoliberal capitalist model and that should be antimilitarist, feminist and eco-social.

---

5. In 2017, the scientific journal Bioscience published the article with the most authors in history. It was signed by a total of 15,372 scientists from 184 countries. With the strength of these 15 thousand signatures, the article analyses the alarming trend of the indicators they have been studying and points out that humans have ignored the first warnings from scientists. The authors publish a second warning to humanity saying that, with our disproportionate consumption and with our crazy population growth, we are not sustainable and we are putting our future at risk. They also confirm that there are many efforts generated by “organizations that come from the people”. These are needed to overcome “the current stubborn opposition to change”, making political leaders to “be forced to do what needs to be done”, according to scientific evidence. Because experience has shown us that, during these 25 years, influential businessmen and politicians have been driven by profit and money, without taking into account the real needs of people. Available at: https://academic.oup.com/bioscience/article/67/12/1026/4605229 (last visit, February 7, 2021).
MILITARISM AND ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS: A NECESSARY REFLECTION · Executive Summary

Full report available in Spanish and Catalan:
http://centredelas.org/publicacions/militarismoycrisismedioambiental/?lang=es
http://centredelas.org/publicacions/militarismeicrisiambiental/

With the support of: